INFORMATION TO USERS

DÉPARTEMENT DES LETTRES ET COMMUNICATIONS

Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines

Université de Sherbrooke

.

THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE: AN APPROACH

TO POST-COLONIAL CULTURAL AND CRITICAL THEORY

par

MARTIN CYR HICKS

Bachelier en philosophie

$\underline{T}$ / $\mathcal{L}$ ⁄ ?

.

MÉMOIRE PRÉSENTÉ

pour obtenir

LE GRADE DE MAÎTRE ÈS ARTS

(LITTÉRATURE CANADIENNE COMPARÉE)

Sherbrooke

Juin 1998

.

Canada

COMPOSITION DU JURY

LA POLITIQUE DE LA RÉSISTANCE:

UNE INTERPRÉTATION DE LA THÉORIE POSTCOLONIALE

MARTIN CYR HICKS

Ce mémoire a été évalué par un jury composé des personnes

suivantes:

Winfried Siemerling, Directeur de recherche

Gregory Reid (Département des lettres et communications)

Michel Blais (Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines)

RÉSUMÉ

LA POLITIQUE DE LA RÉSISTANCE:
UNE INTERPRÉTATION DE LA THÉORIE POSTCOLONIALE
par MARTIN CYR HICKS

Ce mémoire définit la théorie postcoloniale comme une méthode d'analyse qui nous permet de mieux comprendre la résistance culturelle et les relations de pouvoir entre les groupes sociaux. Le mémoire démontre comment la résistance à l'environnement ou à l'Autre est un élément fondateur dans la formation du groupe social. Conséquemment, la résistance joue un rôle essentiel dans la culture et explique que le groupe social se perçoit en contraste avec ses voisins.

Ce mémoire offre de nouvelles définitions pour des termes fréquemment utilisés en théorie postcoloniale. Par exemple, le premier, deuxième, tiers et quart monde sont définis comme des positions possibles sur une pyramide hiérarchique. Un groupe social haut-placé sur cette pyramide détiendra plus de pouvoir et d'influence culturelle que ceux qui sont placés plus bas. Le sommet de cette pyramide représente la position hégémonique, et la base représente la position où le groupe social sera le plus colonisé. Cette hiérarchisation dépend entièrement de la façon dont le groupe social se perçoit lui-même et non pas de la façon dont les autres le perçoivent.

Le texte est divisé en deux parties. La première partie est théorique tandis que la deuxième partie utilise la théorie développée dans la première afin de faire une analyse de deux oeuvres de critique sociale. Ces textes sont *Technology and Empire* de George Grant et *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* de Pierre Vallières. Ces deux oeuvres sont des bons exemples de la résistance qui existe toujours entre le Canada anglais et le Québec.

ABSTRACT

THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE:
AN APPROACH TO POST-COLONIAL CULTURAL AND
CRITICAL THEORY

BY MARTIN CYR HICKS

This thesis attempts to define post-colonial theory as a
method by which we can better understand cultural resistance and
the relations of power between social groups. In the thesis, I
demonstrate how resistance to a natural environment or to others is
the key factor in the formation of social groups. Consequently,
resistance plays an essential role in the social group's culture
and how the social group defines itself in contrast to its
neighbours.

The thesis offers new definitions for some frequently used
terms in post-colonial theory. For instance, the First, Second,
Third and Fourth Worlds are defined as positions on a hierarchical
pyramid upon which the higher a social group is situated, the more
power and cultural influence it will have on others. The top of the
pyramid is reserved for the social group that has hegemony over all
others; the bottom is where we find the social groups that see
themselves as most colonized. This positioning relies entirely on
how the social group tends to perceive itself rather than how it is
perceived by others.

The text is divided into two parts. The first part develops
the theory which is then applied to two works of critical theory in
the second part. The two works that are studied are George Grant's
Technology and Empire and Pierre Vallières' *Nègres blancs
d'Amérique*. Both of these texts offer a sample of the kinds of
resistance that were produced, and still are, by their respective
cultures: English Canada and Québec.

THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE:
AN APPROACH TO POST-COLONIAL CUTURAL AND
CRITICAL THEORY

CONTENTS

alienation - Active resistance - Violence - Combative
literature and revolution

    The difference between the Third and Fourth World - The
    importance of language in Fourth World social groups -
    Can former colonizers be seen as Fourth World today? -
    The Québécois, the Irish and the Scots - Québec as an
    example of a Fourth World social group - The Fourth World
    does not imply low economic standing - Nationalism and
    sovereignty

PART II - TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

    How the text can represent the social group - Hegemony,
    the colonizing centre, the periphery and the semi-
    periphery in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* - Praxis in *Nègres
    blancs d'Amérique* - Violence in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*

    Who is the colonizer in *Technology and Empire*? - Counter-
    discourse in *Technology and Empire* - Québécois fate and
    imperialism

Since the end of the Second World War, many theorists from around the world have developed a form of critical theory that seriously questions colonialism in its original form and in its newer form, neo-colonialism. We think here of writers such as Frantz Fanon or Albert Memmi. Within the context of the Algerian war of liberation, these two authors exposed the negative impact colonialism or imperialism had on the Algerian people. The two authors were so hard-hitting and accomplished that one of Europe's most reputable philosophers, Jean-Paul Sartre, prefaced their work. From that point on, the theories of *decolonisation* evolved to become what we call today post-colonialism. Many other social groups began to identify their loss of cultural identity with Fanon and Memmi's early works on *decolonisation*. Even *White Settler* social groups (as described by the Australian theorist Alan Lawson) have tried to find a niche within these theories that could properly describe their relations with more dominating or powerful social groups. Today, American academia has taken on the post-colonial subject matter and has made it one of the most 'en vogue' realms of critical theory in the world.

Post-colonial theory is still a very disputed field of study and there are many interpretations of it. Questions as to what we can include in the field of post-colonialism or about the purpose of post-colonial theory are still very much debated everywhere. However, I believe that there are two fundamental positions in the post-colonial field of research: the first interpretation or

position suggests that post-colonial theory is the study of the cultural output of the social groups that were once colonies but no longer are. In this sense the word *post* is taken literally (as in 'after'). Theorists adhering to such a position will ask themselves how post-colonial social groups deal with their colonial past and their present cultural independence.

The second position is comprised of theorists who believe that it is impossible for any social group to be post-colonial in the sense described above. These theorists suggest that post-colonial theory deals with social groups that express culture in a way that exposes and criticizes the dominating colonial influences of a foreign social group. Their culture will comprise moments of resistance that encourage the surpassing of colonizing influence. The *post* in this interpretation does not mean *past* but rather *trying to get past*. In this sense, the scope of the post-colonial field is broad enough to include practically every social group today in one way or another.

This thesis will be working with the second interpretation instead of the first. I believe that the second interpretation of post-colonial theory is far more useful in that it allows us to study and compare social groups in their present form. The second interpretation focuses on cultural resistance, on how it acts in a post-colonial fashion whereas the first interpretation focuses on whether or not the social group's past allows us to consider

it post-colonial. The first interpretation is far too dependent on the social group's official history, often neglecting its own perspectives on it.

Furthermore, the second interpretation of post-colonial theory allows us to evaluate the hegemonic standings of any social group of the world in relation to its neighbours. With today's technology and mass media, social groups are confronted with a larger number of societies and cultures than ever before. We are inevitably influenced by them somehow, just as we certainly influence them. Which social group has hegemony over others? Which social group suffers from that cultural hegemony? These are the types of questions I will be dealing with in this thesis.

In other words, post-colonial theory can be interpreted as a study of cultural resistance to a hegemonic centre or First World. As we will see, this type of cultural resistance is what creates a sense of unity, identity, and common interest within the social group.

A main objective of the thesis will be to develop further the second interpretation of post-colonial theory and how it categorizes social groups according to the cultural resistance they produce. Dividing social groups into First, Second, Third or Fourth Worlds does not have to be limiting if we see the

boundaries of these categories as fuzzy, rather than formal. For instance, a social group can have Second and Fourth World attributes at the same time. It can be more or less colonizer or colonized. It is important to keep in mind that post-colonial distinctions should be seen as degrees rather than fixed or absolute.

I will continue to use the term 'social group' throughout the thesis. The reason for this is that the term 'social group' encompasses any and all forms of social groupings, whether they be founded on the concept of the nation/state, gender, race, economics (i.e. corporations), sexual orientation or religion. An advantage of post-colonial theory is that it allows us to study the power relations between social groups, regardless of the form they might take. Studying the social group is a way of avoiding limiting and often complex terminologies (such as 'nation').

Another objective of this thesis is to present my analysis and arguments as concisely and directly as possible. Students and theorists will often combine their hypotheses, analyses, and criticism and offer them all at once. Although such an approach can be more fluid and artistically appealing, I feel that it can also end up being cluttered, clumsy and incoherent. It is for this reason that I have chosen to split my thesis into two distinct parts. The first theoretical part will deal with cultural resistance and post-colonialism. The second part will

put the theory developed in Part I into practice, by applying it
to an analysis of two different texts.

The texts I will be analyzing in Part II will be Pierre
Vallières' *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* and George Grant's *Technology
and Empire* which are both works of critical theory. It has been
suggested that critical theory is not a real form of literature.
I. on the other hand, believe that critical theory may be a form
of meta-literature or even meta-culture. but that it should
nonetheless be seen as a part of a culture's literary production.
Critical theory, just as well as poetry and prose, can offer us
an insight into a social group's cultural identity. Thus critical
theory should always be intimately related to the field of
literary research and analysis. Furthermore, both of the texts I
will analyze have had a tremendous impact on their authors'
respective literary cultures. Grant inspired a generation of
young Canadian writers, helping them discover and redefine their
national identity. Vallières was a product of an already strong
indépendantiste literary movement which he also helped prolong.

It is also important to mention that the field of
Comparative Literature has gone through a significant evolution
in the past thirty years. Comparative Literature started off (in
part) as a method by which a scholar could draw certain
conclusions on cultural difference and similarity from a
comparison of themes, structure, or characters in a variety of

different texts written by authors with different cultural backgrounds. Today, many universities interpret Comparative Literature as multidisciplinary field in which one can compare not only typical forms of literature, but also music, cinema, philosophy. religious beliefs. and any other forms of cultural expression. Comparative Literature is closer to Cultural Anthropology and basic Cultural Theory than it ever was in the past.

Having introduced certain basic concepts (which will be further developed throughout the thesis) and preliminary definitions, I am now ready to begin the study. We will see if the approach to post-colonial theory that I have chosen is effective in helping us better our understanding of social groups and how they interact with one another.

P A R T   I

Theory

The phenomenon that we call culture is a product of resistance. A social group will define itself in contrast to other social groups or in contrast to its (natural) environment. The main driving force behind culture is resistance. It is for this reason, as I mentioned in the introduction, that I have chosen post-colonial theory as a vehicle for my ideas.

The idea that resistance is at the source of culture and social groupings is not new. I believe that Frederick Douglass, the African American writer and theorist, best describes the phenomenon. By stating that "without struggle there is no progress" (*Higher Learning*, 1994) Douglass was explaining how a social group needs to resist something in order to survive. A social group will grow and prosper through its many encounters with the outside world. These encounters can manifest themselves as passive or active resistance to a hostile environment or neighbouring social groups. When I write about *passive resistance*, I mean that even friendly encounters can also be interpreted as acts of resistance if they result in the assertion of a difference or uniqueness.

The primary reason for which the individuals of a social group will choose to co-exist peacefully is that they need to protect themselves or their interests (i.e. resources) from outside threats. Although the initial threat that early social

groups had to contend with was the environment, the success in such struggles allowed social groups to expand in territory and overlap into another social group's sphere of influence. Hence the struggle or resistance against a hostile environment often led to the struggle against other social groups. This phenomenon was well documented by the social Darwinists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. William Graham Sumner, in particular, wrote extensively on the subject (Sumner 30-59). Unfortunately, the same scholars often pushed their studies too far by using their *a posteriori*, scientific observations as an *a priori*, ethical justification for colonial expansionism or the domination of the upper class over the proletariat. In any case, this thesis will focus on how the struggle between social groups in competition for resources and power led to the strengthening and the defining of their cultures.

When a social group expands in numbers and in territory and confronts another social group there are two possibilities that can arise. First, the social group might find that its characteristics and interests coincide almost perfectly with those of the other group. In such a case, the two social groups will cooperate and eventually merge together. The alternative is that the social group realises that its defining characteristics are in fact too different or in conflict with those of its adversary. In this case, such a confrontation may lead to an active resistance (war) or a passive resistance. Passive

resistance can include negotiations through diplomatic or other more peaceable communications such as commercial trade.

A social group will develop what we generally understand as culture through its struggle with the environment and then other social groups. Through its many struggles, a social group will acquire certain traits that will help its members to remember why they first chose to stay within the group. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said describes well the inner workings of culture:

> Culture, of course, is to be found operating within
>
> civil society (as opposed to political society), where
>
> the influence of ideas, of institutions, and of other
>
> persons works not through domination but what Gramsci
>
> calls consent. (Said 7)

In other words, individuals within a social group will consent to work together and share (to a certain degree) their resources. It is between social groups that we more frequently find tensions, conflicts originating from a will to dominate. Even though the will to dominate does exist between individuals, that will is controlled by the social group through the creation of rules of conduct (laws) regulating competition within the group. Therefore, I believe that culture represents the many traits that the social group has picked up in its past and present struggles (firstly against the environment and then against other social groups with whom it did not share enough cultural commonalities); it is these cultural traits that give the social group a sense of

unity and identity for its members, a sense of belonging. Such cultural traits find themselves within a social group's ideologies, mythologies, religion, music, literature, art, or architecture. It is for these reasons that I am convinced that culture is essentially established by resistance to an environment or to the coercion of another social group. In other words, cultural resistance is what defines one social group in contrast to another.

Cultural resistance is at the source of post-colonial theory and literature. Post-colonialism, as I see it, is in fact a contemporary way of explaining and studying cultural resistance. Now that we are past the age of defining our culture by our struggle against nature (even though our cultural traits developed during our struggle with nature are still very present), we must study how our expansionism/colonialism or lack thereof affects our resistance and consequently our culture today. It is in this sense that the study of post-colonial resistance is synonymous with the study of culture. Our sense of cultural self-consciousness derives entirely from that resistance or our belief in it.

The first part will be divided into five separate sections. The first section will pursue our analysis of cultural resistance and how culture is defined by resistance. Section two will demonstrate how the First World resists by justifying colonial

activities. As we will see, a colonizing (First World) social group will convince its members that it colonizes out of resistance to a potential threat. Whether that threat is real or not is irrelevant as long as the social group is convinced that it exists. Section three will focus on Second World resistance or what post-colonial theorists call *counter-discourse*. Section four will study Third World resistance (revolution). And our final section will examine and try to define Fourth World resistance (what I call the struggle for autonomy and sovereignty). I believe that we can determine where a social group should be placed in the post-colonial pyramid of cultural resistance (First, Second, Third or Fourth World) by understanding the means by which the social group resists.

1.1 THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE

In 1991, the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor published an essay entitled "The Politics of Recognition." In his essay, Taylor suggests that tensions between social groups and their cultures originate from a lack of recognition from either side. In other words, by recognizing the legitimacy and value of all surrounding cultures, a social group will avoid unnecessary tensions and co-exist peacefully with them. For Taylor, the recognition of other cultures should be the key to cross-cultural relations and politics.

Although I agree with most of Taylor's fundamental beliefs, there are certain points I have problems with. For instance, I do concede that it is the misrecognition of other cultures that leads to conflicts, struggle and resistance. And that it is through recognition that we can avoid such struggles. However, I also believe that such struggles, or resistance to others, is at the source of what we call culture. Resistance is the very essence of the social group and its culture. Without any form of resistance or conflict (that derives certainly from a form of

misrecognition or another) we would end up with one united global culture. It is in human nature to resist, to struggle. I believe that struggle is the only way for cultures to evolve. Therefore, cultures will always try to find threats and reasons to resist even if there might not be any. If a culture defines itself by its resistance to others, it claims to need recognition without ever truly wanting it. Or rather, a social group wanting to remain a united and independent cultural entity, will always sense a lack of recognition from its adversaries. Another way of putting it would be to say that a social group or culture will never want to be in a position where it will need to be recognized by a more powerful neighbour; it can only be satisfied when it is powerful enough to be able to recognize others. If we use the father/child dichotomy, a social group will only feel secure in the role of the father. A father, even when recognizing (acknowledges) the worth of his child, is still a father.

In his essay, Taylor brings up many points I agree with. He writes that we define ourselves by our resistance to others: "We define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us" (Taylor 32), or "My own identity crucially depends on my dialogical relations with others" (Taylor 34). These two passages reconfirm that a culture's identity is created by its relations to its surrounding environment and social groups. On this point, I have no quarrel. Albeit somewhat passive, dialogue can also be

interpreted as a form of struggle or resistance.

Where I begin to disagree with Taylor's views is when he
makes statements such as this one: "In a system of hierarchical
honour, we are in competition; one person's glory must be
another's shame, or at least obscurity. Our unity of purpose is
shattered" (Taylor 48). My difficulties with this passage lie in
Taylor's apparent suggestion that the so-called *system of
hierarchical honour* is defective and can be avoided. I do
believe that social groups are formed to alleviate some of the
pressures of such a system. Individuals work together within a
social group to better their odds in the competition with others.
Although there will always be some competition within the social
group or culture, it will be seen as trivial in comparison to the
competition between social groups. Therefore I do believe that
recognition is necessary within the social group. Individuals
within a social group will recognize each other's worth in that
they share a common (and sometimes subconscious) interest:
survival against outside threats. But such a recognition derives
from struggle and resistance. Without competition between social
groups, there would no longer be a need for inner recognition,
and thus the very fabric of the social group would decay. In
short, I believe that without resistance the very notion of
recognition collapses; or that it is because of competition that
we struggle and resist, and that it is resistance that forms
social groups within which the recognition of common interest is

necessary. As opposed to Taylor's views, I do not believe that
the system of hierarchical honor has been superseded; I believe
that it is still very much present today, it only manifests
itself differently.

The problem I have with Taylor's main argument is that he
seems to believe that there are certain human principles that can
transcend all conflicts or tensions. We see this when he writes
about the liberal ideal of equal dignity.

> The liberalism of equal dignity seems to have to assume
> that there are some universal,difference-blind
> principles. Even though we may not have defined them
> yet, the project of defining them remains alive and
> essential. (Taylor 43)

Although I do believe that such principles should exist within a
social group, I do not believe that they can exist between social
groups. If social groups are to struggle and compete against one
another (and therefore progress and evolve) the idea of equal
dignity between them is impossible. There will always be one
social group that will (at least) seem more powerful to another;
and this social group will feel that its *dignity* is threatened.
Consequently, social groups that feel disadvantaged will seek
more power to ensure their survival. I believe that the constant
power struggle between social groups (whether they may be nation
based, linguistic, racial or gender based) corresponds to the
Darwinian notions of the *competition for life*, the *struggle for*

existence and the Spencerian notion of the *survival of the fittest*. Of course, I am not justifying such struggles for power, I am merely stating that they are at the very base of human nature. The only way for every social group in the world to cooperate and co-exist peacefully is if there were a sufficiently important interest that they could all agree to share.

In his essay, Taylor denounces those (like myself) who believe that power and the need for struggle are the sole motives for interactions between social groups:

> The proponents of neo-Nietzschean theories hope to escape this whole nexus of hypocrisy by turning the entire issue into one of power and counter-power. Then the question is no more one of respect, but of taking sides, of solidarity. But this is hardly a satisfactory solution... . (Taylor 70)

It may not be a very satisfactory solution, however it is, in my opinion, the only realistic explanation. Furthermore, I can think of no other explanation, than that of resistance, that adequately explains the relations between social groups. If two or more social groups decide to cooperate (temporarily), they seem to do so with the intention to more successfully counter an outside threat (hence common interest). There will, however, always be a passive resistance between the two cooperating social groups or cultures, unless one assimilates or integrates itself into the other (in which case there is no resistance at all).

<div align="center">***</div>

In the Fall of 1997, a short film entitled *West of Eden* was released. The movie demonstrated (by a mere sequencing of images and sounds) how Western society progressed from a triangle/power-based view of society to a circular/cooperative based view. The movie suggested that it was with the more circular system, where all individuals have (more or less) equal rights, that the social group could truly progress and develop new technologies. I, on the other hand, believe that the idea of equal dignity was a useful tool in the resistance to others. When threatened by a significant other, a social group will adopt new strategies that will reinforce its culture and inner unity. The best way of doing this is to create the illusion of equal dignity amongst all of the social group's individuals.

Thus liberalism and the politics of equal dignity can be reinforced within a social group and within the culture. And such politics do increase productivity within the social group and can lead to progression. But we must not forget that the idea of equal dignity was deemed necessary by certain social groups to strengthen their inner unity in order to better counter an outside threat. The relations *between* social groups are still based on the politics of power rather than the politics of recognition or equal dignity.

In her work *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, Elleke Boehmer explains how social groups justify their domination of

others:

> Time and again the derogation of other cultures was
> used to validate the violence of invasion. Even before
> Darwin, colonization was represented as a survival of
> the fittest, in De Quincey's phrase 'winnowing the
> merits of races'. The struggle for survival dictated
> that the strong, or those best at imposing their power,
> were deserving of hegemony. (Boehmer 80)

This passage reminds me of the American doctrine of *Manifest Destiny*. Although the United States' official policy was equality for all men (born in the United States), they certainly did not believe in equality for all social groups. We see this in their treatment of Native Americans, African Americans and in their border wars with Mexicans at the turn of the century. Some scholars might try to dismiss Boehmer's assertion as a description of a darker colonial/expansionist past. However, most post-colonial scholars will agree that colonialism still exists today in different (more subtle) and sometimes identical forms (i.e. neo-colonialism). Post-colonialism attempts to expose neo-colonialism in order to better counter it.

Colonialism is a battle for hegemony; a competition to see which social group can secure and control the most territory and resources. I do not believe that colonialism is anything more than a power struggle between social groups. As Boehmer points out, "If colonialism was a struggle for supremacy, not only of

white against black, but between European nations, the scramble for territory took on the aspect of a conflict between competing virilities" (Boehmer 86). Colonialism, in other words, can be seen as a resistance by one colonizing social group to another. Seeing that a social group is acquiring power and wealth through colonial domination, a neighbouring social group will want to do the same in order to remain on an equal footing with it. Thus the essence of colonialism is not only the appropriation of other social groups, but the appropriation of power and influence. Colonialism propagates colonialism.

Post-colonial theory is chiefly based on the writings of the authors and theorists of *anti-colonialism* or decolonization such as Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, or Albert Memmi. These authors demonstrated how colonialism can be aggressive (through actual wars and invasions) or passive (through assimilative influence). In both cases, the result is similar: a direct assault on the social groups' culture (what differentiates the social group from the colonizer). If a social groups' culture is created in resistance to another (colonizing) social group, then the elimination of culture will lead to the pacification of the colonized social group (even though such attempts at pacification have proven to be practically impossible). Cabral explains this well when he writes "to take up arms to dominate a people is, above all, to take up arms to destroy, or at least neutralize, to paralyze, its cultural life" (Cabral 53). To secure its

dominating/assimilative influence over another social group, a colonizing social group will attack that which makes the latter unique and independent. Culture is one of the main aspects upon which a threatened social group can base its resistance. To defend culture is to defend the unity of purpose and interests of the social group. In other words, without culture, there is no social group. It is important to remember that economic interests are secondary, culture is what primarily distinguishes one social group from another. Economic interests, or the acquiring of wealth and resources, is a common denominator of every social group. Culture is what differentiates social groups.

In *Les Damnés de la terre* (*The Wretched of the Earth*), Fanon points out that the struggle between the colonizer and colonized is merely a struggle for power. A colonized social group whose culture and identity is threatened to the point of extinction will feel itself impotent when facing its colonizer. In such a case, the only way for a colonized social group to survive is to usurp the power of command over its own fate that the colonizer initially took away from it. "La colonization ou la décolonisation, c'est simplement un rapport de forces" (Fanon 47). Thus colonialism and post-colonialism (a modernized version of decolonization), according to Fanon, both have to do with the politics of power and the politics of resistance. A colonizing social group (seeking hegemony and power) will impose its cultural values on another social group; and a colonized social

group will resist by reinforcing its cultural difference in order to survive.

What I am trying to demonstrate, as did Fanon and Cabral, is that between social groups we still have a very primitive, hierarchical power-based system. The only way to move beyond this hierarchical system (as I see it) is if there were a reason for which every social group on the planet needed to unite in resistance to a larger threat. Without resistance, I believe that there is no unity of purpose, and that the battle for hegemony will necessarily continue.

Fanon writes that "entre oppresseurs et opprimés tout se résout par la force" (Fanon 54), and I believe that he is correct. Furthermore, in a hierarchical/hegemonic based reality, everyone is either more or less oppressor or oppressed. The only thing left for us to define is who is oppressed/colonized and who is the oppressor/colonizer. Where do we place ourselves and others on the hierarchical pyramid of power where the top is the hegemonic colonizer and the very bottom is the entirely colonized?

***

To reinforce the point that the relationship between colonialism and post-colonialism is a *rapport de force*, many

authors have shown us how the colonizer will often furnish the colonized with the means by which they will resist. In other words, to subvert the power that was taken from it, the colonized social group will resist. It will use the same techniques its colonizers used to sap (away) its autonomy in the first place. When colonized, a social group loses the power of command over its own culture. The colonizer wants to destroy the colonized social group's culture in order to better assimilate its individuals. The colonized social group is inadvertantly made even more aware of the culture it needs to protect. And it will be in the name of that very same threatened culture that it will eventually try to counter its colonizer.

By colonizing others, the colonizer initiates the colonized to the power struggle. Boehmer demonstrates this point in her text:

> As things turned out, colonial rule furnished the terms
> of articulation for what it most sought to deny: the
> self-representation of subject or marginalized peoples.
> In the nineteenth century, the expansion of European
> nation-states in the form of colonialism had spread far
> and wide a rhetoric of cultural self-determination.
> (Boehmer 104)

Certain cultures were still fairly isolated. Their struggle had much more to do with their environment than with neighbouring social groups. European colonialism changed everything by

initiating such cultures to a much larger (global) power struggle. But these cultures did not assimilate entirely to their colonizers. Eventually they fought back by returning to, and idealizing their almost forgotten cultural identity. This can explain movements such as the *Négritude* movement in Africa.

In fact, a colonizing social group (unless it is entirely successful in assimilating the colonized) will often create its own nemesis. What often happens is the development of a father/son relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. As Fanon put it, "C'est le colon qui a fait et qui continue à faire le colonisé" (Fanon 30). As is often the case, the colonised, like a son, will integrate some of the teachings of the father, not in praise of him, but to revolt against him (by using the same methods to seek an independent identity).

Albert Memmi makes the same observations when he writes in *Portrait du colonisé*: "A quelque chose malheur est bon: l'existence du colonialiste est trop liée à celle du colonisé, jamais il ne pourra dépasser cette dialectique" (Memmi 78). As soon as a social group is colonized, it is lured into the dialectic of the father/son relationship with its colonizer. The colonized social group has only two options left: total assimilation to the colonizer or rebellion against it in an attempt to take its place or at least equal it. Memmi saw the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized as that of

the master and the slave: "En vérité, la distance entre le maître et le serviteur n'est jamais assez grande" (Memmi 89). The colonizer or master or father-figure, by trying to dominate the colonized, will actually give it the blueprints to follow if it too wants to become powerful.

<div align="center">***</div>

To colonize a social group is to corrupt it by initiating it to a larger power struggle (if it was not already initiated to it). If the colonizer does not succeed at fully colonizing the social group (which is often the case), then the social group threatens to rival its colonizer in the struggle and even surpass it. By colonizing, the colonizer shows the colonized social groups that they are at a lower level on the hegemonic pyramid than itself. Thus the colonized social groups will a *forteriori* learn what it is they should be striving at becoming. It is, in a sense, a rude awakening for the colonized. And as long as the colonizer is still present in any kind of way, the colonized will have to try to resist and equal it (at least) if it is to survive as an independent identity or culture.

Fanon demonstrates how being colonized exposes a social group to what it can become when he writes: "il n'y a pas un colonisé qui ne rêve au moins une fois par jour de s'installer à la place du colon" (Fanon 32). Seeing that it is in an inferior position to that of the colonizer, that it is dominated by

another, the colonized would rather switch places with its
oppressor.

Many post-colonial cultural theorists (such as Alan Lawson,
Stephen Slemon, Bill Ashcroft, Helen Tiffin, Mudrooroo, Margery
Fee and many others) rank social groups in accordance to the
power they have over their own fate and over the fate of others.
For instance, the social groups that have the most power are
categorized as First World. These social groups colonize others
without being terribly influenced themselves. Second World social
groups are somewhere in the middle of the hierarchical pyramid.
They colonize but their culture is also subjugated to a certain
degree to that of the First World; and they must consequently
resist it if they want to preserve their identity. Third and
Fourth World cultures are truly at the bottom of the pyramid, or
at the periphery/margin of the hegemonic (First World) centre.
Third World social groups may have a nation, territory and rights
that are recognized as theirs, but their cultural frontiers are
frequently penetrated by outside colonizing pressures. The Fourth
World's culture is equally as threatened but these social groups'
territory was, in most cases, at some point in time conquered and
is still occupied by social groups of the First or Second World.
The Fourth World can also include those oppressed social groups
that may not have been conquered as such, but still have a claim
to autonomy, independence and self-government (I am thinking here
of African American nationalism and particularly the Black

Panther movement). Second, Third and Fourth World social groups
will assert their independent culture in resistance to their
colonizers. As Fanon puts it, they will want to resist in order
to take the colonizer's place or at least rival it on the
pyramid. The higher a social group believes itself on the
pyramid, the easier it will be for it to secure and protect its
identity and culture. (See annexe 1)

Fanon points out how the colonized will resist the colonizer
in order to rise in the ranks of power: "En fait, il [the
colonized] est toujours prêt à abandonner son rôle de gibier pour
prendre celui de chasseur. Le colonisé est un persécuté qui rêve
en permanence de devenir persécuteur" (Fanon 41). The need that
colonized social groups have to become predator instead of prey
corresponds roughly to what Nietzsche calls the *will to power*.
The closer a social group is to attaining total hegemony, the
closer it will hope to be in ensuring its survival.

Unfortunately, as shown above, by rising in the ranks of
power a social group will often end up colonizing. In other
words, a Third or Fourth World social group, if successful in its
resistance, will see itself as a Second World and eventually
First World social group. Memmi explains this well in his
Portrait du colonisé:

> Telle est l'histoire de la pyramide des tyranneaux:
> chacun, socialement opprimé par un plus puissant que

lui, trouve toujours un moins puissant pour se reposer

sur lui, et se faire tyran à son tour. (Memmi 45)

As already mentioned, I believe that the only way for the social

groups of the world to evolve beyond this vicious pattern is if

every social group of the world could agree to respect one

another in order to resist more efficiently a common enemy.

Without common interest, social groups will always be in varying

degrees of conflict with one another. If there is no reason to

cooperate, a social group will invariably feel its cultural

existence and independence threatened by another. Whether or not

it actually is threatened is irrelevant; what is relevant is the

belief that it is. Occasionally, a social group might try to help

another by showing it better solutions or courses of action (an

example of this would be the U.N.'s peacekeeping missions).

However, such help will often be perceived by the social group as

a form of colonial influence (and unfortunately, I suspect that

it often is).

<div align="center">***</div>

Let us now return to my initial point that resistance is at

the source of culture. I have shown that a social group must

reinforce its culture by resisting any potential colonizer it

might encounter if it is to survive as an independent identity.

In resistance, which is synonymous with the struggle to climb the

hegemonic ladder, culture becomes the social group's binding

force with which every individual consents to cooperate. Fanon

also believed this to be true:

> La mobilisation des masses, quand elle se réalise à
> l'occasion de la guerre de libération, introduit dans
> chaque conscience la notion de cause commune, de destin
> national, d'histoire collective. (Fanon 70)

Amilcar Cabral also writes along the same lines:

> The value of culture as an element of resistance to
> foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the
> rigorous manifestation on the ideological or idealist
> plane of the physical and historical reality of the
> society that is dominated or to be dominated. (Cabral
> 54)

Cabral's passage corresponds almost perfectly to my views on
culture and resistance. When threatened, a social group will
cling to, and even reinvent, the very culture that the oppressor
wants to eliminate through assimilation.

Only when it is in danger of assimilation (a cultural
equivalent to extinction) will a social group rediscover and
appreciate its culture to its true value. As Sartre writes in his
preface to *Les Damnés de la terre*, "la vraie culture c'est la
Révolution; cela veut dire qu'elle se forge à chaud" (Sartre 12).
In other words, it is in resistance that we create and recreate
culture, resistance is a social group's means of survival,
resistance defines a social group's existence.

<div align="center">★★★</div>

If culture is created or at least reinforced by resistance, then a social group's culture will express itself in response to its resistance. Those cultures that are most obviously threatened will produce the most aggressive resistance. Stephen Slemon, a post-colonial scholar, suggests that

> the most important forms of resistance to any form of
> social power will be produced from within the
> communities that are most immediately and visibly
> subordinated by that power structure. (Slemon 106)

The highest levels of resistance will be produced by the Third and Fourth World. Next will be from the Second World and the most dubious form of resistance (which is actually a justification of colonialism) is from the First World. The literature and propaganda produced by the Third and Fourth World will be seen as a potential threat to the hegemony of the First World and often by their acolytes of the Second World. Hence, Third and Fourth World critical theory will often be censored by the colonial establishment.

Literature plays an important role in a culture's resistance. It often tries to represent the voice of the people. Thus I believe that the more a culture produces a resistant literature, the more threatened (subordinated) the culture will feel or see itself. Literature of resistance, as I see it, is another way of describing post-colonial literature. As Slemon puts it: "The "post" in post-colonialism is inherently a

responsive term; it implicitly names a promise that (neo) colonial violence genuinely is being responded to within at least one field of academic enterprise" (Slemon 275). Post-colonial theory studies the literature of resistance coming out of the Fourth, Third and even Second World. Post-colonial studies will single out moments of resistance within a social group's cultural outlet. By doing so, we can not only determine where the social group ranks itself on the hegemonic pyramid but also how it will try to go beyond its domination and move up the ranks. As Diana Brydon, another post-colonial scholar, writes:

> Postcolonialism is neither a thing nor an essentialized state; rather, it is a complex of processes designed to circumvent imperial and colonial habits of mind.
>
> (Brydon 11)

I believe, as unfortunate as it may be, that it is impossible to *circumvent imperial and colonial habits of mind*. A social group will usually have to become imperial and colonial in turn if it wants to stop being a colonized victim. Post-colonial cultural resistance allows a social group to escape its colonial subordination to the hegemonic centre. Therefore, post-colonial literature, or literature of resistance, not only shows a culture how to evolve and progress but it is also a reflection of its social status. In other words, a social group's resistance corresponds to the intensity of its (colonial) oppression.

The next step in my study will be to examine how social groups resist whether they be First, Second, Third or Fourth World. In this previous section, I have put forward the hypothesis that a social group is formed and its culture developed by resistance to others. Thus even First World social groups must also perceive themselves as resisting in their own way (meaning that what they see as resistance will be seen as oppression to others). The next four sections will attempt to outline the different types of cultural resistance we might encounter.

1.2 FIRST WORLD RESISTANCE: JUSTIFYING COLONIALISM

Stating that colonialism is an act of resistance from the First World is controversial at best. However, as mentioned in the previous section, culture derives from a social group's resistance (passive and active) to others or to its (natural) environment. Thus, if such a hypothesis is correct, then even First World social groups must resist in order to protect their interests and their cultures. But what does such a social group, that has already been so successful in its resistance that it has risen in the ranks of power to become the most imposing and dominant social group, have to resist against? Who or what can it possibly resist if it already dominates and often oppresses its neighbours? This second section will demonstrate how social groups have attained First World status and what they do to resist afterwards.

When a social group accumulates enough power to be considered First World, it runs into several important problems. One would think that reaching the top of the hegemonic pyramid would be the final step in a social group's striving for survival

in the competition for life and the struggle for existence. However, reaching the top means that the next natural step is to eventually tumble back down the hill again.

As I see it, a social group will be created or maintained in resistance to a certain threat (which creates a common interest between its individuals), and culture is a reflection of that resistance. The more the resistance is successful the more power the social group obtains. Social groups will feel that having more power is the most certain way of securing and enforcing their independent culture and identity. This is the basic motivation behind a social group's desire to become First World. However, the more power and security a social group has, the more the threat to its survival will become abstract. Thus the social group's bond (its communal resistance) will begin to waver. Feeling less threatened, the individuals of the social group will start to forget the reasons for which they originally formed the social group and participated in its culture. Thus, the social group will start to dissipate and re-divide itself into smaller factions, there being less of a need for unity. Consequently, the fragmented social group will become weak and will eventually be surpassed by another more cohesive rival. I believe that this phenomenon is a result of what we commonly call *decadence*. A social group that has reached First World status will have a culture marked either by its quest for a resistance that will strengthen the very fabric of its unity, or by the observation of

its own decadence.

The most obvious First World social group today is the United States. Ever since the end of the Cold War, the United States has been showing the symptoms of what I have described above. The Cold War was essentially a battle for global hegemony between two important social groups: the United States and the Soviet Union. Every other social group in the world rallied along side of either super power. Thus both super powers where *duking* it out at the top of the hegemonic pyramid. They where both First World, and their acts of resistance where aimed at one another. The Americans with their allies would resist the possibility of domination by the Soviet Empire over the World. And the Soviets would resist American and capitalist oppression.

Both of the super powers' resistances were manifested as colonialism. The Vietnam War was a perfect example of resistance as colonialism for the United States as was Afghanistan for the Soviet Union. I will not go into any kind of detail concerning these two wars, but I will demonstrate how the Vietnam War exemplified First World resistance. The United States wanted to justify the encompassing of Vietnam into their sphere of influence (i.e. colonialism) as an act of resistance against Soviet/Communist influence. It was clear that those who supported American presence in Vietnam, saw it as an act of resistance to the threat of Soviet domination. However, as is common in First

World social groups, most of the American population ceased to
support their country's involvement in Vietnam. As I see it, a
large portion of the American people (the individuals and the
smaller social groups that formed the United States) did not feel
that a Communist Vietnam represented enough of a threat to their
cultural survival. Thus American presence in Vietnam was seen as
an act of unjustified colonialism (not resistance after all) not
only by most Vietnamese, but also by many Americans. I believe
that the United States lost the Vietnam War because it was not
perceived as an act of resistance by enough Americans. Most
Americans saw it as a waste of time or as an act of shear
oppression.

It is important to note that colonialism is always seen as
an act of oppression by those who are colonized. However, a
social group will always justify its colonial expansion if it
sees it as an act of cultural resistance. As Boehmer writes:"If
colonization was a struggle for supremacy, not only of white
against black, but between European nations, the scramble for
territory took on the aspect of a conflict between competing
virilities" (Boehmer 86). European social groups justified their
colonialism up until this century as an act of resistance against
other colonizing social groups. Most Europeans, at the time,
believed (for whatever reasons) that colonizing the Americas,
Africa and Asia was necessary to their cultural survival: if they
did not colonize a certain territory along with its native social

groups, then it would be colonized by their adversaries (giving them an advantage in resources and manpower). An example of this would be how the French colonized parts of North America in order to slow down English expansionism. Also, British colonialism in the Americas became even more necessary as a form of resistance to Napoleon's *Continental Blockade.* It would be a mistake to believe that colonialism is motivated by wealth only or by a Christian mission to educate and save the souls of the *uncivilized savages* of the world. Acquiring wealth through colonialism is a risky business that always needed to be justified as a necessary act of resistance. Ruskin announced in his Inaugural Lecture at the University of Oxford in 1870 that it was necessary to "Reign or die" (qtd. Boehmer 33). Re-educating the colonized was a bonus in that it gave colonialism the support of the clergy (which was very influential at the time) and it helped in the subordination of the colonized masses.

Now, let us return to our brief case study of American hegemony. As we know, the Cold War ended with the total breakdown of the Soviet Empire. During the Cold War, a great deal of American literature and popular culture derived from America's difference and resistance to Soviet/Communist ideals. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has been left alone at the top of the hegemonic pyramid. Americans today are having a hard time justifying their global supremacy, not having a clearly defined reason to resist anything. Therefore, the large part of

their literature and popular culture (cinema, television and other forms of media and publicity) that was devoted to their resistance to the Soviet Union (or as Ronald Reagan put it *the Evil Empire*) is now seeking a target that can create not only a sense of resistance for the American people (and consequently a sense of unity), but also a justification to other social groups of their hegemony.

Finding something to resist has proven to be a difficult task for American culture. In a sense, the downfall of the Soviet Empire has done more damage to American culture than its thriving. Interestingly, the most effective replacement American culture has found for the Soviet threat is the menace of possible extra-terrestrial encounters or invasions. Every year since the end of the Cold War, literature and popular culture having Aliens as a main theme have increased considerably in the United States. The 1996 summer movie *Independence Day* is an excellent example of this. The movie depicts a situation in which the planet is invaded and colonized by aliens. In the movie, the world waits patiently until the United States develop a strategy to defeat the invaders. It is only thanks to the American initiative that the planet can effectively resist its colonizer. The final battle is of course won on America's national holiday: Independence Day. Here is a passage from the movie, in which the American president speaks to his people:

We can't be consumed by our petty differences anymore.

We will be united in our common interest. Perhaps it is
fate that today is the fourth of July, and you will
once again be fighting for our freedom. Not from
tyranny, oppression or persecution, but from
annihilation. We are fighting for our right to live, to
exist. And should we win the day, the fourth of July
will no longer be known as an American holiday but as
the day when the world declared in one voice, we will
not go quietly into the night, we will not vanish
without a fight, we are going to live on, we are going
to survive. Today we celebrate our Independence Day.

(*Independence Day*, 1996)

In essence, the movie suggests that it is alright for the world
to be subordinated to the United States' domination; it justifies
it by showing us how American interests coincide with those of
the world. In other words, the threat of such an invasion gives
the American subconscious the resistance it needs to retain its
unity of purpose (to a certain degree at least) and its position
in the ranks of power. If there is no real threat left, then it
is necessary to invent a threat important enough to resist. Or at
least, it is important to convince the members of the social
group that there is a possible threat which necessitates its
resistance, and consequently its cohesion.

It is true, however, that the possibility of an extra-
terrestrial threat (in whatever form it may take) is about the

only thing that can unite the social groups of the world. This is, I believe, one of the reasons why the United States is beefing up its space program in view of exploring Mars and outer space. Other global threats such as the destruction of the Rain Forest, the depletion of the Ozone Layer, or Nuclear Armageddon have not yet succeded in unifying the social groups of the world.

Although the threat of an invasion from outer space is dubious, it does create a resistance that can justify American colonialism until a more real threat comes into play. I believe that such a threat might eventually come from China. The United States is currently anticipating such a threat and I believe that it is a matter of time before it permeates its popular culture and literature. Thus American literature will once again have a real threat to resist against. A new threat that will allow the American population to believe that colonialism is necessary not only to fill its pockets, but also to save the world from a corrupt influence.

To sum up, a First World social group must see itself as resistant if it is to remain powerful. Furthermore, it must convince its acolytes and subordinates that it is in their best interest to be dominated. They should accept the First World's colonialism as an act of resistance against a common threat. Thus a First World social group's colonialism will be seen by it as a form of resistance. We can locate a First World social group's

resistance by studying its literature and popular culture. This section has demonstrated (as briefly as possible) how the First World resists through colonialism. Let us now move on to our next section in which we will examine Second World resistance.

1.3 SECOND WORLD RESISTANCE: COUNTER-DISCOURSE

The Second World is seen as somewhat of a paradox by many post-colonial scholars and social critics. In the previous section, I tried to show how the First World resists by colonizing others. It is clear that post-colonial theory cannot include the First World in its area of study because colonialism is the phenomenon that it seeks to counter. But can we consider Second World resistance as a form of post-colonialism? Trying to find an answer to this question has created a great deal of debate in the field during the past decade. In this section I will attempt to answer the question by first defining the Second World and its resistance. I will then put foward the views that certain theorists have which prevent them from interpreting Second World resistance as post-colonial resistance. And finally, I will expose my viewpoint on the subject.

Second World social groups are in an interesting position; they end up being both colonizers and colonized. They are as Alan Lawson, an Australian post-colonial theorist, puts it "White Invader/Settler" social groups. Second World social groups were

originally European settlers. The European colonies became

Dominions and have now almost full autonomy and independence.

However, the cultural bond with the mother land in Second World

social groups is still very strong and they have a difficult time

breaking away from its influence. Nonetheless, the Second World's

close relationship with the First World (colonizers) allows it to

benefit a great deal from the submission of the Third and Fourth

World. As Lawson writes: "Settler post-imperial cultures are

suspended between "mother" and "other", simultaneously colonized

and colonizing" (Lawson 25). In other words, although the Second

World is colonized by the First World it also colonizes other

social groups. Therefore, we can place the second World about

half way down the hegemonic pyramid described in the first

section, or somewhere between the centre and the periphery (it is

often refered to as the *semi-periphery*). We can also build a

parallel between the post-colonial division of social groups

(First, Second, Third and Fourth World) with the division that we

make in economics (Upper, Middle and Lower class). Memmi has

already worked with this comparison:

> Nous avons comparé l'oppression et la lutte coloniale à
>
> l'oppression et la lutte des classes. Le rapport
>
> colonisateur-colonisé, de peuple à peuple, au sein des
>
> nations, peut rappeler en effet le rapport bourgeois-
>
> prolétariat, au sein d'une nation. (Memmi 95)

If we compare the First World to the Upper class and the Third

and Fourth World to the lower class, we can then compare the

Second World to the middle class.

Like the middle class, the Second World will often work with the Third and Fourth World to keep it subordinate to its will as well as to that of the First World. For the Second World can profit along with the First World from the colonization of the Third and Fourth World. Fanon's writings help us make the comparison between the Second World and the middle class:

> La bourgeoisie nationale des pays sous-développés n'est
>
> pas orientée vers la production, l'invention, la
>
> construction, le travail. Elle est toute entière
>
> canalisée vers des activités de type intermédiaire
>
> [semi-periphery]. (Fanon 114)

Fanon believes that the middle class or *bourgeoisie* will work as a buffer zone, consoling the oppressed working masses while serving the interests of the upper class (and ultimately their own). I believe that the relationship between the First through Fourth Worlds are often identical to the relationships between the upper, middle and lower classes.

Although the Second World does help the First World colonize, it too is influenced by the Third and Fourth World. It understands and feels the negative impact of First World colonialism. As Lawson writes:

> My suggestion is to recognize the Second World of the
>
> settler as a place caught between two First Worlds, two

origins of authority: the originating world of Europe,

the imperium, as source of the Second World's principal

cultural authority; and that other First World, that of

the First Nations, whose authority the settlers not

only effaced and replaced but also desired. (Lawson 29)

Lawson demonstrates how the Second World might serve the

interests of the First World but also resists its influence to a

certain degree, having too close a contact with the colonized.

Thus White Settler/invader social groups can be seen as stuck in

the middle of two influences. It is truly in the Second World

that social groups sense the cultural dichotomy of the colonizer

and the colonized.

Although White settlers have traditionally formed the Second

World, settler groups do not have to stay Second World. For

instance, the reason the United States is not a Second World

social group is because it revolted successfully against English

Imperialism. Its independence was fought for, it was not a gift.

Thus the United States was able to surpass its former mother

land, no longer seeing itself as its offspring but rather as an

equal. American revolutionaries felt that they no longer shared

enough cultural traits or interests with England to remain

associated with it. To be considered Second World, a social group

must have a cultural link with a more dominant social group which

prevents it from becoming a true rival to it (in other words, it

must see itself as being colonized).

***

The fact that Second World social groups both colonize and are colonized makes it hard for many theorists to study them as post-colonial. Social groups such as Canada, Australia, New-Zealand or South Africa (White Settler nations) have always had a weak position in the post-colonial debate. Diana Brydon, a Canadian critic who has written on the subject, shows us how many post-colonial theorists see the Second World: "the authentic colony is implicitly defined as poor, nonwhite and resistant, and the inauthentic as rich, white, and complicit" (Brydon 11). I believe, as does Brydon, that even the Second World resists. If it does not resist at a certain level, nothing would stop it from assimilating to the First World. If Second World social groups do not resist, then there would be no reason to define them as *Second* World at all; we would just study them as we do the First World. The term Second World is, however, well accepted and documented. And although many theorists feel that Second World resistance is not significant enough to be considered post-colonial, I would argue that it does show enough resistance to colonialism to be at least evaluated in post-colonial terms. Brydon also writes along the same lines:

> To argue that postcolonialism must always be "subversive" and limited to adopting a "position of resistance to the metropolis" [the centre] (Bennett 198,199) is, however, to oversimplify potentially more complex relations. (Brydon 10)

I would agree with Brydon in this last passage, however I would

push the argument further by stating that the Second World does indeed resist the centre, even though its resistance is expressed differently than that of the Third and Fourth World. Second World resistance may not be subversive, but it is resistance nonetheless. As I have already explained in my first section, Second World social groups must also resist if they wish to retain their independent culture and identity. Their culture and identity is formed by and will grow from their resistance to others. The tricky part in studying Second World resistance is knowing when it is directed against the First World (i.e. post-colonial), or directed against the Third and Fourth World (i.e. colonial).

Alan Lawson also demonstrates why it is important to include Second World resistance within the ambit of post-colonial theory:

> In explicitly or implicitly enacting this exclusion [of
> Second World resistance from post-colonial studies],
> they [certain theorists] have bracketed off from
> examination the very place where the process of
> colonial power as negotiation, as transaction of power,
> are most visible. (Lawson 22)

Here, Lawson argues that Second World resistance is particularly interesting to post-colonial theory in that it is within its resistance that we see how the First World will dominate and how the Third or Fourth World will try to resist its domination. Showing the symptoms of both oppressor and oppressed, the Second

World is a perfect place to locate the tensions between the two.
Existing as an intermediary, the Second World's resistance is
defined by the clash between the colonizer and the colonized
(Slemon "Unsettling").

An important point to remember is that Second World social
groups are colonized (at least in part). And it is their
resistance and struggle for survival that makes them a worthwhile
subject for post-colonial theory. As Brydon writes,

> The truth is that Canadian culture [along with other
>
> Second World social groups], despite its similarity in
>
> many ways to British and American cultures, does
>
> display many of the signs of a dominated culture.
>
> (Brydon 13)

The fact that Second World social groups also colonize only means
that their role in post-colonial theory is unique.

***

The expression of resistance in Second World social groups
is special in that it is never terribly aggressive. It is because
of its passivity, that many post-colonial theorists have excluded
Second World resistance from the post-colonial sphere. Second
World resistance is passive because it is an intermediary between
the colonizer and the colonized. Second World social groups must
resist the First World in order to survive independently, however

they must not resist too much or else they risk losing the
advantages they gain from their close relationship with the
colonizer. As Elleke Boehmer writes:

> Bilingual and bicultural, having Janus-like access to
> both metropolitan [centre] and local [periphery]
> cultures, yet alienated from both, the elites who
> sought to challenge aspects of imperial rule also found
> they might gain advantages from making compromises with
> it. (Boehmer 115)

This passage helps us understand how the Second World, like the
middle class (bourgeois), is often complicit with its oppressor.
Second World resistance is passive because it is afraid that if
it is too aggressive and threatens the First World, it might then
lose some of the power it shares with it. After all, it is always
better to have a stronger ally rather than a stronger enemy, even
if the ally is domineering and oppressive. In other words, the
First World will give the Second World enough advantages to keep
it passive, it consequently will have too much to lose in being
actively resistant. Fanon also writes along the same lines:
"C'est l'opposition entre le colonisé exclu des avantages du
colonialisme et celui qui s'arrange pour tirer parti de
l'exploitation coloniale" (Fanon 86). Although Fanon was writing
once again on the issue of *Bourgeois* versus the *Proletariat*, the
passage is also relevant to the Second World. Theorists such as
Fanon feel that the Second World will sell out the truly
oppressed in order to gain certain benefits from the hegemonic centre.

If resistance is at the source of culture, then Second World resistance, being passive, will not be very effective in helping a social group reinforce its culture. As Stephen Slemon explains:

> This internalization of the object of resistance in Second World literatures, this internalization of the self/Other binary of colonialist relations, explains why it is that it has always been Second World literary writing rather than Second World critical writing which has occupied the vanguard of a Second World post-colonial literary or critical theory. (Slemon "Unsettling" 110)

The Second World is not always capable of knowing when and how to resist its colonizer(s). This is why resistance in the Second World is felt in its literature rather than its critical theory. Critical theory is too direct, and it is all too conscious of the oppression within the society it studies. Critical theory is the most actively resistant form of literature. Other forms of literature will tend to be a little softer or subtle in their critique of society, therefore they correspond more adequatly to the Second World. A social group that resists only through literature (prose and poetry) rather than critical theory will only be partly conscious of its oppression. Resistant critical theory does not relate to most individuals in a Second World social group because they themselves are not entirely aware of their oppression. The benefits they receive from the centre allow them to live comfortably. Their culture does not seem as

threatened as that of Third or Fourth World. Consequently, they do not feel that it is necessary to resist aggressively or actively. However, there are moments when a Second World social group realises that it might be in greater danger of assimilation (extinction) than it had originally thought. It will then produce a literature that expresses doubt and suspects cultural domination where it might not have seen it before. This type of literature, which expresses a passive resistance, is commonly called "Counter-Discourse". Helen Tiffin confirms this when she writes that counter-discourse does "not seek to subvert the dominant with a view to taking its place" (Tiffin 96).

The duality in Second World resistance that I have been describing up to here is what prevents Second World social groups from truly subverting their colonizer(s). I believe that there is room in post-colonial theory to study Second World resistance; however, I also believe that Second World resistance, or counter-discourse, is too passive to efficiently help its social group climb the ranks of power. Lawson writes that the "settler subject is signed, then, in a language of authority and in a language of resistance" (Lawson 26). This dichotomy prevents the Second World (or settler subject) from seriously resisting its real oppressor. Its culture is not sufficiently threatened to justify an efficient resistance. When a social group is in the Second World, its drive towards hegemony is slowed down considerably. It gets stuck in an *in between* state where it no longer knows whether or

not it is colonizer or colonized. Fanon believed that

"l'agitation politique dans les villes sera toujours impuissante

à modifier, à bouleverser le régime colonial" (Fanon 96).

Although the Second World is colonized in part, it still belongs

in the upper half of the hegemonic pyramid. Second World social

groups have been, since the beginning of their existence, more

powerful than most. They may serve as an intermediary between the

colonized and the colonizer (as the middle class does between the

upper and lower classes), but Second World social groups are

still amongst those who have enough power to ensure their

cultural survival. Thus counter-discourse may be resistant enough

to prevent a Second World social group from assimilating to its

colonizer, but it will always be impotent in the attempt to make

any real changes in power. If the Second World wants to truly

counter and surpass its colonizers, it will have to become active

and risk losing the power it might already have (by alienating

their colonizing allies and rivalling them).

Counter-discourse has one main objective: asserting

difference and creating a passive resistance which questions and

investigates the possibility that the social group is colonized.

As Boehmer writes:

> The Black colonized in particular called attention to
>
> the coherence and validity of their own cultural ways;
>
> the descendants of settlers concentrated on their
>
> experiential differences from Europe. (Boehmer 186)

Counter-discourse allows the social group to see where it is

losing its cohesion. It exposes the social groups' uniqueness and

difference to the First World. The individuals of the social

group will consequently cling together in their difference to a

more dominant other.

Stephen Slemon shows us how Second World counter-discourse

can not only be too passive to be considered post-colonial but

also why counter-discourse is a less effective means of

resistance:

> The Second World of writing within the ambit of
>
> colonialism is in danger of disappearing: because it is
>
> not sufficiently pure in its anti-colonialism [...]
>
> because its modalities of post-coloniality are too
>
> ambivalent, too occasional and uncommon, for inclusion
>
> within the field. (Slemon 107)

Being less threatened, Second World social groups will create a

form of resistance (counter-discourse) that is less intense, and

thus less efficient in enforcing the social group's culture and

identity. However, as I have already mentioned, Second World

resistance, albeit passive, is still an attempt to counter

colonialism; it should then be studied within the field of post-

colonialism. I believe that counter-discourse as a means of

resistance can only work for Second World social groups, and it

should be seen as an example to avoid if a social group desires

to gain power (rather than merely retaining the power it already

has).

Our next two sections will take a look at Third and Fourth
World resistance. I believe that the main difference between
First and Second World resistance and Third and Fourth World
resistance is that latter two see themselves as being far more
colonized rather than colonizers. Thus their resistance to the
First and Second World ends up being much more active. In order
to survive, they must attack their colonizers as well as those
who support them (i.e. the Second World). The First World forbids
such an active resistance whereas the Second World discourages
it. The Second World will see its counter-discourse as
resistance, but the Third and Fourth World will see the Second
World, because of its passivity, as acolytes to the First World
colonizers. As Sartre writes:

> Si le régime tout entier et jusqu'à nos non-violentes
> pensées sont conditionnées par une oppression
> millénaire, notre passivité ne sert qu'à nous ranger du
> côté des oppresseurs. (Sartre 22)

and furthermore, as Fanon suggests:

> Nous sommes tous en train de nous salir les mains dans
> les marais de notre sol et le vide effroyable de nos
> cerveaux. Tout spectateur [of the Second World] est un
> lâche ou un traître. (Fanon 148)

To sum up what we have seen up to this point, the First World
will use resistance as an excuse to colonize and dominate others,

the Second World will participate in the First World's colonialism but will also resist its influence through counter-discourse. We will now see how the truly colonized social groups are more active in their resistance.

1.4 THIRD WORLD RESISTANCE: REVOLUTION

Certain social groups of the world will feel that they are so dominated by others that they do not even have the power of command over their own fate. This lack of control threatens to destroy the social group's independent identity and culture. The Third World is comprised of those social groups that have a recognized control over a limited territory with frontiers (their home land), but whose control over culture is nonetheless vulnerable to outside influence. Colonialism or neo-colonialism, as I see it, is most effective when it dominates another social group (via its culture) without it truly knowing it until it is too late. Colonial presence does not necessarily have to be a military presence. The First World will have no need for a physical control over a foreign land as long as it can still control the resources and wealth produced by that land and its people. By controlling a Third World social group's culture through colonial assimilation, the First World will ensure the social group's submission to its interests. By neglecting its own interests, the social group will feel alienated. This section will first explain how many post-colonial theorists perceive the

effects of colonialism on the Third World. We will then demonstrate how the same theorists believe that revolution, or active resistance, is the only solution to colonial alienation and assimilation. Certain theorists will even see violence as a healthy recourse against colonialism (i.e. Fanon). And finally, we will take a look at what kind of literature is typically produced by a Third World social group.

The purpose of colonialism is to bend the will of a people (a social group) to the will of the colonizer. Colonialism alienates by inciting a social group to forget that they are unique and different. In other words, the colonizer will want to convince the colonized that they have identical interests. By doing so, the colonizer will create a situation where the colonized will forget their own special interests in order to serve its own. I believe that a social group's interests are mainly founded on their cultural resistance, on their need to survive independently. The best way of eliminating cultural resistance is to eliminate cultural difference. If the colonized social group is duped into feeling that its interests are compatible with those of its colonizer, it will easily forget its own cultural specificity. It will want to integrate itself into the colonizing social group, and consequently lose its own identity. As Albert Memmi points out: "Le colonisé semble condamné à perdre progressivement la mémoire" (Memmi 122). The colonizer's influence forces the colonized to forget the cultural

traits (originating from one form of resistance or another) which
contribute to the cohesion of its social group (common interest).
Forgetting its own interests, the colonized social group adopts
the interests of the colonizer; the colonized social group will
then cease to exist independently from the colonizer. This is
what we call assimilation. Memmi writes that assimilation is the
main objective of colonialism: "Tant qu'il supporte la
colonisation, la seule alternative possible pour le colonisé est
l'assimilation ou la pétrification" (Memmi 122). Having forgotten
its own cultural identity, the colonized members of a social
group will assimilate themselves to the colonizer's interests or
else they will have no *raison d'être* at all. Therefore, the
colonized social group must either assimilate itself to the
colonizer or defend its separate cultural identity (and its own
interests) by resisting the colonizer's influence.

When feeling that a subordinated social group is attempting
to revive its alienated culture in order to resist once again,
the colonizing social group will use several strategies to retain
its hegemony. It will first attempt to convince the colonized
social group that it will suffer if it separates itself from its
influence. As Frantz Fanon puts it: "On sait aujourd'hui que dans
la première phase de la lutte nationale, le colonialisme essaie
de désamorcer la revendication nationale en faisant de
l'économisme" (Fanon 156). The colonizing social group will
invariably suggest that it is in the best financial interests of

the colonized to remain subordinated to the will of the colonizer. Whether this be true or not is irrelevant. I believe that a social group would rather survive than fizzle off into extinction, even if it means having a little less luxury. Third World social groups will feel that they are faced with the options of either being alive and poor or dead and rich.

Fanon writes that the colonizing social group will tell the colonized that it seeks peaceful co-existence with it, that it is through harmony that they can both learn from one another. But Fanon believes that this is just another tactic to keep the colonized under its control:

> L'amour encouragé de l'harmonie et de la sagesse, ces
>
> formes esthétiques de respect de l'ordre établi [by the
>
> establishment], créent autour de l'exploité une
>
> atmosphère de soumission et d'inhibition qui allège
>
> considérablement la tâche des forces de l'ordre. (Fanon
>
> 31)

In truth, the colonizer will always benefit more from its relationship with the colonized. The idea of a harmonious relationship is just another means by which the colonizer will dupe the colonized into submission. I believe that the most peaceful relationship that can exist between two social groups, where the two manage not to assimilate or exploit one another completely, is a relationship of passive resistance. But a social group can only be passively resistant when it feels that it is in

control, when it does not sense that it is alienated.

Another tactic that the colonizer will use to keep the colonized social group in place is to turn its members against one another. Thus the colonized will be more preoccupied by themselves and their own treacheries than with their colonizer (their real enemy). Fanon has written a great deal on this phenomenon: "En se lançant à muscles perdus dans ses vengeances, le colonisé tente de se persuader que le colonialisme n'existe pas" (Fanon 42). Making a social group forget its cultural identity and uniqueness is, for Fanon, an act of aggression. It is an attack on the social group. It is, however, an act of aggression that is difficult to detect or locate. By making the members of the social group hate themselves because of their cultural differences to the colonizer, the violence of oppression will often be internalized. As Fanon writes: "Cette agressivité sédimentée dans ses muscles, le colonisé va la manifester d'abord contre les siens" (Fanon 40). An important step a Third World social group must take in its resistance against its colonizer, is to see that the violence and aggression its members aim towards one another is actually created by colonialism. Therefore, it is important for the colonized social group to unite once again and redirect the aggressive conflicts within the social groups towards the outside, towards the real threat. It is in their resistance to the colonizer that the Third World social group will strengthen its cultural identity.

There are, in fact, several steps a colonized social group will take to pull away from its assimilation and colonialism in general. Fanon describes these steps in this next passage:

> Dans une première phase, l'intellectuel colonisé prouve qu'il a assimilé la culture de l'occupant [...] Dans un deuxième temps le colonisé est ébranlé et décide de se souvenir [...] Enfin dans une troisième période, dite de combat, le colonisé, après avoir tenté de se perdre dans le peuple, de se perdre avec le peuple, va au contraire, secouer le peuple. (Fanon 166)

To paraphrase, the individuals of a social group will firstly assimilate themselves to their colonizer's culture, thereby forgetting their own. At this point, the social group as such no longer exists; it has lost its cohesion, its members have been taken over by the colonizer. However, always being seen as outsiders by the colonizing culture, the colonized will notice that they are different and they will begin to rediscover their original cultural identity. They see that they are colonized, and they will consequently seek out the culture they have lost to assimilation. And the final step will be to encourage the other members of their social group also to realize that they are colonized so that they too can resist the colonizer's influence. Only then, when it is in resistance, will the social group survive. Third World resistance will typically manifest itself in the form of revolution.

***

In order to break away from the colonizing influence of the First World (which is often supported by the Second World), the Third World will feel that it must go through a revolution of some kind. If the cultural, social and economic policies of a social group led it to being colonized and assimilated, then the members of the social group that wish to resist (and survive) as a social group must revolt against foreign influence and those who collaborate with it. I believe, as do many anti-colonial and post-colonial theorists, that revolution is necessary not only to resist colonialism but also to allow the Third World social group in question to reclaim the pride and self-confidence it had lost during its colonization. Memmi writes: "Pour voir la guérison complète du colonisé, il faut que cesse totalement son aliénation: il faut attendre la disparition complète de la colonisation, c'est-à-dire période de révolte comprise" (Memmi 155). Revolution, as Memmi sees it, is a form of therapy for the Third World. Revolution represents a moment when the Third World social group finally locates, and is united in its resistance to, its true enemy: colonialism.

I believe that passive resistance will be ineffective for the social groups that consider themselves Third World. The damage Third World cultures have sustained from colonialism is too great to be countered by passive resistance. As I have mentioned in the previous section, only Second World resistance can be passive and effective at the same time. Third World

resistance must be more aggressive, it must be revolutionary. Memmi also believed this to be true: "Mais la révolte est la seule issue à la situation coloniale, qui ne soit pas un trompe-oeil, et le colonisé le découvre tôt ou tard" (Memmi 143). Memmi feels that any other form of resistance in the Third World has been tainted by the colonizer. Knowing that revolution will be the only efficient way of resisting for the Third World, the colonizer will often prevent revolution from happening, or at least influence it enough to make it passive (a token revolution that is fairly non-threatening). Unless its resistance is active, Third World social groups will always feel dominated by their colonizer in one way or another, and they will still feel alienated from their culture.

Fanon also felt that revolution was the only kind of resistance active enough to save Third World social groups and their cultures. "Le problème est clair : il faut que les étrangers partent. Constituons un front commun contre l'oppresseur et renforçons ce front par la lutte armée" (Fanon 99). Revolution is the only act that can truly answer the needs of every member of a Third World social group, it is the only act that can truly unite the social group. But must the revolution be violent?

Many theorists believe that colonialism, even when it is subtle (like neo-colonialism), is an act of violence against the

colonized. When a social group is colonized, its members will
feel alienated and will turn on one another. Even if the violence
is internalized, it still originates from colonialism. Thus, the
only way to truly counter the violence created by colonialism, is
to redirect the violence towards the colonizer. Theorists such as
Fanon have suggested that a violent revolution is the only true
reification that will help the colonized deal with their
alienation. As Fanon writes, "la décolonisation est toujours un
phénomène violent" (Fanon 29), or "au niveau des individus, la
violence désintoxique. Elle débarrasse le colonisé de son
complexe d'infériorité" (Fanon 70). The colonized must not only
reject the colonizer's influence, they must also work off their
accumulated aggression and frustrations. Only through a violent,
revolutionary resistance, when the colonizers are seemingly
pushed back and punished for their oppression, will a colonized
social group see itself as worthy of power and survival.

If the Third World must resort to active resistance to
survive, then violence represents the most active form of
resistance accessible to it. As Fanon points out: "Pour le
colonisé, cette violence represente la praxis absolue" (Fanon
63). Revolutionary violence is, for the colonized, the most *post-*
colonial of all possible actions. I believe that a social group
will resist with an intensity that matches the effects of the
colonialism it was put through. The more a social group is
alienated and oppressed, the more violently it will resist. The

more the social group is threatened, the more it will be
aggressive and united in its resistance. The Third World will
consequently be more active than the Second World in its
resistance to colonialism.

<center>***</center>

When a Third World social group resists, when it enters its
revolutionary phase, its culture and literature expose and
encourage the struggle. The colonizer will want to dominate a
social group's culture. If resistance is mirrored and expressed
through culture, then controlling culture is an important step in
the domination of a social group. Amilcar Cabral writes:

> History teaches us that, in certain circumstances, it
> is very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination
> on a people. But it also teaches us that, whatever may
> be the material aspects of this domination, it can be
> maintained only by the permanent, organized repression
> of the cultural life of the people concerned. (Cabral
> 53)

Culture is an important tool in the resistance to the colonizer.
Culture and more specifically literature (especially critical
theory) can mobilise a social group and incite it to resist. It
is therefore in the colonizer's best interest to repress and
suppress the colonized social group's culture and censor its
resistant/revolutionary literature.

Those members of a colonized social group who want their social group to resist the colonizer must have a strong grasp of their social group's culture. Ironically, a colonized social group knows what elements of it culture its must protect and promote because these are the same elements that are threatened by the colonizer. Cabral explains that revolutionary resistance has to be upheld and even justified as an act of cultural survival: "Those who lead the movement [of national liberation] must have a clear idea of the value of the culture in framework of the struggle and must have a thorough knowledge of the people's culture" (Cabral 56). The leaders of a liberation movement must make the other individuals of their social group remember their culture, the traits that unite them, that make them different from the colonizer.

A successful revolutionary struggle or resistance will have a combative literature that will reflect and encourage its social group's resistance. Elleke Boehmer writes on this subject:

It was at this time [the 1960's] that activists began to insist vehemently on the linkage between political and cultural resistance. National literature became increasingly more combative, cause-led, and, often unashamedly polemical. (Boehmer 189)

We know a social group to be truly colonized when its literature is resistant to the point of being combative. Such a combative literature could not be created or tolerated by a social group

And most importantly, combative literature shows the social group how to resist, how to redirect the violence that was inflicted upon it towards the real enemy (i.e. the colonizer).

***

The Third World will want to expel foreign influence from its cultural domain. If it ever succeeds in doing so, then it will be able to take control over its own fate and begin to rival its former colonizers. It can then become Second and then First World, just like an individual can rise out of the lower class to become a middle and even upper class citizen. However, as in the capitalist system, there are many obstacles and constraint which prevent an individual from climbing up the economic hierarchical latter just as there are constraints and obstacles preventing a social group from rising in the hegemonic pyramid. The next section will examine the social groups that are as threatened as the Third World but do not have their own land. These *Fourth World* social group are just as colonized, but their resistance will be different in that they will need to resist the colonizer's presence, not only on the cultural level, but also on the physical.

will be able to take control over its own fate and begin to rival its former colonizers. It can then become Second and then First World, just like an individual can rise out of the lower class to become a middle and even upper class citizen. However, as in the capitalist system, there are many obstacles and constraints which prevent an individual from climbing up the economic hierarchical ladder just as there are constraints and obstacles preventing a social group from rising in the hegemonic pyramid. The next section will examine the social groups that are as threatened as the Third World but do not have their own land. These *Fourth World* social groups are just as colonized, but their resistance will be different in that they will need to resist the colonizer's presence, not only on the cultural level, but also on the physical.

1.5 FOURTH WORLD RESISTANCE: SOVEREIGNTY

The Fourth World, like the Third World, is comprised of
social groups that consider themselves seriously oppressed and
threatened by colonial/assimilative pressures. The primary
difference between Third and Fourth World social groups is that
Fourth World social groups were conquered at some point in their
history and they still do not have complete control over their
territorial and (consequently) cultural domain. The Third World
must repel foreign cultural influence; the Fourth World must do
the same, but it also has a foreign physical presence to contend
with. Post-colonial theory has basically taken what Fanon and
Memmi defined as *the colonized* and split it into the Third and
Fourth World.

The Fourth World was first defined as a separate struggle
from the Third World by the theorists of social groups such as
the First Nations peoples of North America or the Aborigines of
Australia. The term First Nation describes the Fourth World
situation quite well: it signifies the social groups that were
first on a land that was later taken away from them. Without

complete autonomy and sovereignty over their own land, Fourth World social groups feel that their cultural identity will be threatened. As Mudrooroo, an Australian (Aborigine) post-colonial theorist writes, "Australian Aboriginal literature is a literature of the Fourth World, that is, of the indigenous minorities submerged in a surrounding majority and governed by them" (Mudrooroo 231). A Fourth World social group may be recognized as a separate social group by the colonizing other, however it is not given the freedom and autonomy it will need to preserve its culture (to avoid alienation). Margery Fee, another post-colonial theorist, concurs with Mudrooroo's views on the Fourth World when she writes: "To be classified as 'Fourth World' writing must somehow promote indigenous access to power without negating indigenous differences" (Fee 245). A social group that sees itself as Fourth World will produce a literature and other cultural traits that will push for the social group's repossession and sovereignty over their land.

Not having clearly defined frontiers to create the illusion of independence, Fourth World social groups feel particularly threatened by assimilation. I think Sartre said it best when he wrote: "Le colon n'a qu'un recours: la force, quand il lui en reste; l'indigène n'a qu'un choix: la servitude ou la souveraineté" (Sartre 13). Borders help a social group reinforce its cultural difference, they can help a Third World social group slow down its colonial submission. Without physical boundaries,

Fourth World social groups are stuck in a situation where they see themselves as children still living in their parents home. To pursue the rather simplistic father/child analogy, the Third World will see itself playing the role of the child living away from home, but still very much dependent on its parents (economically but also culturally -- seeking aproval). The Third and Fourth World social groups see themselves as subordinated as a child will be to its parents. First and Second World social groups will be seen as adults (First World) or young adults (Second World).

***

As we have seen, culture is created and transmitted in many different forms. A social group's language is one of the social group's most effective vehicles for its culture. Language will be developed in unique ways by a social group depending on its relationship with its environment and with others. I believe that the use of language will reflect strongly a social group's culture. The loss of language is an obvious symptom of a colonized social group, particularly a Fourth World social group. The importance of language to a social group's cultural survival has been thoroughly studied by many post-colonial theorists; Elleke Boehmer is one of these theorists:

> Fanon observed that to use a language meant 'to assume
> a culture' (Black Skin, White Masks). Therefore, to be

cut off from a mother tongue implied a damaging loss of

connection with one's culture of origin. (Boehmer 207)

A great deal of imperial/social policies had the objective of

imposing the colonizer's language on the colonized and to incite

the colonized to forget its mother tongue, and consequently its

unifying culture; for culture and language are closely linked.

Fourth World social groups are at a disadvantage in that

they are surrounded by a different culture and often a different

language (a different accent at the very least). It is therefore

far more commonplace for them to assimilate themselves to the

dominant's language and eventually forget their own. The

colonized will invariably sense that the loss of his or her

mother tongue is a form of alienation. There will always be

something preventing the colonized from truly feeling at home in

the colonizer's language. The colonized cannot identify

completely with the colonizer's language because it does not

identify with its culture. As Albert Memmi writes: "Si le

bilingue colonial a l'avantage de connaître deux langues, il n'en

maîtrise totalement aucune" (Memmi 128). Making a social group

forget its language is a first step in making it forget its

culture and assimilating its individual members. The Fourth World

is constantly confronted with this reality. Fourth World social

groups will want to reinforce their language in order to protect

their culture. The Québécois have created the *Office de la langue

française* and have made "joual" a semi-official language; the

African-American community has made *Ebonics* an official language; First Nations representatives are often defending their usage of the English language as culturally unique (Thomas King); Yeats wanted Irish culture to be expressed "in English [but] with the accent of their own country" (qtd. in Boehmer 120).

I believe that linguistic resistance is indicative of the Fourth World. The Third World has the luxury of clearly defined borders to protect cultural traits such as language. The Third World is more likely to be threatened by neo-colonialism, whereas the Fourth World is still under the direct oppressive influence of their former conquerors.

***

The splitting of the colonized into Third and Fourth Worlds is a fairly recent phenomenon. As already mentioned, it began with the attempt to differentiate Indigenous post-colonial resistance from the rest. However, the definition we have for the Fourth World can be applied to more than just indigenous social groups. Or rather, the term *indigenous* is vague enough to include many social groups. For instance, I believe that we can include certain Occidental cultures into the Fourth World. Social groups such as Québec, Northern Ireland, Scotland, the Basques, or even some Corsicans, considered themselves as belonging to a nation before they were invaded and absorbed by a foreign empire

(British, French or Spanish). These social groups will display many of the same symptoms of oppression and therefore many of the same elements of resistance as the more commonly accepted Fourth World social groups (the First Nations peoples and the Aborigines of Australia).

Linda Hutcheon, a Canadian literary and cultural theorist, is hesitant to include Western social groups such as Québec into the Fourth World:

> Quebec may align itself politically with francophone
> colonies such as Algeria, Tunisia and Haiti, but there
> is a major political and historical difference: the
> pre-colonial history of the French in Quebec was an
> imperialistic one. (Hutcheon 132)

Hutcheon is suggesting here that the social group's past prevents it from truly considering itself colonized. She is attributing an objective analysis to the study of another social group. I believe that Hutcheon is making a mistake. How she perceives Québec and its cultural resistance is irrelevant. What is relevant is how the Québécois people see themselves. I believe that the most important task for a post-colonial cultural theorist or social critic is not to prescribe or justify a social group's resistance, but rather to try to understand it in order to ameliorate our communications with it. Hutcheon's assertion leads us to believe that the pre-colonial history of the French in Québec might distinguish them from the situation in Algeria,

Tunisia or Haiti; it is with this impression that I have a problem (is Hutcheon representing -- *vertreten* or representing -- *darstellen*?).

A large portion of the people of Québec do not see themselves as a White/Settler social group. They see themselves as the *Habitants*, the farmers, workers and *Coureurs de bois* (traders) that were abandoned by the French empire after their defeat on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The word *Habitant* suggests that their allegiance was directed to the land (rather than empire) even before the British conquest. Even that the term *Habitant* might have been created after the conquest is once again irrelevant. What is relevant is how the Québécois people see themselves today, a more interesting question is: how do *they* interpret their own history?, or how and why do they feel the need to resist? I believe that such formulations lead to a more *a posteriori* (inductive or descriptive) observation of a social group and its culture. Stating that a social group should or should not resist or react in a certain way is more of an *a priori* prescription which is, I believe, a very dangerous and futile approach to post-colonial theory. I believe that objectivity is impossible in post-colonial research and any attempt in being objective will be seen as form of colonialism or neo-colonialism.

Cornel West, a cultural theorist, suggests that some Western cultures can be seen as colonized: "Fanon's strong words describe the feelings and thoughts between the occupying British Army and the colonized Irish in Northern Ireland" (West 208). West understands that even European-based social groups can resist in the same way as colonized social groups in Africa (for instance). Consequently, these European-based social groups also consider themselves colonized and their resistance should be respected as such.

The Scots also produce a form of literary resistance that should be seen as more resistant than mere counter-discourse. We see this in Irvine Welsh's novel *Trainspotting*:

> Fucking failures in a country ay failures. It's nae
> good blamin it on the English fir colonizing us. Ah
> don't hate the English. They're just wankers. We are
> colonized by wankers. We can't pick a decent, vibrant,
> healthy culture to be colonized by. No. We're ruled by
> effete arseholes. What does that make us? The lowest of
> the low, the skum of the earth. The most wretched,
> servile miseralble, pathetic trash that was ever shat
> intea creation. Ah don't hate the English. They just
> git oan wi the shite thuv goat. Ah hate the Scots.
> (Welsh 78)

Welsh's condemnation of his own people as colonized is made to expose his people's cultural alienation. His usage of a Scottish

dialect in his writing is typical of a Fourth World social group's attempt at preserving cultural difference. The fact that Welsh's novel was so successful suggests that his views correspond to those of his social group (N.B. there has been a strong sovereignty movement in Scotland).

The strife for separation and sovereignty is common amongst Fourth World social groups. The First Nations people are constantly demanding the right to self-government; the Québécois separatist movement is still very strong today, as it was twenty years ago, as well as in 1837; the I.R.A. is also struggling for autonomy, as are the Basques and even the Corsicans. Québec is in a special situation because of its relationship with First Nations peoples. On Québécois territory, there are the Québécois people and First Nations' peoples. First Nations representatives consider themselves as Fourth World and see Québec as colonizers (First or Second World). But many of the Québécois people also see themselves as Fourth World. Being so focused on their own problems, the Québécois people will often neglect to try to understand the First Nations plight and demands. An objective and erroneous perception would imply that the Québécois, because of the First Nations situation, are more colonizers than colonized (which would place them in the Second World). What is important, I believe, is how the social group sees itself; whether or not I feel that the social group's perceptions are valid is not useful in my understanding of it.

For the rest of this section, I will be examining Québécois resistance with the goal of demonstrating how many Québécois theorists see themselves and in such a way that they could be seen as a Fourth-World social group. Although Québec is a relatively wealthy social group, its culture is seriously threatened by colonialism and neo-colonialism. Exposing Québécois resistance as that of the Fourth World will not only help us distinguish the differences between Economics and Cultural Theory, but it will also help us understand many elements of Fourth-World resistance in general.

★

To understand resistance in Québec and in any other Fourth World social group, we must understand that the Québécois people feel that they have a special claim to their land. They had made Québec their homeland before British conquest. In other words, they do not see themselves as colonizers, they see themselves as colonized. In *L'Archipel identitaire*, a collection of interviews on Québécois identity, Philip Resnick is quoted as saying that: "[Au Québec] le sentiment national précédait la Conquête et a survécu à la domination britannique" (Resnick 85). Resnick believes, as I do, that the Québécois people saw themselves as an independent social group even before the Conquest. Therefore I would suggest that before the arrival of the British, the Québécois had a Second World relationship to the First World of

18th century imperial France. After the Conquest, the Québécois
started to see themselves as a Fourth World social group to
Britain's First World and Canada's Second World.

Having been conquered and governed by a foreign power is an
important element in Québécois identity. Neil Bissoondath has
suggested in *Le Marché aux illusions*, that

> Les Canadiens français ne se sont jamais débarrassés de
>
> la mentalité de conquis, [...] les Canadiens anglais
>
> n'ont jamais renoncé à celle de conquérant. (qtd. in
>
> Ancevolici 157)

I believe that Bissoondath is right in thinking that a great many
of English Canadians still see themselves as Conquerors. I have
frequently heard many English Canadians, when frustrated with
constitutional debates and Québécois demands for special
recognition, wonder why they should yield to the interests of a
people they have already conquered. Canada's *Reform Party*'s
policies on 'getting tough with Quebec' are a product of English
Canada's conquering attitude. Although most intellectuals in
Canada will believe in the idea of Canada being formed by two
founding peoples (three if we include the First Nations), the
general English Canadian population will not understand that the
Québécois perceive themselves as Fourth World (to Canada's
colonizing Second World).

The sense of being a conquered people striving for independence is at the core of Québécois identity and fuels Québec's cultural resistance. The Québécois people see themselves as governed by another social group. The fact that Québec does actually benefit a great deal (economically speaking) from its partnership with Canada is unimportant. Culturally speaking, the Québécois feel that remaining within Canada might lead to their extinction and that sovereignty is the only way of ensuring their culture's survival. This is why I can consider Québec as a typical Fourth World social group.

<center>***</center>

Québec is a perfect example to use to demonstrate that post-colonial theory can not always tie into social economic theory. In post-colonial theory and the study of cultural resistance, Québec can be considered a Fourth World social group whereas in social economic theory it would probably be considered First or Second World. Amilcar Cabral writes: "The attitude of each social group toward the liberation struggle is dictated by its economic interests, but is also influenced profoundly by its culture" (Cabral 57). I believe that culture can be threatened independently from economic interests, even though the two will often coincide in one way or another.

Many Québécois theorists will still try to demonstrate how
the Québécois economic interests are controlled by a foreign
influence (English Canadian or American). But I believe that the
cultural alienation in Québec is far more important than its
economic problems. In *L'Archipel identitaire*, François Dupuis-
Déri writes that:

> Le cas du Québec est en effet problématique:
>
> contrairement aux peuples colonisés, le Québec a déjà
>
> un État qui lui permet de défendre ses interêts à
>
> l'intérieur de la fédération canadienne, et ses membres
>
> jouissent des droits inhérents à la démocratie
>
> libérale. On peut donc difficilement parler
>
> d'oppression. (Dupuis-Déri 202)

Economically speaking, the Québécois people may not be as
oppressed as many others; however they still feel that they are a
conquered people. On a cultural level, the Québécois people (or
at least fifty percent of them) believe that they are colonized
by Anglophone North America. Therefore, Québec nationalism can
not be as active (violent) as the nationalism of social groups
that are colonized both on economic and cultural levels, but it
will be active nonetheless. Québec nationalism is a form of
resistance that might radically tip the balance of power to its
favour. The Québécois *Séparatiste* movement today is not violent,
but it still seeks important changes rather than merely
protecting the power it already has (which would be a Second
World tactic of resistance).

helped the Québécois secure more power on economic levels. We can no longer say that the working class of Québec is comprised of Francophones only, and that the middle-upper class is comprised of Anglophones.

The Québécois people have even been taking certain active measures in the protection of their culture (i.e. *La Loi 101*). However, the feeling that their culture is still threatened is very present in the Québécois identity and I believe it will remain at the foreground of Québécois thought until they stop seeing themselves as a conquered people. And many Québécois theorists believe that sovereignty is the only way of accomplishing such a task.

***

A social group that sees itself as Fourth World will produce a literature that will first expose its people's alienation and assimilation to the hegemonic centre. It will then incite the social group to resist through nationalism and sovereignty. Second World nationalism will seem indecisive and passive compared to Fourth World nationalism. Alan Lawson writes that "Nationalism is a reaction of peoples who feel culturally at a disadvantage" (Lawson 169). The more the social group feels culturally threatened, the more its reaction will be active. Resistance through nationalism can be reinforced by economic

helped the Québécois secure more power on economic levels. We can
no longer say that the working class of Québec is comprised of
Francophones only, and that the middle-upper class is comprised
chiefly of Anglophones.

The Québécois people have even been taking certain active
measures in the protection of their culture (i.e. *La Loi 101*).
However, the feeling that their culture is still threatened is
very present in the Québécois identity and I believe it will
remain at the foreground of Québécois thought until they stop
seeing themselves as a conquered people. And many Québécois
theorists believe that sovereignty is the only way of
accomplishing such a task.

                              ***

A social group that sees itself as Fourth World will produce
a literature that will first expose its people's alienation and
assimilation to the hegemonic centre. It will then incite the
social group to resist through nationalism and sovereignty.
Second World nationalism will seem indecisive and passive
compared to Fourth World nationalism. Alan Lawson writes that
"Nationalism is a reaction of peoples who feel culturally at a
disadvantage" (Lawson 169). The more the social group feels
culturally threatened, the more its reaction will be active.
Resistance through nationalism can be reinforced by economic

factors, but it is initially a reaction to the alienation of
culture through colonialism. The Fourth World may benefit
economically from the hegemonic centre; but the more Fourth World
social groups work within the establishment of their former (and
current) conquerors, the more their culture seems to be
threatened. The real difference between the Second and Fourth
world, is that the centre does not have an official control over
the Second World whereas it does over the Fourth World. Being at
an economic disadvantage can be an important factor in Fourth
World resistance but it does not have to be.

In *L'Archipel identitaire*, Jean Larose expresses his views
as to how the Québécois will feel influenced by the centre just
as a child is influenced by its parents.

> Je crois que le Canada, en tant que système politique,
> a fait la preuve qu'il n'était pas capable de permettre
> l'évolution des Québécois vers un état de maturité, de
> <<majorité>>, de souveraineté. (Larose 74)

Larose demonstrates how Fourth World social groups, as I have
defined them, will find that their cultural growth is just as
important if not more important than their economic growth. In
fact, Canada's tactic to discourage Québec sovereignty for
economic reasons has proven to be fairly ineffective. The last
referendum result was closer than ever regardless of the fact
that the Québécois people have more control over their economy
than ever before.

Also in *L'Archipel identitaire*, Marcos Ancelovici concludes
by summarizing the views of the experts on Québécois sovereignty
he interviewed with Dupuis-Déri:

> Le projet souverainiste est essentiellement un projet
>
> culturel, en ce sens que son objectif premier n'est pas
>
> tant l'obtention de droits politiques devant permettre
>
> l'émancipation du peuple québécois que l'assouvissement
>
> d'un désir de reconnaissance de la spécificité
>
> culturelle québécoise. (Ancelovici 202)

This passage further confirms my point that Fourth World
resistance such as Québécois nationalism and its strife for
sovereignty is a cultural phenomenon. I believe that we can
include social groups such as Québec into the Fourth World
because the Fourth World does not necessarily imply economic
standing.

We can detect Fourth World resistance in Québécois
literature. If literature and other forms of culture reflect a
social group's position in the post-colonial hegemonic pyramid,
then studying a social group's cultural and literary resistance
will help us locate it on the pyramid. Québec's literature
exemplifies typical Fourth-World resistance. Hutcheon confirms
this when she writes: "In Canada, it has been Québécois artists
and critics who have embraced most readily the rhetoric of this
post-colonial liberation - from Emile Borduas in 1948 to Parti
Pris in the 1960's" (Hutcheon 132). Although Hutcheon does not

consider the Québécois people a colonized people, she does seem to suggest that the Québécois produce a resistant literature that seems to correspond to that of a colonized people. A more inductive approach to the post-colonial study of the Québécois situation would tell us that the Québécois (or at least a significant portion of them) perceive themselves as Fourth World.

***

I have used Québec as an example of a Fourth World social group in this previous section; the reason for this is that exposing Québec as a Fourth World social group is a difficult task because of its economic situation. However, as I have tried to demonstrate, economics and post-colonial theory do not necessarily correlate with each other. I have shown that a wealthy social group such as Québec can see itself just as colonized as other Fourth-World social groups (i.e. First Nations peoples or Aborigines). Exposing Québec as a Fourth-World social group is interesting because it gives us a good idea as to how other Fourth World social groups will resist as well.

To sum up this section, the Fourth World social group, like the Third World social group, considers itself colonized. It will resist in an active way. Whereas the Third World social group will repel foreign colonial influence through revolution, the Fourth-World social group will feel that it must resist through nationalism and the struggle for sovereignty.

CONCLUSION TO PART I

In this first part, I have used post-colonial theory to demonstrate how social groups resist and why they resist. I believe the term social group necessitates a resistance in one form or another. I believe that a social group will define itself and its culture by its resistance to others. Therefore, I believe that understanding a social group's resistance is to understand its culture. This is the first step in truly recognizing other cultures.

Post-colonial theory tries to analyze moments of cultural resistance to colonial influence. For it to be effective in any kind of way, post-colonial theory must be descriptive (*a posteriori*) rather than prescriptive (*a priori*). Post-colonial theory should not be aimed at determining how a social group should resist; such an attempt would be counter-productive. By pin pointing and analyzing moments of cultural resistance, we can know where to place them in the post-colonial, hegemonic pyramid (First, Second, Third or Fourth World). By doing so, we can better understand how the social group in question will react to

various forms of communications we will have with it.

The task at hand now is to put the theory described in Part I into practice; that is, to see whether or not a certain text, song or work of art can help us comprehend the social group's cultural/post-colonial resistance. We now know how we can categorize the various social groups of the world. We must try to locate them on the hierarchical pyramid. We should determine if their resistance is oriented towards the justification of what others might call colonialism (First World), if it is limited to a form of counter-discourse (Second World), or if it is revolutionary (Third World) and finally if it is oriented towards sovereignty (Fourth World). There will always be room for debates in our analyses; one theorist will consider a text as being a form of Second World resistance whereas another might see it as Third or Fourth World.

Many forms of cultural expression demonstrate the social group's alienation and need for resistance (a common interest to unite the group). Other forms of cultural expression actually try to incite the social group to resist. Critical theory or social critique will try to expose the social group's problems and how it should react to (resist) them. If the social critic is well read and accepted by the social group, his or her works will be useful to our research. If a work is ignored or censored by the majority of the social group's individuals, then it might not be

very useful to our study.

The next part will study two texts by two different authors that have had an important impact on their respective social groups. I will expose how the two texts offer a form of resistance. By doing so, I hope that we will have a greater insight into the social groups that we will examine.

.

P A R T II

Textual Analysis

In this second part, I will attempt to analyze two texts in order to determine where we can situate the respective social groups that produced them on the post-colonial hegemonic pyramid described in Part I. The first text will be *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* written by the Québécois revolutionary theorist Pierre Vallières; and the second text will be *Technology and Empire* by the Canadian philosopher George Grant.

The two texts are similar in that they attempt to expose their social group's cultural domination by a foreign colonizing power. But they both resist in very different ways. I believe that it is relevant to study the texts as representative of the cultural resistance of their social group because they were both produced from within the social groups they critique. That is to say, that George Grant is a Canadian author writing about Canadians, and Pierre Vallières is a Québécois author writing about Québec. They both represent an insider's point of view that is shared, as we will see, by a significant portion of their respective social groups.

The two texts offer two different types of resistance which suggest to me that, if they truly are representative of their mutual cultures, their social groups are located at different places on the post-colonial schematic (annexe 1).

In the previous sections, we have seen that social groups

will resist in different ways depending on the extent of their colonial alienation. Depending on how they resist, we can determine whether a social group is of the First, Second, Third or Fourth World. But there is also another factor that can indicate a social group's position in the ranks of hegemony: how the hegemonic (First World) centre reacts to the various forms of resistance (a possible reaction would be the censoring of Second, Third or Fourth World resistance). It is only natural for the First World to protect its interests by discouraging any attack on its hegemony. We can often tell if a social group is colonized (Third or Fourth World) if its resistance is censored and those who promote it are punished. An active resistance will often lead to an active censorship by the colonizers. A passive resistance, such as counter-discourse, will entail a passive censorship (or rather no censorship at all). In the next two sections, we will further explore the ways the hegemonic/colonial centre censors the colonized/periphery.

The next two sections will put the theory described in Part I into practise. We will see if the types of resistance I have described can be seen in the two texts I have chosen and how they might correspond to their social groups in general. Studying how the establishment reacted to the two texts (through censorship) will also be an important point of comparison. I will begin by examining the resistance in Vallières' *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* and follow up with Grant's *Technology and Empire*.

2.1 FOURTH WORLD RESISTANCE IN VALLIERES' *NEGRES BLANCS D'AMERIQUE*

Pierre Vallières wrote *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* in prison from 1966 to 1967. He was a member of the F.L.Q. and his writings were seen as textbooks by the terrorist movement. The reason I chose Vallières was because he embodies much of the separatist movement of the sixties and seventies which was in turn produced by the nationalism born out of the *Quiet Revolution* and continues to persist in Québec today. Vallières is the most revolutionary theorist to come out of Québec; this is why I chose him and his first publication *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*. In his text, Vallières explains how and why he became a revolutionary seeking sovereignty for his people. He exposes the cultural alienation of his people and prescribes a form of cultural resistance to counter it.

In this section, I will be dealing with the Vallières who wrote *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*; I will not deal with the Pierre Vallières that has published subsequently. In other words, I will be dealing with *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* as a moment in Québec's

cultural resistance, as a defining element of the Québécois social group. As soon as a text is published and respected by a social group (as was Vallières') I believe that it becomes a part of the social groups' cultural traits. Even if the thoughts published in the text are not shared by every member of the collective, it still becomes a part of the dialectic that forms the social group's culture. It is however important to keep in mind that the views expressed in the text must be shared by a significant portion of the social groups' population.

When studying a social group like Québec, we have to ask ourselves the question: where do we place it on the hierarchical pyramid of power described in Part I? We can automatically exclude it from the Third World because it does not (yet) have national status, it is not autonomous. We can also assume that it is not First World if we believe that the United States is the only real First World social group today. Then, Québec is either Second or Fourth World. In Part I, I suggested that Québec is a Fourth World social group because it occupied a land that was eventually conquered (and is still dominated) by a foreign empire. In other words, the Québécois were originally First World (French colonizers) then Second World (the second and third generation settlers) and in 1759 the Québécois became Fourth World (after the British conquest). To determine whether or not this is true, we must study some of the critical theory produced by Québécois writers. If texts such as Vallières' *Nègres blancs*

d'Amérique prove to be actively resistant to a centre, then we can consider the Québécois a colonized people (even though they may not be as colonized as some other social groups).

The mix of semi-periphery (resistance through counter-discourse) and periphery (resistance leading to sovereignty) elements in Québec makes it hard to determine where it should be placed in the post-colonial schematic. This section will expose the arguments in Vallières' text that suggest that the Québécois people are far more colonized (Fourth World) than colonizers (First or Second World). Another factor that will help us determine that *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* is representative of Fourth World resistance is to consider how the centre and semi-periphery reacted to it and Vallières when the text was first published.

Firstly, we will see how the colonizing centre ensures its control over the periphery, and how these power relations exist in Québec. We will study Vallières' views on the centre's domination of his culture (and who he believes the centre really is). I will then expose Vallières' views on the colonized (the semi-periphery and periphery). Secondly, we will focus on how Vallières' attempts to put his theories into practice. And finally, our third part will demonstrate how Vallières promotes violence as a form of resistance. The second and third sections of this essay will have the purpose of explaining how Vallières'

resistance to the colonial centre in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* is
an indication of a Fourth World situation and why he was censored
for it. In other words, this essay will demonstrate how the
Fourth World resistance of *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* coincides
with that which made it censurable.

2.1.1 HEGEMONY, THE COLONIZING CENTRE, THE PERIPHERY AND THE SEMI-PERIPHERY IN *NÈGRES BLANCS D'AMÉRIQUE*

As we have seen, hegemony has been defined as a state of
dominance, where a social group has the power of command. A
society could reach a state of hegemony through wars, conquests
and invasions. Antonio Gramsci, the Italian political
philosopher, wrote in his *Prison Notebooks* of another kind of
hegemony. Gramsci suggests that today, hegemony functions in the
same way as in the past (domination), but a social group can
attain it differently. A social group can impose its will on
others and have their consent without attacking them directly: it
is what Gramsci called a war of position rather than a war of
manoeuvre (Gramsci 206-275). Colonialism through invasion and
physical violence has become obsolete. Social groups have
discovered that it is much more efficient to dominate others
subtly. A social group convinces another that it is in its best
interests to become a periphery to its centre. Thus *neo-colonialism* has become a far more frequently used tool in the
battle for hegemony. Neo-colonialism allows the hegemonic social

group to retain its control over periphery cultures without the necessity of a physical/active presence. Neo-colonialism has far more to do with social psychology and capital (money) than straight colonialism. A typical vehicle for neo-colonialism is the promotion of ideals such as liberalism and equal rights. The liberal ideal of equal dignity may be the official policy of a neo-colonial power. However, what it often means is the equal dignity of all who conform to the centre's values and interests. Duping a social group into submission instead of forcing it there is much easier and less taxing to the centre.

Although it is more subtle, the hegemony of one social group over another is just as negative today as it ever was. The violence still exists, but under a different form. Periphery social groups will usually (because of their alienation) end up being violent to themselves; they will internalize neo-colonial violence. As Vallières writes in his text "Une sorcière qui subit une chirurgie plastique pour faire disparaître ses verrues et son nez crochu n'en demeure pas moins une sorcière" (Vallières 239). Even if colonialism today is more subtle than it was in the past, it still has the same objective: enforcing hegemony and alienating others.

The hegemonic centre will create a political establishment that will best ensure its dominance. This establishment will invariably promote freedom, democracy, and the *status quo* (all of

which seem illusive to Vallières). As Vallières remarks,

> l'unique action politique que leur [la population
> québécoise] permet d'exercer le système est ce fameux
> "droit de vote", qui est l'absurde liberté de choisir,
> entre deux, trois, cinq ou huit voleurs, celui à qui
> l'on veut s'accorder le privilège d'exploiter la masse
> [as I will further explain, Vallières uses of the term
> 'masses' as I use the term 'periphery']. (Vallières 51)

The centre will want to protect its hegemony at all cost. It will
grant the periphery certain rights in order to keep it in check.
When individuals such as Vallières question the centre's colonial
activities. they effectively threaten its hegemony.

A major part of Vallières' text is devoted to the exposure
of the hegemonic centre in Québec. The author writes that Québec
has been colonized by three distinct powers: "Car le Québec [...]
a toujours été soumis aux intérêts des classes dominantes des
pays impérialists: d'abord, la France; puis l'Angleterre; et,
aujourd'hui, les États-Unis" (Vallières 334). These three foreign
powers have held a hegemony over the Québécois people through
Montréal. They made Montréal their centre in Québec. Vallières
explains how the Québécois already living in Montréal became the
semi-periphery. This is how Vallières explains the many cultural
conflicts existing in Montréal today.

The current and most threatening colonial oppressor for

Québécois culture, according to Vallières, is the United States.
The Americans dominate Québécois economy and culture directly or
through the intermediary of English Canada. Vallières' view of
American hegemony is very close to Gramsci's perspective:

> Le célèbre "melting pot" était -- et demeure -- un
>
> leurre.Il y eut "melting pot" au niveau du salariat, du
>
> chômage, de la pauvreté, et de la lutte pour la vie.
>
> Mais il n'y a jamais eu "melting pot" au niveau de
>
> l'aristocratie américaine, de cette classe de grands
>
> bourgeois, financiers et impérialistes par profession.
>
> (Vallières 64)

In other words, the "melting pot" preaches equality but does not
practise it. If the "melting pot" theory is in fact a tool of
upper class American hegemony, how could Québec not also be
oppressed by it? Vallières feels that *The American way of life*
has seduced English Canada and consequently, Québec is also under
American control.

The centre has always been a foreign power in Québec. The
cities, particularly Montréal, were occupied by the semi-
periphery, under the control (hegemony) of the centre. Vallières
believes that the semi-periphery is basically comprised of the
francophone Bourgeois (la petite bourgeoisie) and the clergy.
Anglophones (Canadian, American or British) were perceived as the
centre by the French speaking periphery and semi-periphery; even
if this was a generalization (many Anglophones were equally as

disadvantaged as the Québécois). The semi-periphery collaborates
with the centre in order to maintain certain privileges and
power. However, regardless of the power the semi-periphery thinks
it has, it will never be free from the centre's hegemonic
domination. Therefore, as Vallières frequently points out, the
semi-periphery will often use the periphery's (the population's)
discontent as a tool to *blackmail* more power out of the centre.
But the semi-periphery is, in fact, the sell-out of the people.
Vallières uses Papineau (a bourgeois) and the failed *Patriotes*
rebellion of 1837 as an example of semi-periphery demands
(Vallières 34). Although Vallières does not specifically use the
terms centre, semi-periphery or periphery (such terms were not
frequently used in the 1960's), I believe that his usage of terms
such as 'Métropolis', ''bourgeoisie' or 'la masse' are roughly
equivalent to them. In the 1960's, Vallières socio-
economic/Marxist terminology did correspond to the cultural
terminology I use today (the same case could not be made today).

The semi-periphery, representing its own interests (which
coincide with those of the centre), resides in the city. The city
then becomes the physical centre whereas the periphery stays in
rural regions. The Québécois semi-periphery would keep the
periphery in check by encouraging the masses to exploit the land
(which was often non-exploitable) (Vallières 37). The clergy
believed that to work off the land was the ideal way of
preserving Catholic values. This is how the semi-periphery would

retain its authority and centricity over the masses. During the industrial revolution, Vallières suggests that the semi-periphery (*le petit bourgeois*) then encouraged some of the periphery back into the city as *cheap labour*: "tout en s'obstinant à prêcher ,le retour à la terre', 'l'achat chez nous' et 'l'appel de la race', le clergé et la petite bourgeoisie profitaient de l'industrialisation du Québec, particulièrement dans la région de Montréal" (Vallières 46).

Vallières demonstrates how the bourgeois and the clergy were a part of the semi-periphery when he writes:

> Soutenue par l'un des clergés les plus puissants au
> monde, cette classe de professionnels, de petits
> industriels, de petits commerçants et de financiers
> réussit à préserver et même à renforcer son rôle
> d'intermédiaire entre le peuple, d'une part, et les
> détenteurs étrangers du pouvoir économique, et la
> bourgeoisie canadienne-anglaise qui contrôle la
> politique fédérale, d'autre part. (Vallières 50)

This passage serves as a good recapitulation of what we have just seen in this first section (section 2.1.1). Vallières inadvertently exposes the post-colonial distinctions of the centre and the semi-periphery. The centre in Québec was primarily American imperialism backed up by English Canada. In other words, Anglo-Saxon North America had complete hegemony over the Québécois people. This hegemonic social group (Anglo-Saxon North

America) would maintain its control with the collaboration of the semi-periphery in Québec -- the bourgeois and the clergy. The centre would give the semi-periphery the illusion of autonomy in order to ensure its submission and that of the entire population. Any acts of resistance by the semi-periphery in Québec were ineffective because they followed the rules set by the centre (Vallières 34, 371). Thus the semi-periphery social groups in Québec were essentially the representatives of the centre in a colonized space. The bourgeois and the clergy were really urban acolytes to the centre. They helped the centre keep the periphery in its (colonized) place. The semi-periphery does benefit to a certain extent from their collaboration with the hegemonic centre. It is for this reason (according to Vallières) that the semi-periphery will often sell out the periphery to protect the centre's hegemony.

The effect that colonialism has on the periphery (Third and Fourth World social groups) is detailed in the works of Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi as well as in the first part of this thesis. In the Québécois context, the periphery is basically what Vallières calls *les habitants* or *les nègres blancs d'Amérique* (the people, the proletariat). Constantly being seen as inferior by the colonizing centre, and being subordinated to it, the periphery will start believing in its own inferiority: "The colonizers see us as inferior beings, and have no compunction about letting us know that they do" (Regush 94). Being unable to

express their anger towards the colonizer, the colonized will
resort to being violent to themselves: "Jouir de la vie [...] en
se saoûlant en fin de semaine, en 'buvant sa paye', en battant sa
femme et ses enfants, et en se détruisant dans des colères
inutiles" (Vallières 80). In the next two sections we will study
the means by which Vallières attempts to counter the alienating
pressures of the colonizing centre.

2.1.2 PRAXIS IN *NÈGRES BLANCS D'AMÉRIQUE*

If there is one thing that the hegemonic centre fears, it is
having its power subverted by the periphery. Therefore, it will
censor any subversive text or organisations. Here, we are talking
about active attempts at subversion (resistance), not passive
resistance. Theory founded on passive resistance (i.e. counter-
discourse) does not threaten the colonizer, it arguably helps it.
Passive resistance theory coming out of the periphery will only
give the people the illusion of freedom and independence from the
centre. By granting the periphery the right to passive resistance
(questioning, counter-discourse), the centre ensures that there
will not be any active (combative) resistance to its hegemony.
However, when there are actively resistant theories that come out
of the periphery (such as Vallières' *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*),
they are instantly rejected and censored by the centre and even
by the semi-periphery. The centre cannot act directly; if it
does, it will justify any form of uprising or revolt. Instead,

the centre will, through colonial pressure, convince the semi-periphery that it too must suppress such revolutionary and subversive texts. The semi-periphery will reject (by prescriptive and proscriptive censorship) any text that will actively resist the centre's hegemony, wanting to retain its position in the colonial ranks.

In *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*, the author understands the necessity of transforming passive theory into practice (praxis). As Vallières puts it: "Ce que redoutent les Américains , c'est le socialisme, la revolution populaire. Avec Daniel Johnson et Jean Lesage, ils peuvent dormir tranquilles" (Vallières 61). Vallières' text makes several suggestions that the Québécois people must destroy all of its ties to the colonial centre (as well as with the semi-periphery).

Vallières' intentions are very clear when he states: "Vous êtes tous complices de l'exploitation, de l'obscurantisme et de l'injustice tant que vous ne posez pas des ACTES. Des ACTES, pas des sermons" (Vallières 192). In this passage, he is not only attacking the centre's oppression but also those who collaborate with it. The semi-periphery will frequently protest certain injustices in the colonial system, but they rarely resort to practical/active solutions. Vallières is very critical of this:"Il fallait agir, non protester" (Vallières 165).

Vallières writes that when an individual produces theories
that question and even protest against the hegemony of the
centre, he or she is considered a radical thinker by the centre
and the semi-periphery. However, if the same individual takes the
theories and proposes to use them in praxis, he or she is then
condemned as a criminal:

> Tant que vous ne faites que prêcher votre utopie,
> l'ordre établi se contente d'enregistrer, avec mépris
> ou indifférence votre "dissidence". Mais dès que vous
> vous mettez à agir, le vieux système se dépêche de
> faire de vous un "danger publique" et un "criminel".
> (Vallières 79)

Being censored by the colonial centre, Vallières sees praxis as
the first step towards the end of colonialism.

Before going any further, it is important to note that
censorship can manifest itself in many different ways. Being
arrested for your point of view is a form of censorship in that
it discourages anybody else to follow in your footsteps.
Vallières' arrest can be seen as both prescriptive and
proscriptive forms of censorship. Prescriptive in the sense that,
because his book was already published, people would know what
was forbidden by the centre. Proscriptive because he was punished
for what he had written.

Vallières often refers to Marxist theory in his text. He

even quotes Marx: "Les philosophes n'ont fait qu'interpréter le monde, mais il s'agit de le transformer" (Vallières 274). This quotation fits into the idea that praxis is the only way of truly attacking the hegemonic centre. Vallières wants to use theory and literature as weapons of combat. As the director of *Cité libre*, Vallières tried to transform the magazine into a weapon of combat for the Québécois proletariat: "j'avais en tête de transformer cette revue, qui avait jusqu'alors servi à promouvoir les intérêts de la bourgeoisie libérale, en une arme de combat pour les travailleurs québécois" (Vallières 292). We see here the seeds to Vallières' revolution in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*, and why the establishment had to react if it wanted to defend its interests' hegemony.

As a colonized Québécois, Vallières felt that he had no choice but to act. The semi-periphery has the luxury of choice; it has enough power to create for itself the illusion of independent survival from the centre. The periphery, however, is stuck in a position where if it does not resist the colonizer, its alienation will lead to its extinction. The periphery cannot progress within the established system, as does the semi-periphery, because the system is set up to oppress it, subtly or not.

2.1.3 VIOLENCE IN *NÈGRES BLANCS D'AMÉRIQUE*

Vallières believes that violence represents the most potent act against the colonizing centre. Not only does violence attack the morality of the colonizing centre, but it physically attacks its proponents, thus having a doubly crippling effect. Furthermore, violence allows a periphery social group to manifest its aggression against its oppressor, instead of against itself. Vallières, in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*, encourages and promotes violence against the colonizing centre. He sees violence as the ultimate act, the most <u>post</u>-colonial of all possible actions. It is mainly because of his views on violence that he was censored.

In his text, Vallières uses a revolutionary tradition to justify violence. He explains how he would like the people of Québec to unite in revolutionary violence against the colonizer. We understand this· when he refers to *La Marseillaise*:

> icitte, on a pas de chants comme ceux-là, et puis que
> ce bûcherons-là nous crie: "Aux armes, Québécois!" Et
> que tous ensemble, comme un seul homme, nous répétions:
> "Aux armes, Québécois!" Et qu'alors nous sortions nos
> fusils et nos grenades et décidions d'en finir avec...
> (Vallières 73)

Further on, he refers to civil wars and insurrections as possible role-models for the Québécois people. He particularly admires Castro's revolution in Cuba. We can understand why the mainly

capitalist centre felt threatened by Vallières' writings.

Vallières feels that violence is the only means by which his
social group will ever rid itself of its colonizer and
(consequently) its inferiority complex. He feels that violence
and combative resistance will lead his people to manhood:

> Ils [the Québécois *draft dodgers*] avaient refusé
> d'aller se battre pour la défense des intérêts de
> Rockerfeller. Ils s'étaient cachés dans les bois- ,
> armés de leurs fusils. Ils avaient mobilisé jusqu'à
> leur femme et leurs enfants pour organiser la
> résistance à la police militaire. C'étaient des hommes.
> (Vallières 84)

In essence, Vallières feels that a violent revolution will serve
as a collective psychoanalysis for the people: "en somme, une
révolution populaire victorieuse, est une psychanalyse
collective" (Vallières 323) . The violence will be directed
against the centre (from where it originated) instead of being
constantly internalized.

Vallières feels that violence is necessary because the
establishment does not work in the interests of the people. The
establishment is set up by and for the centre and, to a limited
degree, the semi-periphery. He cannot help his people by playing
by the rules that are at the source of his oppression.

mes amis et moi étions convaincus de l'inutilité de la

lutte électorale. Nous connaissions aussi les limites

de l'agitation sociale légale ou para-légale et il nous

paraissait urgent de songer immédiatement à jeter les

bases d'une organisation révolutionnaire clandestine,

capable de donner aux masses québécoises à la fois les

moyens (idéologiques et techniques) et de sa libération

économique, politique et culturelle. (Vallières 304)

This passage gives us the reasons for which Vallières joined the

F.L.Q. Only a terrorist movement could allow him to achieve his

goals. Vallières frequently suggests that a violent terrorist

movement will attack the establishment directly and effectively.

The theory that violence is necessary to counter violence is

very present in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*. Exposing the violence

that the hegemonic centre inflicts on the periphery (even if it

is done indirectly) and responding to it is what gets Vallières

censored.

La violence révolutionnaire n'est rien d'autre que la

violence organisée et consciente d'un peuple, d'une

classe, d'une collectivité nationale ou multinationale

qui a choisi d'affronter, de combattre et vaincre la

violence (organisée et consciente, elle aussi) de

l'Ordre établie qui les écrase. (Vallières 322)

Vallières believes, as does Fanon in *Les Damnés de la terre*, that

violence is the only course of action left to the colonized. The

colonized are forced into a situation where they not only must

act, but they must do so violently.

The violence that is promoted in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* is definitely post-colonial. Violence is the ultimate act of resistance against an oppressor (this is true whether we approve of violence or not). Vallières does not promote random, senseless or internalized violence, he wants his people to redirect the violence initiated by the colonizer back towards the colonizer. He attacks the establishment with violence. Vallières wants to free his people from the oppression of neo-colonialism and foreign hegemony, and he sees violence as the only viable solution to Québec's subordination.

***

To recapitulate, the first part of this section tried to fit Vallières' book into the post-colonial sphere. The second and third parts demonstrated the actual elements in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* that were considered censorable. It is the hegemonic centre that decides what is or is not acceptable for the periphery. Vallières' main objective was to threaten the centre's hegemony over the Québécois people. All of these elements allow me to conclude that Vallières sees the Québécois as a Fourth World social group.

Pierre Vallières was condemned to life imprisonment by the

Québécois justice system on April 5, 1968. He was accused of involuntary murder for the accidental deaths from F.L.Q. bombings. However, Vallières felt that he was really condemned for his writings, because they encouraged F.L.Q. terrorism and incited violence (Vallières 374). By condemning him, the centre and the semi-periphery (those who stand to lose the most from social change) censored Vallières and his views. The censorship of the ideas expressed in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* is what I believe confirms that it has Fourth World characteristics. If the book did not pinpoint and attack the centre and semi-periphery so well, it would never have been considered the source of F.L.Q. violence, and Vallières would never have been condemned.

There are two possible ways of analyzing the impact (or lack thereof) of *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*. The fact that it did incite certain people to take up arms against the hegemonic centre suggests that it was truly Fourth World. However, the fact that it did not create a chain reaction from which Québec would have become a sovereign state can mean only two things: firstly, that its censorship was successful; or secondly, that the views expressed in it are not really shared by the majority of Québec's population and that Québec is far more a Second World/semi-periphery society than Vallières had thought. It is impossible to know for sure which of these cases is true. We can conclude that Québec does produce Fourth World critical theorists and texts. The fact that Vallières is fairly well read in Québec suggests

that a great number of Québécois consider their social group as Fourth World. I believe that they do identify their culture with the combative resistance exposed in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*.

Only history will tell us whether or not Québec is definitely Second or Fourth World. If the Québécois social group continues to produce theorists that promote sovereignty, and if this leads to sovereignty in one form or another, then we will be able to say that Québec was a Fourth World social group after all. Sovereignty would allow the Québécois to consider themselves Second World, and then the only Fourth World social group left on Québécois land would be the First Nations peoples.

2.2 SECOND WORLD RESISTANCE IN GEORGE GRANT'S *TECHNOLOGY AND*

EMPIRE

In the previous section, I exposed many of the elements in *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* that allow me to consider the text as an act of Fourth World resistance. I also explained how the text is representative, to a certain degree, of Québécois cultural sentiment. In this section, I will attempt to establish a contrast between Vallières' text and George Grant's *Technology and Empire*. George Grant is a Canadian philosopher and cultural critic. In his works, Grant evaluates the impact of the American technological empire on Canada's cultural identity. The purpose of this section will be to demonstrate how Grant, as opposed to Vallières, sees his social group as Second World. As we will see, the resistance expressed in *Technology and Empire* is far too passive to be considered as anything but Second World.

I discovered *Technology and Empire* through an essay written by Dennis Lee in 1974: "Cadence, Country, Silence: Writing in Colonial Space." Lee's essay focuses on how Canada is a colonized social group. American cultural hegemony, according to Lee, has

had a tremendous impact on Canadian identity. Lee himself felt he was put into a situation where he was unable to truly express himself as a Canadian. His country no longer had any meaning for him. In his essay, Lee frequently refers to the ideas elaborated by George Grant in *Technology and Empire*. For Lee, Grant was the first Canadian Author to demonstrate successfully Canada's colonial subordination to American cultural hegemony. Lee writes: "Before Grant, a person who grew up in as deeply colonized a Canadian decade as the fifties had no access to such a fundamental refusal of America" (Lee 160); he continues: "I do not expect to spend my life agreeing with George Grant. But, in my experience at least, the sombre Canadian has enabled us to say for the first time where we are, who we are -- to become articulate" (Lee 161). By exposing Canada's colonization and loss of cultural identity, Grant gave Lee's generation a voice, a greater understanding of the threat that it needed to counter. Grant is one of the most resistant Canadian authors of his generation, and his impact is still seen in many texts today. It is because of his reputation and his resistance to American cultural hegemony that I believe Grant to be the perfect example of Canadian post-colonialism, and a perfect choice for this thesis.

I will firstly demonstrate how Grant's Canada is a colonizing social group (First or Second World), or rather how it is more colonizer than colonized. Grant himself, as we will see,

writes from a colonizing position. Secondly, I will expose the
moments in Grant's text in which he does resist the hegemonic
centre. This tells me that *Technology and Empire* is necessarily a
Second World text. And finally, I will establish the major
contrasts between Grant's Canada and Vallières' Québec. This will
further help confirm my hypothesis that the Québécois can be seen
as a Fourth World social group. In conclusion, I will not only
recapitulate but also take a look at how the establishment
reacted to Grant's ideas, were they accepted? Were they censored
in any kind of way?).

2.2.1 THE COLONIZER IN GRANT'S *TECHNOLOGY AND EMPIRE*

Throughout Grant's text. the author sees Canada as a member
of a powerful colonizing community: North America, or to be more
precise Protestant North America (and even more precisely *White
Anglo Saxon Protestant* North America). He does not see Canada as
a victim of the United Sates, but rather as a partner trying to
secure its identity within the colonizing empire.

The very first sentence of the first essay, "In Defence of
North America," sets the tone for the rest of the book: "to exist
in North America is an amazing and enthralling fate" (Grant 15).
An author who believes his social group to be colonized would
never make such a statement. A colonized author will feel
oppressed by his or her neighbours; there is nothing

'enthralling' about their fate within the empire.

Grant himself sees Canada as an active member of a colonizing empire (instead of a periphery to it). He often refers to himself and his social group as a 'we', along with the colonizing centre. "We live then in the most realised technological society which has yet been; one which is moreover, the chief imperial centre from which technique is spread around the world" (Grant 40). It is only in the third essay of *Technology and Empire* that Grant differentiates the American social group from the Canadian social group.

In this next passage, Grant's usage of the famous 'we' truly exposes his views on Canada as a colonizer:

> Through that achievement we have become the heart-land
> of the wealthiest and most powerful empire that has yet
> been. We can exert our influence over a greater extent
> of the globe and take a greater tribute of wealth than
> any previously. (Grant 15)

The passage is a good description of neo-colonialism and how Grant's social group participates in it. It is clear that Grant takes on a colonizing First and Second World stance.

There are many other passages in which Grant identifies himself with a colonizing empire. He makes observations that a

colonized author could never make. We see this once again in this next passage:

> Man has at last come of age in the evolutionary
> process, has taken his fate into his own hands and is
> freeing himself for happiness against the old
> necessities of hunger and disease and overwork, and the
> consequent oppressions and repressions. (Grant 28)

A member of a colonized social group could never make such a statement. Often the colonized are hungry, diseased (culturally and physically), overworked and almost always unhappy. It is thanks to their oppression and repression that the colonizer is able to think they, he or she has "come of age." Once again, we see how Grant does not write as a colonized theorist would. Up to this point, we have seen no resistance whatsoever to the colonizing centre.

At least Grant does pinpoint certain negative aspects of being a member of a colonizing empire. This next quotation will serve as a good transition to my next argument:

> This then is why our present fate can be seen with such
> clarity in the glaring light of Vietnam. The very
> substance of our lives is bound up with the western
> empire and its destiny, just at a time when that empire
> uses increasingly ferocious means to maintain its
> hegemony. (Grant 65)

Finally we get a sense of how Grant differentiates his social

group from the imperial centre. We can see some negativity in the previous passage. Grant still includes the Canadian social group in the hegemonic empire, but no longer as an equal partner. We begin to understand that Grant considers Canada as a less important acolyte to the centre. In other words, Grant still sees Canada as being a part of the upper half of the hegemonic pyramid, although it is clearly not at the top of the pyramid.

What we have basically seen up to this point, is that Grant's text cannot be seen as a typical product of a colonized social group. The fact that Grant is so well received in Canadian academic circles suggests that he is a good representative for Canada in the post-colonial debate. If *Technology and Empire* is not an act of Third or Fourth World (colonized) resistance, then it must be an act of First or Second World resistance. The next step will be to determine that Grant's text is more Second World than First.

2.2.2 COUNTER-DISCOURSE IN *TECHNOLOGY AND EMPIRE*

Throughout his book, Grant not only associates himself and his social group with the hegemonic/colonizing centre of the United States; he also tries to demonstrate how Canada's close ties to the U.S. are detrimental to Canadian nationalism and culture. It is this second aspect of Grant's writing that suggests to me that he is writing from a Second World perspective.

In the third essay of *Technology and Empire*, "Canadian Fate and Imperialism", Grant shifts from the 'we' signifying the North American empire to a 'we' signifying Canada. He begins by describing what it means to be a member of the Canadian social group: "A central aspect of the fate of being a Canadian is that our very existing has at all times been bound up with the interplay of various world empires" (Grant 63). This, of course does not mean that Canada has been entirely dominated by other empires; Grant is only stating that Canada has acted with and has been influenced by different empires without ever being the centre of any of them. Already Grant takes a semi-periphery stance.

Canada is currently involved with the American empire, even though it is still a part of the British Commonwealth. The Canadian social group has moved from being an acolyte of the

British hegemony to being an acolyte of the American hegemony.
The reason for this is simply that the United States has taken
Great Britain's place at the top of the hegemonic pyramid.

> The elimination of Great Britain as an independent
> source of civilisation in the English-speaking world
> greatly increased the pull of English-speaking
> Canadians to an identity with the centre of that world
> in the United States. (Grant 71)

Despite the shift of centre in the Western empire from Great
Britain to the U.S. in the past seventy years or so, Grant feels
that Canada has retained its position in the ranks of power.
Canada is still of the Second World to another social group's
First World. This pespective is evident when he writes that:

> Somewhere in the minds of nearly all Canadians there is
> the recognition that our present form of life depends
> on our place as second class members of that system [of
> American hegemony]. By "second class" I do not imply a
> low status, because there are a large number of classes
> within it. It is much nicer to be a Canadian than a
> Brazilian or a Venezuelan [...] (Grant 64)

This last passage is the key to interpreting Grant's views on
Canada as that of Second World resistance. His usage of the term
'second class' is possibly one of the foundational sources of the
term Second World. In these previous passages, Grant has already
established a difference between his social group and the U.S.

A typical counter-discursive strategy is to criticize the policies of the hegemonic centre and the social group's adherence to them. Grant is very critical of American involvement in the Vietnam War. He is even more critical of Canada's acceptance and the material support of the war. As Grant writes: "The ruthlessness and banal callousness of what has been done in Vietnam might lead one to see North American events as solely self-interested nihilism of a greedy technological empire" (Grant 26). Although Grant still includes Canada in the North American empire, he is very critical of its imperial activities in Vietnam. By criticising the centre's colonialism. Grant is trying to differentiate his cultural values from the centre's. Grant is telling us that he does not agree with our colonial involvement in the Vietnam War and that Canadians should also speak out against it. In other words, involvement in the war did not correspond to Canada's interests and consequently neither did it correspond to Canada's cultural identity. Drawing the line between his own culture and that of the centre's is typical of counter-discourse.

The events of the Vietnam War opened Grant's eyes to the loss of an independent Canadian cultural identity. He sees Canada as being so wrapped up in America's technological empire that it has alienated itself from its own distinct identity. However, Grant believes that Canada's loss of identity is inevitable, keeping in mind the evolution of North America. Canadians, like

Americans, have developed a will to technology unlike anything the world has ever seen. Unfortunately, technology is blind to cultural differences and consequently has a homogenizing effect on social groups. This, according to Grant, is the primary reason for Canada's alienation in favour of American culture (which in turn is based almost entirely on the will to technology).

> Indeed our failure to find such an alternative [to the
> American way of life] is bound up with the very
> homogenizing path of western history. So we are left
> with the fact. As the U.S. becomes daily more our own,
> so does the Vietnam war. (Grant 74)

Grant feels that if Canada is to survive as an independent cultural identity, it must focus on the contemplative arts that were left behind in Europe. This could distinguish Canada from the United States. Being Canadian, according to Grant, must mean something more than just being a neighbour and acolyte to the powerful American technological society. Thus Grant resists American hegemony in a very passive manner. He criticizes it and Canada's loss of identity to it without really offering any practical solutions. I believe that seeking salvation from the contemplative arts that have been neglected since the very beginnings of Canada will only emphasize certain cultural differences between the United States and Canada; it will not change the structures of power in any kind of way. It is important to repeat that the reason Grant is so passive in his resistance is that Canada is a Second World social group that

participates in the centre's domination of others. Canada is not
nearly as victimized by American hegemony as Third or Fourth
World social groups; it actually benefits from it to a large
degree.

As we have seen, Grant's *Technology and Empire* is the
depiction of a social group that is intimately related to the
technological empire of the United States. Grant sees Canada as
an important part of that empire. He does, however, offer us a
resistance that I consider Second World counter-discourse.
Counter-discourse is a passive resistance that creates, at best,
a difference to the centre, but it will never attack the centre
in any real way because it is too close to it. The Second World,
or semi-periphery, is limited to counter-discourse because of the
ambivalence described by Stephen Slemon (Slemon "Unsettling").
Having demonstrated that Grant writes from a Second World
position, we can now see how Grant's text relates, if at all, to
Québec.

2.2.3 QUÉBÉCOIS FATE AND IMPERIALISM

In *Technology and Empire*, George Grant writes of the North American technological empire, centred in the United States but supported by Canada. But does he include Québec in his critical analysis? Does Grant believe that the Québécois are also a Second World social group? We can now attempt to answer such questions.

Grant generally writes without the inclusion of Québec in his analysis. When he writes about Canada, he means White Anglo Saxon Protestant Canada. His theories do not apply to other social groups within North America. For instance: "To understand North America it is necessary to understand those Protestants and to understand their connection to the new physical and moral sciences which were coming into being in Europe" (Grant 19). I do not believe that understanding the relation between North American Protestants and European contemplation is the key to understanding North America. I believe that Grant's description allows us to understand a part of North America. It so happens that the part of North America Grant describes corresponds to the driving force behind most of North American colonialism. The passage just quoted constitutes an exclusion of Québec and many other North American social groups. I am not saying that these excluded social groups are impervious to American influence; I just do not think they can be included in Grant's views on the North American empire.

It is important to note that I am not criticizing Grant for not spending much time on the Québécois subject. I believe that he is correct in writing about the North American colonizer (First and Second World) without including Québec. As seen in the previous section, I do not believe that Québec is a First or Second World social group. Unless Grant is writing specifically about Québec, I do not believe that we can apply any of *Technology and Empire* to the Québécois situation. Even when he writes: "but none of us can be called autochthonous, because in all there is some consciousness of making the land our own [...] That conquering relation to place has left its mark within us" (Grant 17). I concede that the conquering relation to place has existed within the Québécois psyche. However, I also believe that a great deal of that psyche was erased and replaced by a feeling of being conquered by a foreign power. The Québécois today feel far more conquered than conquering. As mentioned in section 1.5, the Québécois that were left after the British conquest did in fact feel quite autochthonous compared to their conquerors or the French who had gone back to the homeland.

When Grant does write about Québec, he also considers it as a separate social group. He enumerates the many events that widened the gap between French and English speaking Canadians. Originally, one of the founding principles of Canada was the marriage of French (Québécois) and English Canada in resistance to American influence. But, as Grant points out, the Québécois

ended up seeing English Canada as a greater menace to their

social group than the United States.

> The forcing of the French [into W.W.I] by fanatics such
>
> as Sam Hughes and the culmination of that process in
>
> the election of 1917 meant that the French Canadians
>
> saw themselves threatened more by English Canadians
>
> than by the deeper threat to the south. (Grant 70)

As we can see in this passage, Grant does see the Québécois as an

independent social group whose interests and resistance do not

necessarily coincide with those of the rest of Canada. However,

Grant does believe that Québec will suffer the same fate -- the

loss of identity -- as Canada in its involvement with the

American technological empire. What Grant does not mention, is

that the Québécois feel that they do not benefit from the empire

as Canadians do. They feel far more threatened than Canadians by

Grant's North American empire because they were never given the

choice to participate. Québécois involvement was imposed by the

English, Canadians and Americans. Any attempt to break free from

that involvement was effectively censored.

On many points, Grant's views on Québec coincide with my

own. His approach to Québécois fate and imperialism (or rather

the lack thereof) confirms and reinforces my own. When comparing

Grant's text to Vallières' we can conclude that they both feel

that Québec should be studied under a different optic. The forms

of resistance to the colonizing centre in Canada and Québec are

considerably different. My understanding of both authors leads me to believe that Canada's resistance is that of the Second World whereas Québec's resistance is distinctively different and more active, making it Fourth World.

***

To sum up, in this section I have demonstrated how George Grant's *Technology and Empire* represents an act of Second World passive resistance, or counter-discourse. Does this mean that Canada is a Second World social group? To answer such a question we must take into consideration the same factors that allowed us to analyze Vallières' text in relation to Québec. Grant, like Vallières, is a product of his social group. He offers us an insider's point of view on Canada. Furthermore, his reflections have been greatly appreciated by Canadian academia then and now. Thus, I believe that it is safe to conclude that Grant's resistance corresponds to the resistance of many of his countrymen.

As we have seen, Grant believes that his social group is an active and important part of the North American empire. Even though Canada suffers from cultural alienation, it cannot avoid or change that empire's influence. However, Grant does emphasize a difference between Canadian and American identity. Grant offers Canadians a warning and depicts a bleak future for his social

group in the hopes that it will manage to find a way to truly
distinguish itself from its neighbour to the south. As Grant
writes: "Nothing here written implies that the increasingly
difficult job of preserving what is left of Canadian sovereignty
is not worth the efforts of practical men" (Grant 77). Although
Grant promotes uniqueness and differences, his counter-discursive
strategy to American culture is not an attack: he offers no real
change. Thus I have no doubt that Grant's approach is that of the
Second World. The fact that his views on Canada are shared by
most of the Canadians I have known leads me to believe that
Canada is also part of the Second World.

Another way of determining whether or not Grant's text is
Second or Third World would be to understand how it was received
by the centre. Where Vallières was effectively censored, Grant
was accepted. *Technology and Empire* was never censored because it
does not threaten to change or subvert the American centricity.
The reason for this is obvious: Canada is too involved in the
centre's activities. This is not to say that *Technology and
Empire* is not a resistant text and therefore cannot be studied in
the field of post-colonial theory. I do believe that Grant's text
contains moments of Second World resistance that should be
acknowledged by the post-colonial academic community.

CONCLUSION TO PART II

The main objective of the analysis of the two texts was to demonstrate how the authors and their respective social groups resist in different ways. I believe that the only explanation for this difference is that Canada and Québec constitute in fact two very different social groups. An analysis such as the one I have just made can be very helpful in the understanding of social groups themselves and the tensions between them.

My analysis leads me to believe that Canadian unity will always be threatened so long as Québec continues to see itself as a Fourth World social group. How can there be unity if Québec believes that Canada is a threat to its cultural survival? The most important question now will be: if we concur that Québec is a Fourth World social group and that Canada is a Second World social group, then how can we transform the Québécois social group into a Second World social group (thus giving it a sense of control over its own fate and of equality with the rest of the country)? I believe that there are two possible answers to this question. Firstly, it is possible that a distinct society clause

might sufficiently appease the Québécois need to resist so actively. The second option would be for sovereignty-association between Canada and Québec. Both of these options could give Québec the power it needs to become Second World and equal to Canada. I am uncertain as to whether or not the first option would work. It has been proposed in the past (Meech Lake) and was rejected by Canadians and Québécois ("Trop peu, trop tard"). However, I am certain that if the second option were to be undertaken, then the cultural resistance in Québec would shift from being active to a passive counter-discourse.

It is with the analysis of resistant texts, as I have done, that we can truly understand conflicting social groups and offer possible solutions for them. Or, we can at least come to know what to expect from them. For instance, in the unity crisis in Canada, we can expect Québec to continue its production of cultural, literary and political resistance until it is satisfied that English Canada recognizes it as an independent and equal social group.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have tried to develop and put into practise an interpretation of post-colonial cultural resistance. But to what end? What was the purpose of my thesis? How can it help us? I believe that the pursuit of academic activity must have a practical usage, something we can actually use in our current reality. For instance, I believe that we study history in order to avoid the mistakes we have made in the past. Other subjects such as music or fine arts help us ameliorate our appreciation of the present. But how does critical theory help us in our everyday lives? The obvious answer would be by exposing of our weaknesses and by creating a greater understanding of other social groups. Too many theories have been developed, particularly in post-colonial studies, that offer us no real means by which we can better ourselves or our relations to other social groups. Certain critics juggle with theories with the sole purpose of complicating them; they do not attempt to simplify them. It is theory for the sake of theory, nothing more, nothing less.

I have tried to expose an interpretation of a theory that can truly help social groups today understand themselves and their culture in hopes that they can better themselves. Early in the 1960's, Lester B. Pearson was interviewed on *Front Page Challenge*. He stated that "understanding the nature of conflicts leads to peace" (Pearson, *Front Page*). I was surprisingly impressed by what Pearson had to say. If there is one thing I have tried to do in this thesis, as have many other students of post-colonial theory, it is to understand the nature of resistance and conflicts between social groups.

I was further surprised when Pearson followed up in the same interview by saying that he did not mean the kind of peace in which there is no conflict. That kind of peace, Pearson noted, could only be found in prison or in a cemetery. Pearson was speaking of a peace in which social groups could resolve their differences without having to destroy one another.

I believe that Pearson was right in asserting that such a peace is possible. I also feel that active resistance is necessary for certain social groups. However, active resistance does not necessarily have to be expressed through violence, even though violence has proven to be an effective means of resistance in the past. A Third and Fourth World (colonized) social group can actively resist its colonizer without wanting to annihilate it. China has recently been actively resistant towards American

hegemony through diplomatic and economic channels. China has become the next contender in the battle for hegemony without showing any physical aggression towards the U.S.

In other words, colonialism, or rather neo-colonialism, will likely always exist. I believe that our resistance to colonial activity is what truly defines our social group's cultural identity. Accepting this reality will help us recognize others which will in turn help them break free from their colonial submission and alienation.
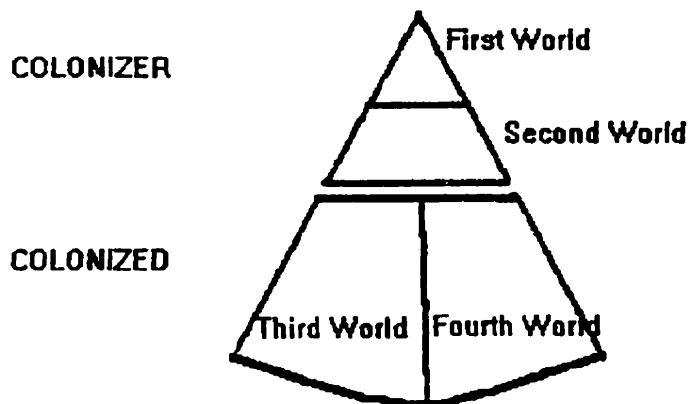
I believe that the division of social groups according to their resistance into First, Second, Third and Fourth Worlds is an effective means of better understanding the nature of the social group itself as well as its conflicts.

Having understood the divisions described in Part I, we have the tools we need to analyze the resistance coming out of any social group. In Part II, I attempted to analyze resistant texts from Canada and Québec. The result was obvious: the two social groups do not resist in the same way; Canada and Québec are two different social groups resisting from different positions on the hierarchical pyramid of hegemonic power described in Part I. All of my conclusions find their roots in post-colonial theory, and to it I am extremely grateful. Having only studied two texts from Canada and Québec, it is impossible to determine for certain
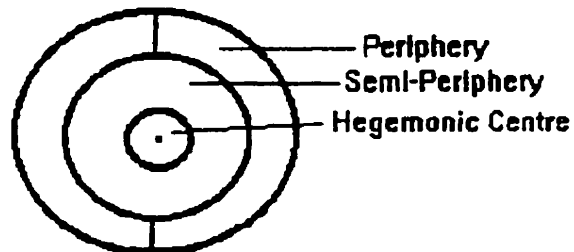
whether or not the two social groups are Second and Fourth World. However it does give us a hint or a suspicion that will have to be confirmed after further analysis. The next step will be to continue to analyze the cultural resistance of Québec and Canada, or of any other social group. Hopefully, doing so will help us to better the relations between social groups. It could represent another step towards the peace Pearson had hoped to see in his lifetime.

ANNEXE 1

Front View

COLONIZER

First World

Second World

COLONIZED

Third World | Fourth World

Top View

Periphery
Semi-Periphery
Hegemonic Centre

WORKS CITED

Ancelovici, Marcos and Francis Dupuis-Déri, ed. *L'Archipel identitaire*. Québec: Boréal, 1997.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds. *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Bennett, Donna. "English Canada's Postcolonial Complexities." *Essays on Canadian Writing* 51-52 (1993-94): 164-210.

Bissoondath, Neil. Interview. In Ancelovici et al. 151-169.

Boehmer, Elleke. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. London: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Brydon, Diana. "Reading Postcoloniality, Reading Canada." *Essays on Canadian Writing 56* (1995): 1-19.

Cabral, Amilcar. "National Liberation and Culture." In Williams et al. 53-65.

Dennett, Daniel C. *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*. New York: Touchstone, 1991.

Fanon, Frantz. *Les Damnés de la terre*. Paris: François Maspero
   Ed., 1961.

Fee, Margery. "Who Can Write as Other?" In Ashcroft et al. 242-
   245.

Gramsci, Antonio. "State and Civil Society." *Selections From the
   Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Eds. Quintin Hoare and
   Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers,
   1971. 206-275.

Grant, George. *Technology and Empire*. Toronto: Anansi, 1969.

Higher Learning. Dir. John Singleton. Columbia Pictures
   Industry, 1994.

Hutcheon, Linda. "Circling the Downspout of Empire." In Ashcroft
   et al. 130-135.

Independence Day. Dir. Dean Devlin. Twentieth Century Fox, 1996.

Larose, Jean. Interview. In Acelovici et al. 69-83.

Lawson, Alan. "Postcolonial Theory and the 'Settler' Subject."
   Essays on Canadian Writing 56 (1995):20-37.

--. "The Discovery of Nationality in Australian and Canadian Literatures." In Ashcroft et al. 167-170.

Lee, Dennis. "Cadence, Country, Silence: Writing in Colonial Space." *Boundary 2* 3(1) (1974): 151-68.

Memmi, Albert. *Portrait du colonisé*. Paris: Gallimard, 1985.

Mudrooroo. "White Forms, Aboriginal Content." In Ashcroft et al. 228-231.

Parizeau, Jacques. *Pour un Québec souverain*. Montréal: vlb, 1997.

Pearson, Lester B. Interview. *Front Page Challenge*. Toronto: CBC, December 20 1960.

Regush, Nicholas. *Pierre Vallières: The Revolutionary Process in Quebec*. Canada: Fitzhering and Whiteside, 1973.

Resnick, Philip. Interview. In Ancelovici et al. 83-97.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. Preface. *Les Damnés de la terre*. By Frantz Fanon. Paris: François Maspero Ed., 1961.

Slemon, Stephen. "The English Side of the Lawn." *Essays on Canadian Writing 56* (1995): 274-286.

--. "Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World." In Ashcroft et al. 104-110.

Sumner, William Graham. "War". *Social Darwinism: The Collected Works of William Graham Sumner.* Ed. Stow Pearsons. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall,1963. 30-59.

Tapping, Craig. "Oral Cultures and the Empire of Literature." *After Europe.* Eds. Stephen Slemon and Helen Tiffin. Aarhus: Dangaroo, 1989

Taylor, Charles. "The Politics of Recognition." *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994. 25-73.

Tiffin, Helen. "Post-colonial Literatures and Counter-discourse." In Ashcroft et al. 99-103.

Welsh, Irvine. *Trainspotting.* Great Britain: Minerva, 1993.

West, Cornel. "The New Cultural Politics of Difference." *Cultural Studies Reader.* Ed. Simon During. New York: Routledge, 1993. 203-220.

West of Eden. 1997. Further reference to come

Williams, Patrick and Laura Chrisman, eds. *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Vallières, Pierre. *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*. Montréal: Parti pris, 1968.