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***“Cultural Politics as Emancipatory Engagement through
Heroic Poetics of Diaspora Effect –
A Paradigm Shift in Re-visioning the Literary Practices of
José Rizal, the National Hero of the Philippines.”***

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation shifts paradigmatic perspectives on the nationalist patriotic discourse over the Philippine national hero José Rizal. It proposes that Rizal's works produced in Europe during the last quarter of the 19th century be examined as *heroic poetics of diaspora effect* or matters of 'cultural politics': as forms of reflective resistance to challenge hegemonic ideologies and discursive power relations. It explores alternative ways of understanding 'heroism' and thus establishes Rizal's lineage and linkage with other writers who wrote from the perspective of exile or as 'outsiders' looking in. From the perspective of 'diasporic consciousness' it suggests models for reading Rizal's works in new ways.

The methodology posits that a 'diasporic reading' of Rizal's literary practice enables focusing on him as a 'cultural hero' in contrast to the usual studies that highlight 'the political hero'. Applying the perspective of culture and the prism of the diaspora as 'different lights', this novel approach breaks away from myopic 'political perspectives' applied in postcolonial nationalist studies. The dissertation uses primary source materials to develop its theoretical frames and conceptual bases. Rizal's works reveal anti-hegemonic concerns: a 'cultural' perspective is contrasted to 'the political' because Rizal's emancipatory engagement was not immediately directed towards Philippine independence and sovereignty from Spain. This critical-analytical approach develops conceptual models and frames: for 'reading texts' from distanced and fragmented 'cultural mindsets' to re-collect observations/experience for resisting discriminated 'Otherness' and renegotiating constructs of hegemony. This research project argues that from his earliest writings up to his famous poem, *My Last Farewell*, Rizal's literary practice entailed a *politics of memory for cultural identity* whereby he articulated and compared the contexts of freedom and equality that he observed in Spain with the oppressive colonial governance in the Philippines. Rizal held his texts up in the public domain to mirror awareness-raising images that would move others to action. It was precisely in mobilizing the collective that Rizal's heroism and leadership was put to the test. Central to Rizal's concern were problems of equality and equity as integral to human dignity. Rizal demonstrated that he was able to speak in his own voice, thus claiming equality with Spaniards as an autonomous sovereign subject, thus projecting his own yearning for 'freedoms' as part of a much bigger 'collective'.

The nature of Rizal's 'heroic spirit' is analysed by considering his stances on three cultural themes that formed the Spanish imperialist ideology – reason, religion and racism. As a subtext, the dissertation posits: while unbinding chains of 'cultural imperialism' and imbibing 'enlightenment values', Rizal developed a *diasporic consciousness* with which he engaged the public domain of envisioning 'the elsewhere' in transnationalist terms. The dissertation proposes a re-visioning of Rizal: as a way of reclaiming those aspects of his 'heroic legacy' that may have been short-changed by those who used his ideas on culture in the discursive construction of identity. Also, demystifying Rizal's politics could lend fresh insights and perspectives as to how Rizal's 'revolutionary spirit' may be working in the collective psyche of Filipinos today to support or subvert hegemonies, ideologies and structures.

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The whole of science is nothing more than a refinement of everyday thinking.
Albert Einstein¹

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¹ Einstein quoted from *Physics and Reality*, accessed from quotationspage.com

CHAPTER I

POINTS of DEPARTURE and INITIAL PREMISES

It is commonly said that the life of a good writer is best read in his works.

José Rizal²

*...Have you seen the old girl/Who walks the streets of London
Dirt in her hair and her clothes in rags/ She's no time for talking
...just keeps right on walking/ Carrying her home in two carrier bags...*

*Chorus: So how can you tell me you're lonely/And say for you that the sun don't shine?
Let me take you by the hand and lead you through the streets of London/
I'll show you something to make you change your mind...*

*And have you seen the old man/Outside the seaman's mission/ Memory fading with
The medal ribbons that he wears/ In our winter city/ The rain cries a little pity
For one more forgotten hero/And a world that doesn't care...*

Ralf McTell³

Upon hearing the word story, I opened my eyes.... My mother began to read to me the fable of the young and the old moths.... I looked towards the light and fixed my attention on the moths that fluttered around it. My mother emphasized and commented a great deal on the warnings of the old moth ... I listened to her and what a rare phenomenon, the light seemed to me more beautiful each time, the flame brighter, and I even envied instinctively the fate of the insects that played so cheerfully in its magical exhalation. Those that had succumbed were drowned in the oil; they didn't frighten me... The fate of the two insects interested me intensely.... The flame agitated its golden tongue on one side, a singed moth fell into the oil, clapped its wings for some time and then died. That assumed for me the proportions of a great event and as a strange phenomenon that I have always observed in me when something excites me.... All my attention was fixed on the fate of that young moth, dead, full of illusions.

"You see? My mother said to me, "Don't imitate the young moth and don't be disobedient; you'll get burned like it.".... I don't know if I replied.... The only thing I remember is that it took me a long time before I could sleep.... The story had revealed to me things unknown to me until then. To me moths ceased to be insignificant insects; moths talked and knew how to warn and advise as well as my mother did. The light seemed to me more beautiful, dazzling, attractive. I understood why the moths fluttered around lights. Advices and warnings resounded feebly in my ears. What preoccupied me most was the death of the imprudent, but at the bottom of my heart, I didn't blame it.

... many years have elapsed; the child has become a man; ... The steamship has taken

² Rizal's autographic handwritten quotation sourced from the e-book, *Rizal's Own Story*, a volume compiled from original materials edited by Austin Craig, an American who was Rizal Research Professor at the University of the Philippines where he worked with a team of academic staff, including expert translators. The book was published in Manila by National Book Co. in 1918 when the Philippines was under the U.S. Commonwealth and all educational materials were being translated into English as part of the systematic policy to establish English as the lingua franca. The e-book is accessible online <http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/jose-rizal/rizals-own-story-of-his-life-670/1-rizals-own-story-of-his-life-670.shtml>.

³ cowboylyrics.com

*him across the seas and all the oceans; he has climbed the region of perpetual snow ...
received bitter lessons... nevertheless the man preserves the heart of a child and he
believes that light is the most beautiful thing there is in creation, and that it is worthy for a
man to sacrifice his life for it.*
Jose Rizal, *My First Reminiscence*⁴

***Why and how did this research project come about:
if to generate knowledge, for what and for whom?***

Epistemologically, this dissertation is an intellectual engagement within the consciousness/culture industry, which John Fiske (O'Sullivan et al, 1994/2001: 58) refers to as "Large-scale social agencies, organizations and practices whose ultimate product is signification". Describing 'consciousness' as "a social product generated out of the resources of socially organized sense-making (Ibid: 59)," Fiske adds an implication: that in terms of 'content' or its characteristic forms and practices, individual consciousness is not a pre-given or self-evident attribute of persons and thus, 'the consciousness of an age' emerges from institutions and practices.

Academically, culture is of interest as a product of signifying practice, and for that matter, I position my concerns with those of the Frankfurt School critical theorists especially Theodor Adorno who exposed the social and political collusions in his book, *The Culture Industry* (1991) where he analysed the commodification and standardisation of art as an explanation for the rise of Fascism and the decline of revolutionary movements. Fiske (O'Sullivan et al., 1994/2001: 68) identifies 'culture' as the sphere of meaning that unifies production or economics and social relations or politics; he therefore warns about the trouble with 'culture' as a multidiscursive analytical concept: that it can be mobilized in a number of different discourses to mean several different things; thus for culture to make sense, it is critical to identify the context itself. I found one, which became the basis for this research project: José Rizal as the contested national hero of the Philippines because and in spite of his engagement in cultural production from literary practices. For this dissertation, I refer to Rizal's engagement as '*heroic poetics*', by which he produced 'discursive literary texts' as outcomes of a '*diaspora effect*': firstly, as a subaltern entering the 'public domain' from an active state of 'diasporic consciousness'; and secondly, as a politicized actor in 'subjective agency' mobilizing the collective in a modernist stance. As such diaspora also becomes a cultural context for exploring Rizal's creative works – the outcomes of his cultural production with which he wrote himself into history – as signifying practice.

⁴ Ibid.: the online reference has this story under chapter V, *My First Reading Lesson*, but I found the translation somewhat filtered and it does not evocatively catch Rizal's "inner fire". So I took the quotation directly from: *REMINISCENCES AND TRAVELS OF JOSE RIZAL*, Centennial Edition (published in Manila by the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, Vol. I, 1961), pp. 36-7. The Commission had been charged by law to prepare the volumes of the Centennial Edition for the first centenary of Rizal's birth on 19 June 1861. I use the whole set of volumes as primary sources for this research project, which are listed in the bibliography, because they cover Rizal's works in the original languages in which they were written and their translations into English, the lingua franca in the Philippines, ever since Spain ceded the country to the United States in 1898 and the language with which the discourse on Rizal has been mainly conducted ever since. Therefore, for purposes of this research project, I use and refer mainly to the English translations.

Theoretically, the thesis and claims of this research project are based on a mix of several theories and propositions of which one is crucial as a launching pad: what human development expert Mark Pagel (2012/2013) posits and demonstrates with analytical and empirical evidence: that the human mind is wired for culture, which, I suggest, not only accounts for cultural diversity but proves that the mind can be freed from its own culture-constructs as implantations and as bindings. The culturally-wired mind can be deconstructed and it can be one's own basis and resource for undertaking paths to emancipation and possibly offering options to the collective for making decisions in that regard. But as scholarly analysis and critiques of leftist intellectuals have been harping on (e.g. San Juan 2002, Denning 2004): that resource from culture needs to be seen within the context of politics, but as possibly only a starting point and not an automatism or solution. Ultimately, political actors and collective interventions need to deal with specific mechanisms to address issues such as human rights, failure of political institutions to work in accordance with checks and balances and incapacities of regulatory systems to ensure transparency and accountability.

Contextually, as this is a research project in political science, I will be drawing bits from history only and primarily to provide a basis for its 'culture' framing and as argumentative evidence for a heroic poetics of diaspora effect in Rizal's works. Rizal's diasporic status began even long before he went into self-exile to Europe in 1882: forced to leave the Philippines for Spain at 21 years of age on the pretext of going to further his studies. Rizal's elder brother Paciano, who had been actively engaged with the secularization of Philippine parishes by native clerics, was a close friend and associate of Jose Burgos who was executed along with two other priests (Mariano Gomez and Jacinto Zamora) and became known as the martyrs of the Cavite Mutiny in 1872. A journalist-historian (Roces 2006: 114-116) describes how they were wrongly accused of having started the mutiny and fell victims to intrigues by some instigators among the religious orders whose seats of absolute power at local levels were challenged. Thus, began a period of persecution against those suspected of being *filibusteros* or anti-Spaniards. Ten years later, Paciano had clandestinely arranged for Rizal's trip, obviously fearing for his safety in the Philippines but also knowing full well he was investing in Rizal's predisposition and patriotic sense. Thus, during the next period of ten years until 1892, Rizal also studied in and travelled to other parts of Europe and became involved in the *Propaganda Movement*, which the *Cultural Dictionary for Filipinos* (Kintanar and Associates 1996: 468) describes as:

... the name given to the Movement organized by Filipino reformists like Jose P. Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, and Graciano Lopez Jaena in the late 19th century, who scrutinized the shortcomings of Spanish rule through their writings. It had a forerunner in the campaign for Secularization led by Fr. Jose Burgos after the mid-nineteenth century but was cut short by the "reign of terror" following the Cavite Mutiny in 1872.

The Cavite Mutiny in 1872 is an important marker in Rizal's status as Philippine national hero because it was a turning point in his own emancipatory path and trajectory towards heroic engagement of his literary practice from the perspective of exile. Therefore, what I propose to examine as *heroic poetics of diaspora effect*

was not an individual concern in Rizal because it had a strong collective orientation, which is suggestive of an early form of Benedict Anderson's (1997) 'long distance nationalism'.⁵ In Anderson's seminal book, *Imagined Communities* (1983), the author alludes to Rizal as "the father of the Filipino nation", while exemplifying Rizal's first novel, the *Noli Me Tangere* (Latin for 'Touch Me Not', translated in English as 'Social Cancer'; to be referred to hereafter as *Noli*) to make his point on the origin of nations. Anderson uses the *Noli*'s opening scene in his chapter on "Cultural Roots" (1983: 27) and describes the reputation of the host of a lavish dinner, Capitan Tiago, whose "house, like his country, closed its doors to nothing, except to commerce and to any new or daring idea" and thus, where "the community of parasites, spongers and gatecrashers whom God, in His infinite goodness, created and so tenderly multiplies in Manila." Anderson (Ibid: 27f) then contends:

... right from the start the image (wholly new to Philippine writing) of a dinner-party being discussed by hundreds of unnamed people, who do not know each other, in quite different parts of Manila, in a particular month of a particular decade, immediately conjures up the imagined community.... [While] Rizal does not have any idea of his readers' individual identities, he writes to them with an ironical intimacy, as though their relationships with each other are not in the slightest degree problematic.

Revolts in the Philippines under imperial Spain have been analysed and classified as resulting from 1) colonial exploitation, 2) religious dominance (by despotic friars in the 19th century), and 3) conspiracies within the army.⁶ The Cavite Mutiny of 1872 was a mix of results in terms of continuity and change in Filipino struggles against oppression but it has a crucial significance for this dissertation in terms of how the ideological triad (reason, religion, and race) that I claim Rizal wanted to explode have already come together in the claims for social justice and racial equality that were basic to the secularization movement. It is not within the framework of this dissertation to go in-depth but it is worth noting that a scholarly analysis is available in *Revolutionary Clergy* by John N. Schumacher, S.J. (1981), which tackles another important angle: the religious character of mass movements drawn from a discursive treatise by Reynaldo Ileto's *Pasyon and Revolution*. An important historical perspective may be seen in a relevant detail from Schumacher (1981: 270), which puts Rizal in a lineage with previous heroic activists:

It was among the clergy, principally Burgos, that the idea of **a separate Philippine nationality** had first been articulated. It was the generation of **university-trained priests around Burgos** who, though themselves crushed, had transmitted the blossoming nationalism to the generation of Rizal. Here in turn, it developed to the revolutionary point where a Bonifacio could believe that the time had arrived to put their ideas into

⁵ Cited in Alan Gamlen's contribution "The Rise of Diaspora Institutions", p. 168, In: N. Sigona et. al. (eds.) *Reimagined Diasporas*, Oxford Diasporas Programme 2015 (UK: Oxford University Press, 2015) accessible at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

⁶ See "The Decline of Spanish Dominion in the Philippines" by Enrique Baltar Rodriguez in: Elmer A. Ordonez (ed.) *The Philippine Revolution and Beyond*, Volume I (Manila: Philippine Centennial Commission 1998) pp. 125-140.

execution. It was the Filipino clergy that continued to support the growing nationalist movement, who were moreover Aguinaldo's chief advisory and inspirational support in 1897 in Cavite. (Highlighting added)

But why should and how could Rizal have carried on Burgos' project?

One might ask, given that historiographers refer to the Cavite Mutiny and 1872 as a turning point in the making of the Philippines as a nation, what implications does that have in the making of Rizal as the Philippine national hero? The event had obviously claimed nameless victims not only during the insurrection itself but also in its aftermath, several going for safety into exile elsewhere, or internal displacements, and others like Paciano whose response was to strategize in a double gaze: sending his younger brother whom he wanted to spare from eventual persecution and under a pact or understanding that this was a way to carry on with Burgos's project: from abroad or in diasporic sites.

Educationalists – who prepared the textbook *Rizal and the Development of National Consciousness* – describe (Romero et al 1978: 19-21) how a Spanish mestizo priest, Pedro Pelaez, spearheaded the first united move against racial discrimination in the middle of the 19th century. The authors explain (Ibid: 20) that the move arose because of the religious question as to whether the right to administer local parishes belonged to regular (friars) or to secular (native) priests, the former claiming that they were better qualified to do so. As ecclesiastical governor of the Philippines, Pelaez used the pulpit, the press and his influential position in Madrid and in Manila to fight for justice, sound values and principles. He appealed directly to the Spanish Queen Isabela II and his recommendations were later embodied in the Educational Reform Decree of 1863. That year, Pelaez died during an earthquake and his work was taken over by Burgos, also a Spanish mestizo member of the clergy, a passionate leader of the secularization movement and a friend of Paciano whose home he had visited and was therefore known to the impressionable Rizal, who clearly took the young priest for his model. Drawing from other scholarly work, the authors summarize (Ibid: 21) a series of critical events. First was a stinging 'Manifesto' that Burgos wrote on 27th June 1864, which he addressed to the Spanish nation to defend the late Pelaez against false accusations and which are indicators of what he stood for:

His brilliant but pointed arguments denied that the friars alone had been responsible for the conquest and development of the archipelago. He believed that the friars were responsible for the backwardness of the country and the fanaticism of the Indio. He accused the friars for having opposed the teaching of Spanish and for having kept the *Indio* ignorant so that they could be kept in perpetual subjugation.

A mutiny of the Spanish fleet in Cadiz against the monarchy in 1868 led to a revolution that deposed Queen Isabela II and ushered in a provisional government of victorious liberals who extended reforms to the colonies that included universal suffrage and basic freedoms (of conscience, the press, association and public assembly). The newly appointed governor-general of the Philippines, Carlos Ma. de la Torre, abolished the censorship of the press and fostered free political discussions. It was in this atmosphere of new freedoms and civil liberties that the

1868 secularization movement flourished. But the friars defended their privileged positions, fought with all the means at their disposal and Burgos became a prime target: he was in the eye of the storm and the rest is history.

So, 1872 remained a critical moment that had left an indelible imprint in Rizal's impressionable ten-year-old mind from which he had drawn a cultural identity based on a politics of memory. That detail can be sourced in a book subtitled *The Filipino as Ilustrado, The Ilustrado as Filipino*, in which author Alfredo Roces (2006: 117) encapsulates the event as follows:

The martyrdom of the three Filipino priests, all mestizos from Cavite, Ilocos and Manila turned symbolic. They came to represent not isolated local rebel-victims, but the flowers of the **emerging Filipino identity** viciously **strangled** for speaking out on behalf of two generations of their **race**. Their fate laid bare a terrible wrong deep in the colonial condition that had to be righted. In February of 1872, Governor-General Izquierdo and his court of frightened friars had sown the seeds of the apocalypse (highlighting added).

Sowing seeds is an important metaphor that also resonates with what I call one of many possible 'diaspora effects': as dispersal. But that is not mere metaphor, Robin Cohen says. Cohen is principal investigator of the Oxford Diasporas Programme that produced the volume *Diasporas Reimagined* referred to earlier, who reminds us in his article (Sigona et al 2015: 2-3) that:

Seeds are integral to the etymology of the word diaspora (the Greek *speirein* meant to sow or scatter). ... However, we need to go beyond etymology alone and think of how seeds are distributed. A farmer throwing out a handful of seeds is one way; bird excrement and wind dispersal are others. The last is the most commonly evoked representation of diaspora, with the image of a dandelion used frequently. This may signify the lack of materiality associated with a postmodern lightness of being (no bird shit, no peasants) or, more likely, a lack of imagination on the part of designers, or those who brief them.

So with those diasporic images, how do we follow Rizal?

From whatever sites or places of displacement in the Philippines or in Europe, Rizal does not show that he becomes dysfunctional, as many people in the diaspora are wont to find themselves: having been taken out of their original homelands and roles. Instead, Rizal uses the circumstances and conditioning effects of the diaspora to re-wire: reproduce and recreate cultural plantations in his mind and to sow seeds in the form of literary texts. There is a 'lightness' with the mode in which he does that, which he demonstrates in the *Noli*, as depicted in the opening scene quoted above. But the point of this dissertation is to explore Rizal and follow his appeal to "*Read Me*": from idea-seeds sown and grown not only in the two novels and the many other products of his literary activism, but especially also in his correspondence and diaries, and to see all that as Rizal's coping with the 'diaspora effect'. As Cohen warns in his abovementioned article (Ibid: 3-7), there are conceptual analogies and 'reading' approaches for analysing diasporic life and related issues other than 'trees of knowledge' from sowing. Cohen, who is

considered the guru of diaspora scholars, points out (Ibid: 6) three things in the following paragraph that are crucially relevant for this dissertation:

Instead of roots and trees, Deleuze and Guattari saw knowledge as a reiterative multiplicity of loose connections being made between meaning, social relations and power, without definite origin or teleology. Like the shoots of rhizomes, they argued that knowledge has a nomadic character, growing from near random wanderings, rather than from a single rootstock. An online journal, *Rhizomes*, has been published since 2000 in tribute to their work. The diasporic connection is hinted at by the evocation of 'nomadism', but it was the Caribbean critic and cultural theorist Glissant who make the most explicit link. Glissant was reacting against what he saw as the central weakness of the theory of creolité, which celebrated the amalgamation of diasporas into one fused culture. This outcome was too static for Glissant, who turned to the Deleuzo-Guattarian rhizome to develop his *Poetics of Relation* (Glissant 1990), *Relation* being grandly capitalized as a core concept signifying the constant making and remaking of the Self-Other dialectic, an explicitly unstable form of creolization.

In this dissertation, fusing a hybrid of evocative notions of rhizomes, nomadic and poetic knowledge can be applied to a mix of 'diasporic-paradoxical readings', which I will elaborate on to track Rizal's emancipatory paths via literary works in the diaspora. Conceptually and methodologically, while this dissertation is grounded in political science, I apply a triangulation of social science approaches and multiple readings to make sense of Rizal's politics of memory for cultural identity.

Thus, I proceed with works where there are clear evidences of that politics, e.g. in his dedications to both of his novels, which came to be known as the *Noli-Fili* sequel: see Illustration 1 (for this and other illustrations see Addendum III).⁷ As

⁷ For this dissertation project, I decided to use the official translations of Rizal's works into English because these are the materials that are used in the study of and discourse on Rizal in the Philippines. English is also the lingua franca in which extensive research on Rizal has been conducted predominantly by American scholars. For the *Noli-Fili* sequel, I use the latest English translations by Ma. Soledad Lacson-Locsin, an acclaimed Filipino bilingual writer who has restored significant omissions in previous translations, which are considered crucial to a faithful rendition of Rizal original works. The translations, which were commissioned for the Rizal's Centennial Martyrdom in 1996 and for the Philippine Independence Centennial in 1998, are accompanied by detailed annotations that had been compiled by the National Commission on Rizal's centenary from various sources and editions which she elaborated upon. In her Introduction to the *Noli*, Lacson-Locsin refers to herself as part of that generation at the turn of the 20th century when Spanish was the language of communication and when "...the perceptions and mores of my early childhood were still largely influenced by the backwash of four centuries of Castilian rule and Catholicism." Then, she proceeds to clarify her approach and makes explicit methodological problems that she had encountered in reading other translations: "Somehow, I had the uneasy feeling that there was a greater pursuit to depict the political and social thoughts of Rizal's time in the context of the translator's milieu rather than simply to tell the story of a different world in a different time. Although translations have to be in tandem with the semantics of the age in which they are read to be appreciated, my own personal view is that they should, as much as possible, capture much of the nuances and cadence of the period in which they had been written, even at the risk of sounding awkward or stilted." Her son, writer Raul L. Locsin edited both books and published them in Makati, Philippines: Bookmark, Inc., in 1996 and 1997, respectively.

Rizal himself declared, the two novels are clearly fictional; but as a product of the late 19th century, they can be read as social-realism, or referred to as historical novels. “The Author, Europe 1886” appears at the bottom of Rizal’s dedication page in the *Noli*.⁸

To My Motherland,

In the annals of human adversity, there is etched a cancer, of a breed so malignant that the least contact exacerbates it and stirs in it the sharpest pains. And thus, many times amidst modern cultures I have wanted to evoke you, sometimes for memories of you to keep me company, other times to compare you with other nations – many times your beloved image appears to me afflicted with a social cancer of similar malignancy.

Desiring your well-being, which is our own, and searching for the best cure, I will do with you as the ancients of old did with their afflicted: expose them on the steps of the temple so that each one who would come to invoke the Divine, would propose a cure for them.

And to this end, I will attempt to faithfully reproduce your condition without much ado. I will lift part of the shroud that conceals your illness, sacrificing to the truth everything, even my own self-respect, for, as your son, I also suffer in your defects and failings.

I see a clear reference to Spain, implicitly acknowledging that the Philippines was a part (a province) of Spain, and an appeal to modernity, which I read as the spirit of the times to consider what needs to be diagnosed and what that means in terms of heroic metaphorical entailments: mobilizing the collective memory to invoke the Divine for the healing that is required. Most significant is a totalizing sacrifice to the truth and a declaration of empathic compassion.

In contrast with the levity in the *Noli*, Rizal’s dedication in his second novel, *El Filibusterismo* (variously translated as ‘The Subversive’ or ‘The Reign of Greed’, to be referred to hereafter as *Fili*) looks cut-and-dried, direct and heavily burdened, as referred to by Roces (2006: 116):

To the memory of the priests [the full names of the priests are mentioned]... I have the right to dedicate my work to you as victims of the evil, which I undertake to combat. (information in brackets provided; see Illustration 3)

In fact, that cursory treatment does not do justice to Rizal’s dedication, which includes a serious allegation that an accounting of the priests’ martyrdom still needs to be undertaken as a proper closure has not been made, and Rizal is very

⁸ Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, 1887, self-published through a printer in Berlin. My references and citations are to the Translation by Ma. Soledad Lacson-Locsin; edited by Raul L. Locsin. (Makati, Philippines: Bookmark, Inc. 1996), unnumbered page. Hereafter, I will refer to Rizal with both dates: 1887/1996.

clear in addressing whom he is taking to task⁹:

The Church, in refusing to degrade you, has placed in doubt the crime imputed to you; the Government, in shrouding your cause with mystery and obscurities, creates belief in some error committed in critical moments and the whole Philippines, in venerating your memory and calling you martyrs, in no way acknowledges your guilt.

Another important text needs to be noticed in the *Fili*, which, in contrast to addressing 'The Motherland' as Rizal does in the *Noli*, he says in the *Fili*, 'To the Filipino People and their Government'.¹⁰

So often have we been haunted by the spectre of subversion which, with some fostering, has come to be a positive and real being, whose very name steals our serenity and makes us commit the greatest blunders. Setting aside, therefore, the old custom of respecting myths in order not to encounter the dreaded reality, we look at it face to face instead of fleeing, and with assertive though inexperienced hand, we raised the shroud in order to uncover before the multitude the structure of the skeleton.

Another evidential text that is loaded with critical signifiers is drawn from a letter dated 18 April 1889 that Rizal wrote to Mariano Ponce, a nationalist writer and one of the core leaders of the Propaganda movement:

Without 1872, there would not be now neither a Plaridel or, a Jaena, nor a Sanciango, nor would there exist brave and generous Filipino communities in Europe; without 1872, Rizal would be a Jesuit now, and instead of writing *Noli me tangere*, would have written the opposite. At the sight of those injustices and cruelties while still a child, my imagination was awakened, and I swore to devote myself to avenge one day so many victims, and with this idea in mind I have been studying and this can be read in all my works and writings.¹¹

Rizal refers to himself as a ten-year old boy already manifesting strong patriotic sentiments upon Burgos's martyrdom as a young priest at 35; at about the same age that Rizal himself was executed in 1896. It is significant to note from the two aforementioned texts what he swore to do and to offer ('poetics' in his writings) and to avenge (heroic combat against unjust victimization). During the second half of the 19th century in the Philippines, well-to-do families (who were the rising bourgeoisie benefiting from industrial progress and scientific discoveries) sent their children to Europe to pursue further education and were referred to as *Ilustrados* or enlightened elites. Initially, Spain became a point of destination and, as in the case of Rizal, it was there that they encountered an atmosphere of freedom, not only for literary interests but to seek liberal reforms. Based in Barcelona and then

⁹ Jose Rizal, *El Filibusterismo*, 1891, self-published through a printer in Ghent. References and citations to Ma. Soledad Lacson-Locsin's translation; ed. Raul L. Locsin (Makati, Philippines: Bookmark, Inc. 1997), unnumbered page. Hereafter, I will refer to this book with both dates: 1891/1997.

¹⁰ Ibid.: also an unnumbered page that precedes the translator's Introduction.

¹¹ Abstracted from a long letter in: Rizal's Correspondence with Fellow Reformists, (NHI: Manila), 1963/1992, 321.

in Madrid, the propagandists became an advocacy group by writing journalistic articles and essays for its periodical, *La Solidaridad*, a fortnightly that appeared for the first time on 15 February 1889 and lasted until 15 November 1895 (Kintanar and Associates: 472). Thus for Filipinos in the diaspora, the periodical became the movement's most important voice and public service medium (Reiterer 1997: 445). All of the extant materials have been translated into English only recently and are accessible in bound compendium volumes (as I have been able to at the Philippine Embassy's Rizalana library; see Illustration 4).

Aside from political and ethnographic essays as discursive cultural products, Rizal produced his two abovementioned novels, Rizal started writing the *Noli* in Madrid, wrote large parts of it in Paris and in Heidelberg, and completed it in Berlin, where the book was self-published in 1887. The *Fili* had a different diasporic journey, some parts of it written in-transit, after "he was forced to leave the Philippines for a second time in February 1888 was also self published in Ghent in 1891 (see Illustrations 5&6). With compatriot exiles in Hong Kong, Rizal mobilised the clandestine smuggling of the books into the Philippines and their distribution "underground", acts that effectively constituted his entry into the forbidden public domain that eventually cost him his life. The novels were pinpointed as direct and clear evidence for treason in a mock trial by the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines, which condemned him to death by firing squad on 30 December 1896, a day that is marked to celebrate his martyrdom as the Philippine national hero. Ironically, it was during the commemoration of Rizal's centennial in the 1990s that the debate was renewed on whether he should not be replaced by some other hero like Andres Bonifacio who, as head of the militant Revolutionary movement, actually fought and gave up his life in battle against the Spanish militia in 1896. (See Illustration 7)

Why has Europe become a destination for labour migrants from the Philippines?

Why Europe has become a destination for labour migrants from the Philippines during the last 30 years are described and explained from various angles in two well-researched volumes (Aguilar 2002¹² and Aguilar 2014), both of which are key sources for having generated empirical data from sociological surveys and social science methods that I refer to and discuss in chapter VI, which contextualizes the Rizal saga in current terms. That chapter deals with how re-visioning and reclaiming Rizal's texts might help to shed light on the situation of Filipinos and other ethnic groups within the European Union (EU) facing a crisis of unprecedented global migrations and an influx of unwanted refugees that are lumped together as a phenomenon of 'diasporisation'. For now, it is important to point out how labour migrants are effecting quiet revolutions just by being in the diaspora: going through a change from victimhood to human agency as they become enabled and empowered "... in their capacity as knowing subjects to impute meaning upon their actions and experiences, while they negotiate and navigate the institutions and structures of transnational migration (Aguilar 2014: 12-13)." Aguilar refers to changes that migrants go through: the different stages of

¹² I refer to the second printing in 2005 of the volume published in Manila by the Philippine Migration Network and Philippine Social Science Council in 2002.

a secularized ritual process (linked to the notion of 'pilgrimage' in Southeast Asia) where migrants "become reflexively aware of the reconstitution of selfhood" while a new subjectivity structurally takes over anxieties and uncertainties (Ibid: 13). In Chapter IV of *Migration Revolution: Philippine Nationhood & Class Relations in a Globalized Age*, Aguilar demonstrates how unforeseen and unpredictable ramifications ensue as the personal and the social impinge upon each other in a "dialectic that lies at the heart of the dramatic social changes to which overseas labour migration have given rise" (Ibid). And that dialectic is a condition with consequential results that I refer to here as the 'diaspora effect'. Expressing that effect through artistic expression or literary activism, as a form of 'subaltern' resistance and emancipatory engagement, is the practice that Rizal employed to challenge hegemonic relations. That practice is what I term 'heroic poetics'.

Filipino Austrians: Transforming Identities and Changing Selfhood Under Conditions of Migration by Gisela Reiterer¹³ tracks changes and trends on the immigration of Filipino labour migrants to Austria as one of the countries with which the Philippine Government had contractual agreements since the 1970s to export its oversupply of nurses and midwives. The scheme not only fulfilled the needs of health care and medical services in Austria: it continued beyond the formal contracts and unleashed a surge of followers. The burgeoning need since the 1980s for domestic and health-care workers as well as in the culinary-gourmet and construction industries within the EU have supported the trend (also observable in the UK, Spain, Germany and Italy) by which waves of Filipino extended families and relatives plus friends have been mobilized and assisted through informal but effective networks to follow suit for economic migration. A few have found employment in the Vienna-based UN organizations; some others such as second-generation Filipinos have found opportunities as business managers and technocrats. They all represent a diversified Filipino diaspora with visible forms of collective unity when they come together in Catholic and other churches and/or for celebrations such as Independence Day when José Rizal is remembered, if no more than as a patriotic reference to the Philippine national hero.

Critically, the questions in rethinking Rizal to re-envision his legacy flow from initial impulses as participant-observer with the migrant communities in Vienna as I became a naturalized Austrian and therefore also acquired EU-citizenship in 1999. Reflecting on my own involvement, pertinent concerns emerged: how can the Philippine national hero be reclaimed or become relevant in contemporary terms by whom, why now and for what? Can Rizal's heroism still provide the usual expectations: symbolic or metaphorical concepts for Filipinos in the diaspora – as a beaconing vision, a lighthouse or anchoring point? Based on what argumentative evidence? No one simple answer is obviously sufficient; the questions go begging for more, which I break down in a series as part of the methodology that I engage in: as a thought process while distilling the varied complex issues.

Thus from my initial survey of the literature on relevant themes I have prepared conceptual frames or maps, which I present and to which I make references as I

¹³ Published in *Philippine Sociological Review* (2008), Vol. 56, pp. 36-55 available online.

navigate various parts of this dissertation. So to begin with, Figure 1 (for this and all figures from hereon, see Addendum I) presents a framing of ‘cultural politics’ with issues that Rizal was concerned about as he activated his mind, pen and texts on three linked themes that I refer to as an ideological triad: reason, religion and race. Rizal’s literary activist engagement – the productive work and outcomes involved – with those themes was explosive because it challenged the cultural bases of Spain’s imperial hegemonic order, which, as I argue here, comprised: 1) a repressive Spanish colonial governance in the Philippines under the absolutist control of religious friars who 2) instituted an oppressively inhuman and discriminatory educational system that 3) effectively excluded ‘Indios’, the derogatory racist term for native-born indigenous Filipinos, from participation in the ‘forbidden’ public domain. While those individual features do not contravene what historiographers (de la Costa, S.J. 1965/1992), biographers (Zaide and Zaide 1984; Locsin 1996) and other Rizaliana scholars have been saying all along, the framing is key in understanding post-modernist readings and discursive interpretations such as those taken by Joaquin (1977) in *A Question of Heroes* and San Juan (1997) in *Rizal in Our Time*. Apropos my proposition in Figure I, San Juan (2014: 47) provides relevant references for demonstrating the power of the mind to explode its own wirings:

The power of Rizal’s critique cannot be overemphasized. One of its basic dimensions consists of exploding the illusion of the inevitability of events by showing that the aura of fatality surrounding them **is due to** how we conceive them, due to **our own frame** of mind, attitudes and dispositions [to paraphrase Buck-Morrs]. Rizal’s critique of colonial ideology via mimesis and symbolism involves the act of **disrupting the colonial-theocratic apparatus** of mystification that surrounds the “moment of truth” found in every effort of understanding life and social experience... Inscribed within the general contradiction between colonized exploited native bodies and universal religion preaching the transcendent community of all souls, we find the particular contradiction between the social classes, genders, ethnicities, and nationalities in the colony. For Rizal, **the species-being**, what is potentially human but repressed in Filipinos, **is in conflict** with the prevailing institutional structure and norms. (Highlighting added)

So, as a dissertation what does this research project propose to achieve?

This dissertation aims to explore and propose theoretical bases (via mental maps and conceptual frames of descriptive and explanatory models) that could be applied in at least two ways: 1) for facilitating evidence-based discourses on literary works as ‘matters of cultural politics’, and 2) for discerning what those in diasporic situations engaged or activated in such cultural politics are/could be critiquing/articulating. That involves considering notions, concepts, categories and indicators for understanding paradigmatic shifts in thinking about reframing narratives and innovative readings on the works of activist writers in diasporic contexts. Specifically focusing on Rizal, this dissertation is concerned with what Filipinos in the European diaspora today could plausibly still reclaim from collating, organizing and dissecting a politics of memory for cultural identity. That entails archiving knowledge on: 1) the influences/inspirations of the Philippine national

hero's ideas/ideals that can be sourced from his deliberate references (e.g. to "classical antiquity" and "the enlightenment"); 2) thoughts that might be discerned from his works on what I claim he critiqued as an ideological triad: reason-religion-race; 3) the cultural polyvalence or complex forms of values that Rizal imbibed from being 'in exile' and how the 'diaspora effect' is demonstrated in his 'heroic poetics'; and 4) the activist practices evident from Rizal's own voice: in the signifiers of his literary works that constitute the primary empirical data (poems, dramas, novels, letters, diaries, essays and political articles).

To exemplify and provide concrete examples, having read various analyses, testimonies and commentaries upon that substantial body of Rizal's epistemology I declare upfront that I have been impressed mostly by San Juan's critical perspectives and radical concerns in *Rizal in our Time* (1997) and *Sisa's Vengeance* (2014), two volumes, which demonstrate not only a thorough grounding in scholarship but an impassioned appeal to understand Rizal's creative vision on his own terms. Typically and succinctly, San Juan (1997: 14) condenses the dialectical process of accessing the 'Other', which Rizal deals with in his novels:

... Ibarra, the protagonist of the *Noli*, found upon his return [to the Philippines] that the **ideals of the European Enlightenment**, especially **the German theme of *Bildungsideal***, amalgamated with Christian humanism, were totally anathema to the ruling class [namely, the Spanish Catholic religious friars who informally but absolutely controlled colonial governance]. Underneath his mask of rationality and science lurked the violence, zeal and cruelty of his lineage, the conquerors of the virginal forest who mercilessly victimized Elias' family – the Elias who saves his life thrice and thus redeems the innocence, promise and hope in Ibarra. (Information in brackets provided)

Enter Simoun, a Jewish jeweller as the main protagonist in the *Fili*, a markedly contrasting character to Ibarra of the *Noli* but who is the 'comeback Ibarra' in disguise whom the Guardia Civil (or local police force) thought they had shot in a river escape scene and killed for good in the *Noli* (see Illustration 6). San Juan's descriptive interpretation is incisive (Ibid: 14-15)

In Simoun, the repressed erupts and **holds its mirror-visage** up to the appearances, exposing them for what they are: distorted fantasmal outlines of a truth that can only be approximated, never possessed. Contemptuous of the manipulated rabble, utilitarian to the core, the Manichean Simoun is defeated not by his immorality but by his excessive **fetishism of memory**. For Simoun, time is frozen, history has become congealed in the reified forms of convent, jewelry or money, emblems of ideological apparatuses. Everything has become transmogrified into commodity, money (silver and gold), exchange-value including the maternal double: the absolute presence of an imago, Maria Clara. Over that phantasmal alterity, the Negation (the creative vision of Rizal) unleashes its indiscriminate power. (Highlighting added.)

Rizal ends the *Fili* with Padre Florentino preaching a sermon that has often been

quoted, mainly for pitching education as the emancipatory path. San Juan suggests (Ibid: 15) that, speaking in the character of a good Catholic priest, the sermon offers an apocalyptic resolving of contradictions. Proposing that the text is the most authentic proof of Rizal's historical-materialist consciousness, San Juan says that it can be read as Rizal's allegorical rendering of a people's struggle, in effect, Rizal conducting a class struggle within the Christian framework in the name of the Filipinos becoming a nation:

The sword plays but little part in modern affairs... I do not mean to say that our liberty will be secured at the sword's point... but we must secure it by making ourselves worthy of it by exalting the intelligence and dignity of the individual, by loving justice, right and greatness, even to the extent of dying for them, - and when a people reaches that height, God will provide a weapon, the idols will be shattered, the tyranny will crumble like a house of cards and liberty will shine out like the first dawn.

So, what thesis is proposed and why would it make a difference?

This dissertation proposes an alternative to the logic of prevailing models and interpretations that view Rizal's works mainly and directly as a result of nationalist patriotic engagement. Taking a critical view different from post colonial studies, my central argument is: Rizal's contested and discursive 'heroism' can be deconstructed by re-visioning his creative literary practice and cultural interventions. These interventions raised the critical issues, questioning 'the public domain', not only to challenge its exclusive confines but also to create new spaces for discourse, thus, breaking into the 'forbidden areas'. In considering Rizal's modernist stance with a diasporic consciousness, I claim that Rizal viewed 'culture' as a discursive space to produce knowledge as well as a non-fixed nor strictly localized condition for cultural production. Using cultural-conceptual tools, Rizal demonstrated his capacities for literacy and literary competence to construct an 'imaginary elsewhere with envisioned others: a transnational 'Filipino collective'.

Thus the **fulcrum** for this research project is constituted from the mix of interests and concerns that compel and propel the **dissertation's thesis**: Rizal's heroic stance was to mediate and negotiate cultural responses in the discursive public domain by holding up a mirror through literary practice as a matter of cultural politics. In short, Rizal's cultural politics, for this dissertation, is a 'heroic poetics of diaspora effect'. That concept implies a double signification arising from the two stages that are involved, and it is necessary to explain the metaphorical concepts that are entailed. In the first stage, I argue that Rizal's heroic poetics were manifested in his 'texts' with which he entered the public domain in the form of well-strategized literary responses as courageous counter challenges to the hegemonic order: initially asserting his claims for basic civil liberties, starting with freedom of speech by the subaltern. Rizal's initial response is viewed as an effect of being in the diaspora: within a situation or state of mind that I frame here as diasporic consciousness. I refer to a mindset or an awareness arising from a multidimensional condition from being displaced, dispersed and/or dysfunctionally fragmented out of one's homeland or previous places and roles that may have implications and consequential 'diaspora effect': which cannot be explained in simple causal relations nor measured in direct linear terms. I therefore posit with

argumentative evidence from Rizal's own works that, employing the enlightenment values of reason and critical thinking, he attempted to implode/explode the cultural underpinnings of Spain's imperial hegemonic order, which is framed in Figure 1. In contrast to others who have written to critique that Rizal has not been revolutionary enough, I argue that Rizal did that Rizal's cultural politics was an evolutionary approach to open up horizons and new possibilities far larger than the short-term results of patriotic nationalist claims and reductionist studies. With paradigmatic shifts in conceptual frameworks and approaches to reading Rizal anew I hope to arrive at conclusions different from what have been largely produced: for classroom study of the national hero or for tendentious policy-making and programmatic agendas or strategies for nationalist-oriented debates, which have focused primarily on his patriotic legacy for Filipinos from the perspective of 'their native land'.

A developmental model for tracking Rizal's emancipatory path is therefore presented in Figure 2, which makes it possible to follow the evolution of his diasporic consciousness or identity: from where he was going, towards which envisioned state, and through which roots or routes? Thus I frame Rizal's literary practice and works as 'heroic poetics' to track: 1) substantive issues of cultural resistance; 2) strategies of coping with, or in response to, the 'diasporic effect'; and 3) how these are linked in temporal and spatial dimensions. Figure 2 maps a diasporic and developmental landscape that needs to be seen as an analytical model in context. And that entails as it implies a much larger dynamics of social-psychological interrelationships within a wider spectrum of cultural challenges and political responses including global networks and philosophical visions, which are mapped out in Figure 3: a conceptual map to locate the dissertation's thesis within the context of the big picture: the cultural-political field and the larger interplay of social power relations and practices.

All that framing is intended to enable new ways of seeing: that will empower critical thinking through transitional paradigmatic and paradoxical fragmentary 'diasporic', readings that are invoked in this dissertation. That, I posit, could shed a different light and lens as cultural perspectives: textually focused double, if not multiple, gazing; and theoretically aware self-reflective distancing while honouring the rich diversity of the retina image: as a landscape of porous and dispersed memories that can be archived but also decentred (in the manner of San Juan abovementioned) as part of that continuous lineage to explore and understand how the present is played out in linkage with the past and to envision 'an elsewhere' in the future (see Figure 4).

Apropos diasporic consciousness and struggles against imperialism: Rizal's heroic stance could be compared with the Cuban national hero and patriot José Martí, whose literary practices and outcomes addressed both issues. Martí was exiled to Spain and after studies there moved to Mexico, Guatemala, before settling in New York, where he prepared for the invasion of Cuba in 1895. He expressed his heroic stance in several essays and poems but especially in *Nuestra América*

(1881)¹⁴ and *Bolivar* (1893)¹⁵. But a comparison would not be within the scope of this study and because both Martí and Rizal wrote from the perspective of exile, could be considered within the framework of heroic poetics of diasporic effects.

How does 'heroic poetics of diaspora effect' apply to the Rizal saga?

That question takes us to the second stage within that prismatic landscape of conceptualizing a 'heroic poetics of diaspora effect': where paradigmatic shifts in cultural identity and memory play out between being 'no-longer-there' (in the presumed homeland or place of origin) and 'not-yet-here' (in the host country) as sketched in Figure 5. Applying diaspora notions/categories and developmental modelling to this project enquiry entails exploring possible implications and consequences of the transformation of the literary writer as a voice that not only represents, but more importantly also, mobilizes the collective, which radically changes the nature of the 'heroic factor' in that process. That process is then not just the effect of diaspora on the individual writer engaging in heroic poetics but also the effect of 'heroic poetics of the diaspora' on the collective.

Rizal's heroism as cultural politics via literary practice for which he was accused of "misconduct" might then be hypothesized as comprising a list of 'metaphorical entailments', a concept that I derive from Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Rizal's "poetic sins" may include: 1) Holding up the mirror (paradoxically involves an 'othering' process) to expose his diagnosis of the 'social cancer' for everyone to see: where/how the Spanish-Filipino relationship (culturally, politically and historically) was terminally moving towards. 2) An evolutionary approach by indicating that issues about the 'political culture' (individual autonomy and sovereignty, independence of the state and governmental reform towards rule of law, representation and participation) were a part of his long-term envisioning but not the priority as yet. 3) Prioritizing a problematic 'cultural politics' (the ideological bases of empire and colonialism) was what required immediate attention, thus, the need to foreground engagements of discourse with power relations in the transnational/global public domain. 4) To stand up as an equal, demonstrating his competencies/capacities to intervene and negotiate with those who use instruments of culture: reasoning, rhetoric, and playing by the rules of the game such as rationalizing hegemonic ideology. It does not matter here whether Rizal was aware that those specified sins were 'mortal'. What matters for this research project is to demonstrate with argumentative evidence Rizal's modernist stance against the imperialist ideology, oppressive colonial regime and the racist discrimination that subjected Filipino Indios under predicaments of slavery and victimhood. Such specified elements for identifying heroism also make it possible to identify genealogies and linkages even in terms of interior and/or exterior migrations (see Figure 6) and to establish the bases for discerning patterns and trends from making analytical comparisons. And so for that, Figure 7 is offered as a matrix to map how diasporic states affect the political actor's cycle of cultural changes: from enculturation through to acculturation to modification and

¹⁴ Martí, José. "Nuestra América." in *La Revista Ilustrada* (New York), January 10, 1891.

¹⁵ '*Bolivar: un discurso de José Martí*', October 28 1893, http://www.josemarti.cu/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/DISCURSO_A_BOLIVAR.pdf

transformation or transculturation.

Rizal provides an interesting case because he had engaged his imagination and poetry to demonstrate how staking one's life and taking risks are associated with heroism as activist resistance on behalf of the collective. Thus, based on the developmental model charted in Figure 2, it is hypothesized that Rizal's heroism can be empirically tracked within a trajectory of emancipatory paths (see Figure 13) where engaging in literary practice (form and content) and its outcomes (see Figure 14) can show how Rizal changes from the position of being 'subject' or cultural agent through to becoming a 'political actor' in 'subjective agency' (see Figures 15). Specific diaspora spaces/settings establish relationships and linkages that can constitute networks of collective action and transnational alliances, each setting provides the contextual narrative for deeper commitments and larger mobilizations that involve not only small acts of courage but also greater risks to one's own life, even as that implicates family, friends and relations causing persecution and exile. Rizal writes about that from his own experience during six months from 6 August 1887: returning to the Philippines for the first time ever since May 1882, when he was sent to Europe. Rizal, aged 27, had spent five years in Europe: earning scholastic honours with a academic degrees and winning friends in scientific circles especially Ferdinand Blumentritt, an Austrian Filipinologist and professor of history in the *Bundesrealgymnasium* in Leitmeritz, Bohemia (then, within the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, now Litomerice in the Czech Republic). Rizal had been corresponding with Blumentritt a year before visiting him and his family in May 1887 (see Illustration 9) shortly before proceeding to Vienna where he stayed from (20-24 May) at the Metropole Hotel on *Morzinplatz*. (See Illustrations 10&11) But Rizal had just completed and published his first novel and had succeeded in smuggling copies of the *Noli* into the Philippines, which was subsequently condemned as a work against Spain by the Committee of religious friars with a recommendation to the Spanish authorities that its circulation be banned.

The *Noli* earned Rizal powerful enemies and he was compelled to leave the Philippines a second time, as shown in the following extracts from a letter (Rizal, Volume I: 161-2) that he wrote to Blumentritt (whom he addresses, *Teurer Freund*) from Hong Kong on 16 February 1888:

At last I can write you freely! At last I can express my thoughts without fear of the censorship of the "Chief". They forced me to leave my country. ... Oh, dear Mr. Blumentritt, you don't know my little odyssey. Without the help of my good friend Taviel de Andrade... Without the sympathy of our Governor, the Director of Civil Administration, and the Civil Governor, I would now be in some dungeon. All the fathers provincial and the archbishop went daily to the General to complain against me. The syndic of the Dominicans wrote a denunciation to the mayor that at night they saw me holding secret meetings with men and women on top of a hill. ... I let the denunciation reach the governor to show him what kind of enemies I have. My countrymen offered him money so that I could leave the country. They asked me to do so not only for my own good but also for their own; because I have many friends and acquaintances who would be deported with me to Balacbac

or Marianas Islands. So that though slightly ill, I hurriedly bid my family farewell, and I return to Europe via Japan and the United States.

Thus, hypothesizing, I contend that Rizal's 'heroic poetics' represent concerns for grievances of the collective can be evidenced from his works in a 'diasporic consciousness' within a two-stage process: 1) as the voice of the subaltern demanding to be heard and recognized; and 2) a demand that is projected to activate/mobilize the collective with determined emancipatory goals: for freedoms and social justice, no matter the cost. In retrospect, Rizal's gravest emancipatory engagement was that of having had the conceit to insist that the most urgent step was to get all Filipinos on the educational bandwagon. If those who went abroad for studies can be faulted for arrogance associated with the label 'Ilustrados' (elites of the emerging bourgeoisie) Rizal's heroic sin was to have flagged education for all, with special concern for the poor and labouring class among aggrieved Indios, as a sine qua non for 'deserving' governance by human rights, civil liberties and other enlightenment values.

A variety of gut responses or deliberate interventions, influencing changes or "effects" in the culturally re-wiring mindset, may arise from a person, as subjective agent/actor, being in a mental and/or physical state of displacement and/or dispersion from what has been referred to as "one's home base" plus a disorientation/fragmentation about a sense of belonging or identity. Diaspora effects, as the phenomenon of interest for this research project, may take various forms (see Figure 5) depending on the reasons for finding oneself in a diasporic space, which may include: inward journeys or pilgrimages into the interiors of the mind; political banishments of individuals/groups reproducing age-old traditional practices; involuntary dispersals of 'extended families' fleeing existential struggles at home; going into exile to flee political persecution or oppressive circumstances such as civil war or climatic disaster; yearning for idealised, romanticized or mythic places; and longing for a nostalgic return to lost homelands where one may relive past traditions, retrieve 'rooted identities' and recover cultural legacies. For this research project, I will refer to longings and yearnings as patterns or "ideal" states that anchor the poles of a spectrum/continuum of diasporic consciousness. Between those poles, variable possibilities of diasporic effects may result from dynamic responses and interplays that can be specified and analysed in terms of inter/intracultural and/or transnational/transcultural coping strategies within a process of negotiating the search for "envisioning-an-elsewhere" or "the lost homeland" with "imaginary-others". I refer to this complex of ideas as dreaming up or deliberately working towards an envisioned elsewhere (Figure 5).

Elaborating my core thesis (Figure 3), I argue that Jose Rizal's emancipatory and activist literary engagement can be viewed as a cultural pitch for 'an envisioned elsewhere' by a political actor with a diasporic consciousness in a modernist mode: involving both a heroic stance/attitude and a committed practice. Thus, integral to this dissertation's thesis are four propositions that are investigated. Firstly, Rizal's modernist responses targeted the cultural underpinnings of Spanish imperialist ideology in the second half of the 19th century, focusing on three issues (religion, reason, and racism), which are considered as an ideological triad. That triad was manifested in a repressive Spanish colonial governance in the Philippines under

the absolutist control of religious friars who added their hypocrisy to insult and injury by instituting an oppressively inhuman and discriminatory educational system that effectively excluded “Indios”, the derogatory racist term for native-born Filipinos, from participation in the public space (see Figures 1 & 2). Secondly, Rizal’s context was a time during the last quarter of the 19th century when globalisation triggered a range of diasporic movements, within a spectrum of opportunities that were open to some and closed to the majority of peoples (see Figure 6). Rizal’s politics of cultural memory and identity, by way of literary activities and creative production, comprised a cycle of cultural learning and re-wiring (see Figures 7 & 9) that empowered his emancipatory paths as he went through various diasporic sites and spaces (Figures 13-15). That complex dynamic process is described with empirical data from Rizal’s own works in the analytical chapters, which is presented for now in graphic terms as the “ripple-effect of Rizal’s literary practice” (Figure 11). Thirdly, aided by Filipino reformers and friends plus contacts with enlightenment thinkers while in Europe, Rizal entered the forbidden public domain of the Spanish imperial system by smuggling his three self-published books into the Philippines as cultural products and political instruments with which he primarily intended to shift the discourse with what has been described as Rizal’s radical critique on the ‘colonial-theocratic apparatus of mystification’ (San Juan 2014: 47). Fourthly, with that shift, Rizal also shifts his modernist stance and literary idiom, moving from speaking as a colonial subaltern to the second stage of his heroic poetics of diaspora effect: speaking not only as an individual but also on behalf of the discriminated Indios and oppressed Filipino collective: Rizal demands changes to end racialized discrimination, articulates claims for human rights and civil liberties, and puts emphasis on the education of Filipinos to enable their effective participation and representation in democratic governance.

How would power in the diaspora, relocated or reloaded, implicate Rizal’s works as ‘heroic poetics of diaspora effect’?

Referentially, it is important to acknowledge at this outset the context and sources for my initial framing concepts and choice of methodological tools: the scholars and their works from whom I derived inspirational keynotes and critical pointers. An eye opener while considering this dissertation as research project was John Docker’s (2001) historical novel, *1492*, subtitled *The Poetics of Diaspora*, which introduced me into adapting a crucial approach: a ‘diasporic and allegorical reading’ with which to analyze the works and historical novels of Rizal as the Philippine national hero.¹⁶ The range of questions and landscape of answers that I map out in this enquiry has been encapsulated in the following succinct review of Docker’s book by William E. Connolly (Ibid: back cover) in his capacity as Professor and Chair of Political Science at John Hopkins University:

... I find this book to be an impressive achievement indeed. The combination of Docker’s own adventure and his interwoven micro-histories spawns an image of identity that exceeds those found in either nationalist stories, univocal versions of monotheism or thin secular models of public culture. Readers will be touched and moved

¹⁶ Published as part of a series edited by Bruce King on Literature, Culture and Identity by Continuum in London and New York.

by this text even as they are drawn to exploration of hidden, forgotten or marginalized dimensions of their own identities. The book is a *tour de force*, and it will have a profound impact of readers in a variety of walks of life and academic fields.

An example of diasporic reading is provided in chapter 5 of Docker's aforementioned book where he admits (Ibid: 84) that he has always been intrigued by Leopold Bloom – James Joyce's protagonist in *Ulysses* – and his 'Jewishness' as in "the frequent disjunctions between Bloom's outer behaviour and inner thoughts". Docker offers to cross the diasporic with an allegorical reading, a derivative method that he makes transparent:

In *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, Walter Benjamin suggests that in allegorical figures in the Baroque theatre and art of the seventeenth century, there is always a teasing tension between mimesis and fantasticality, between an apparent simplicity of moral meaning and the accumulation and multiplying of accompanying representations, personifications, ideas, symbols, text. Benjamin drew attention to the riddle and enigma of allegorical pictorial signs, as in Cesare Ripa's famous *Iconologia*, first published in Rome in 1593... popular throughout Europe for some two centuries as a handbook of emblematic figures. In the *Iconologia*, we observe and ponder fragments of meaning in a dispersed state, laying about close or next to each other, yet not relating or necessarily relating; the fragments often offer alternative allegorical suggestions. Benjamin argues that in Baroque allegory the multiplicity, even chaos, of examples, in fragments, overwhelms any clarity and certainty of interpretation.

Docker's work provides key points of reference for this dissertation project but they have to be seen in context and considered in relation to critical references on the concept of diaspora of relevant expert-scholars. For instance, Rogers Brubaker demonstrates in *The Diaspora' Diaspora*¹⁷, how the use of the term has proliferated since the 1990s, its meaning so stretched in various directions effecting a "dispersion" of the very concept itself. Thus, in that article, Brubaker lucidly traces that kind of 'diasporic effect' in conceptual, semantic and interdisciplinary spaces; analyses what continues to be constitutive core elements of diaspora against the background of theoretical claims on radical shifts in perspective. He points out how the term has been applied to an ever-broadening set of population categories – beyond the classic-historical Jewish/Greek/Armenian – to a larger semantic domain that now includes words such as immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest workers, national-ethnic and exile communities (see Figure 6). Earlier discussions dealt with paradigmatic core cases that were rooted in a conceptual "homeland" by which emigrant groups were also categorized as "diasporas", even when they had been largely assimilated in host countries. And so, Brubaker cautions the analytical implication: if everyone is diasporic, then no one is distinctively so; the term loses its discriminating power or ability to pick out phenomena and to make critical distinctions. Most crucially

¹⁷ In *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 28 No. 1 January 2005, pp. 1–19. (online peer group academic journal edited by Martin Bulmer and John Solomos)

relevant for this project then is what Brubaker suggests: that diaspora could be treated as a category of practice, claim and stance, rather than as destiny or bounded groups, an alternative that safeguards against essentialist assumptions associated with teleological or nation-statist understandings of immigration and assimilation. Brubaker (2005) makes further distinctions: 1) as a category of practice, 'diaspora' is used to make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations, to mobilize energies, to appeal to loyalties; 2) as a category with a strong normative drive, it does not so much describe the world as seek to change it. Those who do the formulating may themselves be part of the population in question; or they may be speaking in the name of the putative homeland state. In either case, not all who are claimed as members of putative diasporas themselves adopt a diasporic stance...often only a small minority of the population such as political or cultural entrepreneurs form groups self-referenced as 'diaspora' (Ibid.).

Bearing in mind Brubaker's scholarly admonition – along with those of Clifford, Gilroy and others – this project might be considered a multiple diasporic response, taking up his suggestion for the analytical treatment of diaspora that integrates Docker's notions, which I appropriate and frame into a system of categorizations as follows:

1. Diaspora as **an idiomatic mode of expression and practice**: “By ‘poetics’, I intend to suggest that we necessarily understand or try to understand identity and belonging, or not belonging, through cultural forms: through representation as in genre, myth, novel, poem, allegory, parable, anecdote, story, sayings, metaphors, puns, riddles.” (Docker 2001: vii)
2. Diaspora as **a stance** (position or viewpoint, attitude and behaviour): “By ‘diaspora’, minimally defined, I mean a sense of belonging to more than one history, to more than one time and place, more than one past and future... to both here and there, now and then. Diaspora suggests the omnipresent weight of pain of displacement from a land or society, of being an outsider in a new one... both lack and excess of loss and separation, yet also the possibility of new adventures of identity and **the continued imagining of unconquerable countries of the mind**.” (Ibid.: viii)
3. Diaspora as **the site for making theoretical claims**: the exploration of journey and movement by a blend of literary, cultural, social and political histories with excursions into theology and religious narratives (Ibid.: viii-ix).

The work of other scholars were particularly useful in contextualizing Rizal's 'modernist stance' in his literary works situated as diasporic practice. Among them, it is important to note Edward Said's seminal works on Orientalism (1978) and Cultural Imperialism (1993), along with being *Out of Place* (1999) with which he goes into a politics of memory that are distilled in *Reflections on Exile* (2000). Johannes Dvorak's two- volume analytical treatment of writers are noteworthy for their range in dealing with modernity as a temporal concept: one at the advent of the modern era focusing on English political philosophers pitching for education especially of the worker class in *Selbsorganisierter Intellekt* (2001); and another spanning the 19th century in *Politik und die Kultur der Moderne in der späten*

Habsburger Monarchie (1997). Both provide a good counterpoint to Amartya Sen's *Identity and Violence* (2006), which contextualizes activism with an Asian twist at the turn of the 20th and 21st century especially where Sen illuminates the violence of illusion to make sense of identity. Between them, I had the benefit of considering *Questions of Identity* (1996), a very useful reader-volume with valuable insights edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, which brings together research from social science authors on a range of conceptual and methodological issues directly germane to this dissertation's concerns. Thus this political science research project entails a social-science enquiry that employs triangulation methods drawing from a wide spectrum of theories and empirical-generated data.

Problematic issues about people of the diaspora are germane to "The Culture Industry": those that indicate how the production of works for mass consumption mask the relationship to power and freedom. In the first instance, the driving forces that cultural entrepreneurs derive from Internet-information, social media and various networking platforms enable the knowledge-based economy to confer and unleash a form of cultural power upon individuals and the mass with the subliminal message that they no longer have to deal with authority. In the second, we might ask how "free time" is now organized within what is supposedly deemed "leisure, as the basis of culture". Of more serious concern are those reflected in T.W. Adorno's cultural theory about the subterfuge ways in which liberal capitalism can be "displaced by a more reified social order under the dictate of instrumental reason", implying in various essays that "the culture industry's effective integration of society marks an equivalent triumph of repressive unification in liberal democratic states to that which was achieved politically under fascism."¹⁸

It is important, as J.M Bernstein clarifies, to read Adorno on the culture industry from the perspective of its relation to social transformation: positive or negative potentialities for promoting or blocking 'integral freedom'. Adorno does not attempt an objective, sociological analysis of the culture industry as a phenomenon in accordance with his view that the division of labour between the social disciplines is not contained in or dictated by their material but has been forced on them from the outside.

There is no discrete or unique object, for example, the mind or psyche, whose objective characteristics entail or directly correspond to the concepts and categories of psychology or psychoanalysis; nor... of sociology, history or philosophy. Rather, the same forces of fragmentation and reification which have produced the great divide between high art and culture industry produced the division of labour among various disciplines.¹⁹

Substantively, this dissertation on 'cultural politics' attempts to understand a politics of identity and memory as well as a politics of difference within a process referred to here as 'cultural othering'. It entails deconstructing Rizal's literary practice and text outcomes as having been produced by the 'culturally wired

¹⁸ T.W. Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected essays on mass culture*. Edited and with an Introduction by J.M. Bernstein. (NY and London: Routledge 1991/2001) p.4

¹⁹ *ibid.* pp. 2-3

mindset'²⁰ of a subjective agency coming to terms with its 'political bindings' – embedded in or disembodied from colonialist governance in a mix of imperialist-religious-ideological implantations. That task involves exploring emancipatory issues from the perspective of 'culture' within a state of mind or site of diasporic consciousness that engages the hegemonic order in the discursive public domain as a way of intervention to assert new terms of negotiating. As a point of departure, with challenges to cultural identity such as those raised by Hall and du Gay (1996)²¹, I hope to contribute to scholarship on discursive practice by 'decentring' the author for re-thinking the concept of subjective agency in examining works of activist writers: in search of what is 'heroic' in poetic metaphorical entailments by which Rizal's role as the Philippine national hero can be de-mythologized.

Conceptually, what is the critical framing question?: how does someone going through different diasporic spaces/sites confront new conditions with varied and changed realities in order to mediate/negotiate emancipatory paths caused by the varied effects: of a diasporic mental state or condition because of being in the diaspora, where one is displaced and/or dispersed from a "home base", thus feeling fragmented and disoriented in the face of unfamiliar and strange possibilities of re-wiring and transacting 'culture' within a context of discursive social power relations? That question implies and begs another: what is involved in becoming aware of the need to cope with having to adjust to different circumstances including the search for new relations: with whom to rebuild and regain a sense of cultural identity in order to feel a sense of "going and/or arriving home"? Although longing and yearning are used interchangeably to describe an emergent diasporic consciousness or a changing state of mind, I will distinguish them for purposes of this academic project: "longings" will be defined here as actively returning to a place of loss in dreams of recovering what was lost in a past; while "yearnings" will refer to future-oriented onward moves on emancipatory trajectories envisioning "an elsewhere".

Therefore, this dissertation is designed to explore how paradigmatic shifts of cultural identifications and memory as politics within Rizal's emancipatory paths are relocated in diasporic sites. Although it is not within the scope of this dissertation to answer them, it raises core issues pertinent to political science: what is the role and significance of identity in the modernist struggle within political constituencies or entities where individuals or social groups articulate so-called inalienable rights? How are those rights reflected in or affected by constitutional rights and the rule of law? How do power configurations work to accommodate or not to include peoples engaging in emancipatory issues within the new 'political culture'? The question refers to those who transact with different cultural resources that they bring to negotiate within governance institutions for checks and balances.

²⁰ As mentioned earlier, I derive my reference from Pagel who unravels and demonstrates how our minds are hardwired for culture in his book, *Wired for Culture*, first published in the U.S. in 2012 by W.W. Norton & Co. Inc. and published in the UK by Penguin Books 2013, the edition that I refer to.

²¹ The volume, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, is itself a valuable example of discursive practice where a range of scholars take different positions from different perspectives and frames. First published in 1996 in the UK, the book went through several reprints and I refer to the one in 2013.

Those resources impact on new forms of privilege and status as well as on demands for distributive justice designed to empower everyone in the body politic as active participants in the public domain on equal and equitable terms. Then, with Rizal's assumed liberal humanist and cosmopolitan transnationalist perspective, this project puts the human being as the constructive social force or central agent in society but ultimately raises the cultural issue with questions we saw from Lasswell's politics: who has the right to do what with whom in the public domain, when and where, how and why?²²

The above mentioned questions have implications for considering the role of nations and nation-states in the context of 21st century globalization as Stanley Aronowitz reports in *Global Capital and its Opponents* (2013:179ff) where: new forms of imperialism take place but a new proletariat class is emerging: out of the worldwide exodus of refugees from oppressive governance, war, climate change and famine joined by mass migrations of people from rural areas and domestic workers who have been displaced/dispersed in their country's mega-cities, where many are reduced to subsistence living and penury. Altogether and already, Aronowitz points out, they show signs of creating a new collective power: sites of resistance and mobilization for political protest. I submit that those who are not able to leave their countries remain as unrecognized 'victims' of diasporization: being displaced from non-profitable or industrialized agricultural sites, dispersed in urbanized landscapes, and become fragmented or dysfunctional as collateral damage to the ongoing technological and digital developments of e.g. optimizing agro-businesses and the needs of the industrial-military complex. 'Diasporisation' may give rise to what Zygmunt Bauman refers to as 'the proximity of strangers' that breeds a new kind of 'diasporic terror' involving "groups of people resettling in new countries but not relinquishing their original identity."²³ In *The Stranger as Terrorist*, Bauman highlights the anti-immigrant rhetoric as resulting from conditions of precariousness, which the migrants/strangers embody as 'walking dystopias' in whom fears are projected: that "if it could happen to them, it could happen to us, too."²⁴

Indeed, there is a type of diasporic consciousness that emerges as a dissonant effect and a coping strategy that may have nothing to do with literary engagement, which may constitute either vague or intense feelings of the need to search for one's integral self in a new autonomous comfort zone that conveys feelings of a proper homeland. Rather than being integrated, perhaps those who come into diasporic situations need first and foremost vehicles for mutual understanding of cultural values and differences as well as the implications of adjusting to new situations within the host country. Learning how to communicate with each other or articulating oneself during the early stages may determine whether and to what extent one is made to feel 'forever a stranger or outsider'. Upholding nation-state or cultural values in strong terms at the outset may be turn-offs: the sense of non-

²² For Lasswell's Communication model see

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lasswell%27s_model_of_communication

²³ Sociologist Bauman delivered the Jan Patocka Memorial Lecture 2015 at the Wien Museum, which I attended. My citations herein are derived from Report by Veronika Pehe, Institut für die Wissenschaft für Menschen, IWM Post, No. 116, Fall/Winter 2015, page 13.

²⁴ Ibid.

integration generated may not come into the radar of those involved with efforts in the host country at 'integration': policy or project initiatives that put emphasis on skills assessment and/or improving language competencies as a way into the labour market. But those ideas and notions are mentioned here merely to underline the complex nature of the term 'diaspora'. It is also to recognize that diaspora is itself a critical part of the globalizing context and to underscore the myriad ramifications that are beyond the scope of this research project.

In this regard, I have already referred to some contributors from the interdisciplinary multi-authored volume, *Diasporas Reimagined: Spaces, Practices and Belonging* (Sigona et al. 2015). I find that volume heuristic in that it deals with a spectrum of pointers on current discourses, conceptual tools and a wide range of issues via the results of empirical research that has been well endowed with adequate resources. Here's a valuable insight relevant to this dissertation from Alpha Abebe and Jyotsana Saha (Ibid: 19):

Scholars have observed that 'diaspora' represents more than a fixed identity, a passive experience, or a theoretical term. It is a *practice* as well, including conscious action, negotiation, and articulation. The visual and literary arts have served as an important platform for this practice of identification, as it is often through the process of creating artistic narratives that diasporic identities also take shape. The flexibility of artistic mediums is conducive to the fluid and often ambiguous nature of diasporic subjectivities – with their shifting relationships to place, myth and memory. It allows individuals and groups the space to imagine and long for their places of belonging, particularly when their desire to belong is not satiated by their current locale.

Referring to long and large frames in temporal and spatial terms by which people in the diaspora resolve the process of identity-building, which involves responses from daily struggles of coping with acculturation strategies out of shifting identifications, both authors (Ibid.) unwittingly, make an appeal for patience by all involved in what I refer to as a complex process of 'Othering', in the case of Rizal, a 'Mirroring':

Questions of home and belonging can be complex for diasporans who migrated from their place of birth, but even more so for their children and descendants. For those who were born or raised in the diaspora, it can be difficult to feel settled when they have such ambiguous ties to both their countries of citizenship and origin. Often their social, cultural, and political lives are spread across multiple places, some of which they have never been to outside their imagination. While it may be challenging to live in this liminal space of 'in-betweenness' it can also be a beautiful and productive place ripe for creative thought and expression. It is a place from which one can observe the world through a lens of curiosity – a lens that can shift its perspective and proximity with greatest ease than most.

Analytically, for this dissertation, I define a 'heroic poetics of diaspora effect' as a phenomenon among persons, as subjective agents, by which the mindset of a

person in the diaspora goes through a two-fold developmental phase of cultural change from re-wirings. The first stage constitutes a heroic-poetics of diaspora-effect (or H-P of D-E in formulaic terms), entailing paradigmatic shifts of diasporic consciousness through, as in the case of Rizal, literary practice as his deliberate choice of coping strategy in dealing with 'the effect' of being in the diaspora: to (re)construct creative spaces and sites for questioning one's displacement and fragmentation and/or re-visioning one's sense of 'cultural identity and 'belonging'. The second stage concerns 'the effect' on the collective, such as Rizal achieved: mobilizing and activating the 'Filipino nation' towards 'an envisioned elsewhere', thus heroic-poetics-of-diaspora effect (or H-P-of-D E). That formula and the theoretical framework along with the consequent diasporic reading as a methodological approach are derived/adapted partly from John Docker's, 1492: *The Poetics of Diaspora*.²⁵

In *Between Camps* Paul Gilroy (2000/2001:125-126) makes appeals to 'diaspora' as "social ecology of identification" for which he offers several implications and possible applications. Gilroy provides an important reminder about the etymological association of diaspora, as dispersion, with 'sowing seed', which makes a demand: that we attempt to evaluate the significance of the scattering process against the supposed uniformity of what has been scattered (population groups or represented collective). Thus, diaspora posits important tensions between here and there or between then and now as well as spatial allusions between the seed in the bag/pocket or the seed and bag/pocket in the ground. Then, Gilroy remarks that diaspora can be a tool to reassess ideas of absolutist and fundamentalist invocations of organicism or 'rootedness' to ground identity, which made ideas of 'nation' and 'citizenship' appear like natural rather than social phenomena.

Rizal, who was sent to Europe by his older brother Paciano saw his study-mission to Europe as 'a pact': to observe, collect and share information about 'progress' in the 'public domain', the term that I use here for interventions by civil society to distinguish it from the 'public arena' or site of 'political culture' where institutionalized power politics takes place. Thus, I posit that Rizal's texts can be 'methodologically read' from a 'modernist' stance and diasporic standpoint by which Rizal engaged in 'negotiating cultures': to implode and explode the colonial-imperial borders of the culturally-wired mind: with pen and words as his cultural weapons or swords (see Figure 1). An important premise for my thesis is based on initial readings of Rizal's texts that indicate creative interests and innovative pursuits across and between cultures, which has resonances in the 'cultural pluralism' of Eugene Barba, that Ian Watson and colleagues (2002) describe as strategic relations inclusive of "the possibility of various cultural transactions" (Ibid: 2). That modernist stance also resonates with current notions and ideas of culture as James Clifford's "negotiated present process" and Clifford Geertz's 'system of symbols' by which humans confer significance upon their own experience'.²⁶

²⁵ Back cover of Docker's book: 1492: *The Poetics of Diaspora* (London/New York: Continuum, 2001).

²⁶ Quoted and cited in *Negotiating cultures* (sic), a book referring to Watson and colleagues as authors, published by Manchester University Press in the UK/USA in 2002.

What is 'long distance nationalism' and how does the heroic factor or patriotism in the diaspora affect transnationalist orientations?

In *Reimagined Diasporas* (Sigona 2015: 32) Nicholas Van Hear (in his essay, "Spheres of diaspora engagement") refers to 'long distance nationalism', a notion attributed to Anderson (1998) as "the ways diasporas exert influence from abroad while not bearing the consequences of their interventions in the homeland." It is a notion that is relevant in focusing on the heroic factor within a poetics of diasporic effect and can be aligned with the theoretical concerns that James Clifford raised in his essay on *Diasporas*²⁷: "what is at stake, politically and intellectually in contemporary invocations of diaspora"? And, equally important, Clifford asks methodological questions:

How do diaspora discourses represent experiences of displacement, of constructing homes away from home? What experiences do they reject, replace, or marginalize? How do those discourses attain comparative scope while remaining rooted/routed in specific, discrepant histories? (Ibid.: 524)

Tracking diaspora akin to a survey where one sees the tips of many icebergs, Clifford reveals "[A]n unruly crowd of descriptive/interpretative terms" that jostle and converse to characterize the contact zones of nations, cultures and regions: border, travel, creolisation, transculturation, hybridity and the diasporic. Flashing back to the first issue of the journal *Diaspora* in 1991, we are reminded that editor Khachig Tölölian (Ibid: 524f) described how that term now shares meanings with a larger domain that includes immigrant, expatriate, exile, guest worker, overseas and ethnic communities. Clarifying how the "*centered*" *diaspora model* (attributed to William Safran) is "oriented by continuous cultural connections to a source and a teleology of "return", Clifford suggests that Safran's undertaking may help us see what is involved in identifying the range of phenomena referred to as "diasporic".²⁸ Showing how a broad spectrum of minority and migrant populations also share diasporic forms of longing or yearning, memory and identification, Clifford (Ibid: 526) maintains:

This overlap of border and diaspora experiences in late twentieth-century everyday life suggests the difficulty of maintaining **exclusivist paradigms** in our attempts to account for **transnational identity** formations. (highlighting added)

Struggling to grasp the spectrum and spectre of such a whirling and vast phenomena, we can reflect with Immanuel Wallerstein who narrates an enduring battle that emanated from the Age of Enlightenment, which resurrect ghosts of "universalisms" and "essentialisms", evident in the rhetoric of Western powers who continue to justify their "right to intervene" especially with regard to "others": mostly in countries of so-called developing economies and their poverty-stricken

²⁷ In: *Internationalizing Cultural Studies*, An anthology, edited by Ackbar Abbas and John Nguyet Erni (UK/USA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 524.

²⁸ References to Safran are to his pioneering essay, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return", in the first issue of *Diaspora* (1991), Ibid.: 526-528.

populations where activists have been variously seen as endangering, if not altogether rolling back, the thrust and march of democracy and human progress.²⁹

Along that line, I take inspiration from Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), that literary-historical and discursive study of the West in its relationship with the decolonizing world, with which he traverses the dialogue between culture and politics under the imperial enterprise by demonstrating how writers, as 'subjected personalities' and objectified peoples, have been producing vigorous cultures of resistance as political opposition. But I also link up with Gerard Delanty's treatise on *Modernity and Postmodernity* (2000) where he suggests that modernity "...may now be refracted through the prism of culture and in this reconfiguration of the modern worldview there has been a turn to issues of identity and community, a movement that could be seen as the aesthetic into everyday life." (Delanty 2000: x and xi,).³⁰

I therefore locate the litany of issues and concerns raised in this chapter within a conceptual framework or model that emerged in the 1870s, which views 'modernity' as a cultural political question within a temporal frame. Specifically for this dissertation, concerning heroic engagement or activism for civil liberties and human rights in relation to democratic claims within a globalized scale, I conceptualize the "*diasporic public domain*" as the site in which transnationals engage fragments of themselves as an alliance of identifications. I derive that position mainly from Docker (2001) and those who deal with dual to multiple frames of reference for various kinds of transnational formations in the diaspora such as Steven Vertovec (2009).

It is in light of the preceding train of thoughts that this dissertation needs to be seen: as an attempt to understand a process within the diaspora, focusing on its effects as literary practice on heroic activism. This focus is an approach to diaspora as a field of mobilizing communities abroad with religious/ethnic motivations or for mainly economic or electoral purposes or, of late, for militant/terrorist goals. Arguably, it is in this social economic field where heroes of the nationalist patriotic kind may be found but it is not within the purview of this dissertation to demonstrate that point. Rather, the questions I raise are also efforts at understanding how diaspora individuals and/or groups are caught up in that entangled tension with and against norms of cultural imperialisms, nation-states or of claims by indigenous/ethnic peoples. In fact, a critical concern of my thesis is how heroism plays out among diasporic individuals and/or groups within the EU who, for various reasons, live outside their native birthplaces or original homelands but actively yearn for and seek changes to the status quo or hegemonic order in their host countries from which they feel *effectively* alienated, dispersed or displaced. Consciously/unconsciously, diaspora people manifest or demonstrate "outsider" attitudinal and behavioural characteristics because of a sense/sensibility

²⁹ See Immanuel Wallerstein's *European Universalism: The Rhetoric of Power* (New York: The New Press, 2006), in particular, his extensive discussion of the Las Casas-Sepulveda cultural-political debate as also Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) that he refers to.

³⁰ Gerald Delanty, *Modernity and Postmodernity: Knowledge, Power and the Self* (London/New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), x and xi.

that their identities are constantly being questioned or that their shifting and varying identifications are unaccepted by the dominant social milieu (not necessarily majority population groups) in which they find themselves. But along such fault lines there are those who, because of physiognomic aspects (such as Africans and Asians in Europe) are easily identifiable as clear-and-simple “strangers forever” and are, therefore, immediately “questionable” no matter how they try to fit in or have become, in fact, assimilated. Therefore, a “them/us” structure of exclusive/inclusive relations ensues, which affects diaspora people manifesting a keen desire to get out of that “them” label: to be with like-minded people and kindred spirits that may intensify a longing and/or yearning for an envisioned elsewhere with imaginary others. Alternatively, forms of mobilisation to enable better integration within the cultural-political system may emerge to challenge current transformative measures.

Displaced from their native birthplaces and original home structures, detached from familiar relations and functional roles, dispersed in places not representing that desired place-to-return-or-go-to, I argue that people of the diaspora engage poetic forms of articulating and communicating (of which writing is focused in this dissertation) as a coping strategy. That may or may not differ from the more commonly known negative diaspora effect: namely, a sense of deep irretrievable loss and inability to recoup or find one’s bearings involving a psycho-social disorientation and/or a cultural alienation with a sense of losing one’s purpose in life, which may lead to all sorts of alternative escape mechanisms such as drugs, gambling, anomalous behaviour and militant terrorism.

Research-wise, this is an academic enquiry that can be read as a journey: from literary practice through discursive cultural studies into ‘the political’ and the ‘public question’. My interest lies in examining the interfaces between politics and culture, in particular, the role of literary-artistic practice in a diaspora context: where humans have to re-wire the cultural mind as a coping mechanism and strategic response to ‘diasporic effects’ (see Figure 5). It cannot be overemphasized that ‘the effects’ of being in a diasporic mental state as a site for coping with new challenges and possibilities such as re-strategizing and re-visioning a life – checking one’s bearings for what’s opportune and thinking up emancipatory paths – are not easily accountable in linear causal relations or measureable terms. But they come through in various narratives since antiquity and have been analysed as social historical realism in several books ranging from the Bible’s *Exodus* and Mohammed’s *Hegira* to Arthur Schnitzler’s *Der Weg ins Freie* (1990/2002) and Eduard Said’s *Out of Place* (1999). From the 19th century onwards, many women writers in varied states of ‘diasporic consciousness’ have also re-empowered themselves by going into self-reflective migrations where the protagonists are projections of the author’s imaginative “othering process”, a state of mind as exemplified by Jane Austen in *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) George Eliot (1871/1872) in *Middlemarch* and Bertha von Suttner (1889) in *Die Waffen Nieder*. This research project does not intend to play up diasporic consciousness as something sacred or a normative imperative. For there are myriad stories of terrors among exiles as Toni Morrison (1997/1999) narrates in *Paradise* (about descendants of freed slaves and survivors from hostile worlds who take refuge in a small diaspora community). And, focusing on women, scholars such as Neferti

Tadiar³¹ have been demonstrating how to think about dehumanizing stories and human disposability as in the case of overseas migrant workers from Asia, especially women in domestic and entertainment services. Notably, Tadiar does that with a new and daring epistemological range that empowers knowledge and cultural production with critical paradigmatic shifts through cultural studies into critiquing the global military-industrial complex.³²

How when and where do culture and politics interface or intertwine?

In *The Political Mind*, subtitled *A Cognitive guide to Your Brain and It's Politics*, George Lakoff laments that at the time his book was published in 2008, several academic disciplines especially in the social sciences, including his own field of Linguistics, have not developed far and are still enmeshed in the 'old' Enlightenment view of reason. Thus the political ramifications of such 'new' Enlightenment ideas as frames, prototypes and conceptual metaphors are not yet well integrated (Lakoff 2008: Chapter 18). He contends, "We are now in the stage described by Thomas Kuhn in which the new and old paradigms coexist with little interaction" (Ibid: 243). In describing the political import of thinking in frames, Lakoff acknowledges sociologist Erwin Goffman who used the metaphor "Life as a Play": life being made up of narratives by which each form of institution or practice is likened to a drama with people playing roles through dialogues and well-defined actions. A significant aspect of the idea of frames is to think of them in terms of nodes and relations: top levels being fixed representations of things perceived as always true of situations; the lower levels comprising terminal slots that need to be filled by specific data such as necessary conditions and assignments; and related frames being linked together into frame systems. (Ibid: 248f) Further, we learn that "scripts" link frames on the one hand and narratives on the other (i.e. frames that tell a story with a moral or a point to it as well as emotional content.) Moreover, and here's a crucial point: that classical theory and philosophers of antiquity going back to Aristotle had assumed language to be literal (expressing ideas that fit reality directly) and therefore claimed that metaphor based on similarity was an abnormal use of language. Contrary to that claim, Lakoff's empirical based studies had taken him to the same conclusion as Michael Reddy (cited in Lakoff 1991: 252-3) showed in "The Conduit Metaphor" in 1979: metaphor is conceptual, a matter of thought, with language being secondary.

Words are containers for ideas, and communication is putting ideas into words and sending them along a conduit – a means of communication – to a listener or reader who then extracts the meaning from the words.

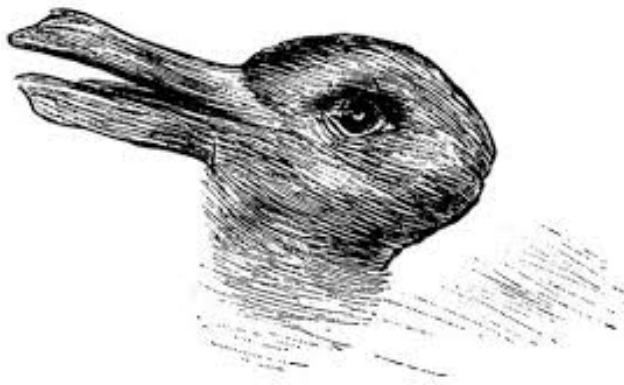
Thus contextually, in positioning Rizal's emancipatory paths and literary activism towards the end of the 19th century as a matter of cultural politics – rather than as patriotic revolutionary activism for sovereign independence the dissertation thesis can be viewed differently as follows: Rizal's legacy can be deduced as a cultural heroism that produced a political Manifesto. Rizal's creative practice and cultural products were literary diasporic outcomes that showcase the power of poetic

³¹ see online www.barnard.edu/profiles

³² Tadiar, Neferti X. M. . "Life-Times of Becoming Human." Occasion: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Humanities v. 3 (March 1, 2002), <http://occasion.stanford.edu/node75>.

resistance in mobilizing the collective beyond narrow nationalistic concerns. Rizal's outcomes reveal coping strategies from cultural dispersals and the consequent re-visioning that constitute 'heroic poetics of diaspora effects'. That thesis entails a paradigmatic shift: it proposes a view on Rizal from modernist diasporic readings as a cultural hero: namely, as one who actively resisted the hegemonic order by engaging the use of reason as a tool for exploring what was going on and his own role in it. Effectively, it is an approach to understand Rizal's role and legacy in terms of what Lakoff (2009) identified as 'cultural wars' that take place in the 'political mind'.

Paradigmatically, as to shifts in ways of seeing, I also posit that a transnational orientation and the effects of being in the diaspora are keys to understanding Rizal's cultural heroism, on the one hand, and his political activism on the other – out of which his demands to create a space for public discourse towards liberal democratic reforms within a new form of secularist civil society – can be explored in a different light and through a different way of 'double gazing'. These two views on Rizal's legacy consider different realities that are normally seen separate from each other, depending on the focus or angle of viewing and two see them both requires a paradigmatic shift in seeing. I argue that Rizal grappled with the old dichotomy of reason versus emotion while going through the diasporic sites within which he strategized his emancipatory paths and responses. Thus, it is possible to locate the products of his creative literary praxis as producing meanings while in diasporic phases/sites, positioning a *Weltanschauung* that enables differentiated kinds of seeing and viewing each aspect (of a hero's engagement and metaphorical entailments) in a different light as cultural-politics. In this regard, Kenneth Minogue's "*Machiavelli and the Duck/Rabbit Problem of Political Perception*" refers to the perceptual puzzle that Ludwig Wittgenstein applied in his *Treatise on the Logic of Philosophy*: an image that alternates between a duck and a rabbit, which is a way of describing two different ways of seeing: seeing as and seeing that.³³



³³ Kenneth Minogue's article on pp. 169-179 is taken from *LSE ON SOCIAL SCIENCE, A Centenary Anthology*, edited by Helen Sasson and Derek Diamond, first published 1996 in LSE Books by The London School of Economics and Political Science, and in the USA by Transaction Publishers, 1997.

See footnote.³⁴

In referring to this model of perception, Minogue explains:

This image is invoked because Wittgenstein is exploring the logical grammar of the concept of “seeing”: What kind of an activity is it? Is there a difference between seeing an object, and seeing an object as something else. The logical grammar of ‘see’ here clearly parallels that of ‘understands’. The object in this and other cases that Wittgenstein discusses has different *aspects*, and seeing the object as duck, or as a rabbit, is attending to one or another ‘aspect’ of the image. Wittgenstein describes our response to one or other perception as ‘the dawning of an aspect’ (Wittgenstein 1974, 206c). Thus he takes the case of children playing, and imagining a chest in terms of the metaphor of a house, and this he calls the ‘dawning of an aspect’.³⁵

In that connection the Berlin Institute for Cultural Inquiry had *Kippbilder* (or multistable figures) as point of departure during the 4th year (2010-2011) of its inaugural core project to explore the topic *Tension/Spannung*: Methodologically for purposes of this research project, some pointers are relevant, which I have extracted from the website³⁶: it is noteworthy that from the class of optical illusions, *Kippbilder* images continue to inspire cognitive scientists as models for enquiring into complex epistemological, aesthetic and ethical tensions. Viewers/readers/observers see *either* duck *or* rabbit, but not both at the same time. The image, *both* duck *and* rabbit, cannot be reduced: it is *neither* only duck *nor* only rabbit. It is the mix – simultaneity (the coexistence of aspects in one image) and consecution (the change of one aspect to another) – that yields *either/or* and *both/and*: There is no resulting synthesis. Recognizing of different shapes from that one image signifies that: the perceived shape is both less and more than the sensory data, which the image provides. The Gestalt or unity of form of duck or rabbit is more than the sum of black and white pixels in the image. Secondly, multistable images highlight the activity of the perceiving subject with the possibility of productively mediating and distinguishing between subject and object, reality and construction, natural and conventional categories. Since there is no quarrel on the recognizable shapes, the images imply no radical subjectivism, relativism or constructivism. *Kippbilder*, where one can easily shift from one aspect to another, are rare. Even when images allow for several aspects, each perceived Gestalt often relies not only on eliminating other potential shapes (as in antagonistic politics), but also on reducing the image’s complexity (reductionist fallacy), marking a few traits while ignoring others (blind alleys). Thirdly, the task of revolutionaries in politics as well as in art or even science is to imagine other ways of seeing, experiencing and living; making things visible and realizing them in an irreversible manner. Kuhn reportedly said, “What were ducks in the scientist’s world before the

³⁴ "Kaninchen und Ente" ("Rabbit and Duck") The earliest known version is an unattributed drawing from the 23 October 1892 issue of *Fliegende Blätter*, a German humour magazine. It was captioned "Welche Thiere gleichen einander am meisten?" ("Which animals are most like each other?"), with "Kaninchen und Ente" ("Rabbit and Duck") written underneath. from the 23 October 1892 issue of *Fliegende Blätter* retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rabbit-duck_illusion

³⁵ Op. cit. Minogue, p. 171

³⁶ https://www.ici-berlin.org/projects/kippbilder-multistable-figures-2010-11/?_sf_s=kippbilder

revolution are rabbits afterwards.” But rather than implying revolutions, different aspects can co-exist in different disciplines, different systems, discourses and cultures. Each has the view of a complete reality in which nothing is missing, but none describes all of reality. Finally, while it is questionable whether it makes sense to posit a pre-recognized reality – i.e. to apply the duck-rabbit model, it is clear that the practice of shifting back and forth between different aspects and seeking to re-integrate elements recognized only from another perspective carries a productive potential. It may not lead to a better, fuller description, let alone to a synthesis. Nevertheless, it helps in producing fruitful tensions on either side in contradistinction to an indifferent co-existence or to the feared violent conflict.

This dissertation might also be seen partly as responding to Chantal Mouffe’s theoretical reflections in *On the Political*, and invitation to imagine other routes or other political modes of construction in considering the we/they distinction as “the condition of possibility of the formation of political identities” (2005/2006: 16-17). And so I argue, that that can be done via a matter of cultural politics, as in the case of Rizal: that is, by engaging literary practice to challenge the us/them underpinnings of Spanish cultural imperialism and to envision democratic pluralism within its hegemonic order. Within Mouffe’s theoretical framework (Ibid: chapter one), two key concepts are crucial in taking account of ‘the political’ and ‘politics’. The first is hegemony, which requires recognizing the hegemonic nature of every kind of social order, that is, every society is the product of a series of practices to establish order within a context of contingency. Further, she contends that there is a temporary and precarious articulation of contingent practices where the frontier between ‘the social’ and ‘the political’ requires constant displacements and renegotiations between social agents. (Ibid: 18) In effect, every hegemonic order is susceptible to being challenged by counter-hegemonic practices capable of disassembling the existing order to install another hegemonic form. Extending that argument to collective identities, Mouffe clinches her advocacy for an alternative approach to democratic politics: that identities result from processes of identifications that can never be permanently or completely fixed.

We are never confronted with ‘we/they’ oppositions expressing essentialist identities pre-existing the process of identification... the constitution of a specific ‘we’ always depends on the type of ‘they’ from which it is differentiated... a crucial point because it allows us to envisage the possibility of **different types of we/they relation** according to the way the ‘they’ is constructed. (Ibid.: 18-19 highlighting added).

Rejecting universalisms or essentialist identities, Mouffe also goes against the hegemonic or dominant tendency of a rationalist/individualist approach to liberalism that a priori forecloses acknowledging the pluralistic nature of collective identities and reconciling competing interests merely through negotiation or deliberation. Instead, she offers a crucial relational feature, the second key concept: agonism within an adversarial model that enables the transformative task of democracy, through the establishment of ideas, institutions and practices, to play out potential antagonisms in agonistic ways where dissenting voices can exist without resorting to violence.

While antagonism is a we/they relation in which the two sides are

enemies who do not share a common ground, **agonism is a we/they relation** where the conflicting parties, although acknowledging that there is no rational solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents. They are '**adversaries**', **not enemies**... while in conflict, they see themselves as belonging to the same political association, as sharing a common symbolic space within which the conflict takes place...(Ibid.: 20 highlighting mine)

Methodologically, a survey of the literature relevant to mapping a theoretical framework of cultural politics constitutes the basis for framing and re-visioning the primary source materials on Rizal via in-depth critical readings in multi-layered and multifarious ways: paradigmatic, diasporic prismatic and paradoxical parodic.³⁷ Specific approaches to reading Rizal's literary outcomes, viewed as a heroic poetics of diaspora effect, need to be borne in mind. Firstly, as already elaborated above, a 'diasporic reading' of Rizal's works is adapted from Docker's 1492: *The Poetics of Diaspora*³⁸ by which signifiers/meanings are derived. Secondly, Rizal's works are extracted, explored and critiqued, not in terms of literary achievement or aesthetic forms, but within the frame of Roland Barthes' understanding of 'literature': the complex inscription of celebrating and tracking writing as a signifying practice, which enables a microscopic or 'close reading' by breaking up the text, extracting the related codes and creating powerful fragments that can be mobilized for critical discourse in the public domain, a methodology elucidated by Jonathan Culler's volume, *Barthes* (1983)³⁹. And thirdly (but not the least), I reconstruct the retina-image of a diasporic landscape in the eyes of Rizal as he himself went through diasporic journeys, especially while studying in Europe during the last two decades of the 19th century when he engaged in literary practice, the outcomes of which clearly took him into the forbidden public domain.⁴⁰ That methodological perspective also involves the two viewing instruments: one, the lens of the hero as poet (see Figure 4) for magnifying and focusing on the literary praxis by which he dealt with specific themes, metaphors and the symbols to challenge power relationships and the hegemonic order; the other, the prism of diaspora effect (Figure 5) for refracting the 'social cancer' in the *Noli-Fili* sequel of

³⁷ *ABC of Reading* (London, Faber and Faber edition 1961), Ezra Pound's explanation of his controversial pamphlet, *How to Read (Study Poetry)*, has been a longtime literary companion, especially as I took the author's dedication seriously: "for those who might like to learn". Over the years, I've learned to add and revise "reading approaches", some of which I demonstrate in this project and explain in chapter IV on methodology. At the outset, I want to acknowledge that, apart from having taken my initial impetus from the works of Rizal that are my primary sources as the focused analytical objects, I also drew inspirational cues from three studies by Edward W. Said: *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); *Out of Place: A Memoir* (London: Granta Books, 1999); and his *Reflections on Exile* (London: Granta Books, 2001) as well as Amartya Sen's *Identity and Violence* (New York/London: W.W.Norton & Company Inc., 2006), especially where he illuminates the violence of illusion to make sense of identity.

³⁸ Published in London and New York by Continuum in 2001.

³⁹ Republished by the Oxford University Press in 2002, which is what I reference in this research project.

⁴⁰ I borrow this concept of constructing a retina image from Egon Friedell who introduced it in his book, *A Cultural History of the Modern Age*. Volume I Renaissance and Reformation (2008 by Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick, New Jersey; originally published in 1930 by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.), page 23.

novels that Rizal attempted to diagnose and hold up as a mirror of reality check to all those he wanted to address.

Analysing Rizal's literary activism and his productive outcomes, I apply those two basic instruments of 'seeing' as tools for asking and illuminating what happens when a writer (in this case, Rizal) comes to terms with the past and/or envisions the future while in diaspora sites. The method involves first, a 'double gaze' – a way of seeing a duck/rabbit image as in the multistable images of political hero/cultural hero, from a certain angle and viewpoint that induces diasporic modernist readings at multi-levels; second, deducing what is empirical in the writer's works in order to identify specific stances or dispositions, forms and modes of literary engagement as social practice; and the third, deciphering and interpreting from the hypothetical/theoretical maps/models how those stances, forms and modes of literary practice have significance in relation to discursive issues. Specifically, those issues are the thematic focus within the threefold hegemony/ideology (reason-religion-race), which are the analytical units that will be examined as Rizal's activist responses or coping strategies within a state of mind that is referred to here as 'diasporic consciousness'. (See Figures 10 and 12, 11 as well as 13 to 15)

Recognizing the discursive contestations behind Rizal's heroism, I explore to understand what was really at stake: in Rizal having risked his life and for what envisioned cultural construct. My initial literature survey and readings of his narratives and interpretations suggest that a shift of perspective from the political to the cultural and a different way of focusing the lights for reviewing and re-visioning Rizal's legacy can help in that regard. This entails not just finding his real voice as a subaltern amidst all the noise around the ways he was heroic or not heroic enough. Rather, the work must include questioning assumptions about how Rizal captured his experiences and with what light he held them 'to mirror' what realities. This would involve asking about perceptual instruments to account for why he decided on specific forms and practices of subverting what kinds of cultural codes and how he applied these to his implicit and stated goals.

In no way is this study intended to be taken as a means of formulating a policy science of democracy. But I follow the general guidelines and motivations of those who broke new ground for modern political science in a volume of group studies, *World Revolutionary Elites*, affirming that a social science study of politics can contribute to: 1) serving public policy by describing past trends of phenomena and the conditions of their occurrence in order to project the probable course of future events; and 2) serving democratic objectives by clarifying policy alternatives in terms of democratic values at any given time and place.⁴¹ Rizal was associated with the Filipino *Ilustrados*, emanating from the group of Filipinos who could afford

⁴¹ Edited by Harold D. Lasswell and Daniel Lerner, the volume subtitled *Studies in Coercive Ideological Movements*, which highlighted case studies of the Communists in Russia and China, the Nazis, and the Italian Fascists, was published in 1965 by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. For this study, I refer to the second paperback edition printed in 1967.

to go to Europe for studies abroad.⁴² Thus, I also align my study of heroism with the precise sense in which the aforementioned editors assert that their studies on revolutionary elites are not necessarily “elitist”.

How do elite studies serve democratic objectives? First, they do so by correcting the “democratic fallacy” that governments are run by the governed. Governments are run by the governors who, in our preferred democratic polity, *represent* the governed and can be turned out of office upon failure to perform this function adequately. Second, they correct the “pathetic fallacy” that assumes, in politics as in all creative arts, that the object of one’s attention is necessarily also the object of one’s affection. In political science, as in all science, the case is usually the reverse. One pays attention to a process one does not understand, an assumption one questions, a conclusion one doubts. (Ibid.: v)

This research project proposes to deploy the abovementioned multi-framing approach towards re-visioning or rethinking Rizal: as a way of reclaiming those aspects of his heroism that may have been short-changed by those who used his ideas on culture, specifically the largely neglected threaded themes of race-religion-reason, in the discursive construction of identity for mainly imperialist-colonialist vested interests. Demystifying Rizal’s politics could lend fresh insights and perspectives as to how Rizal’s spirit may be working in the collective psyche of Filipinos to support or subvert hegemonial ideologies and structures that continue to legitimise contemporary types of power relationships, governance and socio-economic systems.

Empirically, Rizal’s works, as the primary source materials, are focused upon in a different light: the light of signifying discursive practice derived from cultural studies, albeit, not exclusively. Rizal’s literary activism and its creative products or outcomes are deployed from ‘paradigmatic shifts’ that involve: re-thinking Rizal’s creative resistance and critiquing his literary productions. The shifts call for different transnationalist cosmopolitan perspectives, multi-level diasporic readings and a particular approach of discursive analysis. The perspectives of ‘cultural production’ are also adapted in examining Rizal’s subjective agency in a modernist stance: actively engaging his mind-pen-words to assert his role as a Filipino subaltern while in Europe, subversively transgressing political boundaries as he moves within and outside cultural systems, coping with diaspora effects as he is taken out of his original physical environments and socio-cultural contexts for functions that progressively lead him into the public domain – where he takes a leading position to mobilize the Filipino collective to redress grievances for civil liberties and rights. He does that in accord with European enlightenment values of his time in a slightly off-beat tune to Thomas Carlyle’s *Signs of the Times*.⁴³

⁴² See the cite volume *Jose Rizal: Life, Works and Writings* by Zaide and Zaide, which gives a comprehensive description of activities by his co-propagandists, most of whom fall under that designation *Ilustrado*

⁴³ This is the title of one of the essays in *Thomas Carlyle: Selected Writings* edited with an Introduction by Alan Shelston, which provides insights on Carlyle’s vision as he laments the techno-

Accordingly, Rizal's literary practice and outcomes from his own works are analysed for empirical evidence as cultural political discourses emerging from states of diasporic consciousness, an angle that has not been explored as herein framed and proposed on the works of the Philippine national hero.

Aside from primary sources and archival documents from the National Historical Institute, this study derives from a compendium of academic treatises that had been published in various scholarly journals or presented as conference papers, which was collected in the form of a memoir and published in 1992 to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Philippine Political Science Association and reprinted around the centennial of the Philippine Revolution in 1996: *Adventures in Political Science* by Remigio E. Agpalo.⁴⁴ That book is directly germane to this project because, as the author declares in the preface, it includes an essay he wrote for UNESCO in 1983 on "the status and development of Philippine political science", which refers to the intellectual triumvirate of the Propaganda Movement in Spain towards the end of the 19th century as its founding fathers – Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, and Graciano Lopez Jaena – and the two brains of the Philippine Revolution – Emilio Jacinto and Apolinario Mabini. (1996: ix). In fact, the volume includes an essay on "Jose Rizal: Filipino National Hero and his Ideas of Political Modernization" within a section entitled "Three Filipino Political Thinkers" who are referred to as "heroes in the political modernization of the country." (Ibid. xiv). Moreover, as Zeus Salazar explains in the Introduction, the book covers adventures not only spanning a career as an academic manifesto to a body of thought but also signifying "a stage in political science as a discipline in contemporary times." Crucially, it is suggested that Agpalo's attempts to study and teach the politics and government of the Philippines through the use of native local frameworks went against the traditional practice of using Western concepts and ideas that he saw unfit for understanding the country's political situation (Ibid. xiii).⁴⁵ Nevertheless, it is significant to read what Agpalo (1996:14) stressed at the fourth national conference of the Philippine Political Science Association in 1978 during the reign of President Marcos and his infamous, if dreaded, dictatorial regime:

I must confess I have adopted both the Aristotelian normative vision
and the Machiavellian empirical orientation in my approach to politics.
I am convinced that we cannot have a full understanding of politics

economic machine taking over humanist affairs. Penguin Books first published the Collection in the UK in 1971.

⁴⁴ Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, Reprint 1996.

⁴⁵ In this article, which was originally written in Filipino, Salazar, who authorized and approved the book's publication as Dean of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy at the University of the Philippines (known as U.P.), points out that Agpalo taught political science in the two most reputable universities in the Philippines, namely the U.P. from 1953-84, and at De La Salle University (DLSU), 1985-88. He was chairman of the department in 1965, while I attended his courses as a graduate student at the U.P., when it hosted an international conference on "The State of Political Science in Asia" that Agpalo organized in his capacity as president of the Philippine Political Science Association. At that same time, I was a lecturer at DLSU's social science department and involved with NGOs to help Vietnamese and other refugees from Indo-China fleeing the spread of communism.

unless we adopt both perspectives. The knowledge of politics entailed in these views naturally is a politics which is not bound to any particular time or place... not a politics chained to a particular period such as the twentieth century or the period of martial law; or bound to a particular city such as the Rome of Cicero or the city of the New Society. Instead, it is the universal and eternal politics, the *episteme politike* (sic), which political scientists since time immemorial have sought to discover from their own explorations, investigations and reflections. The other name of this politics is political science. Realistic in so far as approach is concerned, this kind of political science aims to serve man, who is viewed as a unique being endowed with reason, a dignity that sets him apart and above beasts, and a creative capacity for civilization. Its orientation, based on this premise, is humanist. Thus, when regimes brutalize man through tyranny, oppression and exploitation, this political science does not retreat in the safety of the ivory tower. Instead it embarks on a systematic, careful and thorough study of the situation with a view to discovering the truth of the matter. When the study is finished, after rechecking its facts and reconsidering its interpretation of the data, it comes forth in public, holding high the lamp of knowledge so that truth and man are vindicated. It does not shirk this responsibility because it knows that the discipline of political science is a defender of knowledge and civilization.

Agpalo was a staunch defender of academic freedom. As religion in education is one of the key issues in this dissertation project, it is also important to quote from a manuscript that he presented at a symposium in 1955 (Ibid: 10) at the start of his teaching career when he unwittingly got embroiled in a fiercely conflicted discourse on whether or not a department of religion should be established at the country's state university, the University of the Philippines (hereafter U.P.):

Why should we be afraid to institute a Department of Religion only because of the fear that it might be used for evil or objectionable or sectarian purposes? Why fear experimentation and adventuring in the realm of ideas or in the realm of ideologies, in the realm of science, in the realm of religions? Had man not attempted to learn about nature and himself for fear that learning might be used for evil designs, we would not be here discussing this momentous issue; there would be no civilization; there would be only savagery and barbarism; and, at best, there would be only the bliss of ignorance – if this it can be – enjoyed only by the lower animals.

Tracking primary source materials for empirical data on Rizal's works as the Philippine national hero over the long period covered by this research project it has been possible to discover, identify, and collect practically everything available and in a variety of ways.

1. Conducting thorough fieldwork to visit and tap into a variety of key archival sources in Manila such as the National Library, the National Museums and the main bases of Rizalian scholarship in the Ateneo de Manila University, the University of the Philippines and De La

Salle University.

2. Visiting and tapping international institutions, particularly places where Rizal studied and travelled such as the universities in Madrid and Heidelberg, the Jesuit archives in Barcelona, the British Museum and Library, and the London School of Economics and Political Science Library.
3. Mobilizing knowledgeable specialists with the help of the Philippine embassies in Vienna, Madrid, Geneva and Paris. Specifically I want to acknowledge the support of Ambassadors Issa Almojuela and Rey Carandang in providing valuable leads and vetting relevant materials in the embassy libraries.
4. Attending international events of the Knights of the Order of Jose Rizal in its main headquarters in Manila, as well as in Heidelberg and Wilhelmsfeld, and in Toronto: I met key leaders and interlocutors who pointed out resource materials. Thus, I could access three of the most important private resource holdings on Rizaliana in Wilhelmsfeld, Germany; Ghent, Belgium; and Litomerice in the Czech Republic.
5. Involvements with the Filipino community in Vienna led to important contacts who generously shared their wealth of Rizaliana and related materials and documents: Gisela Reiterer, author of what I consider the only book in German that constitutes a thorough historical and political science based investigation of the Philippines with focus on the Marcos dictatorship and the Aquino administrations that caused many Filipinos to flee persecution and then to return from various states of diasporic consciousness; Harry Sichrovsky, author of *Ferdinand Blumentritt, ein Held für die Philippinen*, who headed the Knights Of Rizal Austria chapter until his death; and Angelina Banke, who founded and chairs the Rizal-Blumentritt Society in Austria.
6. Assistance also came from various friends and relations worldwide who enabled surprising discoveries in the process of studying the politico-cultural significance of the complex role that Rizal played during the period after his martyrdom.

What subjective assumptions and/or linkages triggered this research project and how do I manage or control such biases?

There is no simple answer: there is a complex picture that entails framing a participant-observation process on my part. The germinal ideas behind this research project were sown during the double centennial celebrations for which Filipinos in the diaspora had been mobilized: 1) Jose Rizal's martyrdom (1896-1996); and 2) of the Philippine revolution (1898-1998). As co-founder and first president of the 'VIC Club Filipino' (open to staff, mostly from the Philippines, employed in United Nations agencies at the Vienna International Centre), I became actively involved with the larger Filipino community in Vienna: 1) to help bring the more than 40 Filipino associations (*Vereine*) in Austria under one umbrella; 2) to support the Philippine Ambassador in organizing a chapter of the "Knights of the Order of José Rizal"; and, 3) to conduct inter-cultural workshops focusing on the legacy of the Philippine national hero. All that happened precisely

at a time when, reaching 50, I had decided to opt for Austrian/European citizenship, to take up residency in Vienna and to dedicate some time to a long-held dream: creative writing and working with NGOs.⁴⁶ That decision necessitated leaving my employment as an international civil servant at the UN, which I did in 1998 on what I therefore considered not an early retirement scheme but ‘a re-wirement dream’. The centennial celebrations coincided with the period of ferment when Austria joined the EU and the right-wing politics of the People’s Freedom Party (FPÖ) under the leadership of populist Jörg Haider gained ground, heated up with stereotyping issues of *Ausländerfeindlichkeit*. I became a naturalized Austrian in 1999 when the FPÖ won enough seats in Parliamentary elections, enabling it to form a coalition government with the Conservative People’s Party (ÖVP) in 2000. I attended protests as wave upon wave of what seemed like a tsunami of conservative politics threatened social democratic and solidarity as well as green issues.

Having become a ‘naturalized Austrian’, I decided to enrol at the University of Vienna not only to learn German formally but also to understand what was going on and to come to terms with my own self-reference as a ‘newly flipped’ Austro-European. Born and raised in the northeastern part of the island of Luzon in the Philippines, leaving Manila at 23 years of age for post-graduate studies in the US, spending sometime in Latin America on projects with Paulo Freire’s ‘conscientization of the masses’ and ‘pedagogy of the oppressed’, and coming to Vienna in my early thirties to work for the UN where I stayed twenty years, I realized that I had been living abroad for more than half of my life! The change in my citizenship status inevitably made me aware of the need to rethink issues of ‘multiculturalism’ within the EU in connection with integration of migrant and minority communities. Was I now a ‘migrant’ and did I now belong to a racialized ethnic minority group? Asking those questions made me empathize with the many who still keep sighing: but, how long is the process going to last?

Reflectively, taking its cues for a launching pad from the aforementioned ferment, this dissertation also involved a process of checking my bearings: was it not time to go back, or should I opt for staying on in Europe where I had gone into a kind of self-exile during the 1970s? All those years helped me to reconcile and keep a kind of transnationalism and ‘double gazing’: on the intensified US cultural imperialism driving globalization; on a Marcos dictatorship that was abrogating democratic values in the Philippines; and, on problematic power entanglements in technical cooperation programmes to bridge the north-south divide. Becoming involved with NGOs and migrant groups in Vienna who invariably referred to themselves as “diaspora groups”, made me uneasy and unsure about a label, which seemed a misnomer to me. Eventually, I found myself in the midst of a political process: no longer an *Ausländer* by “citizenship” but clearly remaining so

⁴⁶ During the last ten years, I have been a pro bono expert for NGOs in: 1) a Roma Partnership for community-based social-inclusion projects in Central and Eastern Europe of the Erste Foundation; and 2) a Caribbean Diaspora project based in Barbados and Toronto to support filmmakers of colour generate content and produce films. Lately, I was a Peer Reviewer in the Advisory Group of a three-year Social Research Fellowship Programme of the Erste Foundation on Diaspora and Migration in CEE and Balkan countries.

because of my unalterable “Southeast Asian” physiognomy.⁴⁷ Anyhow, I became actively involved in Vienna’s Hallamasch Festival of Cultures from 1998-2000. So there I was, put into a situation of what I call a clear case of diasporic double-gazing: ‘no-longer-there’ (I had to give up Philippine citizenship upon becoming Austrian) but ‘not-yet-here’, as politics was forcing me to realize, also empathically, that I was among those signalled as “the Others”.

Attending university and academic platforms,⁴⁸ I began to see ‘events’ as “discursive” amidst extensive coverage in both the local and international media. When Austria was in the eye of the storm I felt sympathy with Austrians who felt desperate about the parochialist defense: “*Mir san mir*”, a sort of passive aggressive outcry that, already earlier, helped to catapult Waldheim into the presidency of the Austrian Republic in 1986, a political event that initiated a significant turn in re-assessing the cultural wirings of my own mind. Waldheim had been my boss, as ex-UN Secretary General, and with the anti-Semitic rhetoric that his politics unleashed, I began to become more aware about how “racism” is implanted in the mind: at certain points, I began to become more vigilant in checking, as Pagel and Lakoff warned, guarding against quiet takeovers of the mind. I became interested in proponents, apologists and critics of cultural studies considering how literary works affect politics, and vice versa. Eventually attending a seminar with Ruth Wodak triggered an interest in critical discourse analysis to understand social change and power relations⁴⁹ I began to see that my unquestioned faith in Western civilization and the liberal values that I had taken for granted needed to be drastically re-viewed in terms of what could still be ‘integral’ to cultural identity. I became aware about not only the need to ‘see’ but to also ‘distinguish’ different ‘worlds in diversity’. I realized: that my own ‘cultural identity’ had been going through a paradigmatic shift as it was being challenged within a ‘*them-versus-us*’ discourse where I was clearly identified as one of ‘the Others’ that no paper-legitimizing like a newly acquired citizenship status could erase. The shifting process intensified because, representing the Filipino community at the Vienna Integration Conference for migrant groups (organized for the Vienna

⁴⁷ I intensified other cultural-political interests: writing protest poems and songs that I performed with the schule für dichtung in wien, Labyrinth (English-language poets) and UrbanNomadMixes (UNM), an informal group of transnational artistic performers, which I had founded and directed: a form of “occupying” cafés to create performance spaces. For a better understanding of the formation of the ÖVP/FPÖ coalition see Siegfried Jäger’s essay on “*Discourse and Knowledge*”, Chapter 3, in Ruth Wodak and Michael Mayer (eds), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis: Introducing Qualitative Methods* (London: Sage Publications) 2001. pp. 48f and 77-85.

⁴⁸ Austria has plenty of opportunities for extra-curricular adult learning and I have been subsequently drawn to specialized institutions in accordance with my research interests and activist involvements, e.g. the Institut für die Wissenschaft von Menschen, Institut für Wissenschaft und Kunst, the Alpbach Forum and GlobArt connecting Arts and Sciences, the latter, providing me with a platform where I have organized and conducted workshops on cultural identity, race, and digital literacy for the elderly.

⁴⁹ My introduction comprised the volume, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* by Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Karin Liebhart; translation by Angelika Hirsch and Richard Mitten (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) 1999. That led to further readings. It is from the aforementioned essay that I derived extensive information about the FPÖ and its strong emergence in Austrian politics with its populist following with anti-foreigner xenophobic political discourse. Soon after I was encountering currents of populism in racism, specifically anti-Semitic, spotlighted in *Discourse and Discrimination*, another book co-authored by Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. published in 2001 (London: Routledge).

Integration Fund in 2000), I got elected to the “*Kuratorium*” where, for the next four years, I was confronted with human rights issues especially those relating to racist slurs or direct tirades that representatives of minority ethno-national groups raised.

Diagnostically for this dissertation, I realized that as a participant-observer, extreme care needs to be exercised to avoid contaminating the object of analysis (Rizal) and the facts (his works). That involves not just laying out and being aware of where I am coming from but also being explicit about the terms of the frames, concepts and methods that I apply. Above all, I should avoid the pitfalls that others fall into: being driven too fast by enthusiasms, my own and/or others. Living and working in Europe during more than 30 years of engagement in multilateral development cooperation and technical assistance projects, mostly in the passé ‘third world’, made me oblivious to the diasporic aspects of how migrants perceive and relate with power structures. Statistics-wise, I began to learn about the huge Filipino diaspora across the world that was at that time estimated at about eight to ten million or about one tenth of the total Philippine population (see Graphs 1&2).⁵⁰ In the case of Filipinos living in Austria, close to 50 *Vereine* (associations), were registered around the time I was requested to help bring them under one umbrella in preparation for the Philippine President Fidel Ramos’ visit to Vienna in 1998. A great majority of the *Vereine* actively organize events to mobilize charity contributions for supporting their own counterparts/equivalents of ethno-cultural affiliations in Philippine provinces/regions where they come from. This “regional orientation” is a common and observable phenomenon among Filipinos wherever they settle: whether in neighbouring countries (Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore and Taiwan), in traditional destinations (the U.S. and Canada or Spain and the U.K.), or in relatively recent immigration sites such as Australia, New Zealand, and the Arab Gulf States, albeit considered as stepping-stones to Europe and North America.

For re-orientation, and to find a sense of balance in self-anchoring, I went digging deeper into *Questions of Culture Identity* using Hall/du Gay’s *Reader* mentioned earlier. All that immersion continued my interest in participatory action research projects as I had carried out in the UN. Soon, I found myself attending lectures and seminars at the University of Vienna where I encountered the works of more scholars, among them Rainer Bauböck, Johannes Dvorak, Eva Kreisky and Gernot Stimmer. For a whole year, I participated in a consortium of doctoral students with Chantal Mouffe’s international team including Oliver Marchart at the *Akademie der Bildendekunst* (Vienna’s University of Fine Arts): analysing literary-artistic practices and their outcomes as forms of cultural intervention within discursive power relations that raised ‘the public question’. As admitted earlier, this dissertation as a research project had its initial impetus from re-encountering the works of Rizal, the focused analytical objects, which I began to re-read anew, drawing critical inspiration from Edward W. Said’s *Culture and Imperialism*, his recollections on being *Out of Place* and his *Reflections on Exile*. Working on the direction of the research, I became more seriously convinced about the political centrality of culture and the importance of exploring its discursive power. From attending

⁵⁰ According to the Commission of Filipinos Overseas (2013) there were about 11 million Filipinos living abroad. This represents about 12 percent of the nation’s population or 30.7 percent of the country’s labor force.

Dvorak's seminars on modernity and *Fin de Siecle Wien*, I became more aware about issues around the discursive integration of Jews and other minority ethnic nationalities, which became very topical. With the advent of ISIS claiming heroism from self-destructive heroics, Amartya Sen's *Identity and Violence* became an important read. Thus the dissertation began to crystallize in terms of linking Rizal to the present from the perspective of diaspora: here in Austria and in Europe.

As a political science-based enquiry to explore and produce epistemological models of viewing/understanding a 19th century hero's odyssey as cultural politics via his literary praxis and outputs, this dissertation differs from cultural studies that deal primarily with epistemological issues in linguistics or semiotics. Apropos cultural and literary studies, it may be important to refer to seminal works that have been crucial, if inspirational, in my own efforts to understand and critically reflect on the cultural baggage, social experience and political implications of having acquired a new nationality with a naturalized citizenship that had wider consequences when Austria joined the European Union in 1994 within post cold war transformations, thus calling for corresponding adjustments in diasporic frames of mind. Enter Harry Sichrovsky and his book, *Ferdinand Blumentritt: Der Revolutionär von Leitmeritz*, published in Vienna in 1983, which the author himself translated into English as *An Austrian Life for the Philippines* in 1987. Sichrovsky was not the first to document and demonstrate from compelling evidence that Rizal's cultural activism had the support of Ferdinand Blumentritt. With Blumentritt, Rizal had sustained a relationship, evident in a 10-year correspondence between them that also constitutes primary material for this study. Blumentritt's support went beyond 1896 because he devoted himself up to his own death in 1913 to extricating Rizal from the charges of treason that led to execution and martyrdom. From their historic meeting in 1887, the two protagonists sustained a ten year correspondence that has been collected in two volumes. This correspondence reveals their motivations, strategies and tactics as well as insights on the intellectual and moral context of the cultural "modernist" goals they had hoped to achieve. Declaring that I also wanted to examine significances from the Rizal-Blumentritt correspondence applying the lens of transnationalist and diasporic consciousness, Johannes Dvorak's advice sounded like a threat: "*If you don't write it, perhaps nobody ever will*".

So that is how my dissertation had come to propose investigating an underexplored research territory in the case of Rizal, the heroic poetics of diaspora effect as a form of cultural politics: a concept by which I frame how to examine literary-artistic practices as ways of strategizing resistance to established hegemonic orders and entering forbidden public domains. No matter the cost and at high risk to their own lives, writers are able to activate the creative power of the imagination in generating content that raise questions of cultural identity and constructs of historical memory, personal and collective, which may lead to mobilizing outcomes that blaze a trail towards alternatives: different kinds of revived and/or hybrids of (de)constructed homelands. Asserting that creative power is also a means of balancing statistics with stories and keeping human sensibilities alive in the public discourse, my interest in referring to an "envisioned elsewhere" with "imaginary others", in varied mixes and combinations, does not limit the concept of diaspora in spatial (sovereign territory) or temporal terms. In

fact, it also includes ideal types and re-visioning new collective identities with which or with whom one derives a new sense of belonging and/or being “at home away from home”.

In this first chapter, my main concern has been to set up and put forward a launching pad with the perspective of culture and the prism of the diaspora as different lights by which to re-envision Rizal’s literary practice and to explore a new understanding of the concept of heroism. It is proposed that this approach constitutes the key and novel feature in this academic project because it breaks away from overburdening the ‘political perspectives’ that are usually applied in post-colonial and programmatic nationalist studies. Chapter II contextualizes Rizal as the Philippine national hero to provide relevant features of the historical setting in which he engaged his writings. Chapters III and IV go into greater detail on the architecture of concepts, notions and definitional terms that form the theoretical bases for framing the mix of questions, claims and evidence-based arguments involved. Chapter V provides a bridge of theoretical and methodological considerations for analysing the ideological triad in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

CONTEXTUALISING RIZAL as THE PHILIPPINE NATIONAL HERO within TRANSNATIONAL & GLOBAL SYSTEMS

...I want to emphasize this corporeal logic/ethics of mass initiative and agency that I have tried to locate in Rizal's texts by citing Antonio Luna and Apolinario Mabini on what kind of approach will be most constructive in lieu of the ritualistic and reactionary worship of an idol. It must be remembered that Rizal's founding of the Liga Filipina was the prime catalyst for the mobilization of the Katipunan led by Andres Bonifacio and other separatists (note that Mabini was present when Rizal initiated the Liga). And Antonio Luna, the brilliant general of Aguinaldo's army of the first Philippine Republic was already in contact with Rizal in Europe when Rizal was an active collaborator of Marcelo H. del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena in La Solidaridad. First Luna in 1884: "Assimilating his ideas, pondering his concepts that readily aroused our enthusiasm, we found an echo, though timid, of his voice within ourselves." And Mabini in 1899: "While we Filipinos living today do not individually amount to as much as Rizal, yet we can join together to get the force necessary to the realization of the work begun by him." I second Luna's multiplication of Rizal's voice and Mabini's motion of unifying and mobilizing our forces for national-democratic self determination.

E. San Juan, Jr.⁵¹

*Da wir Bürger einer Welt sind, was hindert, dass wir uns
in einem Gemeinwesen unter gleichen zusammenfinden.
Jan Amos Comenius⁵²*

*That faith I keep and I hope to see shine
The day when the idea prevails over might
When after the fray and death's slow decline
Some other voice sounds, far happier than mine
To raise the glad song of the triumph of right.
Rizal⁵³*

What is at stake: how does this research project differ from previous studies about Rizal?

As explained in the first chapter, culture impacting on politics – not history – drives this dissertation. Specifically, it is concerned with the role of literary activism by the politically engaged writer, from the perspective of 'an outsider looking in', in the development of diasporic consciousness and cultural identities. Rizal as the Philippine national hero is a case in point because his heroism has been contested over the last century, which begs the question: what does that imply for many Filipino communities in the diaspora who seem embedded in a 'distanced nationalism'. And what consequence does that kind of nationalism have for the host countries, as in the EU who are confronted with issues of integrating migrants and the influx of refugees? So, the thesis offers a proposition; that to explore

⁵¹ E. San Juan, Jr. *Rizal in Our Time* (Manila: Anvil) 1997, pp. xv-xvi.

⁵² Quoted in Dvorak, *Selbstorganisierter Intellekt: Aufklärung, Bildung und Politik im neuzeitlichen England*. (StudienVerlag: Wien, Innsbruck, München, Bozen) p. 52.

⁵³ Translation by Charles Derbyshire, quoted in "Rizal in Political Affairs", International Congress on Rizal, 4-8 December 1961 from data papers prepared for Rizal's Birth Centennial in 1961 (Manila, National Historical Institute, 1979).

Rizal's heroic poetics, seen as a diaspora effect, might suggest new meanings and alternative understandings not only for diaspora Filipinos reclaiming Rizal's legacy but also for drawing from the insights of cultural 'texts' produced from the perspective of exile.

However, this dissertation should not be construed as an ethnographic or anthropological writing on culture. Nor is it a study on "high" versus "popular" culture to critique Rizal's literary works that apply theories, orthodox canons or aesthetic standards. Moreover, it is not a biographical review of Rizal's place in the development of the Philippines as a nation-state. This dissertation is neither an economic nor a historical research project but it recognizes that post-colonial studies by Filipino nationalist scholars on Rizal fault him for not having gone beyond intellectualizing about Spanish oppression and imperialist ideology as opportunistic ventures in the name of God that blazed a trail of problematic globalization. Rizal is critiqued for not having given his leadership to the revolutionary movement as though he would have made the difference in constraining the forces that gave Western industrializing economies the upper hand for an exploitative and racially oppressive culture that continues to this day. Finally then, it is not a post-colonial dissertation nor a historical analysis on the nationalist-ethnic identity of Filipino migrants in the diaspora.

But, as stated in Chapter 1, context is crucial to ensure that culture is understood and not regarded as being a 'trouble-maker'. Historical biographies on Rizal and the study of his works following his martyrdom in 1896 were mostly driven by political interests and dialectical positions during three historical contexts. The first, was US imperial interests after taking over the Philippines from Spain in 1898: to play up Rizal's heroic protests on behalf of Filipinos who not only struggled but especially produced sufficient evidence against Spain's colonial governance and the absolutist role of abusive friars. Thus Rizal was used symbolically to elicit empathy for the Americans in legitimizing their colonial rule with the promise of transferring liberal and democratic ideas as Rizal had articulated. The second, during the post-independence period in the 1950s when nationalistic sentiment began to challenge the US imperialist presence. A third context is provided by the 1960s and onwards when anti-American feelings combined with the rise of nationalist consciousness in the Philippines and in the Southeast Asian region. It is not within the scope of this research project to go in-depth so it draws from scholarly treatises to provide historical perspectives. Renato Constantino's *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness* (1970/1976) does that on all three contexts mentioned above but of more relevance to this research is his stinging critique in chapter 9 "Veneration without Understanding", which has been providing fuel to those who want to contain the cult on Rizal and the cottage industry of publication around it. The following often quoted positions run through Constantino's (Ibid: 125-126) arguments and have lead to heated discourses on the role of heroes:

In the history of many nations, the national revolution represents a peak of achievement to which the minds of men return time and again in reverence and for a renewal of faith in freedom. For the national revolution is invariably the one period in a nation's history when the people were most united, most involved and most decisively active in the fight for freedom. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that

almost always the leader of that revolution becomes the principal hero of his people. ... The unity between the venerated mass action and the honored single individual enhances the influence of both. In our case, our national hero was not the leader of the revolution. In fact, he repudiated that revolution. In no uncertain terms he placed himself against Bonifacio and those who were fighting for the country's liberty. In fact, when he was arrested, he was on his way to Cuba to use his medical skills in the service of Spain.

And so Constantino (1970/1976: 126) quotes and extracts, as below, the evidence from Rizal's written manifesto of December 15, 1896, two weeks before his execution, to prove that Rizal made declarations and with which he sealed his own position as an anti-hero for those who were not satisfied with evolutionary reforms:

From the very beginning when I first had notice of what was being planned, I opposed it, fought it and demonstrated its absolute impossibility.... **I did even more**. When later, against my advice, the movement materialized, of my own accord **I offered** not alone my good offices, but **my very life**, and even my name, to be used in whatever way might seem best, toward stifling the rebellion; for convinced of the ills which it would bring, I considered myself fortunate if, at any sacrifice, I could prevent such useless misfortunes.... Holding these ideas I cannot do less than condemn, and I do condemn this uprising – as absurd, savage and plotted behind my back – which dishonors us Filipinos and discredits those that could plead out cause. I abhor its criminal methods and disclaim all part in it, pitying from the bottom of my heart the unwary that have been deceived into taking part in it.

With that manifesto, Constantino (Ibid.) asserts that Rizal had placed the leaders and the mass movement in a dilemma: either Rizal or the revolution was wrong, and Rizalists have chosen to gloss over the matter and have been responsible for the "silent treatment". Constantino (Ibid: 127) makes a fair judgment in contending that the refusal to analyze the significance of Rizal's manifesto "is a disservice to the event, to the man, and to ourselves". But Constantino (Ibid: 128) reports that, as if to make matters worse, the US Governor William Howard Taft suggested to the Philippine Commission in 1901 "you must have a national hero", and Constantino explains why the choice was made.

The public image that the Americans desired for a Filipino national hero was quite clear. They favored a hero who would not run against the grain of American colonial policy. We must take these acts of the Americans in furtherance of a Rizal cult in light of their initial policies which required the passage of the Sedition Law prohibiting the advocacy of independence and the law prohibiting the display of the Filipino flag. The heroes who advocated independence were therefore ignored (Ibid: 129)

But in analyzing the role of heroes in the development of national consciousness, Constantino (Ibid: 131-5) puts Rizal in context and seems to present a balanced picture, explaining that, given the ideological framework and great economic

changes in a period of cultural and political ferment, the native middle class was becoming more discontent seeing the opportunities for affluence that could be theirs, barring inequalities. So Constantino's analysis (135-137) may be projected to present day circumstances by substituting the name of Rizal for someone who has similar aspirations, disposition and capacity for speaking out as the voice of the collective to which one has allegiance with a strong sense of belonging.

A true historical review would prove that great men are those who read the times and have a better understanding of reality. It is their insights that make them conversant with their periods and which enable them to articulate the needs of the people. To a large extent, Rizal, the *ilustrado*, fulfilled this function, for in voicing the goals of his class, he had to include the aspirations of an entire people. Though the aims of this class were limited to reformist measures, he expressed its demands in terms of human liberty and human dignity and thus encompassed the wider aspirations of all the people. This is not to say that he was conscious that these were class goals: rather, that typical of his class, he equated class interest with people's welfare. He did this in good faith, unaware of any basic contradictions between the two. ... As a social commentator, as the exposé of oppression, he performed a remarkable task. His writings were part of the tradition of protest which eventually blossomed in a revolution, into a separatist movement. His original aim of elevating the *indio* to the level of Hispanization of the **peninsular** so that the country could be assimilated, could become a province of Spain, was transformed into its opposite. Instead of making the Filipinos closer to Spain, the propaganda gave root to separatism. The drive for Hispanization was transformed into the development of a distinct national consciousness.

And that is where this dissertation sees problems with historical analysis, which embeds the object of study, in this case Rizal, within the ideological framework and philosophical constructs of 'a Constantino', who critiques hagiolatry and mystifications but who falls into the same trap of interpreting Rizal within binary oppositions (revolution-evolution). Thus the reading of Rizal and his articulations come through as though they were fixed and determined in their temporal and spatial frames. And yet, as John Nery (2011) has thoroughly researched and demonstrated, there are different ways of continuing the discourse on Rizal's heroism: Nery makes a comparative analysis of the many political leaders and revolutionary heroes in Southeast Asia who have studied Rizal's works: not only have they derived meaningful insights from his *Revolutionary Spirit* (the book's title) but also acknowledge what sounds like a refrain in a chapter, "The Hope of Millions in Asia": that "Rizal is the hero of the Philippines, the hero of Asia, the hero of all countries under oppression and fighting oppressors" (Ibid: 168). And in fact, many of them have taken up Rizal's pioneering and systematic work, began in 1890, to deny the racist charge that Filipinos are indolent, a charge that has also been directed against Malays and Indonesians, which has resulted in there being another kind of Marxist reading possible; so, in Appendix B of his book, Nery presents E. San Juan, the Marxist cultural critic, as refuting Constantino's abovementioned arguments.

That brings us back to 'culture' and its applications at hand. In *Meaning by Shakespeare*, an essay in *A Practical Reader in Contemporary Literary Theory*, Terence Hawkes (1992: 8) says:

A text is surely better served if it is perceived not as the embodiment of some frozen, definitive significance, but as a kind of intersection of confluence which is continually traversed, a no-man's land, an arena, in which different and opposed readings, urged from different and opposed political positions, compete in history for ideological power: the power, that is, to determine cultural meaning – to say what the world is and what it should be like. We try to make Hamlet mean for our purposes now: others will try to make it mean differently for their purposes then (or now).

The aforementioned *Reader* distinguishes between two reading tendencies associated with different critical methods and aims: 'new historicist' in the US and 'cultural materialist' in the UK; and it proposes that Hawkes' position was meant for literary and cultural texts beyond Shakespeare (Ibid: p 10). With that clue, here's Shakespeare on power in government⁵⁴ who speaks as Rosencrantz in Hamlet, a play that was one of Rizal's favourites, which clearly inspired the graveyard scene in the *Noli* and from which I derive a fusing of culture and politics:

The single and peculiar life is bound/
With all the strength and armour
of the mind/
To keep itself from noyance [sic], but much more/
That spirit upon whose weal depends and rests/
The lives of many. The
cease of majesty/
Dies not alone, but like a gulf doth draw/
What's
near it with it. It is a massy wheel/
Fixed on the summit of the highest
mount,
To whose huge spokes ten thousand lesser things/
Are
mortised and adjoined, which when it falls/
Each small annexment,
petty consequence,
Attends the boist'rous ruin. Never alone/
Did the
king sigh, but with a general groan.

There is an echo and for another kind of writing and context but which provides details for a similar kind of reading: by flashing forward from Shakespeare's era and flashing backwards to Rizal's time and circumstances. *Hope* is the title of Rizal's article that was published in *La Solidaridad* in Madrid⁵⁵ at the height of his activist engagement with the Propaganda movement of Filipinos (here abstracted with information provided in brackets and highlighting added).

The Ministry and the party to which Mr. Becerra [a Liberal Minister of the Colonies] belonged have fallen, dragging down with them many hopes. Gone with them also are those of many Filipinos who have heard the speeches of Mr. Becerra delivered at the Congress on 6 March of the present year on the occasion of the debate on the **parliamentary representation** of the Philippines. Mr. Becerra had said that he was in favor of the reform, that the **Filipinos ought to have a voice**, that it was just that one who pays tax votes, and that it

⁵⁴ From a Penguin Books collection: William Shakespeare *On Power* (UK: 2009), page 3.

⁵⁵ Published in Volume II, 105-108, 15 July 1890, sourced from Rizal's Political and Historical Writings (NHI: Manila) Volume VII, Centennial Edition, p 223.

was **Christian-like** to defend the helpless and defenseless, that it was little to ask only for three deputies when Spain asks for universal suffrage, and in short, *what can be done today should not be left for tomorrow*. ... Four months passed and... the promise of the Minister was not mentioned again nor the justice that is due eight million subjects.

The scene is familiar and shows Rizal's frustration in seeking reforms, which he details as part of the effort to let the world know how colonial governance in the Philippines was dependent on the Ministry of Colonies in Madrid, which in turn was a cog in the wheels of the Spanish Empire that were oiled and driven by an interplay of changing political parties: royalists and conservatives on the one hand, and republicans and liberals on the other. In this regard, a book was written that is considered rare for its historical documentation and political analysis, *Rizal and Republican Spain*, by Manuel Sarkisyanz (1995). Although the book was published by the Philippine National Historical Institute as a commemorative publication on the centennial of Rizal's martyrdom, Sarkisyanz (Ibid: 7) makes his critique upfront: that no mention is made in usual commemoration discourses on "the protection that Rizal's Spain gave this national hero" despite the fact that Rizal had himself recalled how he learned from his liberal professors and contacts with prominent republicans, among them Francisco Pi y Margall, who was president of Republican Spain in 1873. Sarkisyanz concedes (Ibid: 2) that he wrote the book to document significant reminders, pointing out (Ibid: 3) that Pi y Margall "drafted the only constitution of a 19th century European state converting all its colonies into territories with the same rights as the regions of the "metropolis" itself – a constitution that remained a mere draft only because republican Spain's legislature was dissolved by the military (in January 1874)". The book's back cover explains that Sarkisyanz started his Rizal project in the late 1960s when he moved from the University of Chicago to the University of Heidelberg where he held the chair of Political Science of Southeast Asia. Soon after meeting Pastor Weber (who was living in the same house in Wilhelmsfeld, where Rizal stayed for two months (May-June 1886) while studying in Heidelberg and where he wrote parts of the *Noli*, (see Illustrations 12&13) Sarkisyanz began researching and lecturing on the Philippine National Hero. The resulting book contains new information and paradigmatic shifts in comparison to other books on Rizal by Europeans such as the biography in German (Dahm 1988) that is supposed to focus on European influences on Rizal but which does not come up with much new material.

In exploring the discursive contestations behind Rizal's heroism, I want to understand what was really at stake in Rizal having risked his life and for what envisioned cultural construct. My initial literature survey and readings of his narratives and interpretations suggest that a shift of perspective from the political to the cultural and a different way of focusing the lights for re-visioning Rizal's legacy can help in that regard. This entails not just finding his real voice as a subaltern amidst all the noise around the ways he was heroic or not heroic enough. Rather, the work must include questioning assumptions about how Rizal captured his experiences and with what kind of 'mirroring' the Other he engaged in. This would involve asking about perceptual instruments to account for why he

decided on specific forms and practices of subverting what kinds of cultural codes and how Rizal applied these to his implicit and stated goals.

The claims that I have been making so far, runs: in order to unbind chains of 'cultural imperialism' as a prerequisite for nation building, Rizal, speaking as a Filipino subaltern while undergoing studies/travels in Europe at the end of the 19th century, projected his own yearning for 'freedoms' as part of a much bigger 'collective' with which he felt more than a nationalist patriotic sense of belonging. As subtext, my core thesis proposes that Rizal had a diasporic transnational sense of envisioning 'the elsewhere', which I call a 'heroic poetics of diaspora effect' – a matter of cultural politics given the cultural tools and the conditions under which he produced cultural products to challenge and resist colonial governance in the Philippines under imperial Spain. I recognized upfront that the task of this dissertation is to offer substantive proof for the thesis: evidential arguments for the theoretical frames and conceptual bases that are identified in more concrete terms, specified and critiqued from primary source materials. All that, to see and understand the development of a diasporic consciousness: where Rizal goes beyond being a Filipino subaltern and how he engages the public domain in transnationalist terms, able to speak in his own voice and agency, claiming equality as an autonomous sovereign subject in modernist stance for democratic governance.

Thus in this chapter, my concern is not to lay out the historical background but to provide information that is pertinent to the setting: by re-viewing how Rizal achieved what he did and why he engaged the 'penned word' instead of the 'sword'. Therefore I refer to aspects of his literary practice and the content of his novels and essays that are relevant for understanding the context of his commitment as heroic emancipatory engagement: where he was coming from and towards which he wanted to move a bigger 'collective' with activist interventions. The critical import of this study is to demonstrate the how and to explain why he took the road he had taken: the choice for literary forms was a strategic cultural decision for his political vision of engaging his diasporic conscience in relating with the powers-that-be for a liberalist discourse in the public space.

Why and how Is Rizal a case in point for this dissertation?

The immediate objective is to bring the Rizal saga or narrative into a 're-visioning model' of enquiry to understand what can be relevant from a 21st century standpoint rather than hero-worshiping or harping on the past to support nostalgic dreams of imagined peoples, places and times gone by. In particular, the intention is to understand the heroic factor within the dynamics of contemporary literary activism or committed engagement into a cosmopolitan transnationalism as a developmental phenomenon that happens or transpires with varied effects, which are entailed or emanate from being situated or located in the diaspora (see Figures 2, 5 and 6).⁵⁶ As I demonstrate in this dissertation to prove my thesis, a diasporic-

⁵⁶ As referenced above, I go into detail throughout the first four chapters, deriving key notions and concepts for framing a theoretical basis for my launchpad of questions, themes and methodology from various scholars who have been dealing with culture and the politics around it in cultural studies.

prismatic reading in combination with modernist reading approaches are useful in deriving new 'signifiers' and/or 'meanings' from Rizal's works and practice..

Contextually, I argue that Rizal produced most of the literary outputs after he had left his native birthplace in the Philippines. Born in 1861 into relatively privileged circumstances and soon – after that first physical displacement from his maternal womb – already at the early age of three, Rizal had embarked on a series of diasporic journeys. I claim that Rizal's odyssey began when his mother taught him at a very early age to read classic books in their home library with which he went beyond the borders of his native Tagalog language to learn Spanish and Latin with professional tutors in a particular atmosphere associated with 'high culture'.⁵⁷ As a nine year old, Rizal was taken to live with relatives while attending primary school in a town bigger than his home place, Calamba, the native base and source of childhood memories within a large family into which he was born and bred. From then on, Rizal was always "on the road" as he was sent to schools away from home. Next diasporic stopovers took place in Manila where he moved from one boarding house to another, while studying first at the Jesuit-run Ateneo and on to the University of Santo Thomas run by Dominican friars. As already mentioned, Rizal was sent to Europe, upon his elder brother Paciano's instigation, without their parents knowing about the "secret plan": to avoid Rizal's being possibly incriminated in Paciano's resistance activities with indigenous Filipino clerics.⁵⁸

It is in light of the above background that this dissertation offers a different way of approaching and understanding the complex nature of Rizal's heroic activism by locating his creative roots or inspirational sources and cultural lineage during five migratory phases as diasporic adventures: First phase (1861- 1882): Journeys into the interior or inward migrations (into one's own landscapes of the mind) during which Rizal also physically left his home base and family, at the early stages of his education and appeals to memory (*Mnemosyne* as the mother of culture); reflecting on Philippine tales and history; reconciling intuitive emotional intelligence and empirical bases such as personal/familial experience of religious oppression, racial discrimination; and participatory observations of repressive colonial governance out of sync with modernist perspectives of liberal colonial officials. Second phase (1882:1887): Sojourns in Spain, France and Germany to pursue university studies where Rizal used every opportunity to travel – making friends with liberal thinkers, joining Freemasonry, and engaging in intensive literary practice that framed his ideas on cultural identity (about which he had written political essays with Filipino propagandists and literary texts such as travelogues, diaries and letters as well as self-published the *Noli-Fili* sequel of two novels in Berlin and in Ghent). Third phase (mid-1887-mid-1888): Return to the Philippines

⁵⁷ *A Biographical Sketch* by Encarnacion Alzona in: *Reminiscences and Travels of Jose Rizal* op. cit., refers to Rizal's parents as reputed to have had one of the largest libraries in the Philippines around that time (1870s), with more than one thousand volumes.

⁵⁸ Ibid., plus other compendium volumes from Rizal's writings published by the Philippine National Historical Institute such as Jose Rizal's Political and Historical Writings (Vol. VII) and Miscellaneous Writings (Vol. VIII). Additionally, I based the following summaries and categories of Rizal's diasporic journeys and migratory phases on bio-histories such as Zaide and Zaide (1984), Sarkisyanz (1995) and Molina (1998). In particular, I found the last two volumes most useful in clarifying the inadequacies of others that preceded them.

where Rizal entered the forbidden public domain by smuggling copies of his first novel, the *Noli me Tangere*,⁵⁹ which initiated his political foray as transformative catalyst via discursive cultural products that were considered subversive because they raised questions to challenge the theocratic hegemonic order. In demanding liberal changes and democratic reforms as had been taking place in Latin American colonies of the Spanish Empire and in Europe, Rizal made a case for radical changes in Spain's cultural imperialism and no less. Fourth phase (1888): Travelling for a second time to Europe via America and England as a self-exile. Rizal spent some time at the British Library in London where he annotated and later published in Paris a pre-Hispanic cultural-history book on the Philippines. In between, Rizal wrote political essays for the Propaganda Movement and completed and published his second novel *El Filibusterismo* in Belgium. Fifth phase (1892) Rizal moves homeward: takes up residence in Hong Kong, explores opportunities for work in Japan and in Sabah, Borneo to build a new colony for his family and other displaced people in Calamba. Sixth phase (1892-1896): against the warnings and advice of family and friends, Rizal returned to the Philippines: accused of treason by the friars, tried an escape route by enlisting as a medical volunteer for the revolution in Cuba, failing which, he was exiled to Mindanao for six months before before incarcerated in *Intramuros* (the Walled City in Manila) a few days before his execution.

From a methodological perspective, I hope to shed new light could be shed on the Philippine national hero's engagement by: firstly, situating Rizal's literary practices and creative outputs within the diaspora as the location or field of his emancipatory activism; secondly, filtering Rizal's creative and literary practice through the particular prism of culture; and, thirdly, by focusing the critical questions that link Rizal together with other literati in this project under the lens to highlight: What was at stake? How and why did Rizal bleed out from his feathered pen a string of fictional words by which he counter-engaged the ire of the friars within the Spanish colonial government who staged their omnipresent institutionalized power within a divinely-ordered imperialism that cost his young life to end before a firing squad at age 35?

Analytically, this dissertation demonstrates that Rizal's cultural orientation for literary-creative engagement while in the diaspora constituted a long trajectory towards his springboard for entering the forbidden public domain, mapped in Figures 13-15. Ever since Spain imposed its imperial hegemony in the Philippines from 1521 to 1898 direct intervention in the public domain or participating in public discourse, as Rizal did, was forbidden to Filipino 'Indios', the pejorative racist term for indigenous natives of Malay extraction whose ethnicity he shared. Rizal's discourse from hereon becomes problematic because of his decision to make critical interventions and to seek reforms by challenging the fundamental assumptions of the Spanish empire's hegemonic theocracy, manifested in an

⁵⁹ English translation, Touch Me Not, is from the Bible. Rizal dedicated his novel to "the Motherland" as his diagnosis of the "social cancer" that afflicted the relationship between the Spanish empire with its colony, the Philippines. Thus, the novel came to be seen as also containing the author's prescriptions for a "healing" or suggestions to the Spanish authorities on addressing urgently needed reforms.

oppressive colonial governance in the Philippines that was abused by the religious orders, which denied human rights and discriminated against *Indios*. But Rizal's form of political engagement ran counter to Filipino militant revolutionaries who wanted sovereignty for the Philippines and therefore sought immediate cessation from Spain.

Nick Joaquin, an apologist for elite Filipino *Ilustrados* and recent Philippine national artist for literature who had written critical essays on Rizal's prose and poetics, was commissioned by the National Centennial Commission on Rizal's martyrdom in 1996 for which he wrote a biography of the hero that provides a glimpse and a telling insight on the plight of native Filipinos he refers to as "Creoles", not *Indios*:

"For 200 years – through the 17th and 18th centuries – the Philippine Creoles were Filipino in the sense that their lives were entirely devoted to service of the country, to expanding or consolidating the national frontiers, and to protecting them. Their great labour and achievement was keeping the Philippines intact when...there was not a single day that the Philippines were not under threat of invasion: by the Chinese, the Japanese, the British, the Dutch. For two centuries, the country was under constant siege."⁶⁰

Rizal's cultural production and outcomes can be read as 'heroic' not only because of its literary form and subversive content but also because of the way Rizal demonstrated how a subjective agent writes oneself in history. Constituting the primary empirical source materials for purposes of this dissertation, the outcomes are grouped into clusters: 1) Using autobiographical experiences and observations as empirical bases, Rizal began to write poetry in his childhood, initially recording sense impressions from natural phenomena around his home and then recalling the early environs of his hometown, both of which he left early upon being sent elsewhere for studies; and, later, he used literary forms to remind young Filipinos about their civic responsibilities and duty to the country – some of which he submitted to literary competitions and for which he had directly experienced forms of racial discrimination. 2) While engaging his studies and travels on liberal trends in Europe, Rizal wrote various essays, propagandistic as well as scientific, but framed his ideas on cultural identity in the *Noli-Fili* sequel of self-published novels. 3) In appealing to memory Rizal also re-wrote Philippine history from an insider's point of view, by which he self-published (in Paris, in 1890) an Edition with his own "*Annotations*" to *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, a historical volume by Don Antonio de Morga, published in Mexico in 1609. 4) A fourth cluster in Rizal's work are three sets of correspondence with different individuals/groups, which along with his diaries reveal valuable insights about why and how he put pen to paper and are thus special primary sources for this study.

Rizal dedicated his *Annotations on Morga's Sucesos* to "the Filipino people", and dated his edition, 'Europe, 1889'. He started working from a copy of Morga's work and researching the historical background in the British Museum Library in London

⁶⁰ Joaquin, Nick (1996) Rizal in Saga. Manila: RMCC p.352.

(August 1888), explaining his motives from seeing a need: a work that would show to Filipinos their past, which has been blotted from memory, an awareness of which might lead them to better estimate the changes that had taken place in three centuries of alien rule, rectify falsifications and calumnies, and thus, ... “we can all dedicate ourselves to the study of the future.”⁶¹ Rizal considered Morga as “one of those men of upright conscience, rare as comets, that from time to time go out to the colonies” and thus “had chosen the work of a celebrated Spaniard, entirely worthy of attention, who witnessed the last moments of the ancient Filipino civilization, and who played a part in the coming of the new era.” (Cummins 1971: Ibid.) Referring to an early biography by W.E. Retana⁶², Cummins says that “Rizal has been criticized for these notes which try to prove too much, and because the political feeling behind them detracts from their scholarly value.” Indeed, Cummins explains that Rizal’s edition was resented and prohibited by the Spanish authorities in Manila and the editor’s verdict (Ibid: 33-35) is noteworthy for bringing out other pertinent information:

Rizal promised that the text he presented would be in no way tampered with. His lessons and patriotic protest were put over in his annotations to the *Sucesos*, which are naturally full of political and nationalistic feeling, and indeed animosity, towards the Spaniards. ... Not only his patriotism but his anti-clericalism sometimes make Rizal **tendentious**. The Spanish clergy in the Philippines whom Rizal knew, like their conservative counterparts at home in Europe, were alarmed by the current political upheavals. Inevitably, they opposed liberal patriotism in what was almost Spain’s only remaining colony. But Rizal, when looking back to the past, tended to deprecate even the pioneer missionaries such as Diego Aduarte, OP, who were rather different men although not without their faults. Rizal, **referring to Las Casas**, the famous defender of the Spanish-American Indians, complained that the Filipinos had had no such friar to speak of them. Yet the Dominican Domingo de Salazar make some claim to be considered. Rizal’s emphases are of course perfectly understandable. He was preaching a tract for his time, and the preacher, like the lawyer, makes the most of his case. ... Considering all this, Rizal’s edition is **remarkably accurate**, there being only a few slips and omissions which in the circumstances are inevitable. (highlighting added)

It is noteworthy to abstract a few of the reports Cummins (1971: 24-26) makes to demonstrate that Morga’s work was “particularly valuable”: as the product of a first-hand witness who was a lay person and a member of the governing body of the community with some experience of colonial America as well as of Asia. Published in 1609, the *Sucesos* was the first lay history of the Spanish in the Philippines, a second coming only years after: Montero y Vidal’s *Historia general*, 1887-95, published in Madrid. Among the several positive features mentioned, those relating to the diaspora are worth abstracting: 1) The social life of the restless Spanish community, which was almost permanently under war conditions; 2) Urban and

⁶¹ *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* by Antonio de Morga, translated and edited by J.S. Cummins (The Hakluyt Society/Cambridge University Press in London/New York, 1971) 33.

⁶² *Vida y Escritos del José Rizal* (Madrid, 1907), 174, cited from Ibid.

mercantile development around 1597, the peak period in the Galleon trade, was such that “Manila was probably the most cosmopolitan city in the Spanish Empire” with a diversity of the usual foreign traders from Asia and Europe and what must have been *exotica* at that time: Flemings, Cretans, Canary Islanders, Javanese, Mexican Indians, Negroes from Guinea and Bengalese; 3) Journalists chronicled that ‘it was possible to see a Chinese, an Armenian, and a Malabar Indian talking together in Spanish, even though we cannot understand them’; 4) With so many varied nationalities, ‘to preach in Manila was like being an apostle in Jerusalem’ and that it was difficult for Spanish priests to hear confessions; and 5) Many foreign religious ‘had to hispanize their names in order to circumvent the official prohibition on aliens living in the colonies. And, Morga deals with the effects (including moral) of the coming of the Spaniards – what I would refer to as a ‘diaspora effect’ on internal displacements among conquered peoples:

“... Filipinos gradually lost many of their skills, because of the colonial government’s mismanagement, lack of foresight, and failure to encourage them, or to protect them from the intense Chinese commercial competition (Ibid: 25).

Among Rizal’s many annotations, one is notably predictable: ‘that the coming of Catholicism did not relieve the poor from their oppressors but simply increased the number of tyrants’. (Cummins 1971: 274). But Rizal’s comment needs to be contextualized with regard to the system of slavery, which, as reported (Ibid), the Spanish authorities allowed to continue as in former times: where slaves comprised the main capital and wealth of the natives. In effect, slaves, who not only worked the farms but were sold, exchanged and traded like articles of diasporic merchandise subject to being dispersed around the vast Philippine archipelago.

Why should narratives more than 100-years old pertaining to Filipinos have global and far-reaching implications?

The immediate answer lies in an essay that Rizal wrote in 1889 and published in *La Solidaridad*: *The Philippines A Century Hence*⁶³, which I consider as one of Rizal’s key indicators of his transcultural concerns and critical discursive approach to activist engagement of his literary practice in the public domain. I claim that the essay has significant meanings as an important legacy not only for those he seemed to have addressed directly, the Spaniards (particularly the Frailocracy in colonial government) and the Filipinos, but also all those who had been living in similar relationships of oppressive hegemonic orders beset with social injustices and political insecurities. In that sense, this dissertation might as well be a research project on minding-gaps. Debates and studies on Rizal as national hero have almost exclusively focussed on either one of two main discourses. On the one hand, there is Rizal’s questionable connection to the militant underground revolutionary movement that had a brief success but eventually failed, because co-opted, with the American takeover of the Philippines from Spain in 1898. And, on the other, there is his role in reshaping the Filipino’s imperialist-colonial legacy,

⁶³ The full essay (referenced here from José Rizal’s *Political and Historical Writings*, Volume VII, published in Manila by the Philippine National Historical Institute in 2000) was serialized, the first series appeared in *La Solidaridad*, Volume I, 216-217, 15 November 1889.

especially in the wired mind caught within the post-Philippine independence struggle since 1946, where analysis and commentary about the significance and relevance of Rizal's heroism involved polarized views. My interest is to focus on the way Rizal actively engaged both the process of cultural production and the production of meanings or signals that can be derived from seminal ideas in the essay, which, I argue, was written from a site of conscious diasporic deliberation. Nery (2011: 69-70) gives a good glimpse of this strategy in Paciano's letter to Rizal of 5 November 1884, referring to their mother falling ill as a reaction to hearing reports that Rizal would not be able to return to the Philippines on account of his now stirring tribute during a dinner in Madrid honouring his two Filipino painter friends: Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo (see Illustration 17). The controversial part of Rizal's speech was his raising a toast to the effect: that the recognition given by Spain awarding top prizes to Luna and Hidalgo was a symbolic bond of love and equality among nations, between Spain and the Philippines. And it is worth noting that Rizal had already then engaged heroic elements and the concept of metaphorical entailments (Lakoff/Johnson 1980) by: using cultural tools in the public domain, such as calibrating a public speech to catch the attention of the media and publishing articles like the essay at hand in *La Solidaridad*, the periodical of the Propaganda Movement, which had a policy of disseminating the truth about the effects of Spain's colonial governance in the Philippines along with vigilance by the members to correct untruths propagated in other media.

So I want to showcase Rizal's essay here as a deliberate response to an article that was published in *La Patria* (a periodical by the religious friars in the Philippines). Rizal's opening lines are also indicative of what heroism entails (Rizal 2000: 130):

Following our custom of discussing frankly the most difficult and delicate questions relating to the Philippines, regardless of the consequences that our frankness might bring upon us, we are going to deal in the present article with her future.

According to Rizal's own admission, he very briefly sketches the past, which he considers necessary "to foretell the destiny of a nation" (Ibid.). As this dissertation is not a historical treatise but one concerned with the context of Rizal's cultural politics (as evidenced in his literary texts out of which contemporary readers can discern meanings under current circumstances) it is beneficial for this purpose to quote what Rizal (Ibid.) offers in summarizing "the past of the Philippines" and to see ideas that he brings forward, what is lost and gained as though from a palimpsest of memories.⁶⁴

Soon after being incorporated in the crown of Spain, she had to support with her blood and the vigor of her sons the wars and imperialistic ambitions of the Spanish nation. In these struggles, in this terrible crisis of peoples when they change government, laws, usage, customs, religion and beliefs, the Philippines was depopulated, impoverished, and retarded, astounded by her

⁶⁴ Rizal has clearly written a journalistic article and does not write in accordance with scientific standards such as making citations and referencing his sources.

metamorphosis, with no more confidence in her past, still without faith in her present, and without any flattering hope in the future. The former rulers who had endeavoured only to inspire their subjects with fear, keep them under subjection and accustom them to bondage, fell like the leaves of a dried tree; and the people who had no love for them and who had no notion of liberty, readily changed masters, hoping perhaps to gain something from the new order.

It is somewhat disconcerting that Rizal (who comes from the province of Laguna in that part on the island of Luzon including Manila that have been ethnically identified as Tagalog, only one among the many ethnicities in the Philippine archipelago, then and now) describes those conquered by Spain as though they were one 'nation' (Ibid. 130f):

Then began **a new era for the Filipinos**; little by little they lost their old traditions, the mementos of their past; they gave up their writing, their songs, their poems, their laws in order to learn by rote other doctrines they did not understand, another morality, another aesthetics different from those inspired by their climate and their manner of thinking. Then they declined, degrading themselves in their own eyes; they became ashamed of what was their own; they began to admire and praise whatever was foreign and incomprehensible; **their spirit** was dismayed and it **surrendered** (emphasis added).

Rizal (Ibid: 131) proceeds to chart how, with the passing of time or centuries in this case, the inhabitants get into a low state of moral disgust in themselves, which, from his accounting he clearly points to the forms of religion taught and practiced by the friars that reinforced native superstitions:

Religious pomp, the rituals, songs, lights, images dressed in gold that appealed to the eyes, the cult in a mysterious language, the stories, the miracles, and the sermons hypnotized the spirit of the people, by nature already superstitious, though without succeeding to destroy it completely, despite the system that was followed with implacable tenacity.

The natives, Rizal remarks (Ibid.), are now ready to accept the consequences of a calculated *racist strategy* towards a total destruction of their will power and minds:

... to convert them into brutes and beasts of burden, a humankind without brains and without hearts. Then **the race was openly insulted**, denying that it possessed any virtue, any human quality, and there were even writers and priests who went further in alleging that the people of this country had no capacity not only for virtue but also for vice. This blow, which they thought was mortal, became precisely its salvation (highlighting added).

As though self-referencing his personal status as a medical graduate with some three years of experience, albeit limited to his specialization in ophthalmology, Rizal asserts (Ibid.) the natural saving grace the Indio has against an unexpected, if unfair, *coup de grace* (but, note in this instance: Rizal does not refer to the Filipino):

There are dying men who recover thanks to some strong medicine administered to them. So many sufferings were topped with insults and the lethargic spirit again became alive. **Sensibility**, the quality *par excellence* of the Indio; and if he had the **patience to suffer and die at the feet of a foreign flag**, he lost it when the one for whom he was dying paid him with insults and inanities. Then he examined himself little by little and realized his misfortune (Ibid: 31-32 emphasis added).

Clearly, Rizal points out to a capacity for thought and reflection in the Indio. But such empowering from reason is an unexpected factor among despots whose reaction has been a part of the classic menu in the literature on political oppression with repressive and abusive governance since antiquity. Rizal knew his classics well and he refers in his other writings to Machiavelli's *The Prince* as well as to Hobbes' *Leviathan* from which he may well be extrapolating (Ibid.) to insinuate the gruesome dialectics in the Philippines under colonial Spain:

Those who didn't expect this outcome, like despotic masters, considered every complaint and every protest an offense, and they punished with death, drowned in blood, every cry of pain, and misdeeds after misdeeds were committed. **The spirit of the people** didn't allow themselves to be intimidated, and though it had been awakened in a few hearts only, **its flame**, however, was **spreading surely and fiercely** thanks to the stupid and abusive tricks of certain classes to destroy noble and generous sentiments (highlighting added).

Qualifying a historical-developmental sketch, Rizal assures his readers that he was aware of exceptions to the general brushstrokes that he painted. Thus, he accepted that there were noble generous spirits "among the ruling race" just as there were cowards among the subject people who aided in debasing their native land. But the point of all that excursion into the past is to envision where it leads to. And here lies the crux of how Rizal's cultural politics mattered. Amidst a train of questions that seemed rhetorical and not directed to the powers that be, Rizal smuggled issues into that discursive space among liberals in Madrid particularly in the light of historical facts that, except for Cuba and Puerto Rico, Spain had lost its colonies in Latin America to successful independence and revolutionary movements. And, in heroically doing so, Rizal rationalizes conditions for possible ways out:

Will the Philippines remain as a Spanish colony, and in this case, **what kind** of colony? Will she become a Spanish province with or without autonomy? And in order to attain this status, what kind of sacrifices must she make? Will she eventually **separate from the mother country, Spain**, to live independently, to fall into the hands of other nations, or to ally herself with other neighbouring powers? It's impossible to answer these questions, for to all of them one can reply with a *yes* or *no*, according to the time one has in mind. If there's **no permanent condition in nature, how much less there ought to be in the life of peoples**, being endowed with mobility and movement!

So that in order to reply to these questions it's necessary to fix a limited space of time, and with reference to it, attempt to foresee future happenings (Ibid: 132).

So how are Rizal's literary practice and culturally-constructed ideas still relevant to current political movements and global affairs?

That question is part of the many-headed 'Hydra'⁶⁵ aspect of this research project that I encountered when I decided to write a dissertation to explore what the problem was with Rizal's heroism, which I had acknowledged upfront: how does one handle a problem that seems to mutate into an endless run of issues begging for attention? An escape mechanism was to shrug one's shoulders: what new light could still be shed on Rizal who has been adulated and flogged like a dead horse? Another way out was to ask: what more can be gained from re-visiting Rizal's sequel of novels: the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, the first, regarded as having been the first venture into re-writing Philippine history from the standpoint of a native subaltern; the second, seen as a courageous initiative on the need to prepare a 'Bill of Rights' for Filipinos? (Zaide and Zaide 1984: chapters 14-15)

An approach that I have been following in tackling the Hydra (of tracking Rizal's literary works) and keeping it from mutating out of control was to focus on a red thread for the serialized questions that are relevant to my real concern: how can culturally-embedded 'meanings' of potential significance be deduced from non-political texts (online and media's narratives) for understanding political discourse/events about the West's need for labour migrants on the one hand, and on the other, the mass movement of peoples asserting the human right to mobility in the midst of continuing wars that drive such phenomena?

For this dissertation, one helpful context for conducting that is towards the end of the 19th century: the timeframe 1870 up to the First World War during which, I argue, activists in Western Europe and America underwent a ferment of change much like post-1989 actors have been facing in current geopolitical nation-state and imperial-capitalist antagonisms. In both periods people are beset by a crises around religion and capitalist/consumerist-rationalised geopolitics that need to engage cultural issues such as ethnicity and race. Through a modernist way of thinking, a diasporic stance in the above essay gives evidence to the aforementioned premise for making comparisons. Except that we now have additional far-reaching global tensions to complicate the rationale of diasporic responses: digital technologies that transform societies as part of McLuhan's

⁶⁵ Curiously and coincidentally, a book, *The Many-headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* by Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, was reviewed by Sukhdev Sandhu in the Guardian Weekly, February 8-14 2001, page 16. The book covers the 15th to the 17th to remember a time when labour was rarely featured in discourse and posits the existence of an Atlantic proletariat who served the cause of colonial expansion and who fought for control of spaces of exploitation such as prison. The reviewer reminds us of time when whites who fraternised with other races were demonized, one of the diaspora effects of the failed New York Conspiracy in 1741: the radical rebels were hanged or exiled.

'global village', oil-grabbing in the Middle East amidst climate change, and the war against terrorist 'phantoms' not limited to ISIS.

Thus, recalling the theoretical-frames in Chapters I, the critical core concern of this academic exercise is to track and explore Rizal's emancipatory paths between two poles of cultural relations and social practices: the cultural pole, where creative literacy and writing enables and empowers the subaltern's voice, derives from Rizal's resistance to racial discrimination and oppressive government; and, the political pole, where minority groups in the diaspora are mobilized to become more conscious of the political culture for advocacy campaigns, to support lost 'homelands' and/or to re-envision new possibilities.⁶⁶ Although Rizal's case for emancipatory paths was driven by specific personal and geo-political circumstances, it is possible to consider theorizing from his cultural practices as 'modernist' stances in view of comparable contexts. The globalization of capital and consumerism implicate large scale moves of labour migrants where issues of 'race' and redress of 'human rights' are involved and invoked as 'modernizing' developments (non)fashionable postmodernisms. And, Rizal used every opportunity he had to take advantage of 'networks', a social and economic mechanism that continues to enable and empower humans to work with complexity and interdependencies. In the relationships that he established with prominent German scholars of the time and with the Austrian Ferdinand Blumentritt, who became his staunchest ally in seeking for Philippine reforms, Rizal shows us early forms of transnationalist undertakings.

Thus heroism is examined in terms of straddling two specific social practices: on the one hand, discourse and dissent as creative literary engagement; and on the other, as a socio-political resistance with mobilized groups in diaspora sites or diasporic states of mind. The dissertation derives empirical data from Rizal's cultural production outputs during the 1880s particularly the works he produced while travelling through Europe and pursuing studies in Madrid, Paris, London and Heidelberg. For context, it may be helpful to recollect the circumstances of Rizal's attaining the status of a hero. As a reminder: accused of treason under a mock trial by the Spanish colonial government in Manila on account of the 'subversive content' of his cultural products – specifically the novels and the ways he 'smuggled' them into the discursive, if forbidden, public domain – Rizal was executed in 1896. He was subsequently named the "Philippine National Hero" as part of the US strategic negotiations with the Philippine commonwealth government which officially ended in 1946.

But, as mentioned earlier, Ocampo had argued in his journalistic columns and compendium books to popularize Philippine heroes that Rizal's contemporaries had already acknowledged Rizal as a hero even before the Philippine Revolution against Spain. In a meeting with Ocampo when he came to Vienna on a lecture

⁶⁶ Many studies will be referred to here to show that displacement and dispersion as diasporic notions are not to be regarded as mutually exclusive.

tour, I informed him that I was taking his books as my cue for a research project to reconsider Rizal as a cultural hero, rather than objectifying his heroism the usual way: as a political actor in a subjective agency with a distinctive bias on his patriotic-nationalist vision. I referred to my interest in 'mirroring the novels' of Rizal with, for example, those of Arthur Schnitzler, acclaimed writer of novels and plays during the *Fin de Siecle* in Vienna. Rizal and Schnitzler were born a year apart from each other: 1861 and 1862, respectively. Specifically, Schnitzler's *Der Weg ins Freie* had caught my attention as most appropriate for the purpose particularly with reference to Dvorak's essay "*Sicherheit ist nirgends*": *Intellektuelle Autonomie und Aufklärung bei Arthur Schnitzler* (Dvorak 1997: chapter 16).⁶⁷ Asserting that Schnitzler was a political author who was concerned with bringing light to darkness, notably the shadowy aspects of bourgeois life during the waning period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Dvorak props up his argumentative evidence by referring to the work of Adrian Clive Roberts, whom he quotes (Ibid: 238):

Schnitzler's technique of combining psychological studies with political themes **makes the political realm accessible to the reader**. He demonstrated that **the average person is involved in the political process**, even though that person may not have realized it. Schnitzler attacked politicians, diplomats and journalists who conspire to seize power from the general populace.(emphasis added)⁶⁸

I therefore take Dvorak's empirical case as an impetus for a conceptual framework because of cultural-political parallels between the Austrian novelist Schnitzler with the Filipino novelist Rizal. Both were medical doctors who turned to writing at the end of the 19th century, concerned with capturing the social realism of the globalized modernized era in order to bring to the public the voice of the discriminated ethnic groups to which they belonged: on Schnitzler's part, Jews in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; and on Rizal's part, Indios or indigenous Filipinos in the Spanish Empire under Hapsburg rule.

In confronting the charge that Rizal's emancipatory politics were "Eurocentric", this research project also draws inspiration from other authoritative impulses to frame my initial questions, which have been derived from studies as varied as those of: H.D. Lasswell's *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, a seminal book describing the intricacies of political science, using a seemingly simple scheme of questions for understanding other political studies and more complex worlds of politics from various angles.⁶⁹ In particular, I found Lasswell's scheme most useful in linkage with the use of metaphorical concepts in George Lakoff's *The Political Mind*⁷⁰. Subtitled, A Cognitive Scientist's Guide To Your Brain and Its Politics, Lakoff's volume offers useful insights and analytical tools that jive with both Pagel's *Wired*

⁶⁷ The quote in that title, with emphasis added, is freely translated as "There is No Security Nowhere" and was derived from Schnitzler's autobiography, *Jugend in Wien*, as referred to in the footnote on page 235 of Dvorak's essay.

⁶⁸ As footnoted in Dvorak's book on page 239, Roberts' book, *Arthur Schnitzler and Politics*, was published in 1989 by Ariadne Press in Riverside, Cal. USA.

⁶⁹ Harold D. Lasswell's book was first published in 1936 by the McGraw-Hill Book Company in the U.S.A. and constituted my introduction to and grounding in political science while pursuing undergraduate studies in the Philippines in the 1960s.

⁷⁰ Lakoff's volume was published by Penguin Books in the USA in 2009.

for Culture (2012) and with *The Sacred Neuron: Extraordinary New Discoveries Linking Science and Religion* (Bowker 2005).

But why another study on Rizal and what purpose does it serve at this time?

As part of the modelling process for navigation tools, this research project involves configuring the preparation of maps and/or frames, which are drawn and derived from a triangulation of interdisciplinary concepts to analyse and prove with demonstrative evidence from Rizal's creative writing outputs the core thesis: *Rizal's literary engagement in the diaspora can be seen and understood as cultural politics, namely, as an activist resistance to the cultural underpinnings of colonial governance and ideological basis of Spain's imperial hegemonic order. That critical stance and position, Rizal's state of mind developing as a state of diasporic consciousness, and the idiom or mode of literary expression all constitute a 'heroic poetics of diaspora effect'.* That core thesis, comprises three component claims that, I argue, remains topical in terms of ongoing discourses on cultural identity and the politics of memory and specifically relevant around politically explosive issues in contemporary geopolitical scenarios:

1. *Thematically at the macro-level, that Rizal's contested position as Philippine national hero emanates from a paradoxical politics in negotiating his cultural vision to change the terms of Spain's imperial hegemonic order, which perpetuated a repressive-oppressive colonial government in the Philippines.*
2. *Substantively, at the micro-level, that Rizal's activist resistance during the last quarter of the 19th century was an emancipatory path to envision a cultural framework of civil liberties and equal rights as the basis for participation by Filipinos in a pluralist democracy based on European enlightenment values and a transnationalist cosmopolitan orientation that was not inconsistent with patriotic struggles for building the nation and country.*
3. *Methodologically, that Rizal's literary outcomes can be 'read' differently: as signifying practices from paradigmatic shifts in cultural studies and as responses or effects of a state of diasporic consciousness that can impact on the political collective – an aspect on the Philippine national hero that has not been explored in ways herein proposed.*

In using the light of culture and its perspectives as magnifying lens, I need to declare that this research project is aligned with those within academic discourses who take an anti-essentialist concept of 'cultural identity'. The dissertation therefore derives meanings in 'identity' from what Hall signals as the opposites of: 'its settled semantic career' or a stable core of the self, unfolding without change, always-already the same, and/or identical to itself across time. (Hall/du Gay 1996)

Instead of those essentialized notions, I follow a conception transposed onto the stage of the public domain: where 'cultural identity' performs and takes a form that Hall further describes as a 'collective or true self hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed "selves" which a people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common' (Ibid: 3-4). That distinction could be useful in clarifying or accounting for the continuing muddle on concepts – various identifications and differing identities in 'cultural identity' – within the context of geopolitical scenarios and populist politics on the impact of globalization. In this

regard, specifically, this dissertation links its concern for a heroic poetics of diaspora effect to that contemporary context arising from the war against poverty and climate change, the US-declared war on terrorism, the ISIS countercultural religious war, and the EU dealing with a complex of issues on “unwanted migrants” and “tsunami refugees” who are altogether lumped in the various media as ‘diaspora’ with exiles, expatriates and other non-indigenous people between citizens and aliens who become easy objects of scapegoating for Europe becoming an immigration continent (see variations of analyses on these issues during the last two decades in Bauböck 1994; Dvorak/Mückler 2011; Wodak 2015). Configuring those scenarios Figure 6 is offered to map the range or spectrum of diasporic movements.

Apropos essentialized notions and identifications, Josef Hochgerner’s sociological reflections (Dvorak/Mückler 2011: 24) refer to theories on the ‘State’: „*Das Machtmonopol im Inneren wie auch Macht gegenüber anderen Staaten stehen im Mittelpunkt*“, on the juridical status and territorial sovereignty of the ‘nation’ on the global stage, at about the turn of the 19th century but which, Hochgerner explains, take a different turn in Emile Durkheim’s ideas, which are herein abstracted:

Seiner Vorstellung nach fungiert der Staat als “gesellschaftliches Gehirn [das sich] im Laufe der Evolution vergrößert”. Demzufolge könne es sogar dazu kommen, dass es, „je seltener der Krieg wird, desto möglicher und notwendiger wird [...], die Macht des Staates einzuschränken.“ (Durkheim [1950] 1999, S. 79) Durkheim steht damit der modernen Vorstellung am nächsten, wonach der Staat Dienste für die Gesellschaft leistet, und in vielfältiger Weise die Sicherung und Verbesserung der Lebensgrundlagen von StaatsbürgerInnen fördern sollte. Der Konjunktiv ist freilich unvermeidbar. Um diesem Ziel näher zu kommen, muss sich das, was wir heute als Staat bezeichnen, noch einmal um eine ähnliche Dimension weiterentwickeln, wie es seit der Erfindung des Staats als juristischer Person geschehen ist.

The point the author makes (Ibid.) is to recognize the dynamics in which the State, even as it is embedded in bureaucracy and in the midst of conservative political currents, entails change in structural and functional terms, to be effective, which is what I would call ‘political culture’:

Ein beliebiger Staat der Welt ist besser als Prozess statt als eine feststehende „Gestalt“ (Struktur) aus Normen und Institutionen zu verstehen. Der Staat ist zugleich etwas Gewordenes und Werdendes. Auch Staaten durchlaufen einen Lebenszyklus.

Then, the author (Ibid: 25) gives an example to show that even mammoth empires can change as what in recent times has been seen in the Soviet Union breaking down in 1991, a dramatic event that took place rather peacefully so that they assert that such a drastic ‘change’ is not incompatible with ‘continuity’ and that both are not contradictory terms. However, the phenomenon has implications in explaining the difference between *Staat* and *Gesellschaft*, which they distinguish from the point of view of sociological analysis:

Wenn es um die Staat geht, so sind Wechselwirkungen zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft zu untersuchen. Wenn es um Gesellschaft geht, so

betrifft das meist Teilgesellschaften (z.B. nach Wien zugewanderte Personen, bestimmte Altersgruppen, Beschäftigte von Konzernen usw.), manchmal die Gesellschaft eines Staates, fallweise die Weltgesellschaft (etwa hinsichtlich Bildung, Lebenserwartung, Wohlstandsindikatoren...). Verwaltungseinheiten innerhalb von Staaten, zunehmend auch Staatsgrenzen, erweisen sich für viele Fragestellungen als willkürlich und verzerrend, weil soziale Beziehungs- und Tauschnetzwerke von immer mehr Menschen über immer mehr solcher Grenzen hinaus reichen. Immer weniger beherrschen die Staaten tatsächlich das Staatsgebiet, noch weniger das Staatsvolk (und am wenigsten die Großindustrie oder gar die Finanzwirtschaft). Zugleich sinkt die Identifikation der Einwohner eines Staatsgebiets mit dem Staat.

That excursion is noteworthy in showing how the global stage blurs the boundaries between State and Society and where ‘transnationalism’ comes in, as an option for envisioning the future, the way Rizal did and as my thesis alludes to. The implications are clear when considering current discourses within the EU where interest groups and political actors can get mired in debating really urgent economic issues like “jobs or housing for whom where when how”. But globalization, however way it manifests change (climate, structural, or communication systems) implies a ‘cultural turn’ as the questions boil down to cultural issues such as: “whose identity or difference, for which pluralism or diversity?” So here links to the diaspora ensue: how diasporic consciousness and imaginative re-visioning of the cultural wars play out from culturally-wired minds. We are given not just glimpses into that phenomenon but also solidly argued empirical based research in *Migration Revolution* (Aguilar 2014). Subtitled *Philippine Nationhood & Class Relations in a Globalized Age*, the author brings several years of thorough research and engagement on the global nomadism of Filipino workers especially since the 1960s when overseas migration became an important saving factor in their country’s economy and brought about some fundamental reorientations with regard to reigniting nationhood, imposing new demands on the state, reconfiguring the class structure and transnationalizing social relations. Aguilar contends, “Globalization is old but as the grand narrative of our time it is new” (Ibid: 53, highlighting added).

Indeed, putting aside the impact of digital technologies and transport systems, many of the multiple forces that drive globalization today have been seen speeding up movements of ideas, people and goods around the world even long before industrialization spearheaded developments that came to be known as modernization, which peaked in the 19th century. That modernization, better known after as industrialization, was described as riding high on the wave of the institutionalized ideology Edward Said critiqued in his book, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), one that followed an earlier book in which the author surveys the history of Western attitudes towards the East and critiqued the (mis)representations of *Orientalism* (1978).⁷¹ Immanuel Wallerstein, who considers

⁷¹ First published by Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., the book was republished by the Penguin Group and reprinted with a new preface in 2003 in the UK/US, which is the edition that I use.

that modernizing system as westernization or “a capitalist world economy that came into existence in the long sixteenth century in Europe and the Americas” (2006: 47-48), takes a different view, referring to Said’s position as “anti-Eurocentric Eurocentrism” because it accepts completely the definition of the intellectual framework that Europeans imposed on the modern world, which, he claims, is an original epistemology that was used to maintain the economic-military-technological complex, instead of reopening entirely the epistemological questions” (Ibid.). Thus, Wallerstein poses questions (2006: 77) that the intellectual in today’s world of transition faces, which are related to the ‘concept of two cultures’ based on a fundamental epistemological difference between the scientist’s search for the true and the humanist’s search for good values, both of which are linked to the structural crisis of the modern world system (Ibid: 80-81).

Can there be a universalism that is not a European but a universal (or global) universalism? Or rather, what would it take in the twenty-first century, to arrive at a world where it was no longer the West that was giving and the rest that were receiving, one in which the West could wrap itself in the cloak of science and the rest were relegated to peoples who had “more artistic/emotional” temperaments? **How can we possibly arrive at a world in which all would give and all would receive?** (highlighting added)

In confronting the dilemma Wallerstein (Ibid: 80) identifies three levels in which the intellectual operates: “as an analyst, in search of truth; as a moral person, in search of the good and the beautiful; and as a political person, seeking to unify the true with the good and the beautiful.” Our problem, he says (Ibid: 81), is how to navigate a seeming paradox: that although there are fundamental differences between those tasks, which cannot be simply merged, they can no longer be separated as has prevailed during the last two centuries when the intellectual, by edict, was not allowed to move between them.

So there, for this research project, is the crux of the matter in cultural politics. But searching a way through cannot be ping-ponged as “political actors” have been doing from culturally locked binary oppositions waging vested interests on a winner take-it-all trip. That pattern persists especially where the Cold War showed how the idea of antagonistically vying for supremacy to impose a ‘One World Culture’ can lead us to nowhere except to the edge of extinction. Aguilar demonstrates (2014, Chapter 2) that some analysts had discerned a relentless “homogenization of world cultures” even in the aftermath of 9/11, which deeply fractured the emerging global village both, geographically and socio-economically. Through the political fault lines, there is an insistent force to bring the world under one religious net: and it brought to the world a horde of “self-anointed heroes”, in the name of ISIS. Juxtaposed with ‘Diasporization’, ‘Heroism’ enters the big picture grandly capitalized as a phenomenon to vex the question: another trouble with culture?

Therefore, this dissertation attempts to contribute to those who continue the search for alternatives to open up roads of discursive enlightenment (in the manner of E. San Juan). It suggests that lessons may be learned from focusing a different light of ‘culture’ on the Philippine national hero Rizal: this time, not as a knowing agency nor as a centred author of social practice, but as a way to re-view and understand

what heroism is all about from the text-outcomes of his cultural production. What can the perspective of cultural studies as a signifying practice enlighten us about Rizal forging his way as a displaced and/or decentred position within a time-place matrix of diaspora effects today as presented in Figure 7 (which compliments the concept of diasporic prism in Figure 5). How does this differ from writers 'forging the conscience of the race' into the prospects of nation-building, as James Joyce projects in Stephen Dedalus, his hero in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.

What informed and catalysed Rizal's culturally wired mindscapes?

Within the scope of this dissertation, two questions are crucial: How did he managed the myriad push and pulls that he had to deal with (as in Figure 8 below)? How can this research project apply on the national hero's dialectics: a methodological mix of multifarious multi-layered paradoxical-parodic reading approaches? Answers could shed light and lead to raising the larger issues as follow up research project: Putting Rizal's works under the microscope in the 21st century, we need to decipher to what extent Rizal is able to confront Wallerstein's dilemma: on facing the tasks of the 'political moral poet' straddling modernist-postmodernist modes, towards "a world in which all would give and all would receive"?

In response to Wallerstein, I claim that in alliance with enlightened transnationalists in Europe and with liberal reformers within the Spanish empire, Rizal's heroic poetics was an appeal to discourse significations of power relations in the 'public domain' for envisioning a transformative relationship of the Philippines and Spain towards liberal democratic pluralist systems. Rizal's works reveal anti-hegemonic concerns, which were more a form of cultural than political heroism in modernist terms: emanating from an autonomous subjective agency asserting discursive social practice and positioning itself as a voice among others in the collective subaltern. I argue a cultural perspective or viewing point that is contrasted to the political because of the position I share with biographers and historians who have studied the records for evidence: that Rizal's emancipatory engagement was not immediately directed towards Philippine independence and sovereignty from Spain.⁷² As proposed earlier with reference to Figure 2 the nature of Rizal's 'heroic spirit' is analysed considering metaphorical concepts of heroic entailments in relation to Rizal's stances on three cultural themes as analytical units for focusing on the Spanish imperialist ideology – reason, religion and racism – focused upon as matters of cultural politics, which is elaborated in the following chapters but especially in chapter VI.

This dissertation proposes to deploy the abovementioned multi-framing approach towards re-visioning or rethinking Rizal: as a way of reclaiming those aspects of his 'heroic legacy' that may have been short-changed by those who used his ideas

⁷² It is not within this dissertation's purpose to argue and analyze this point. But I would like to mention a representative sample of sources among several that could be cited who have done so: Horacio de la Costa's *Readings in Philippine History* (1965); *The Philippine Revolution and Beyond*, a voluminous compendium of 91 contributions to the International Conference on the Centennial of the 1896 Philippine Revolution edited by Elmer A. Ordóñez (1998); and Bernhard Dahm's *Jose Rizal: Der Nationalheld der Filipinos* (1988) Antonio M. Molina, *Yo, José Rizal*, (1998)

on culture, specifically the aforementioned closely linked themes, in the discursive construction of identity for mainly post-colonial studies or patriotic-nationalist programmed interests. Also, demystifying Rizal's politics could lend fresh insights and perspectives as to how Rizal's 'revolutionary spirit' may be working in the collective psyche of Filipinos to support or subvert hegemonies, ideologies and structures that continue to legitimise contemporary types of questionable power relationships with implications on governance and socio-economic systems.

But, context-wise, to what extent is Rizal's heroic legacy still relevant?

I submit that a paradigmatic shift, which can shed a different light on the Philippine national hero's literary-cum-artistic practice, may provide keys to doors of new perception, albeit into a cultural labyrinth and an encounter with familiar issues that have been skirted within the continuing discourse on the Philippine national hero's role in nation-building.

In mapping Rizal's trajectory of emancipation and distilling the layers of his civil activist responses to the Spanish colonial regime in the Philippines, this enquiry postulates that: *Rizal's committed literary practice, viewed in the light of culture as 'heroic poetics of diaspora effect', was a matter of cultural politics.* That central thesis puts Rizal in a different light from other studies under which he has been viewed, considered and studied: as the Philippine national hero, executed by a firing squad in 1896 because of a subversive patriotic pro-Filipino political agenda that fuelled and propelled the Philippine revolution against colonial Spain. As already mentioned, Rizal has been controversial in post-colonial (patriotic-oriented/nationalist-centered) debates as to whether he deserves the title when compared with other Filipino heroes who are considered more "revolutionary" and directly political in their activism. In the wake of the post-Marcos dictatorship (1972-1986) and, even during the decade commemorating the centennial of his martyrdom, Rizal has been contested anew by a younger generation of activists in the Philippines, a move that some political leaders took advantage of, because they identified with an alternative hero, Andres Bonifacio, as "one of us" and more duly representative of the growing mass of indigenous Filipino populace.

An earlier critical source on Rizal's hero-status and the American connection may be traced to *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness* (Constantino 1970/76) one of many volumes critiquing Rizal's nationalism.⁷³ Possibly the most prolific and harshest critic among post-colonial Filipino nationalists advocating to "*Forget Rizal*", Constantino refers to an account of a meeting between U.S. governor William Howard Taft and the Philippine Commission from the (Philippines) Free Press, dated December 28, 1946:

And now, gentlemen, you must have a national hero. In these fateful words addressed by then Civil Governor H. Taft to the Filipino members of the civil commission, Pardo de Tavera, Legarda and Luzuriaga, lay the genesis of Rizal Day... In the subsequent discussion in which the rival merits of the revolutionary heroes were

⁷³ All of my references to Constantino's book in this research project are derived from the book's third printing publication, Manila: Erehwon, 1970, reprinted 1976.

considered, the final choice – now universally acclaimed a wise one – was Rizal. And so was history made (Ibid: 128).

Constantino (Ibid:128-9) makes his point about what he critiques as “early examples of American Aid” by providing two additional testimonies. The first one is from a book, *Between Two Empires* by Theodore Friend accounting why Taft with “other American colonial officials” and some “conservative Filipinos” decided on Rizal as “model hero” against other contestants: “Aguinaldo, too militant; Bonifacio, too radical; Mabini, unregenerate.”⁷⁴ Constantino’s second instance draws from another book, *The Philippine Islands*, which Governor W. Cameron Forbes authored:

It is eminently proper that Rizal should have become the acknowledged national hero of the Philippine people. Rizal never advocated independence, nor did he advocate armed resistance to the government. He urged reform from within by publicity, by public education, and appeal to the public conscience. The American administration has lent every assistance to this recognition, setting aside the anniversary of his death to be a day of observance, placing his picture on the postage stamp most commonly used in the islands, and on the currency.... And throughout the islands the public schools teach the young Filipinos to revere his memory as the greatest of Filipino patriots.⁷⁵

Precisely because of Rizal’s status as national hero, the discourse on him has been largely framed and focused on his political role in Philippine history. And that is one source of the muddle with the on-going contestation: whether Rizal still deserves to be the national hero in view of more historical evidence gathered on many other revolutionary heroes who, like him, sacrificed their lives in battle during the nationalist struggle when Filipino revolutionaries defiantly proclaimed the declaration of independence from Spain in 1898. That declaration happened two years after Rizal had been taken to face the colonial Military Tribunal that condemned him for treason following a mock trial, which condemned him to death by a firing squad in Manila on 30 December 1896. That event continues to be celebrated as the martyrdom of Rizal as The National Hero, not only in the Philippines but also by Filipino communities abroad, thanks to the American authorities who, as we have seen, raised Rizal above the other heroes when the US took over in 1898. But that decision has been anathema to not a few Filipino nationalists, intellectual analysts/commentators and community leaders, who heated the post-colonial discourse and political debates after the so-called American grant of Philippine independence in 1946.

The renewed discourse around the celebration of Rizal's heroism and martyrdom in 1996 was coloured by the tenth anniversary of the "People's Revolution", which historically freed the Philippines from a regime of dictatorship and political violence

⁷⁴ Ibid. Constantino cites his source: Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 15.

⁷⁵ Ibid.: p. 129. Constantino cites: W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), p. 55.

under Ferdinand Marcos from 1972-86. That regime has been likened to Franco's fascist regime in Spain and other dictatorships in Latin America if only because it unwittingly created a different kind of Filipino diaspora: inland and abroad. On the one hand, there was a mix of 'internally displaced people' that joined underground resistance groups, which also impacted on bolstering long-standing anti-government Communist and Muslim movements (Reiterer 1997: chapters 4 and 5). On the other hand, anti-regime politicians and intellectuals fled the country to avoid persecution or for varied reasons, some going for economic and educational opportunities elsewhere. Interestingly, it was during the 70s and 80s when the Government mobilized labour migrants for export, especially to the Middle East. But everyone who, like me, left the "homeland" for unknown futures went through conditions of dispersal and a cycle of cultural learning and adjustment in what I call a 'diaspora effect'.⁷⁶ and, were spared the fates of those who stayed behind: resisting and challenging the regime faced the consequences of absolutist tyrants who suspend the constitution and the rule of law: persecution, suffered incarceration, or executed "simply disappeared", a good many still unaccounted for to-date. The US welcomed several asylum seekers and exiles including Benigno Aquino around whom a counter-Marcos movement was formed, which supported his return to the Philippines. That move ended in his murder at Manila airport. Along with a combination of factors in the wake of that tragic fate, which I call a paradoxical 'diaspora effect', Aquino's self-declared 'housewife', Corazon, gets pushed and pulled by a strengthened political force into the foreground and catapulted into leading a country, a role she never expected but which she conducted with a 'heroic poetics' that symbolized the envisioning of a new elsewhere not only associated with her martyred husband but also by a growing number of brave voices she inspired that publicly say enough to reigns of absolute tyranny and widespread injustice. Gisela Reiterer (1997:167-306) devotes the largest chapter in her book describing, analysing and giving an account of Corazon C. Aquino's ascendancy: becoming the first President of the 3rd Republic of the Philippines, legitimized by a 'People's Revolution' that involved massive support from the Church under the leadership of Cardinal Sin and the Military led by Fidel Ramos, who eventually succeeds 'Cory' as President.⁷⁷ Inland and abroad, there was a strong anti-sentiment especially among young intellectuals and a new generation of politicized Filipinos who began to raise new questions and think in other critical ways. With the return to normalcy and the hopes that Cory symbolized, many of those who went through a "diaspora effect" in different ways, returned to the country with new hopes of re-democratizing the damaged political culture. But, as incisively reported by James Goodno (1991), an American foreign correspondent who lived with his Filipina wife and her family through the Marcos-Aquino transition, the Philippines was a complex challenge and puzzle of

⁷⁶ Some of my close relatives went to Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the US.

⁷⁷ Reiterer authored *Die Philippinen: Kontinuität und Wandel*, a thoroughly-researched book in German published in Vienna that covers a comprehensive historical and political analysis of the build up to and aftermath of the more than two-decades of the Marcos regime, which emasculated the Philippines with a brutal military-based government comparable to similar machinations in Argentina, Chile and Central American dictatorships. Gisela Reiterer was one of three professors who conducted a joint lecture-seminar in Comparative Politics at the University of Vienna, which I attended: she covered Asia, Gernot Stimmer covered Latin America and Rasheed Akinyemi, Africa.

development that led Cory to say: 'This is a land of broken promises' (Ibid: quoted in his book cover). This is not the subject of this dissertation but there are two relevant issues that may be raised: 1) How do the elite feel about Cory as President, having re-defined the "question of heroes", when she visited Hong Kong and publicly declared the Filipino contract workers, most of them women in domestic services, as modern national heroes? And, 2) how do those who were brutalized by Marcos feel about seeing the former dictator having been recently interred in the National Cemetery of Heroes, at the invitation of the current Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte?⁷⁸

It is also noteworthy to draw from a chapter, "A history told by foreigners" in a book ironically titled *America's Boy* by James Hamilton-Paterson:

Rizal's second novel, *El Filibusterismo* (1891), contained a more nakedly revolutionary message, which not only assured its young author notoriety among his own *ilustrado* class but made his writings central to the growing working-class revolutionary movement. Yet Rizal himself always drew back from calling publicly for revolution, and still more from advocating premature armed struggle. There are still Filipinos who consider he betrayed the revolution he had done so much to set in motion; but theirs is perhaps an ideological zeal too easily felt by non-participants from the safety of a century later. Not only that, it ignores the complexity of Rizal's youthful sensibility. He was above all an intellectual, a poet and radical thinker. The scion of a comfortable *burgis* upbringing, he came to acknowledge himself as ill-adapted to the practicalities of overthrowing a state, even had he wanted to, and it is doubtful whether he ever managed to achieve a private reconciliation between what his intelligence told him was necessary to free the Philippines and an instinctive shying-away from the implied matricide of committing himself to the overthrow of *Inang Espana*, Mother Spain. (1998: 30-1)⁷⁹

Romanticizing, Hamilton-Paterson refers to Rizal's exile from 1892-6 when the Spanish authorities banished him to Dapitan in Mindanao: "... it seems likely he went on believing in an essential Spanish benevolence and good sense that could still make possible the Philippines' gradual transition from colony to independent state without bloody confrontation." (Ibid.) In the same vein, the author dramatizes Rizal's execution relating how "the man of letters" had spent his last moments in his prison cell writing "*Mi Ultimo Adios*" or *My Last Farewell*, which became his most famous poem. (Ibid.) Further, he recalls what many biographers have corroborated: that Rizal's last words before he was shot were the same words of Jesus Christ, "*Consummatus est*", supposedly clearly audible to bystanders, which many have since taken as a proof that Rizal had not repudiated the Catholic

⁷⁸ Just to cite an example from the media discourse, I refer to an online article from the New York Times:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/19/world/asia/philippines-marcos-burial.html>.

⁷⁹ Subtitled *The Marcoses and the Philippines*, first published in Great Britain by Granta Books 1998, my reference is a reprint in the Philippines by Anvil Publishing 2001, displaying a half-naked Ferdinand Marcos on the book cover. Marcos established a dictatorial regime in from 1972-1986.

Church. So Hamilton-Paterson concludes that, as a martyr popularly likened to Christ's suffering and sacrifice, Rizal's words and ideas spread like wildfire, local uprisings turned into mass revolt until two years later, in 1898, when the Filipino Revolutionary Congress adopted the constitution of the first Philippine Republic after Emilio Aguinaldo, who declared independence from Spain, was sworn in as its president (Ibid: 32). Those events coincided with the Spanish-American war, which in turn proved to be the genesis of the U.S.A.'s overseas empire as the short-lived Philippine Republic was taken over along with Cuba and Puerto Rico. The American author clinches his narrative by quoting Senator Albert J. Beveridge who supposedly cleared up a few points for any ideologically challenged American democrats:

God has been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years (to be) master organizers of the world. He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples.⁸⁰

Aptly, the economist William Easterly adopts the title for his book⁸¹ that gives an account as to "*Why the west's efforts to aid the rest have done so much ill and so little good*", from a poem by Rudyard Kipling, a British subject born in India. Kipling seemed to have caught the fever of the moment, just-in-time in 1898, to "*Take up the White Man's burden...*" that resonated in the U.S.A. and moved Americans in a referendum to vote for including the Philippines in the package by which Cuba and Puerto Rico were ceded by Spain to the U.S.⁸² Describing in a chapter entitled "White Mischief" how gangsters with self-serving agendas exploit ethnic and nationalist grievances in a chain of ongoing consequences, Easterly shares his rigorous-based knowledge and World Bank experience: 'One thing today's nation-builders could learn from their colonial predecessors: once you get in, it's very hard to constructively get out' (Easterly 2006: 255).

If the Philippine national hero is viewed as American-sponsored, why and how does Rizal fit in current discourses?

To begin with, recent scholarly investigations have debunked the view about Rizal's 'heroization' as an Americanization. Nery points out (2011) cogently in *Revolutionary Spirit* the "faulty electrical wiring" in Constantino's arguments and he presents San Juan's too in Appendix B(Ibid: 243). Some responses to that question are also given in Ambeth Ocampo's (2000) *Rizal Without the Overcoat*, one of his many bestseller collections of journalistic essays to popularize the easy

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 33, quoted from Gore Vidal, *New Statesman* (London, 13 January 1967).

⁸¹ *The White Man's Burden* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2006) critique's patronizing top-down approaches to bail out the poor nations of the world.

⁸² The Philippines came under American sovereignty and territory as an insular possession with the signing of the Treaty of Paris on 10 December 1898 and the Treaty of Washington concluded between Spain and the U.S. Enrique Voltaire Garcia II, a militant nationalist in the 1960s, wrote a master's thesis at the University of Chicago that provided an analytical treatment of the consequences of those treaties, particularly the deployment of U.S. forces and military bases that gave fire to the anti-American sentiment and encumbered the so-called Philippine-U.S. special relations. The study was presented in the *Journal of East Asiatic Studies*, a bi-annual publication by the University of Manila, Volume XI, in September 1967.

reading of Rizal as a down-to-earth human person.⁸³ Ocampo argues (Ibid:2-3) that although the Americans encouraged a cult and hero-worship, “Rizal was already seen as a hero even before his execution” on account of some relevant facts: 1) the Spanish friars were cock-sure that Rizal was behind the rebellious forces, a charge for which the evidence in the transcripts of his trial demonstrated that Rizal was “the soul of the revolution”; 2) Andres Bonifacio made Rizal the honorary president of the *Katipunan*, the underground militant movement that Bonifacio himself founded and led; 3) the *Katipunan*’s password was “Rizal”; and 4) his photograph graced the headquarters and meeting places of the *Katipunan*.⁸⁴

Still, it is a fact that the Americans needed someone with which to cut off the Filipinos’ umbilical cord from ‘Mother Spain’ and so rekindled the emotive and symbolic content of Rizal’s martyrdom. In a lecture delivered at the Ateneo de Manila University (where Rizal studied in the 1870s thus, presumably to celebrate the centennial celebrations) historian Reynaldo Ileto said something relevant:

When the Philippine Revolution of 1896-98 was **written** in a national history as a foundational event – the birth of a nation – **it also produced a set of “heroes”** or “founding fathers” with whom political leaders and citizens alike could identify. During the political struggles of the last hundred years... the heroes of the Revolution have appeared again and again **to give meaning to the struggle** for independence and *kalayaan* (**freedom**).”... The hero almost everyone wants to identify with, of course, is José Rizal. As we all know through the writings of Renato Constantino, the Americans promoted Rizal as a national hero. They cited his emphasis on reforms having to come “from above” and on mass education before self-rule could be achieved. By emphasizing this side of Rizal, the colonial policy of **“tutelage” could be legitimized**. But let us not forget that portrayal of Rizal in our older textbooks was a joint venture of American and Filipino writers. Rizal, **as a European-educated hero**, was the perfect example of a Filipino who was already *in* (sic) history – in that sense historians could argue that Rizal was, in fact, a radical figure. (translation mine and highlighting added).⁸⁵

Indeed, upon proclaiming Philippine Independence in 1898, Aguinaldo also declared December 30 as an annual day of national mourning to honour Rizal.

⁸³ Ocampo is a historian who had dug out materials in the Philippines and went into archives around the world for his master’s thesis on Rizal’s unfinished third novel and for his doctoral dissertation, also on Rizal. But it is his serialized work as a newspaper columnist that established his reputation as a Rizalian scholar for the masses. I had the occasion to interview him on one of his lecture-travels sponsored by the Philippine Embassy in Vienna.

⁸⁴ The references and citations made here are to the expanded edition of Ambeth R. Ocampo’s *RIZAL: Without the Overcoat* (Philippines: Anvil 2000), 2-3.

⁸⁵ A lecture by Reynaldo C. Ileto (at the Ateneo de Manila University on 27 October 1998) accessible online: <http://www.academia.edu/11261397/thebirthofanation>

Ironically, the aforementioned events seem to have relegated Bonifacio and Aguinaldo as well as other revolutionary heroes to second-class status.⁸⁶

However, Ocampo (2000:2) also refers to the fact that Rizal had disqualified himself owing to a '*Manifesto addressed to the Filipino people*' by which the hero stated his objection to the revolution as: 'a senseless waste of time and human lives'. Thus, Ocampo explains the ongoing controversy around the teaching and study of Rizal:

In compulsory Rizal courses all over the Philippines, students are either given the usual lectures that Rizal is the greatest Filipino – the greatest Malay who ever lived – or that Rizal's stature should be reconsidered since he is in a sense a traitor to the revolution becoming the national hero only because of the Americans who sponsored and encouraged his cult. (Ibid.)

Still, Rizal continues to attract popular, media and scholarly attention along with a publishing dynamic that has been referred to as a burgeoning cottage and educational industry. Several schools and colleges have been named after Rizal but a university in Mandaluyong (among the cities incorporated in Metro Manila) prides itself in counting among its graduates, Ramon Magsaysay, who ran on a nationalist party ticket and became the 7th President of the Philippine Republic in 1953.⁸⁷ Magsaysay is remembered as "Champion of the Masses": for community development and social agrarian reforms and for having been, arguably, the most honest in ridding Philippine politics of nepotism, graft and corruption; thus, also celebrated as a legendary hero and, in fact, profiled as "the best" among 16 presidents the Philippines had so far, even if he could not serve his full term owing to "an unresolved plane crash" in 1957 in which he perished with others.⁸⁸

Rizal's heroism had been juxtaposed versus "other Filipino heroes" who did not have the same chances and were not similarly privileged to go for studies/travel abroad and therefore were untainted by "Western contamination" as Rizal and other Ilustrados had been critiqued. However, this project's interest is not with analytical studies on commemorations that perpetuate the mythology around Rizal or exorcising it. My own concern is about the way this continued mythologizing is carried on among Filipino communities in the diaspora, which does not help an awakening from a collective amnesia. For purposes of this project, those I have foremost in mind are Filipinos in Austria and within the EU. Thus a corollary vision for this enquiry is to consider how coming to terms with culture in the diaspora can be useful in deconstructing the *Zeitgeist*, images or myths, in particular, true-false binary oppositions on the Philippine national hero and thus, contribute to the

⁸⁶ In fact heroism is recognized and extended beyond Rizal among the usual list of protagonists in "*The Forgotten Filipino Military Heroes of the Philippine War of Independence*" by Elias M. Ataviado in A Special Rizal Edition of the Journal of History, Vol. V. Nos. 1-2 (Manila: Philippine National Historical Society, 1957), pp. 119-135.

⁸⁷ See website jru.edu on the established José Rizal University: its founding dates back to 1919 and whose autonomous education has been granted and renewed since 2003 by the Commission on Higher Education of the Philippines.

⁸⁸ Curiously, because without back-up reference, FilippiKnow.net refers to Rizal as the "unofficial hero". See www.filippiknow.net/philippine-presidents

emancipation of contemporary minds as well as liberate the imagination of readers from the spell of certain institutionalized symbols and metaphors.⁸⁹ In part, this research project also addresses lingering questions that I have been asked during an inter-cultural workshop conducted for second generation Filipinos in Austria – among them teen-aged children of Filipino nurses who were recruited in the 1970s under a Vienna-government programme and who eventually contracted mixed marriages – to celebrate the Centennial of the Philippine Revolution against Spain. The questions seemed harmless, if banal at the time: How can we go beyond such stigmas as belonging to a rice-eating culture, or to a culture of smell-penetrating foods like the *Kebabs* that stereotype Turks and Yugoslavs? Or, how can we stop being likened to the Chinese, Vietnamese, or others coming from an East Asian culture that are stigmatized as being loud-n-noisy, just in the normal terms we speak and talk with each other? In different ways, such questions of ethnic identity and “otherness” have been raised again and again during the summer classes that the Filipino community and/or the Philippine Embassy in Vienna organized in the first decade of the 21st century, which I helped to facilitate. But they continue and now have a ring of urgent relevance within public debates heated up by the ultra-nationalist and populist politics that have been gaining greater currency ever since the global financial crisis that still impact on economic recovery and social integration within the European Union. Meanwhile, among first and second generation Filipinos in Austria who have acquired Austrian citizenship, there is an echo from what other ethnic groups have been saying: how can we feel accepted when we are always reminded that we are strangers, just in how we are and look?⁹⁰ But how does it help that they are mobilised each year to attend Philippine Independence Day and other national celebrations with all the patriotic symbols and trimmings during which Rizal is not only an integral part but especially held up for hero-worship? Thus this dissertation’s question: what and how can Filipinos in the diaspora, particularly those living in Europe, still reclaim from Rizal’s legacy today?

What particular aspects of geopolitics and history in the Philippines are relevant to understanding Rizal’s works?

This dissertation is neither about the history of a country nor about the biography of a person although both are referred to as contexts for Rizal’s literary practice as a form of cultural-politics – driven by a heroic poetics in the diaspora – that is oriented to a vision for the Philippines within a modernizing world. Therefore an application of the aforementioned variables and indicators to analysing Rizal’s works presuppose an understanding of the Philippines where the essays, poems

⁸⁹ In his introduction to the above-mentioned book of Egon Friedell, Allan Janik attributes this kind of deconstruction to Jacques Derrida as something that Friedell engaged in, which he took as his point of departure to liberate the imagination by providing a radical alternative to the received new view of Western cultural history. Ibid. xxi

⁹⁰ In 2015, during a project, Kunst in der Öffentlichkeit for which the Schule für Dichtung asked me to convene/direct an UrbanNomadMixes ensemble, we worked with an *Inter-Kulturelle Gruppe* as the host to help mobilize potential participants from young people with migrant backgrounds living in the social housing complex: *am Schöpfwerk*. During one workshop, none of three would-be participants who had been born in Vienna of Turkish parents considered themselves Viennese nor Austrian; declaring themselves Turks, they outrightly said, we don’t belong here.

and the *Noli-Fili* sequel of novels were set and where the plots and characters unfold.

The Philippines has been a full-fledged nation-state with a presidential and representative form of government ever since the so-called grant of independence by the United States on the 4th of July 1946. Going down in history as the first republic in Asia, the Philippines celebrated its centennial in 1998 when it memorialized Emilio Aguinaldo's declaration of independence from Spain upon establishing the short-lived revolutionary provisional government on 12 June 1898. However, by a quirk of historical circumstances, Spain had ceded the Philippines to the U.S. (as the winner of what historians arguably call a mock Spanish-American war), ending Spanish colonial rule that began in 1521. The U.S. set up a Commonwealth Government that was intended to prepare the Philippines for self-government, a process that lasted for about half a century. Both of the aforementioned colonizers have been the two biggest influences with a lasting impact on Philippine culture, a unique blend that spawned a running cliché whereby Filipinos jokingly summarize their history in terms of being kept in a convent under Spain for about four centuries and then prostituted for modern times in Hollywood during 50 years.⁹¹

An archipelago of about 7,000 islands strung in the western part of the Pacific Ocean about 100 kilometres southeast of China, the Philippines are situated directly north of Malaysia and east of Vietnam.

The Philippines had, for a long while during and after the infamous Marcos regime in the 1970s-80s, been stigmatized as “the sick man of Southeast Asia”, a branding from which it has not entirely recovered. This was a disappointing and unexpected turnaround from the promise that held sway for Filipinos in the 1960s who may have believed that, having established a good basis for “special relations” with the United States, from whose formal clutches they had wriggled themselves free in 1946 into becoming Asia's first independent republic, they had a good basis towards leading the way for modern democracies in that region. Alas, too many of them – including myself as participant – had embarked on that proverbial road paved with good intentions and had therefore underestimated the hold of cultural constructs that conditioned and indelibly marked the Filipino psyche through 425 years of colonialism.

Historical and literary records attest to the fact that a good deal of the native instinct and leadership in colonial Philippines to break the chains of bondage had been derailed and accompanied by some sort of romantic idealism. For instance, from the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian states in 1955 and the next decade, Filipino nationalism was basically an effort to rid the country of the derogatory reference by its Southeast Asian neighbours: “little brown Americans”⁹².

⁹¹ Reiterer, Gisela M (2003). “The Filipino Community in Austria Between Integration and Cultural Self-Assertiveness.” Paper presented at the 3rd International Conference of Asia Scholars, Singapore, 19-22 August 2003, p. 9

⁹² In 1965, O.D. Corpuz, an eminent Filipino scholar who authored a two-volume Philippine Centennial (1898-1998) Edition, *The Roots of The Filipino Nation*, participated in a project by

When in 1972, Ferdinand Marcos usurped his presidential powers to turn the country into a military dictatorship under an absolutist regime that lasted more than two decades until he was ousted by a People's Revolution in 1986, he not only broke the revolutionary promise for good, he went on to cement a tradition of politics as if to prove that, indeed, "...better a government run like hell by Filipinos than one run like heaven by Americans". This was the rallying cry for independence by Filipino nationalists in the 1930s and the 1940s which was fired, ironically, in the "the spirit of Rizal".

Jose Rizal was catapulted to his current status as the Philippine national hero by the U.S. High Commissioner in 1914, an event, which revived the mythology and cult that arose out of Rizal's execution in 1896 by the Spanish authorities who had charged him of treason and inciting rebellion against Spain. Among those who question Rizal's martyrdom and whether or not he deserves this status, some consider America's move as a calculated attempt to make Filipinos not only forget but also detest their Spanish past. Others argue that this move was intended to support a brave nationalist effort to hold the country together – one torn apart by fragmentary cultural constructs – ideals and values largely foreign to most of the native populace plagued by problems of a more basic survival cum economic nature. This sentiment was replayed in a proliferation of studies commissioned by the Philippine Government, first, for Rizal's birth centennial celebration in 1961, and then for his centennial death anniversary in 1996.

Industrially, the Philippines would rank high if viewed in terms of its educational system which produces an incredibly large annual output of university graduates. Thus, in a country where even street sweepers and jeep drivers hold academic degrees, one would expect analytical production to be undertaken at industrial speeds for assessing and diagnosing the country's alleged and perceived illnesses as well as identifying possible remedies. Along with driving the publishing and printing sectors, one would expect that the ensuing dynamics must save a vast horde of Filipino academicians and intellectuals from living on hand-to-mouth subsistence bases. But it is a fact that the GDP and unreliable, if unstable, economic figures of the Philippines have been salvaged only by remittances to relatives and friends by Filipinos abroad, particularly those engaged in health-care industries and the domestic service shadow economy. The latter workforce, predominantly comprising women who left their families in dismal rural villages and urban slums, have been officially conferred the title "modern Filipino heroes" by the Philippine Commission on Overseas Filipinos. And yet, such patronized pride and statistical manipulation can neither defuse the country's comparative lackluster performance nor dilute the consensus that corruption is what urgently needs addressing.

Prentice Hall, Inc. in New Jersey, U.S.A. on *The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective* and wrote *The Philippines* which was then considered the first history to show how the country's Malay, Spanish and American legacies have shaped its contemporary society and politics. Corpuz says "The call of racial consciousness reinforced by the hard facts of regional geography, together with a desire to reassure their Asian neighbours, seemed to have drawn the Filipinos more and more to what is, after all, their racial and geographical home.", p.18.

Within an international community driven by the heat of globalization, corruption is a harsh judgment on a country's standing that could have profound implications on its credibility for achieving its developmental goals and strategies. Fortunately for the Philippines, like many other developing countries, international politics and diplomacy provide other criteria and corridors for accessing required resources. Enquiring into the bases and sources of that charge may not necessarily affect credit-worthiness and the inflow of investments sought after. Hence, this is not another study yet again designed to add to a plethora of possible cause-and-effect analyses for economic purposes. Rather, it springs from a continuing concern that part of political vigilance is to enquire about the nature of corruption in hegemonic behaviour and its nexus to a society's culture, i.e. those elements that bind and keep a people together, caught in the unending story of conflicting interests and power-webs. But that is different from this project's primary interest, which is to examine and understand how cultural constructs figure in that judgment, to wit: what are the specific claims of culture and its manifestations within a particular socio-political setting that might explain symptomatic attitudes and persistent attributes of corrupting or abusing power among the governing or dominant groups vying for hegemony in the public space?

Out of several possibilities for dealing with this question, this study takes an excursion to a time back in the 1870s when Filipino nationhood is said to have sprung from its embryonic form, eventually manifesting itself in emancipation movements against "imperialist Spain" and then coming into fuller maturity against "colonialist America". In considering the trajectory of Filipino nationalism, a primary concern is: what happened during its inception that would be critical to identifying cultural issues as a possible source for locating the roots of hegemonic disorder and systemic malpractices to-date?

How are those concerns linked to other Filipinos in the diaspora? Where when why does a politics of collective memory come in?

In the spring of 1996, a series of symposia were held in Irvine, California as part of an Exhibition in Winnipeg, Canada around *Memories of Overdevelopment*, which Robert Enright reviewed in Toronto's *Globe and Mail* as "... one of those exhibitions that embarrasses critics... who thought that Filipino culture was a replica of Americanisms and Karaoke."⁹³

The exhibition went on tour and a book was subsequently published in which the organizers and editors (Baerwaldt 1997: 4-7) explained that the venture was considered 'an important step to commemorate the centenary of the Filipino people's often complicated and violent drive toward democratic independence, which caused so many thousands to flee political persecution or involuntarily depart to find basic employment outside the country.'⁹⁴ They also envisioned that the artwork and artists provide a unique forum for viewing a challenging struggle

⁹³ Quoted on the back cover of the publication *Memories of Overdevelopment: Philippine Diaspora in Contemporary Art*, edited by Wayne Baerwaldt. (Plug In Editions, Canada and Art Gallery, University of California, Irvine: USA, 1997).

⁹⁴ Ibid. Introduction, pp. 2-3.

with postcolonial discourse and the impact of media on notions of identity and that the book was intended to seed an ongoing forum in making sense of the diaspora.

That centennial jubilee, memorializing revolutionary heroes who raised the Philippine Flag in defiance of the Spanish authorities and who declared their country's independence from Spain in 1898, was also an occasion to remember 50 years of independence from the U.S. and 10 years since the first People's Revolution, which goes down in history as EDSA, ended the infamous Marcos regime (1972-1986).⁹⁵ The exhibition and book publication focused on cultural production in the visual arts, film, literature and architecture: to explore various dimensions of the "diasporic imaginary". The project was intended to bring the diasporic discourse into related and overlapping focal points: 'not a representative survey but a global reunion that touches on issues of history, borders, memory, invention and loss' (Baerwaldt 1997:3). A prominent group of writers, artists and scholars was selected to trace and illuminate "explosions of imperialisms" among the Asian diaspora in the U.S. and in Canada.

An essay by N.V.M. Gonzalez, "Even When a Mountain Speaks", which he wrote in 1992 after the monumental destruction caused by Mount Pinatubo, a volcano north of Manila that erupted after 600 years of dormancy, provided a leitmotif for understanding Filipino Culture and Diaspora:

One of the chief sources of error in understanding Filipino life and culture is a belief that it is a singular country. We are in fact a country of many nations and a nation of many cultures... also a people that have yet to tap our folklore and oral tradition. Deeply embedded in these are our many an image of our aspirations (*sic*). Here too are the durable forms into which have been cast both our despair and hopes as a people. The intellectualism of the past, uncomfortable with the indigenous, overlooked this resource entirely, favouring instead what was being offered from outside. But stranded about the types of fortune around the world in uncounted numbers, Filipino women have their own stories to tell. It is about Sunday morning reunions in Rome, say, or in a park in Hong Kong or Singapore. These are a generation of college graduates, schoolteachers, and health service workers modified and redesigned by a harsh national economy in the homeland into nannies and domestics. They are replacements to the stoop labor, and blue-collar workers of the '20s and '30s, mostly fast men, fast aging and still romantic about America in their hearts. ... The new breed must fend for themselves in unlikely places like Britain and Angola. To their story too must be added that of their sisters in

⁹⁵ Reiterer, Austrian scholar on southeast Asian studies, mentioned earlier was a witness to the aftermath of Mt. Pinatubo volcanic eruption while conducting research on the book that she authored, *Die Philippinen: Kontinuität und Wandel*: a comprehensive analysis of Philippine political history from the Spanish conquest through to the American and Japanese occupations and post-colonial years until 1992, which also provides an incisive analysis of the negative impact that resulted from the 20-year Marcos dictatorship and the following six years of Aquino administration. She refers to EDSA as the "*Revolution der Rosenkränze*", presumably because of the masses of people praying their rosaries while forming roadblocks against army tanks and police forces on a major avenue in Manila called EDSA.

Japan. All of this is *lahar* spewed out of the explosions of imperialisms. (Ibid: 82-83)

The effects of that eruption were felt worldwide; locally, about 2.1 million people were affected and the death toll of nearly a million lives does not probably account for the *Aetas*, an indigenous and largely unregistered mountain folk who may have been displaced or buried along with whole towns and villages into oblivion, let alone the loss of Spanish heritage that disappeared with the ash in colonial buildings and infrastructure. The explosive nature of Mt. Pinatubo, straddling three provinces north of Manila (including those where ex-Presidents Corazon Aquino and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo come from, Tarlac and Pampanga, respectively) was taken as a metaphor by moderator Russell Leong, when introducing a panel of counter-storytellers on subversive memories: 'We can say that the Filipino and Asian Diaspora has truly spewed out of the explosions of imperialisms and that we as artists are the ashes from these various explosions of war, violence and colonization. (Ibid: 84)

The Exhibition book, *Memories of Overdevelopment*, recalls how in one of the panels, Pilipina-American (sic) novelist Jessica Hagedorn took the podium saying: "I thought I would retell little excerpts from an essay called *Imaginary Homelands* by Salman Rushdie, ...tell it as myself and steal from it and add little things and share it with you ...close to the story of why I am a writer, why I still live here, why I write what I write." Recounting visits to the house where she was born in Old Manila, "feeling claimed or informed that the facts of my faraway life were illusions and this continuity was the reality", Hagedorn admits having been overwhelmed: "The colours of my history had seeped out of my mind's eye... this was when my novel *Dogeaters*⁹⁶ was really born – when I realized how much I wanted to restore the past to myself." Then she mused:

But if we do look back, we must do so in a knowledge that gives rise to profound uncertainties – that our physical alienation from the Philippines almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost. Then we will create, in short, fictions, not actual cases or villages but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Philippines of the mind. ... writing my book in New York... I was constantly plagued by this problem... what I was actually doing was a novel of memory and about memory." (Ibid: 85-86)

What does Rizal's appeal to memory as a politics of cultural identity signify for Filipinos in the diaspora?

In *Memory and Amnesia: Rizal on the eve of his centenary*, Ocampo seems to deplore the fact that "Rizal had indeed become legendary in his lifetime – and this has grown worse a century after his death... The greatest irony of all is the fact that Rizal has been obscured by his own omnipresence... Rizal's greatest

⁹⁶ Published in 1990 (New York: Pantheon Books) the book was hailed as a fine achievement by critics, with Ismael Reed quoted on the back cover: 'Dogeaters is not only a work of comic genius, but an advance for the American novel.'

misfortune was becoming the National hero of the Philippines.”⁹⁷ Ocampo adds as if to lament, “Most Filipinos get to read Rizal and learn about the Philippine revolution only after they get to college”. (Ibid.)

During the post colonization process in the Philippines following almost 50 years of U.S. regime, pertinent journalistic commentaries became part of public polemics and academic discourse to justify why Rizal needs to be memorialized as “The National Hero” or why he needs to be dumped in favour of another from the likes of those who had been imaged and perceived to have comparatively fought more directly by shedding blood or losing lives in battlefields. Ocampo, eminent historian who was on the board of the National Historical Institute (hereafter, NHI) that prepared and reviewed documents for the Centennial celebrations of Rizal’s martyrdom and Philippine Independence during the 1990s said in his above mentioned lecture (2001: 10-11), “*Memory and amnesia*”:

‘Rizal’s place in the pantheon of Philippine heroes was secure until the publication of Teodoro A. Agoncillo’s biography of Andres Bonifacio, *Revolt of the Masses* (1956), which raised questions about Rizal’s role... and gave birth to the lively and often over-heated debate on who should rightfully be national hero – Rizal or Bonifacio. At the height of student activism in the late 1960’s, many young militant Filipinos questioned how the non-violent, pacifist Rizal became the pre-eminent national hero over the revolutionary Andres Bonifacio, when he did not even lift a bolo or fire a single bullet during the Philippine revolution. As a matter of fact, Rizal appeared to have rejected the revolution as premature and appealed to the *Katipuneros* to lay down their arms.’

Rizal appealed to memory (Mnemosyne) as the “mother of culture” while going through a spectrum of displacements and re-orientations, as the effects of finding himself in diasporic spaces/sites. Deliberately, he honed skills in using the pen and words to craft his autobiographical experience and observations as empirical bases. Early as a child, he began to write poetry by recalling his home environs and expressing deep feelings of alienation and displacement from the comfort zone of his original base. During adolescence while studying in Manila, he “began to devote myself in my leisure hours to the reading of novels.” Here’s an important recollection that Rizal referred to in later years as having influenced his own thinking and writing:

Imagine a boy of twelve years reading the *Count of Montecristo* (a novel by Alexander Dumas – father – 1802-1870), enjoying the sustained dialogues and delighting in its beauties and following step by step the hero in his revenge. Under the pretext that I had to study universal history, I importuned my father to buy me Cesare Cantu’s *Historical Universal (History of the World)* and God alone knows the benefit I got from its perusal... (Rizal 1961: 16) (parenthetical annotations added).

⁹⁷ In Ambeth R. Ocampo, *Meaning and History: the Rizal Lectures*, Anvil, Manila, 2001, pages 3-6.

He also resorted to writing plays and essays to remind co-young Filipinos about their civic responsibilities and duty for country. He submitted some to literary competitions, a practice for which he personally experienced the racial discrimination that his parents had been subjected against. His mother was charged on the basis of a false criminal accusation, from which she got acquitted only after more than two years of imprisonment, torture and humiliating circumstances. Rizal had been away from his hometown in grade school and he gives hints of diasporic effects as he rationalizes why he writes:

Have you ever felt your honour outraged, your name tarnished, by persons who owed you many favours? My pen refuses and would have refused forever to put on paper some remembrances that I should like to forget if my purpose were not to make a succinct narration of my joys and misfortunes. (Ibid: 11-12)

In the meantime they discussed my career and they decided that I should go to Manila with my brother Paciano to take the entrance examination and study the secondary course at the Ateneo Municipal.... A few days later, I went down to Manila, but with sad feelings that I would again be unhappy. (Ibid: 13)

In 1882, his elder brother Paciano, 11 years his senior, organized a trip for Rizal (aged 21) to Europe on a pretext of supporting him to further medical studies. In fact, both brothers had been under surveillance on suspicion of involvement with nationalist rebel leaders, many of them either persecuted or exiled.

Eventually, Rizal enrolled at the Universidad Central de Madrid where, according to Rizal's own letters and as attested to by others, he obtained two academic degrees: a Licentiate in Literature and Philosophy in 1884, and another in Medicine in 1886. Engaging his studies on liberal trends and observing them in the practice of several liberal intellectuals whom he befriended, Rizal framed his ideas on a politics of cultural identity and memory out of which he had self-published a sequel of two novels, the *Noli-Fili*. Going to London after a trip from California to New York in 1889, Rizal carried out research in the British Museum and re-wrote Philippine history from an insider's point of view, clearly as a subaltern, self-publishing an Edition with his *Annotations* of Antonio de Morga's volume, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Historical Events of the Philippine Islands) originally published in Mexico in 1609.⁹⁸

In between, Rizal got involved in the Propaganda Movement by writing topical articles and commentaries to counteract attacks on the call for reforms in newspapers and media of the time. Rizal also published ethnographic as well as socio-political essays critical of Spanish colonial rule in Philippine governance, specifically focusing on the role of the Catholic Church and the abusive power of the religious orders. The propagandists comprised Filipino *Ilustrados* (known as

⁹⁸ See Jose Rizal, *Life, Works and Writings*, by Gregorio F. Zaide and Sonia M. Zaide (Manduyong, Metro Manila: National Book Store, Inc., 1984), which attests to this on p. 144 as well as to Rizal having laboriously poured over many other historical studies and documentation on the Philippines before deciding that Morga's was the best.

intellectual elites) based in Barcelona and in Madrid. With “*La Solidaridad*”, their main newspaper and literary organ to which Rizal had been an activist contributor, writers struggled to mediate a conflict resolution for assimilative – not to speak of integrative – reforms between the Spanish Republican government in Madrid and the Spanish “frailocracy” (= rule of the friars) in Manila whom they openly charged as governing against the grain of enlightened humanitarian principles, let alone flouting Christian ethics.⁹⁹ The specific articles that Rizal published in *La Solidaridad*, pointing out the evils of Spanish rule and defending Filipinos against unjust charges in the public media, attest to a literary activism different from a militant engagement.¹⁰⁰ Aside from expressing redress of grievances in his diaries, letters, and travel reportage, Rizal produced complex emancipatory narratives that he compiled and published as a sequel of novels that became known as the *Noli* and the *Fili* (mentioned earlier). He smuggled the *Noli Me Tangere*, shortly after its publication in Berlin in 1887, upon his first return to Manila after five years of being abroad. Because of the furore all that caused and, pressured by friends and family to save his life, Rizal left the Philippines for the second time, returning to Europe via Macao, Japan and the U.S. He wrote *El Filibusterismo* (*The Subversive*), and he returned to the Philippines shortly after its publication in Ghent in 1891. Rizal’s *Noli-Fili* sequel have been referred to as the *Magna Carta or charter of human rights for Filipinos* and reputedly gave fire to the underground revolutionary movement that rose to arms after Rizal was accused of leading the movement and exiled from 1892-1896 in the remote town called Dapitan, in Mindanao.

In considering narratives emerging from what I refer to as “a diasporic mindset and sensibility”, I look at courageous resistance that critiques universalized essentialized beliefs and values of dominant cultural constructs and hegemonic institutions: to consider aspects/forms of resistance and resilience in Rizal’s works along with the disposition to articulate the need for and asserting oneself in the process of renegotiating cultural constructs. With Rizal as a case study, I hope to arrive at and share an understanding of how ‘heroic poetics of diasporic effect’ works as impacted by cultural heroes who manage to go through the necessary changes in the face of the many challenges and obstacles they face while in diaspora sites/states.

It is in light of the preceding train of thoughts that this dissertation needs to be seen: as an attempt to understand a process within the diaspora, focusing on its effects as literary practice on heroic activism, individually and/or collectively. This focus is a different approach to diaspora as a field of mobilizing communities abroad with religious/ethnic motivations or migrant/refugee backgrounds for mainly economic or electoral purposes or, of late, for militant/terrorist goals. Arguably, it is in this social economic field where heroes of the nationalist patriotic kind may be found but it is not within the purview of this dissertation to demonstrate that point. Rather, the questions I raise are also efforts at understanding how individuals and/or groups in ‘The Diaspora’ are caught up in that entangled tension with and against norms of cultural imperialisms, nation-states or of claims by indigenous/ethnic peoples. In fact, a critical part of my thesis is a concern for how

⁹⁹ The seven volumes of “*La Solidaridad*” constitute primary source materials.

¹⁰⁰ See articles listed and annotated in Zaide and Zaide, *Ibid.*:168-169.

heroism plays out among diasporic individuals and/or groups defined here as those who, for various reasons, live outside their native birthplaces or original homelands but actively yearn for and seek changes to the status quo or hegemonic order from which they feel *effectively* alienated, dispersed or displaced. Consciously/unconsciously, diaspora people manifest or demonstrate “outsider” attitudinal and behavioural characteristics because of a sense/sensibility that their identities are constantly being questioned or that their shifting and varying identifications are unaccepted by the dominant social milieu (not necessarily majority population groups) in which they find themselves. But along such fault lines there are those who, because of physiognomic aspects (such as Africans and Asians in Europe) are easily identifiable as clear-and-simple “strangers forever” and are, therefore, immediately “questionable” no matter how they try to fit in or have become, in fact, assimilated. Therefore, a “them/us” structure of exclusive/inclusive relations ensues, which affects diaspora people manifesting a keen desire to get out of that “them” label: to be with like-minded people and kindred spirits that may intensify a longing and/or yearning for an envisioned elsewhere with imaginary others. Alternatively, there may emerge a form of mobilisation to become more integrated within the cultural-political system and thus, to challenge transformative measures.

For this dissertation, the crucial task is to understand, through paradigmatic shifts and diasporic readings, what Rizal did as matters of cultural production. Focusing on the content and output of his literary practice may not only lead us to a more useful, if relevant for today, understanding of the context of his commitment as to where he was coming from and towards which directions he wanted to move. Equally critical in this study are the specific roads Rizal had taken and the choices: to use the pen and the literary forms, altogether constituted a strategic cultural decision corollary to his political vision to engage the conscience of the imperialist power-holders in Spain’s colonial government in the Philippines. This approach towards re-visioning Rizal is a way of reclaiming those aspects of his cultural heroism that may have been short-changed by those who instrumentalized his ideas specifically the discursive construction of hegemonic ideologies based on culture: such as static notions of nation, identity and race situated in absolutist and *Idee-fixe* institutionalizations of power relations. That way of demystifying Rizal could lend fresh insights and perspectives as to how the emancipatory spirit of Rizal’s legacy may be working in the psyche of Filipinos abroad especially as regards their collective engagement with hegemonic structures and the socio-political order wherever they find themselves.

In light of the foregoing, I present **a meta-thesis**: ultimately, it is a matter of cultural politics –not only for Rizal but also for many others before and after him – for those who actively commit their capacities and abilities to engage/confront social power relations by literary and other artistic practices beyond the narrow confines of exercising subjectivity that is centred for exclusivist interests on behalf of one’s own collective in the public domain. I contend that a failure to understand that and its deeper ramifications is *a failure in culture* firstly, because it constricts the potential of humans to keep moving on and secondly, because it not only inhibits but fowls up the discourse of questioning the ‘cultural plantations’ wired in the mind. Cultural plantations take various forms such as metaphorical concepts or

immortalized notions of 'human dignity' and 'the good life' and fixations of democratic or supposedly liberal values, which may further or hinder efforts to renegotiate/revitalize the terms of 'appropriate governance' of public resources, mutual human securities and solidarity/civil co-existence issues.

In the event, most, if not all migrants in the diaspora may need to justify their own links in polarized places of what may constitute forms of cultural divide with public policy implications. For instance, to what extent is carrying on with migrant practices, such as passing on mother tongues to children born and bred abroad and carrying on with national independence memorials and other rituals of asserting ethnicity, consistent with or anathema to integration strategies of host countries? What is the effect of growing up with a migrant or diasporic mindset, particularly as children of first and second generation migrants who are intent on finding their legitimate places and voices, as 'insiders' and not as 'subalterns', where they go through a maturation process with that self-respecting awareness of being subjects, agents of their own selfhood, emancipated from being treated in the manner of displaced or dispersed 'objects'?

During celebrations and fiestas of Filipino migrant communities abroad, especially on Philippine Independence Day, Rizal becomes a natural focus, almost revered as an icon to the point of cultism. Viewing Rizal's literary practice, this study starts from an assumption as a participant-observer of the Philippine-community in Vienna: that there is a general lack of interest especially among first and second generation Filipinos for whom it is no easy matter to link Rizal's works to contemporary affairs. A major difficulty is that, not only were the *Noli-Fili* novels discursively contested, Rizal had written and published them in Europe at the end of the 19th century. The circumstances surrounding his execution in 1896 and the fact that the U.S. authorities had engineered Rizal's status as the national hero also led to oppositional views that cannot be easily resolved in the media and are not of immediate interest to migrant discourses. Thus, the mythology around "the hero" takes different forms and a typical, albeit unconscious, hero-worship goes on.

CHAPTER III

PARADIGMATIC CULTURAL POLITICS: DIFFERENT LIGHTS, LENS and MIRRORING

*The question is often asked what makes us human? It is a question that invades nearly every aspect of our lives, our psychology and behaviour. Who are we, and why are we the way we are, so utterly different from other animals? What makes us kind and forgiving, generous and friendly, but also wicked, murderous, and vengeful? Why do we have morality? **The usual answers...** that we are made human by virtue of possessing consciousness ... learned to control fire, or that we have empathy, language, or our extraordinary intelligence... the belief that we are made in God's image and in possession of a soul... **are the wrong way around...** because they fail to recognize that it is **only because of culture** that we have many of these traits. Here is something we will have to get used to: all of us carry around in our minds something akin to a software "operating system" installed without our consent by our parents and others in our societies. It defines who we are and it is our internal voice. It frames our social and cultural identities, and fundamentally influences the course of our lives. No other species has such a system. Only when we understand this, and understand how the traits we acquired in response to this new way of life serve our interests, can we begin to grasp what it means to be human.*

Mark Pagel¹⁰¹

It is the storyteller who makes us what we are, who creates history. The storyteller creates the memory that the survivors must have – otherwise their surviving would have no meaning.

Chinua Achebe¹⁰²

I do not write for this generation. I am writing for other ages. If this (generation) could read me, they would burn my books, the work of my whole life. On the other hand, the generation which interprets these writing will be an educated generation; they will understand me and say: not all were asleep in the nighttime of our grandparents.

Rizal¹⁰³

How are cultural perspectives within a project in Political Science framed?

An exhibition in *Künstlerhaus Wien* titled, *Das bessere Leben - ein (leeres) Versprechen?*, focusing on biographical visual-and-text installations of 20 artists with backgrounds in migration and exile provides a palette of issues pertinent to cultural-politics and diaspora that are relevant to this chapter.

Visionen und Hoffnungen, die Erwartungen von Sicherheit, Wohlstand und Glück, von ökologisch lebenswerten Bedingungen und einer ausgewogenen Work-Life-Balance etc. – all das erhält seine Bedeutung erst im Kontext von Gegensätzlichem: Ausgrenzung, Verfolgung, Krieg, Naturkatastrophen, aber auch No-Future-Mentalität, Unzufriedenheit, Verlustängste. Was passiert, wenn sich Millionen Menschen aus

¹⁰¹ Op. cit., *Wired for Culture*, 2012/ 2013, pp. 6-7 highlighting added.

¹⁰² Achebe Chinua. 2001. *Things Fall Apart*. London: Penguin Classics (first published 1958 by Heinemann)

¹⁰³ Accessed from <http://www.azquotes.com/quote/1221600>.

*politischen oder ökologischen Krisengebieten auf den Weg machen, mit der Hoffnung auf ein besseres Leben? Welche Veränderungen wird dies für die „Wohlstandsgesellschaften“ mit sich bringen? Welche Initiativen der Zivilgesellschaft und spezifischer Organisationen ermöglichen ein besseres Leben? Wie verhält sich jede/r Einzelne von uns? Sind wir lernfähig?*¹⁰⁴

For this dissertation's cultural perspectives, historical realism and biopic documentaries based on microcosmic and intimate stories are literary forms of heroic poetics. Such forms indicate multifarious practices of human resilience by which individuals and groups seek ancestral places, like Naipaul does in *Finding the Center*¹⁰⁵, or go through puberty and maturation as Hesse narrates in *Demian*¹⁰⁶, or come to grips with midlife crises as *15 Filipina Women*¹⁰⁷ do: moving on and coping with the effects of being situated in conditions akin to the diaspora or traversing diasporic sites. Depending on capacities and abilities to respond with coping strategies, some discover new forms of affection, adventure, power relationships and cultural identities that make them avoid being prisoners of their own fears, perceived limitations and disabling memories. Another brilliant demonstration in that regard is Theodor Zeldin's (1994/1995) *An Intimate History of Humanity*, an acclaimed investigation of emotions that attests to the creative ways people respond to, cope with or escape from what Emile Durkheim, Erich Fromm and other sociologists had pioneered in social science studies as "anomie" or states of alienation and loneliness. Hailed by *The Financial Times* as one of the most original and outstanding books of the year when it first came out in the UK in 1994, Zeldin's study was also consensually critiqued as unsettling perhaps because, as *The Spectator* suggested, 'It is like being on some careering fair-ground ride that whirls you from one lime lit (sic) fragment of civilization to the next... gate-crashing all cultures of the world'.¹⁰⁸

As explained in chapters I and II, this dissertation entails a critical analysis of Rizal's works in linkage with some writers, whose works are analysed and referenced as 'outcomes' from a cultural-political perspective in terms of heroic poetics: as forms of reflective resistance that challenge hegemonic ideologies and discursive power relations. A critical question is: how are people responding to opportunities for 'globalizing' regardless of the diasporic effects of displacing, dispersing and fragmenting people's lives? The critical-analytical approach proposed here involves comparing texts from distanced, dispersed and displaced cultural mindsets to re-member and re-collect observations and experience for resisting discriminated 'otherness' and renegotiating signs or constructs of being apart from a collective on account of 'cultural difference'. In the specific case of

¹⁰⁴ *Künstlerhaus 1050, Das bessere Leben* in: <http://www.k-haus.at/de/veranstaltungen/550/wiener-vorlesungen.html>

¹⁰⁵ *Finding the Center: Two Narratives* by V.S. Naipaul, (New York: First Vintage Books Edition 1986)

¹⁰⁶ *Demian* by Herman Hesse, c1960, tr. W.J. Strachan (UK: A Panther book Edition 1969)

¹⁰⁷ *Coming To Terms: Writings on Midlife* by 15 Women, ed. by Lorna Kalaw-Tirol, c1994 (Manila: Anvil Publishing, Inc., Edition 1997)

¹⁰⁸ Zeldin, Theodore. 1994/1995. *An Intimate History of Humanity*. London: Minerva, Mandarin Paperbacks, quote on the back cover.

Rizal, two problematic identifications are at issue: on the one hand, the Filipino “*Ilustrados*” or intellectual elites – sons of the emerging bourgeoisie in the Philippines – who could afford to study abroad; and, on the other hand, the racialized, looked-down-upon and abused, Filipino ‘Indios’.¹⁰⁹ This research project argues that from his earliest writings up to his famous poem, *My Last Farewell*, Rizal’s literary practice entailed a politics of memory for cultural identity whereby he articulated the circumstances and historical contexts of freedom that he keenly observed in Europe and compared with oppressive colonial governance in the Philippines under Spain’s cultural imperialism. Thus, he held his texts up before the public, ‘to mirror the images’ that would move others to action: for political reforms and social change. In holding up the mirror, Rizal’s coping strategy in the diaspora effectively conducted an ‘Othering’ process that was directed not just to Filipinos and Spaniards but also to the social networks he made, mainly liberal scientists and freemasons, while in Europe, a strategy that won personal support for himself and also for the Philippines, as attested to by the reactions to his martyrdom (Zaide and Zaide, 1984). And it was precisely in mobilizing the collective that Rizal’s heroism and leadership was put to the test. For Rizal was keenly aware that he was caught in the midst of conflicting interests and competing forces as shown in Figure 8. Rizal faced a dilemma similar to what political actors within the EU have been facing: how to ensure equity between individualist and group rights, and equality in pluralist democracies of nation-states with the cosmopolitan orientation and consequent hegemonic order of supranational institutions. I argue that such problems of equality and equity as being integral to human dignity were central to Rizal’s concern in dealing with cultural discrimination and challenging political reforms under Spain’s colonial governance. Stephen Castles makes a useful contribution in *Democracy and Multicultural Citizenship: Australian Debates and their Relevance for Western Europe*, to a volume edited by Rainer Bauböck,¹¹⁰ by distinguishing conflicting meanings of equality from the concept and principles of equity for multiculturalism.

In *New Directions in Political Science* editor Colin Hay (2010) introduces the various essays of the contributing scholars in the field and explains how they have been responding to the challenges of interdependence, which he says is possibly the central unifying theme of that volume.¹¹¹ Of particular relevance and significance to this research project is the chapter where authors Johanna Kantola and Judith Squires identify and explore parameters of the new politics of equality and inequality and how the content of the term ‘equality’ has shifted decisively, its character shaped increasingly by the interaction of domestic and transnational political processes where new actors play decisive roles (Ibid: 3). Interestingly, there seems to be a consensus among the authors: that there is nothing new about interdependence; what is new is its acknowledgement on the part of both academics and policy makers but, that “we need to acknowledge the interdependence of earlier times and examine the way in which it was managed by

¹⁰⁹ As discussed in chapter II of this dissertation, de Ocampo’s description of the social structure in Spanish 19th century shows distinct categories within the socio-economic stratification among ‘Filipinos’ at that time.

¹¹⁰ *From Aliens to Citizens: Redefining the Status of Immigrants in Europe* Volume 17, published in the UK: by Avebury and the European Centre Vienna, 1994, Chapter 1.

¹¹¹ Published by Palgrave MacMillan and the Political Studies Association (UK/US, 2010), p. 2.

them” (Ibid: 17). Hay points out that all that has implications, the first being ontological with epistemological and methodological issues.

For an interdependent social and political world is different in kind to one characterized exclusively (or even principally) by relations of dependence. Thus, the nature of the social and political landscape we acknowledge ourselves to inhabit changes quite significantly the moment we come to see the contemporary political condition as one of interdependence. This matters to us, as analysts of politics, because another synonym of interdependence is complexity. **An interdependent social and political world is more complex than one characterized principally by relations of dependence** – if for no other reason than that situations of reciprocal causation and mutual conditioning do not exhibit highly conserved (and, in principle, generalizable) causal regularities.... In short, acknowledging interdependence (whether we regard that interdependence to be novel, more prevalent, more salient, or none of these)... might lead us to question anew prior epistemological convictions. (Ibid: 17-18 highlighting added)

That interdependence with implications for interdisciplinary issues is embedded in this research project, which attempts to bridge cultural and political concepts through an overarching analysis of identity-in-memory constructs as cultural politics and how that is played out as discourse in the public domain under globalized conditions. Of crucial importance arising therefrom is the concept of ‘diaspora effect’, which I offer as an analytical tool – akin to Max Weber’s ideal types, thus, neither an approximation of reality nor an offer of a normative prescription – but one which allows me to question the way Rizal’s heroism has been focused upon, contextualized and thereby contested. Positioning Rizal’s literary activism with the metaphorical concept, cultural politics as heroic poetics of diaspora effect, this study also posits that there are similar concerns and parallel situations between the end of the 19th century context and the current 21st century contexts. Clearly, conceptual breakthroughs by intellectuals and artists emerged from *Fin-de-Siècle* or Vienna 1900 subverting the authoritarian Habsburg regime but designating a high point in the cultural history of modern Europe, as William Johnston attests in his essay on “*The Political and Cultural Background of Vienna 1900: A Golden Age of Cultural Exchange*”¹¹² So when I proposed this research project, based on the thesis that Rizal needed to be re-visited as a cultural hero by which he subverted the political order – rather than in terms of a presumed leadership for political independence and contested heroism to cut the bonds of the Philippines from Spain – I found it particularly useful and important to align this task of paradigmatic modelling for analysing and understanding Rizal’s cultural politics with a volume of essays, *Politik und die Kultur der Moderne in der späten Habsburger-Monarchie* (Dvorak 1997). In particular as a contextual and theoretical base, I found Dvorak’s distinguishing features on three categories – the modern as a stance, attitude or idiom; modernity as a temporal period; and modernization as

¹¹² In: Vienna Art and Design 1900, the catalogue of the Exhibition curated by Christian Witt-Dörning and Paul Assenbaum, held at and published by the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia in 2011.

a process of industrialization – that are directly germane to my approach and argumentation for demonstrating how these became evident in Rizal's literary praxis: his articulations of issues from a state of diasporic consciousness.¹¹³

Why does literary writing constitute a politics of cultural identity and memory?

This dissertation might be also considered an enquiry into “*the politics of cultural identity in creative memory*”, taking its cues and deriving inspiration from a variety of ‘diasporic positions and stances’ on the part of Rizal. Cultures of memory, as proposed by a contemporary art event in Vienna, are essential to reinforcing identity and meaning for the future as models of life and society. Moreover, I suggest that, as a reservoir for memory and knowledge, applying various media technologies as products of creative artistic practices not only serve as important points of reference but also shed light on aspects of such pioneering work in historical contexts.¹¹⁴

Salman Rushdie's compendium of memoirs from the early 1980s points to many examples that may have influenced a kind of tsunami from the 1990s, when memoirs took centre stage in the marketplace. Indeed, Rushdie (Rushdie 1981/1992) states that “the radical individual voice of the memoirist” has changed the social and literary landscapes around the world (Obama's *Dreams from my Father*, Lucy Grealy's *Autobiography of a Face*, Susanna Kaysen's *Girl Interrupted*, Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s *Colored People* and Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*). Rizal's works can be seen along a lineage with such writers who demonstrate that memoir is a literary genre, which can be distinguished from traditional autobiography because it has a different performative power, providing an approach to transform the past into the freedom to see and understand oneself, especially for those within a trajectory where they may be stuck in the present and unable to move on. Memoires can enable and empower subaltern individuals and groups to become subjective agents by finding their own voices, generating and sharing content as well as re-writing and re-wiring themselves into history and discourse in the public domain.

So why does culture matter and how does it frame politics?

Michael Denning (2004, Chapter 1) asserts that ‘culture’ moved to the foreground during the period from 1945 to 1989 in the age of three worlds namely, the capitalist, the communist and the decolonizing worlds, before it became possibly the central concept in the humanities:

It is not, to be sure, that there had been no culture before 1950, but it was always in a period's background. Historians dutifully included it in a supplementary chapter on arts and culture as they surveyed the age of Jackson or Victoria. But suddenly everyone discovered that culture had been mass-produced like Ford's cars; **the masses had culture and culture had a mass**. Culture was everywhere, no

¹¹³ In this respect, I found Dvorak's various lectures and seminars not only at the University of Vienna but specially at the Institut für Wissenschaft und Kunst on the Frankfurt School and the Vienna Circle of intellectuals particularly insightful.

¹¹⁴ *Predicting Memories, Vienna Artweek 2012*. www.kunstpresse.at/viennaartweek12

longer the property of the cultured or the cultivated.... And what's more, culture mattered – this was not your grandparents' culture, the quaint customs and artifacts collected by folklorists. Rather, under its various guises – the omnipresent commercial signscape, the unending stream of mass entertainments, the regular consumption patterns of a world of shoppers, the millions of adolescents migrating to high schools and universities, and, eventually, **as a common denominator**, the uncounted gigabytes of digitized information – this mass culture was part of the wealth of nations, an engine of what those intoxicated by the new discovery called a “post-industrial” society.’ (Ibid: 1, highlighting added).

Declaring that he wrote his book as a reflection on all that with a concern for the historical specificity of the ‘the cultural turn’ in political and intellectual life during the age of three worlds, Denning raises a critical question: how did ‘culture’ as a concept, which had been the property of mainstream scholarship and criticism in the 1950s when the term was generally conservative in its ties to notions of consensus and organicism, had eventually (in 2000) become the slogan of the left, the postmodern and the avant-garde (Ibid: 2). Thus, he charts the rise and uneven spread of the “cultural studies movement” from its “quasi academic roots in labourist Britain” (within Europe then to North America, Australia and Taiwan) and queries how Cultural Studies (CS) had become a divisive slogan in the humanities (Ibid: 2). Admitting his own biographical links with the polytechnic tradition of the Birmingham cultural studies (derived from intertwining adult education initiatives in the Workers Educational Association and the Open University), it is noteworthy to follow how he tracks various and competing accounts which, he says, is not to privilege any as he seeks “to translate and mediate them” (Ibid: 2f).

Acknowledging Raymond Williams as one of those who have been responsible for the centrality of the term “culture”, Denning admits knowing how Williams supposedly once felt, telling an interviewer that ‘he sometimes wished he had never heard the damn word.’ (Ibid: 75). He then proceeds with a socio-analysis of culture that emerged, distinguishing modern from postmodern definitions. In doing so, Denning goes against the grain of several writers on the left who allegedly take the position that, ‘the cultural turn continues to have conservative results, marking a slide away from politics and an uncritical embrace of the market’s own infatuation with the popular.’ (Ibid. 75f.)

Juxtaposing two approaches – Matthew Arnold’s *Culture and Anarchy* in 1869 and T.S. Elliot’s *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* in 1948 on the one hand, and on the other, E.B. Tylor’s *Primitive Culture* in 1871 and the encyclopedic *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* by A.L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn, ca. 1952 – Denning asserts that is possible to see broadly modernist conceptions of culture: the literary and humanistic notion of culture as an ideal, the arts and letters, the study and pursuit of perfection; as well as the anthropological notion of culture as a complex whole, covering what Tylor listed as knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, habits and other capabilities. He points out that Williams’s *Culture and Society* (1950) is a quick jump from all that and then notes something

striking: that neither Marx nor Engels used the term culture even if the modern concept has some roots in mid-19th century Germany. (Ibid. 77)

This dissertation takes some cues from Denning's historical references and analytical framework, particularly his hypothesis, that the modernist notion of culture emerges only under capitalism as it intensified around 1870, takes shape as an abstract realm of generalized spirituality or religiosity, and is thus, largely the product of a continuing crisis in religious thinking. Referring to Arnold and Eliot, he explains that for both:

... culture was less a canon of great books than **the historic dialectic** between Hellenism and Hebraism, classical antiquity and Biblical revelation. Moreover both ... understood culture in relation to the battles between the established church and the dissenting sects. Sharing the peculiarities of Anglicanism... they both imagined a culture as an ideal whole that incorporates the social cement of religion without its doctrinal controversies. The two errors, Eliot tells us, are either to see religion and culture as identical; or to see a relation between religion and culture. Searching to solve this conundrum, he arrives at a metaphor: culture is the incarnation of religion. (Ibid: 78-9 emphasis added)

Denning further suggests (Ibid: 79) that the anthropological science of culture also emerged around the same time: during imperial encounters with savage religion, recoding religious difference as 'primitive culture'. Denning's excursion entails cultural sweeps and shifts. Firstly, that the concept of culture as science of the complex whole, invented by the Tylorians and Arnoldians, which was inclusive to those places in arts and leisure that were not dominated by capital or commodity and outside of precapitalist societies, was able to cross the boundary: 'seeing' the particular forms of worship as 'means, not ends' to perfection. The success of both modernist notions during the first half of the 20th century is indicated by the Marxist tradition adopting aspects of both the anthropological and high culture definitions in formulating the concept of 'Cultural Revolution', which came out of the work of Lenin and Trotsky.

After the Second World War and by the 1950s culture emerges as a postmodern concept in the abstractions of Raymond Williams as well as in the commodity forms indicated and critiqued as mass culture in Theodor Adorno's *The Culture Industry* (1991).¹¹⁵ What the moderns referred to as culture had been transmuted into a postmodernism as the result of generalizing the commodity form. Denning (2004: 80) refer to Pierre Bourdieu's arguments: a) that what had been an elite culture had been simply a cluster of cultural commodities of distinction; b) that the anthropologists non-capitalist ways of life were lifestyles and ways of purchasing and c) that religion was transformed, less by a process of secularization than by commodification. Thus, we learn that the shape of the new postmodern culture as entertainment industries and welfare states:

¹¹⁵ First published in London by Routledge in 1991, I refer to the Routledge Classics edition of 2001.

... was itself an economic realm encompassing the mass media, advertising and the protection and distribution of knowledge. Moreover, it came to signify not only the cultural industries and state cultural apparatuses but also the forms of working class subsistence and consumption, both the goods and the services supplied by the welfare state or purchased in the market, and the time of leisure and social reproduction outside the working day.

With that backdrop, I agree that 'culture' and 'politics' are loaded terms and tend to be confusing because they are used in different ways and refer to different things all at once or sometimes willy-nilly to the point where the words become useless even as they take positions on the page. To corroborate my position, I searched the Internet for educational brochures or teaching courses and found an apt Lesson, on: '*Cultures in Conflict*', published on GEOG 571: *Culture and Civil Society*.¹¹⁶ Sure enough, *The Lesson* makes the assertion that there seems to be a wide range of 'cultural politics' associated with many and varied definitions of the word 'culture'. So, I mused, what is the 'politics' that can be discerned where people are seen as "having cultures" suggesting "a level of sophistication"? The Lesson goes on to admit that both culture and politics are invariably bound with labels carrying "signs" and social stigmas, for instance, in referring to culture: as "high or low", classical or popular or folk; as the total way of life of a people that covers their language, dress and food, religion and beliefs and family structures with attitudes and values; or as commodified products and artifacts such as paintings, architectural structures, musical works 'that one can find' at concerts, in museums or while touring a village, a city or stately homes. Indeed, it is logical to discern that 'politics' connotes power relations and inevitable conflict particularly with reference to perceiving that concept in terms of "who gets what where when how and why?"¹¹⁷ In which case we might ask, who gets what products into which public places where the commodified goods become exposed and enjoy greater visibility for the hoped-for sale? However, there is no indication whether *The Lesson* actually included a discussion that went that way. But it cites cultural geographer Don Mitchell who is quoted as defining:¹¹⁸ "...culture is a nebulous structure of feelings that define the life of a people, and a set of productions (art, etc.) that reflect upon, speak to, or mold that structure of feeling through various strategies of representation." The Lesson mentions further that economics, politics, and society are all intricately tied to culture. Finally, referring to Culture as an intellectual quagmire - as both a way-of-life and a range of practices - the Lesson lists what seems to be nebulous and as yet undifferentiated aspects of Culture: 1) the opposite of nature - it makes humans, human; 2) the actual, but sometimes unexamined, patterns and differentiations of the way-of-life of a people; 3) the processes by which patterns develop or make culture,; 4) 'Culture' then becomes a set of markers that set one people off from another (so that we can identify our group); 5) in the way that those patterns, processes, and markers are represented,

¹¹⁶ <https://www.e-education.psu.edu/geog571>

¹¹⁷ An allusion to Lasswell's book (1936) referred to earlier.

¹¹⁸ A source is cited without reference to paging: *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*, Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

thereby producing meaning; and thus 6) provides an indication of a hierarchical ordering of all these processes.

Not surprisingly, *The Lesson* goes on to declare: “One could not be blamed for concluding that culture is everything, or perhaps, nothing (or at least nothing that is analytically useful)”¹¹⁹ But then interesting possibilities are given to the question: why is it difficult to precisely define the concept of “culture?” Nevertheless, for purposes of this research project, *The Lesson* gives some indications as to how politics come into the picture.¹²⁰ Partly, it says, with each new definition, the meaning of ‘culture’ has become more complex as the concept - the word – resulted from a long developmental process that was greatly influenced by power relationships through which people have sought to make “culture” work to their advantage. Logically then, ‘culture’ is not only politically charged but also sometimes a politically powerful tool that people often manipulate to gain power and, at one point, was used to differentiate between the “good” and the “bad,” or the “cultivated” and the “primitive”: to be “cultured” was to be “civilized” or “refined,” whereas, to be “uncultured” was to be “unruly” or “uncivilized.” Then, *The Lesson* contextualizes culture in history: by the end of the nineteenth century, Europeans, Americans, and others, generally used the term ‘culture’ to distinguish between “refined people” and “savages”. Stating that many held up European culture, at least in the Western World, as the epitome of all that is good and refined in the world, it adds that it is now a much-maligned idea. That warning or embedded critique is extended: In the last half of the twentieth century, it became increasingly improper for people to describe ‘culture’ in hierarchical terms; many lean now toward the notion that different cultures are of equal value, and therefore, should not be subjected to criticism or ridicule, although “scholarly criticism” of traditional European culture is often considered appropriate and deserved. Then, *The Lesson* makes a leap: that such a romanticized concept of “culture” rests on the belief that “civilization” is material, whereas “culture” is spiritual and symbolic, a way of viewing culture that has created complications for scholars, academics, religious leaders, politicians, and ordinary people. An example from real experience is offered: a teacher asked a group of teenage students whether or not the Aztec practice of human sacrifice could be justified because it was an integral part of Aztec culture; a number of students took the position that the Aztec should not be condemned for their cruel, bloody sacrifices, because they truly believed that such behavior was proper. *The Lesson* concludes: ‘culture’ has become an increasingly “relative” concept. (Ibid.)

So, to what extent can culture as a concept extend its relatedness or relativity? What are the boundaries and how are they constituted: by and for whom? The questions concern issues of anchoring, stability and dynamic moves or swings. And ‘politics’ takes its cue as questions are raised about the influential and the influenced in firming up or changing ‘cultural relationships’. Those issues were precisely in ferment during what Denning identified in an age of culture “when we imagined that the world was divided into three – as if each were a separate planet involved in an elaborate and dangerous orbit around the others” (2004: 2): the

¹¹⁹ Quoted from online text: <https://www.e-education.psu.edu/geog571>.

¹²⁰ Ibid: I paraphrase as I note and interpolate from the same online source.

decolonizing third world that intensified with radical separatist independence movements in Africa and Asia during the 1950s; the communist second world highlighted by militant 'cultural revolutions' exemplified by Mao in China, Stalin in Russia, and Fidel Castro and Che Guevarra in Cuba and Latin America; and the student-led tsunami waves of countercultural revolution in the capitalist first world. During that period, roughly from 1945-1989, new concepts and new frameworks were forged (including 'sign', 'ideology', 'discourse', 'habitus', 'communication' and many others) especially for those who, because of ideological reasons or of different connotations in other languages ignored or refused to use the word 'culture':

The great modernist notions of culture – the literary sense of culture as arts and letters and the anthropological sense of culture as habits and customs – were **entirely inadequate** to understand the cultural industries and ideological state apparatuses that dominated the age of three worlds. (Ibid: 3, highlighting added)

How can 'culture' constitute a paradigm shift in re-viewing Rizal's literary texts?

To begin with, it is necessary to put the literary within the perspective of culture for which Terry Eagleton and his lucid differentiations in *The Idea of Culture* need to be switched on.¹²¹ Discoursing various versions of 'culture' in relation to nature, Eagleton reminds his readers that etymologically, culture refers to 'husbanding' – tending to or caring for natural growth; that its cognate 'coulter' means the blade of a ploughshare and so "We derive our word for the finest of human activities from labour and agriculture, crops and cultivation." (Eagleton 2000:1) Then, he offers a special viewing or kind of seeing – an amazing double shift and gaze: 'culture' within its own "semantic unfolding" – from that denotation of a material process to a metaphorical transposition in affairs of the spirit – charts humanity's progressive moves from "rural to urban existence, pig farming to Picasso, tilling the soil to splitting the atom":

Francis Bacon writes of 'the culture and manurance of minds', in a suggestive hesitancy between dung and mental distinction. 'Culture' here means an activity, and it was a long time before the word came to denote an entity. Even then, it was probably not until Mathew Arnold that the word dropped such adjectives as 'moral' and 'intellectual' and came to be just 'culture', an abstraction in itself. (Ibid.)

More importantly, Eagleton shares a poignant insight that still rings as true in most of Denning's age of the first, second and third worlds, even without the benefit of empirical study and argumentative evidence:

In Marxist parlance, it brings together both base and superstructure in a single notion. Perhaps behind the pleasure we are supposed to take in 'cultivated' people lurks a race-memory of drought and famine. But the semantic shift is also paradoxical: it is the urban dwellers who are 'cultivated', and those who actually live by tilling the soil who are not.

¹²¹ I make references to the second printing of the book first published in 2000 by Blackwell Publishing in the UK and then in the USA, respectively.

Those who cultivate the land are less able to cultivate themselves.
Agriculture leaves no leisure for culture. (Ibid: 1-2)

'Culture' allows Eagleton in the first few pages of his book to whisk the reader through a whirlwind tour of momentous historical transition while encoding semantic signifiers and key philosophical issues relevant to this political enquiry. In one sweep he informs the reader that the Latin root of culture, *colere*, which also means 'inhabit', evolved from *colonus* to 'colonialism', and also from *cultus* to religious 'cults'. Ironically, as the idea of culture in the modern age substitutes itself for the dwindling sense of divinity and transcendence it takes on a religious dimension: "the imposing mantle of religious authority" that brings "uneasy affinities with occupation and invasion", the two poles between which culture as a concept was supposedly pitched at the turn of the present century (Ibid: 2). Eagleton points out how culture is involved in a balancing act and dialectical turn:

It is one of those rare ideas, which have been as integral to the political left as they are vital to the political right, and its social history is thus exceptionally tangled and ambivalent.... Within this single term, questions of freedom and determinism, agency and endurance, change and identity, the given and the created, come dimly into focus. If culture means the active tending of natural growth, then it suggests dialectic between the artificial and the natural, what we do to the world and what the world does to us. (Ibid: 2-3)

That dialectical turn was mapped within the historical context of the late 18th and early 19th centuries when, as Raymond Williams demonstrates (1958: 13), culture was the most striking of five words (the others being industry, democracy, class and art) that acquired new and important meanings in the English language. Williams describes (Ibid: 16) how the word 'culture' changed from something such as processes of natural growth to human training into a thing in itself and came to have four distinct meanings: first, a state or habit of the individual mind related to the idea of human perfection; second, a state of the whole society's intellectual development; third, the arts; and fourth, as the whole way of life: material, intellectual and spiritual. In *Culture and Society* Williams elucidates the complex relations and structure of the aforementioned meanings as "a wide and general movement in thought and feeling" (Ibid: 17) that was not just a response to the new Industry but to Democracy as well as to the new political and social relationships.

Referring to Williams as one of the major proponents of the field that came to be known as "cultural studies" (cs hereafter), San Juan (2002: 206) informs that cs:

... was originally intended to critique the elitist and antidemocratic methodologies and traditions attendant on cultural expression. The immediate post-World War II milieu was characterized by the triumph of liberal democracy over fascism, the installation of the welfare state, and the beginning of the cold war. Cultural criticism reflected the progressive impulses of the period. Instead of replicating the class divisions that separated the canonical works from the artifacts of mass culture, cs conceived of the whole of cultural production, including texts and all signifying and discursive practices, as its open-ended domain.

Thus, San Juan logically contends (Ibid.) that like literary texts, advertising and popular genres in film and TV are no longer to be read as aesthetic icons removed from their contexts of production, circulation and consumption but as communal or social events. He adds that 'culture' signifies not just beliefs and values but also patterns of behaviour and symbolic action— a layered complex of dispositions and institutions. Moreover, theorizing cultures as historically shaped “designs for living”, the author informs that cs practitioners engaged with critiquing activities and artifacts in “civil society” and private lives as well as with their ideological resonance and political implications for the social order. Putting that in a dialectical idiom, San Juan remarks that 'culture' may thus be conceived as the mode in which the social relations of a group are structured and shaped (Ibid: 207).

The dialectics becomes less abstract and more real when the mind makes a leap from times and places of 'Culture' or elitist and 'culture' or ethnic/popular groupings in crisis to 'culture wars' or worlds-within-words-within-worlds, which Eagleton suggests is no longer confined to a battlefield of definitions but in fact enflamed into matters of global conflict (2000: see chapter 3).

It is a matter of actual politics, not just academic ones. ... It is **part of the shape of world politics of the new millennium**. Though culture is still not politically sovereign, it is intensely relevant to a world in which the joint wealth of the three richest individuals is equal to the combined wealth of 600 million of the poorest. It is just that culture wars which matter concern such questions as ethnic cleansing, not the relative merits of Racine and soap operas. (Ibid: 51, highlighting added)

And yet, those relative merits are matters of moral concern. So Eagleton defends the Irish poet and Nobel laureate of literature Seamus Heaney's right to protest that: if one takes out the forms of European inheritance in the Greek, Hellenic and Judean cultures – their literary and aesthetic culture coterminous with moral culture – what do you put in their stead? But Eagleton upbraids the poet by suggesting that:

If Europe is indeed the cradle of so much civilization, then it might at least have the decency to apologize for it. For it is of course a history of slavery, genocide and fanaticism quite as much as it is the narrative of Dante, Goethe, Chateaubriand, and this **grimmer subtext is not wholly separable from its cultural splendours**. The European humanist tradition has time and again served the cause of human emancipation but when they are used to define an exclusivist identity, these mighty works of the spirit become the enemy of civilized values (Ibid., highlighting added)

It is useful that Antony Easthope (1991:10-11) clarifies the structure of paradigmatic literary study around five interlocking terms or features: 1) a traditionally empiricist epistemology; 2) a specific pedagogic practice, the 'modernist' reading; 3) a field of study for discriminating the canon from popular culture; 4) an object of study, the canonical text; 5) the assumption that the canonical text is unified. With that structure, Easthope documents the complex transitional links from literary into cultural study and makes a lucid comparative

analysis of the paradigms and effects that helps to clarify the line of argument followed in this dissertation. It is built upon the proposition that Cultural Studies (CS), as the field for studying forms of signifying practice, affords a better analysis of its object than Literary Study (LS) and a better account of the texts not only of popular culture but also of canonical texts (Ibid. 175). Further, Eagleton adds that if it is also to practise a different politics, that practice is well defined in terms of how it positions the pedagogic subject, which is unevenly inserted into academic structures and therefore remains a site for struggle.

So Easthope returns to Kuhn who points out that “paradigms are inter-paradigmatic, internalising for themselves features shared by other paradigms (Ibid.)”. Most particularly relevant and significant to this research project are Easthope’s comparative reflections (Ibid: 175-6), which are herein abstracted to highlight important distinctions. Firstly, that both studies offer different identifications and positions to their subjects: whereas the LS object is imaginatively transcendent, authored, canonical, already past; the CS object is immanent and material, produced and reproduced by working collectively or through collaborative labour in a continuing present. Secondly, LS provides an identity for its subject as masculine, national and ruling class; CS either problematize or displace the content of such identities. Thirdly, while the paradigm of LS secures a centred and unified position for its subject in identification with its object, CS decentres the subject as being in question – thus, as effect rather than as source; as position rather than as presence. Finally, Easthope acknowledges that there is always a politics and both the paradigm and the method of CS are no guarantees preventing institutions from recuperating it into the traditional formalism of LS. And so he warns against the dangers of putting politics first before the analysis: “If you put the politics first, privileging ideological critique, you not only risk leaving the prevailing discourse of knowledge untouched – your politics is weakened precisely because you are likely to remain outside of the discourse.” (Ibid: 179)

There is another aspect or dimension to culture within the context of Oliver Marchart’s historical and political analysis in his book, *Cultural Studies* (2008: 35) that is noteworthy:

Cultural Studies sind jene intellektuelle Praxis, die untersucht, wie soziale und politische Identität qua Macht im Feld der Kultur (re-) produziert wird.

That definition offers an analytical tool for looking at CS in terms of three categories – Culture, Identity and Power – forming a constellation Marchart calls “*Das magische Dreieck*” (the magical triangle), which he characterizes as a constellation of relationships where culture is the terrain or field in which power is played out of which identity is constructed in social and political terms. Thus, Marchart suggests that within that triangular constellation, CS can be distinguished from “*Pop Feuilletonismus*” because ‘culture’ can be used as a political category to describe, explain and account for asymmetrical superior-subordinate power relations not only in governance but also with the development of social movements. As regards the latter, he points out two noteworthy consequences by which CS makes inroads, earning recognition from results achieved on social struggles with two projects: theory-building and the political. The first refers to the

nature of its theoretical project by which CS refutes the charge (of unorthodox Marxists and those who follow Gramscian arguments) that 'culture' is a mere overarching phenomenon, which has its basis on economic processes by which it is determined and dependent upon. The second project concerns radical democracy and democratization in terms of widespread challenges in the fight for freedoms and equality particularly in the social and private spheres that, heretofore, were regarded apolitical. Marchart refers to Stuart Hall as the main engineer and it is relevant to also mention how Hall extended an educational programme while teaching Sociology at the Open University and spearheading the BBC Night School programme – as an early way of exploding the hollowed walls of "The University" and its traditional reverential meanings.

So how does all that apply to Rizal:

how may Rizal's cultural politics be framed and claimed in current terms?

"The notion of cultural politics", Denning asserts (2004: 161), has always had an unavoidable ambiguity: is it a *cultural politics* or a politics that is *merely* cultural?" It is not so much his specific answer that is important; but we need to follow three features of his thinking that are crucial and directly relevant to this research project: 1) Raising issues of content such as what is the relationship of cultural expression and resistance to organized radical or revolutionary politics? Or, can cultural resistance effect social transformation? And, in order to avoid idealizing local or popular culture as revolutionary, how can we understand what constitutes and contributes to emancipatory social change? 2) The problem of understanding cultural politics in simple binaries. 3) A way out, for which Denning suggests three levels or moments of analysing cultural politics: cultural resistance, the struggle for cultural justice, and cultural revolution. Most worth noting of those levels or moments for the purpose of this research project is the second, the struggle for social justice¹²², which Denning refers to as what we think of when we use the term cultural politics: the level where we see characteristic forms of self organization (by artists, intellectuals and cultural workers, writers' unions), 'movement cultures' including little theatre groups and night schools where alliances are built. It involves the breaking of and through colour, gender and class bars; reshaping the content of popular culture, struggles within institutions of mass culture (the culture industries and the state cultural apparatuses) and the reshaping of selective traditions as to which works of art should be produced, preserved distributed and represented. As an elementary form of cultural politics, Denning (Ibid: 164-5) defines the struggle for social justice thus:

It is a more accurate name for what bureaucrats call affirmative action; it is closely related to the so-called identity politics of the liberation movements; and it is named by contemporary political philosophy as the politics of recognition. It is here we find the **struggles to reassert the dignity of despised cultural identifications**: the assertion that black is beautiful, that gay and lesbian romance and sexuality are as central to our collective narratives (novels, movies, pop songs) as are heterosexual marriage

¹²² Denning acknowledges that he borrows the term from Andrew Rose, Ibid, p. 164.

and adultery, that art forms practiced by women are not “minor” forms, that speakers of minority languages have rights to cultural autonomy and representation. This battle for cultural justice has a long tradition, and it **includes the proletarian cultural movements and folk culture revivals** that flourished around the world in the early twentieth century, stressing the dignity of working people and their cultural practices. (highlighting added)

In the mid-90s, biologist Rupert Sheldrake who, in a dialogue with the ex-Dominican theologian/environmentalist Matthew Fox, recalled his excitement in the sixties at joining a group of interdisciplinary Philosophers (while doing his Ph.D. in Cambridge, England) with whom he explored innovative ideas of scholars like Kuhn and being “in the vanguard of a heroic, liberating movement.” (Fox/Sheldrake 1996: 9-11) The word heroism, like diaspora became a prism for me that brought back and refracted memories of counter-cultural people blazing trails, no matter the risks, through alternative ways of thinking and being. Asking whatever became of such heroes took me back into wondering how those who fought against the Marcos dictatorship (1972-1986) ended up. Initially, my reading interest focused on *Six Modern Filipino Heroes* published in 1993, which portrayed the struggles of nationalist politicians and civil rights advocates whose activist engagements had been well-known and considered highly integral. The narratives inspired me to help mobilize the Filipino community in Vienna for the double centennial celebrations of the Philippine national hero, Rizal’s martyrdom, in 1996 and the Philippine Revolution in 1998. Ironically, all that coincided in the mid-1990s with the so-called “patriotic turn” rhetoric of Jörg Haider, then leader of the opposition Freedom Party (FPÖ), to image Austria as a *Kulturation*, part of the political party’s agenda and strategy, with strong anti-Ausländer sentiment, against Austria joining the European Union. Amidst that ferment, which has been well researched and documented in *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (Wodak et al.: 1999) by a team of interdisciplinary scholars.¹²³ I followed the discourse on cultural identity as though confronting my own with personal life-changing questions.¹²⁴

Appealing to culture, through creative smithing with words and pen out of which Rizal evoked historical and social realism (in poems, plays, essays and novels), constituted his way of articulating heroic entailments, a metaphorical concept I will deal with in the following chapters. Culture offered tools of literacy – words and pen as swords – by which Rizal demonstrated his being able and equal in asserting himself and standing up to the Spaniards who denigrated the indigenous “Indios”, his compatriot natives of the Philippines who were considered a savage race.¹²⁵ Culture was the new content that Rizal wanted to generate from de-

¹²³ See especially chapter 4 on The Public Arena in *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* translated from the German original by A. Hirsch and R. Mitten (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

¹²⁴ Constrained in expressing myself publicly as a U.N. international civil servant, I somehow resorted to reading poetry, encountering Rizal’s works in the heat of celebrating the centennial of his martyrdom in 1996. Going to literary workshops and getting involved with the *schule für dichtung* in wien (Vienna Poetry Academy), I also resorted to writing poetry again.

¹²⁵ There were two Spains, one liberal – the other repressive, whom Rizal and other Filipino propagandists had to contend with, that are clearly distinguished and addressed in *Rizal and*

constructing and recollecting memories in his literary practice as wake-up calls for the protagonists: to develop the sense and sensibility that would make them realize how they held each other as captives-in-mutual-bondage. Literary practice constituted a poetic form/genre of subversion, which Rizal had engaged in, while in a diasporic state of mind: an effect of being in a condition of displacement/dispersion from one's original sense of home and belonging. This dissertation's core thesis posits that Rizal's literary practice was part of a deliberate strategy to enter the public domain that Rizal used as sites of activist engagement with politically-charged interventions to question and re-negotiate the cultural basis of the hegemonic order. Thus, I set out to claim with argumentative evidence that Rizal's heroism was a matter of cultural politics: a heroic poetics of diaspora effect.

Culture then led Rizal to the source of a deeply problematic identity, the underpinnings of an unjust colonial governance by which imperial Spain subordinated and oppressed the Filipinos with illiberal Eurocentric values. Culture becomes the site where Rizal's heroic poetics of diasporic effect can be located and found: manifesting in the case of Rizal as a courageous subaltern, how he dared to speak out and protest from a deeply-ingrained sensibility to, an inner sense of, injustice, of inequality and inequities. It is out of that keenly developed sense and stirred up sensibility that Rizal, as poet, pooled his critical knowledge, which he decided to articulate in the form of fictionalized historical and social realism novels. And with his creative cultural outcomes, Rizal entered the public space to assert the need to renegotiate the terms of a questionable hegemonic order.

How do “the political” and “politics” figure in cultural scenarios?

It was in the course of a year's doctoral seminar on “The Public Question” (or, Artistic Intervention in the Public Space) under Chantal Mouffe's direction that artistic and literary activism as political intervention revealed its contours.¹²⁶ An integral aspect of the seminar were public lectures whereby authoritative scholars from various disciplines as well as international activist artists were brought in to examine “currently fashionable notions” around Mouffe's main critique: a blindness to antagonism in democratic politics and the belief in the possibility of a universal rational consensus, which, she continues to argue, has put democratic thinking on the wrong track.¹²⁷ Mouffe (1993/2005) clarifies crucially relevant concepts that she argues in her book, *The Return of the Political: critical distinctions* between the agonistic versus antagonistic approaches to political science, between the public and private domains, and among “false dilemmas” resulting from a conflation of the

Republican Spain, a volume of essays by Manuel Sarkisyanz who had been invited to deliver one of the series of Rizal lectures in his capacity as Professor of Political Science at the University of Heidelberg. The book was published by the Philippine National Historical Institute in Manila as a Commemorative Publication on the Centenary of Rizal's martyrdom in 1995.

¹²⁶ The two-semester seminar was part of my academic doctoral work, which Chantal Mouffe conducted at the *Akademie der Bildenden Kunst* in Vienna, where she invited international authors from various disciplines.

¹²⁷ This is confirmed in Mouffe's interview in *Der Standard* <http://derstandard.at/2000038490223/Falsche-Versprechen-der-Linkspopulisten> and from her lecture at a Symposium on Conflicting Populisms, 9-11 June 2016, NIG Universität Wien.

term 'liberalism' that have been articulated in a series of different discourses that, she argues, have no necessary relation.¹²⁸ Thus, Mouffe (Ibid: 41-42 highlighting added) contends:

"First, it is important in order to understand political modernity to distinguish two traditions, liberal and democratic, which were only articulated in the nineteenth century. Then, one must not confuse this **political modernity** with the **process of modernization** carried out under the domination of capitalist relations of production. Some liberals of course argue that there cannot be political liberalism without economic liberalism and a free market economy, but that is only the expression of one trend within liberalism. Finally, there are a series of philosophical discourses concerning the idea of man, the criteria of rationality, the nature of morality, and so on; they are sometimes referred to as '**the philosophy of liberalism**' but are extremely heterogeneous and include positions as different as Kantianism and utilitarianism. It is therefore a mistake to see them as constituting a single doctrine."

In short, Mouffe argues that several articulations are possible, that these can take place between different 'forms' of liberalism and that the acceptance of political liberalism does not require endorsement of either individualism or economic liberalism nor a commitment to "a defence of universalism or rationalism". (Ibid. 42) Another critical concept of rationalism that frames this dissertation is Mouffe's concern, which she had put forward in an article published in Vienna when she was Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science of the Institute for Advanced Studies in June 2000:

"... that democratic theory needs to acknowledge the ineradicability of antagonism and the impossibility of achieving a fully inclusive rational consensus. I argue that a model of democracy in terms of 'agonistic pluralism' can help us to better envisage the main challenge facing democratic politics today: how to create democratic forms of identifications that will contribute to mobilize passions towards democratic designs." (Ibid. 53)¹²⁹

The crucial point that Mouffe emphasizes is how the transnational intra-cultural dynamic towards a global consensual perspective and, specifically, how the political is problematic at economic or moral registers:

Notions such as 'partisan-free democracy', 'dialogic democracy', 'cosmopolitan democracy', 'good governance', 'global civil society', 'cosmopolitan sovereignty' 'absolute democracy'... all partake of a **common anti-political vision** which refuses to acknowledge the antagonistic dimension constitutive of 'the political'.... It is my contention that envisaging the aim of democratic politics in terms of

¹²⁸ The edition under reference is a re-publication, London/New York: Verso 2005, from its original edition also published by Verso in 1993.

¹²⁹ "Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism", *Reihe Politikwissenschaft/Political Science* Series 72, edited by Christine Neuhold & Gertrud Hafner (Wien: *Institut für Höhere Studien* 2000)

consensus and reconciliation is not only conceptually mistaken, it is also fraught with political dangers. The aspiration to a world where the we/they discrimination would have been overcome is based on flawed premises and those who share such a vision are bound to miss the real task facing democratic politics. (Ibid: 2, emphasis added)

As this study will demonstrate, Rizal's heroic activism was faulted by his co-propagandists in Spain at the end of the 19th century, and by Filipino nationalists during the post-WW II colonial discourse, mainly for his liberal rationalism, which continues to face vehement critics on its supposed Eurocentric bias that presumably informed Rizal's non-militant stance as regards emancipation from Spain. But I want to examine this more closely in order to understand the particular nature of Rizal's alleged humanist-progressive and liberal rationalist orientation. The critical issue is: what in Rizal's position was conducive or obstructive to his emancipatory project for demanding reforms towards democratic politics within the terms of Spanish colonial governance in the Philippines? And here, it may be useful to learn some lessons from Mouffe's reflections in the light of her warnings and concerns about democracy.

The mistake of liberal rationalism is to ignore the affective dimension mobilized by collective identifications and to imagine that those supposedly archaic 'passions' are bound to disappear with the advance of individualism and the progress of rationality. This is why democratic theory is so badly prepared to grasp the nature of 'mass' political movements as well as phenomena such as nationalism. (Ibid.: 6)

Democratic politics cannot be limited to establishing compromises among interests or values or to deliberation about the common good; it needs to have a real purchase on people's desires and fantasies. To be able to mobilize passions towards democratic designs, democratic politics must have a partisan character. This is indeed the function of the left/right distinction and we should resist the call by post-political theorists to think 'beyond left and right'... What defines **the post-political perspective** is the claim that we have entered a new era where this political antagonism has disappeared. And this is why it **can put into jeopardy the future of democratic politics**. (Ibid.: 6-7, highlighting added)

Thus, to demonstrate the central thesis of this dissertation, namely, that Rizal's heroic poetics of diaspora effect was a matter of cultural politics to change the terms of the hegemonic relations within the Spanish colonial system, it is important to follow Mouffe's logic with the key categories by which she argues her primary concerns:

... **by 'the political'**, I mean the dimension of antagonism which I take to be constitutive of human societies, while **by 'politics'**, I mean the set of institutions and practices through which an order is created, organizing human coexistence in the context of conflictuality provided by the political. (Ibid: 8-9 highlighting added)

... the friend/enemy distinction can be considered as only one of the possible forms of expression of the antagonistic dimension... We can also imagine other **political modes of construction of the we/they**. If we follow this route, we will realize that the challenge for democratic politics consists in trying to keep the emergence of antagonism at bay by establishing the we/they **in a different way**. (Ibid: 16 highlighting added)

Mouffe acknowledges that the concept of antagonism comes from Carl Schmitt who, in his critique of liberal individualism and rationalism, saw “an insurmountable contradiction between liberal pluralism and democracy”. (Ibid: 14) However, Mouffe goes with Schmitt’s central insights only up to a certain point, namely, the thesis that political identities consist in a certain type of we/they or friend/enemy relation, which can emerge out of very diverse social constellations. By bringing to the fore the relational nature of political identities, Schmitt anticipates currents of thought, such as post-structuralism. Mouffe suggests that the challenge is to develop Schmitt’s insights into a different direction and to visualize other understandings of the friend/enemy distinction comparable with democratic pluralism. (Ibid: 14-15).

So, where does “cultural politics” come within that configuration?

That question is directly relevant and significant for analysing Rizal’s texts and literary praxis. For possible orientation to begin with, I found clues in Dvorak, which contains a critical warning:

Der Begriff des ‚Politischen‘ kann nicht ohne weiteres und beliebig in gleicher Weise auf jede Epoche projiziert werden. (Dvorak: 136)

In that regard, Dvorak raises a basic question about politics that is critically and contextually relevant for this project study:

Was konnte schon für einen Bewohner der Gebiete der Habsburger-Monarchie gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts Politik sein? (Ibid: 136)

And on that issue, the author also provides some leads from socio-political conditions then prevailing in the Austria-Hungarian empire where co-existence of culturally diverse multinational minorities was taken for granted: light and breezy on the social surface but stewing in darkness underneath.

Es gab keine konstitutionelle Monarchie; der Kaiser hatte zwar 1867 eine Verfassung erlassen, aber deren rechtsstaatliche Errungenschaften waren von ihm jederzeit wieder außer Kraft zu setzen; das Parlament hatte keinerlei Kontrolle über die Regierung; die Herrschaft der Habsburger stützte sich auf Militär und Bürokratie... und auf das Aufeinanderhetzen der Völker...

Das - auch ökonomisch nicht allzu bedeutende - Bürgertum war politisch ohnmächtig; einzig die Arbeiterbewegung verband ihren Kampf für die ökonomischen Interessen des Proletariats mit dem Kampf für die politischen Rechte aller: Für Grund- und Freiheitsrechte, für die parlamentarische Demokratie, für das allgemeine und gleiche Wahlrecht. (Ibid: 136-7)

Moreover, that list might as well be indicators with which to compare aspects of “the political” in the Habsburg Monarchy’s Spanish-counterpart, which, altogether, had been running an empire for four centuries but gradually dwindling in South America and eroding in the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico where there was resistance against its oppressive colonial system of governance. But, how would such a compendium of political listings be related with culture?

*Im Rahmen bürgerlicher Existenz bedeutete daher **politisches Denken und Handeln** (wenn es nicht affirmativ war) vor allem kritisches (Nach-)Denken und Meinungsbildung, Aufklärung.... Prozesse politischer Bildung mochten vor sich gehen im Rahmen von Lektüre, Erlebnissen und Kunst-Debatten.... In diesem Sinne war **Arthur Schnitzler ein durchaus politischer Autor**, der sich bemühte aufklärend zu wirken in finstern Zeiten.* (Ibid: 137, highlighting added)

Dvorak advocates political education through cultural forms – thus, as a matter of cultural politics in the way Rizal did – but makes his case with Schnitzler who wrote about anti-Semitism and discrimination against even assimilated Jews like himself. Schnitzler used narratives as a way of also being self-critical, a stance that makes a bridge to Rizal, a Filipino Indio who also wrote about “imaging and mirroring” parallel concerns during the last quarter of the 19th century. Both used their scientific medical backgrounds to diagnose political problems rooted in culture. Both went beyond symptomatic and symbolic levels to get to the bottom of societal ills. But both were linked by something very personal: they were objects of racial discrimination as part of an absolutist monarchical institution that was tied to a rationalised religious thinking from antiquity: the “divine right theory”. That theory-turned-ideology solidified the bedrock of the Catholic Church’s expansive outreach starting with the Emperor Constantine’s Byzantium through to Charlemagne’s Holy Roman Empire. Docker informs (2001) how post-1492 the Spanish Catholic monarchs combined it with “Statutes of the Purity of Blood” – “*la limpieza de sangre*” – by which Moros and Sephardic Jews were annihilated or driven away from Spain but which could also be used to bar “New Christian” converts from public and ecclesiastical services and recognition of honours.¹³⁰ In the case of Austria, Dvorak points out how Schnitzler describes a German-Austrian student association operationalized that racist policy to degrade the worth of humans:

In seiner Autobiografie ‚Jugend in Wien‘ berichtet Schnitzler, wie „der Antisemitismus in den studentischen Kreisen immer mehr empor blühte“ und er gibt dem Wortlaut jenes „famosen Waidhofener Beschlusses“ wieder, „mittels dessen die deutsch-österreichische Studentenschaft die Juden ein für alle Mal als satisfaktionsunfähig erklärte“:

“Jeder Sohn einer jüdischen Mutter, jeder Mensch indessen Adern jüdisches Blut rollt, ist von Geburt an ehrlos, jeder feineren Regung bar. Er kann nicht unterscheiden zwischen Schmutzigem und

¹³⁰ John Docker’s 1492 referred to earlier discusses this phenomenon thoroughly, which I will deal with partly when analyzing the thematic issues of the threefold imperialist ideology: religion, racism and rationality.

Reinem. Er ist ein ethisch tiefstehendes Subjekt. Der Verkehr mit einem Juden ist daher entehrend; man muss jede Gemeinschaft mit Juden vermeiden. Einen Juden kann man nicht beleidigen, ein Jude kann daher keine Genugtuung für erlittene Beleidigungen verlangen.“
(Dvorak 1994: 137)

There is indeed a direct relevance between Schnitzler and Rizal in terms of preoccupations and practices emanating from the aforementioned racist policy, which will be demonstrated in the later chapters. For now, I take that Dvorak-Roberts reference to support my claim that Rizal's heroic engagement of his writing was a matter of cultural politics.

Thus, the initial frame-questions are: in what ways and why does culture activate a heroic response for poetics of diaspora effect? Specifically, how does it move and affect an individual to challenge the chains that bind and to undertake changes that enable him/her to find "one's centre" that makes one free to speak out as part of political discourse? And, how does that bring about a politics of cultural identity and memory, which empowers a modern cosmopolitan-oriented subject agent to live with identity, difference and diversity in pluralist democracies?

And for an initial frame-response, I refer to Schnitzler's *Der Weg in Freie*, a novel in which the author seems to speak out dilemmas encountered by one of his protagonists, Heinrich Berhmann, an Austrian Jew who, gets into altercations with Baron Georg von Wergenthin. In this scenario Georg W. had made the insinuation to Heinrich B. about the alternative of leaving Austria by joining his father, a believer in the Zionist dream:

„Und mit ihm nach Palästina wandern – finden Sie? politisch-symbolischerweise oder gar in Wirklichkeit –wie?“ ... „Hab ich denn behauptet, dass ich von hier fort will? Dass ich irgendwo anders lieber leben möchte als hier? Insbesondere, dass ich unter lauter Juden existieren möchte? Das wäre, für mich wenigstens, eine recht äußerliche Lösung einer höchst innerlichen Angelegenheit.

(Georg v.W.): „Ja. Da musste man doch denken, dass Sie an die Möglichkeit einer allmählichen Assimilation glauben.“

(Heinrich B.): „Assimilation ... ein Wort ... ja, sie wird wohl kommen, irgendeinmal ... in sehr, sehr langer Zeit. Sie wird ja nicht so kommen, wie manche sie wünschen – nicht so, wie manche sie fürchten ... Es wird auch nicht gerade Assimilation sein... Aber vielleicht etwas, dass sozusagen im Herzen dieses Wortes schlägt. Wissen Sie, was sich wahrscheinlich am Ende herausstellen wird? Dass wir, wir Juden, mein' ich, gewissermaßen ein Menschheitsferment gewesen sind – ja, das wird vielleicht herauskommen in tausend bis zweitausend Jahren. Auch ein Trost, Denken Sie sich!“

„Für unsere Zeit gibt es keine Lösung, das steht einmal fest. Keine allgemeine wenigstens. Eher gibt es hunderttausend verschiedene

Lösungen. Weil es eben eine Angelegenheit ist, die bis auf weiteres jeder mit sich selbst abmachen muss, wie er kann. Jeder muss selber dazu sehen, wie er herausfindet aus seinem Ärger, oder aus seiner Verzweiflung, oder aus seinem Ekel, irgendwohin, wo er wieder frei aufatmen kann. Vielleicht gibt es wirklich Leute, die dazu bis nach Jerusalem spazieren müssen... Ich fürchte nur, dass manche, an diesem vermeintlichen Ziel angelangt, sich erst recht verirrt vorkommen würden. Ich glaube überhaupt nicht, dass solche Wanderungen ins Freie sich gemeinsam unternehmen lassen... Denn die Straßen dorthin laufen ja nicht im Lande draußen, sondern in uns selbst. Es kommt nur für jeden darauf an, seinen inneren Weg zu finden. Dazu ist es natürlich notwendig, möglichst klar in sich zu sehen, in seine verborgensten Winkel hinein zu leuchten! Den Mut seiner eigenen Natur zu haben. Sich nicht beirren lassen. Ja, das müsste das tägliche Gebet jedes anständigen Menschen sein: Unbeirrtheit!“ (Ibid: 235/236)

Georg v. W goes into a quiet mode. But his unexpressed reflection becomes a brilliant exposé on the part of Schnitzler: revealing how difficult it is to imagine what goes on between encounters of people who belong to different identities, in this case, while the protagonists are caught within their own cultural bindings and identifications that define and separate their sense of belonging:

... wo ist er nun schon wieder? Er ist in seiner Art genauso krank, wie sein Vater es war. Dabei kann man doch nicht sagen, dass er persönlich schlimme Erfahrungen gemacht hat. Und er hat einmal behauptet, dass er sich mit niemandem zusammengehörig fühle! Es ist ja nicht wahr. Mit allen Juden fühlt er sich zusammengehörig, und mit dem letzten von ihnen noch immer enger als mit mir.” (Ibid.: 235 – 237)

In search of what is specifically heroic and diasporic about his writings, Salman Rushdie's *“Imaginary Homelands”*, a collection of essays critiquing several contemporary literary writers, provide a credible, if not legitimate argument to the question: does literature seek to do no more than to describe?¹³¹ Rushdie refers to that question as having been raised at a conference on modern writing (at New College, Oxford) where participating novelists from all over the world, including himself, were flustered and all began talking about politics. (1992:13.) Other questions emerge as Rushdie considers the case of Indian writers in England, writing about India: “Can they no more than describe, from a distance, the world that they have left? Or does the distance open any other doors?” (Ibid.) He provides a poignant answer that is most pertinent to this project:

It may be that writers in my position, exiles or emigrants or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt. But if we do look back, we must also do so in the knowledge –

¹³¹ All references will be drawn from the paperback edition published in 1992 by Granta Books London in association with Penguin Books New York, the two companies that collaborated in the first publication in 1991 simultaneously in the UK and in the USA.

which gives rise to profound certainties – that our physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind.” (Ibid.: 10)

In a directly relevant essay, “*The Diaspora and the World*”, Amartya Sen (2005: 73) asserts a proposition about the Indian diaspora (about 20 million or more people cited in the publication) that could as well apply to others like Filipino communities abroad:

They see, rightly, no contradiction between being loyal citizens of the country in which they are settled and where they are socially and politically integrated (Britain or the United States or Malaysia or Kenya or wherever), and still retaining a sense of affiliation and companionship with India and Indians. As is frequently the case with emigrants in general, the Indian diaspora is also keen in taking pride – some self respect and dignity – in the culture and traditions of their original homeland. This frequently takes the form of some kind of ‘national’ or ‘civilizational’ appreciation of being Indian in origin. However, there is often some lack of clarity on the appropriate grounds for dignity: what should the Indian diaspora be proud of?

Of particular relevance is Sen’s analysis on how “this subject has become something of a battleground” because of an exclusionary thinking propagated by the *Hindutvas*, a movement that champions a “systematic effort to encourage non-resident Indians of Hindu background, to identify themselves, not primarily as ‘Indians’, but particularly as ‘Hindus’ (or, at least, to see themselves as Indians within a Hinduized conception)”, a campaign that has been effective among the *Sangh Parivar* and its more aggressive components that receive big remittances from the Indian diaspora.¹³²

Art: a path to or the end of freedom?

But, does culture really provide easy answers, especially when the expectation is to find clues to such existential issues that have become a pop refrain, such as: “Whose life are we talking about, anyway?” Or, “This is my party, I have the right to do as I please, don’t I?” So why do adults need to mediate these worries and how do they relate to children growing up and young people complaining that the elderly had stolen their futures from them?

In *The Quest for Meaning*, Tarig Ramadan contends that “Childhood does not need answers nor philosophies”; so he quotes Pablo Picasso’s ‘it takes a long time to become young again’ to explain the painter’s eagerness “to rediscover a carefree creativeness” and he refers to Friedrich Nietzsche who made his protagonist prophet *Zarathustra* proclaim that “human beings had to become

¹³² See referenced assertions in chapter 4, *The Diaspora and the World*, in Amartya Sen’s *The Argumentative Indian* (London: Penguin Group 2005).

rebellious lions and no longer submissive camels if they wished to accede at last to the free and carefree liberty of a child.”¹³³

Nietzsche’s intervention was made at a critical point in Western cultural history: a time of intense ferment when artistic and literary practice had been impacting on liberal emancipatory and democratic processes during the second half of the 19th century. Ramadan explains “it was the philosopher’s only hope of success to transform himself into a child-artist... not hoping for an answer to questions about life but trying to get beyond them... Nietzsche’s insight was profound, and so true: in philosophy, the ideal of childhood is the end of philosophy.”¹³⁴

Nevertheless, Ramadan quickly warns us that escaping consciousness is a difficult enterprise and he reminds us about the human journey: of how the intellect gradually awakens, raising basic existential questions as it discovers life’s realities and that, as we reach the age of reason through the path of maturity, we have to become adults, like it or not, where we experience a universal intimacy; the nature of that is punctuated by ancestral traditions, rites of passage, symbolic ordeals, and new responsibilities, all of which helps “being, consciousness and the intellect to enter the world of meaning” the essence of which remain the same – whatever the frameworks and systems that are offered to enable us to answer the basic existential question and related issues.¹³⁵ But then, we need to ask: who are “we”, and what about the debate between “them and us”?

Within those concerns, I refer to Said’s choice in *Culture and Imperialism* (1994) of the “grand narrative” or the novel as the aesthetic object with which authors had imaged their historical connections to and discourses with imperialist societies. Analysts and biographers (Arcilla, Sionil Jose, Anderson among many) have demonstrated that Rizal had deliberately used the novel in that way, albeit only as one of many cultural forms, because he well knew the novel’s critical role: in relaying ideological references and informing experiences that embed imperial norms and codes. More significantly, Rizal had realized that he could use the novel for his own purposes: to demonstrate the power of cultural constructs that perform critical functions – as “fuel” as well as “iceberg engines” that sustain structures of politics and governance as residues of imperialism well after the 19th century’s drive that “in effect brought most of the earth under the domination of a handful of powers” (Said 1994: 20). In that connection, Said’s definition of culture as those ‘practices’ autonomous to politics, but which conceptually constitute the reservoir of what is best and known about a society, became a source of identity: differentiating “us” from “them” – and continues as a residual cultural politics.

More important than the past itself, therefore, is bearing upon cultural attitudes in the present. For reasons that are partly embedded in the imperial experience, the old divisions between colonizer and colonized have re-emerged in what is often referred to as the North-

¹³³ In his book, subtitled, *Developing a Philosophy of Pluralism* (UK: Penguin books, 2012) p.2, Ramadan quotes from Nietzsche’s *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969) pp.54-56

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid. p. 3.

South relationship, which has entailed defensiveness, various kinds of rhetorical and ideological combat, and a simmering hostility that is quite likely to trigger devastating wars – in some cases it already has. Are there ways we can reconceive the imperial experience in other than compartmentalized terms, so as to transform our understanding of both the past and the present and our attitude toward the future?

In a sense, this study could be a response to Said's gap-analysis. And ultimately, we need to be interested in testing and validating a theory for assessing or diagnosing a set of systemic problems within the modernity-postmodernity continuum by re-framing various relationships as elements of cultural politics such as Delanty has put forward: knowledge, discursive power of the novel as a cultural form and the reflexive self in creative literary practice.¹³⁶ However, the point for this dissertation is not to skirt the ambiguities in the question that Denning raised (2004: 161) "What kind of politics is cultural politics?" For, as he suggests, it is one that entails begging other issues:

...is it cultural *politics* (sic) or a politics that is *merely* (sic) cultural? What is the relationship of cultural expression and resistance to organized radical or revolutionary politics? Can cultural resistance effect social transformation? In order to avoid idealizing local or popular culture as revolutionary, how can we understand what constitutes and contributes to emancipatory social change?

¹³⁶ Delanty discusses the ramifications in Chapter 1 of his volume under reference, which is very insightful.

CHAPTER IV

HEROISM as POETICS in the DIASPORA

"The education that I received since my earliest infancy was perhaps what has shaped my habits... Thus was my heart nourished with somber and melancholy thoughts, which even when I was still a child already wandered on the wings of fantasy in the lofty regions of the unknown.
Jose Rizal¹³⁷

"The trick is not to fool oneself about certain things: small rocky islands in the sea of self-deception. Clutching them and not drowning is the utmost that a human being achieves." Elias Canetti¹³⁸

"Taft quickly decided that it would be extremely useful for the Filipinos to have a national hero of their revolution against the Spanish in order to channel their feelings and focus their resentment backward on Spain. But he told his advisers that he wanted it to be someone who really wasn't so much of a revolutionary that, if his life were examined too closely or his works read too carefully, this could cause us any trouble. He chose Rizal as the man who fit his model."
Charles Bohlen¹³⁹

How does this research tackle "Heroism" as a modern day concept?

This dissertation builds on the premise that Rizal's emancipatory resistance is a story about a heroic journey that can be viewed or read as metaphorical concepts¹⁴⁰ in terms of entailments: mastering fears, going beyond limits as well as activating memories. Identifying three key cultural themes in Rizal's narrative, I contend that reason and its role for critical thinking was at the fulcrum of a heroic activism, which in turn, provided impulses for a paradigmatic change in his thoughts and stance about two other corollary issues: racism and religion. Arguing further that these can be deduced from microscopic in-depth readings of his literary practice, I examine and structure those 3 primary issues into thematic areas within which to demonstrate my empirical evidence via a combination of textual/narrative and critical discourse analysis of Rizal's own writings: how and why the hero used cultural instruments, the pen and the word, as well as cultural forms such as writing essays and novels, to raise critical cultural questions about Spanish imperialism and its colonial system in the Philippines and to point out the need for change.

¹³⁷ (*Reminiscences and Travels of Jose Rizal* (Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission 1961), Centennial Edition, Vol. I: 3-4

¹³⁸ Quoted in Chantal Mouffe's introductory essay, *For an Agonistic Pluralism*, to the book she authored, *The Return of the Political* (London/New York: Verso, 1993, reprint 2005).

¹³⁹ Former Ambassador to the Philippines, quoted in *Portrait of A Cold Warrior* by Joseph B. Smith (1976).

¹⁴⁰ I borrow and adapt the concepts and entailments from George Lakoff's and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*, published in 1980 in the US by the University of Chicago, which reprinted it in 2003 with a new Afterword.

Heroism, like culture and diaspora, has also been used and bandied about in various inflationary ways to the point of losing its sense as an analytical tool. Like culture and diaspora, I argue for purposes of this study that heroism is a developmental and transformative model; thus, neither a fixed state nor an end-point nor any essentializing unilinear or multilinear approach but **a conceptual construct** that enables understandings on why and how human beings have been moving from an unsatisfactory to a desired situation of empowerment. So I offer a developmental model as a frame for tracking and understanding Rizal's heroism (see Figure 2). Specifically as to its nature, heroism is assumed to be an emancipatory process by which human individuals, as part of collectives/groups move out of situations of bondage into places of freedom. The diaspora is the site or location that provides the context and/or structure where breaking away from chains that bind can take place.

In defining heroism, I begin with a concept that is derived from the description of a seminar, *Der Heldenweg zum Erfolgsteam*, at the Donau-Universität Krems, Zentrum für Journalism und Communications Management conducted by Mag. Stefanie Höhn (www.donau-uni.ac.at/jokom):

Das Heldenprinzip® adaptiert das Grundmuster des Wandels. Und beschreibt die typische Schrittfolge eines Entwicklungsweges vom Bekannten ins Ungewisse. Dieses universale Muster der Veränderung existiert, seit es Menschen gibt. Beschrieben ist es in den Heldenmythen und Märchen aller Kulturkreise ebenso wie in der modernen Managementlehre. Man erkennt es in Geschichten und Filmen, aber auch im eigenen Leben wieder. Das Heldenprinzip® baut eine Brücke zwischen dem kollektiven Erfahrungsschatz, den Menschen über Jahrhunderte gesammelt haben und den Visionen für die Zukunft. In unserem Seminar geben wir Orientierung für diesen Weg und entwickeln Potenziale, um die Herausforderungen im Team schöpferisch zu gestalten. Wenn Sie als Führungskraft Veränderungsprozesse im Team schultern, meistern Sie also nicht weniger als eine Heldenreise!

The aforementioned seminar is based on the heroic principle or model of heroism, which is considered as the universal basis for transformative or developmental processes. Derived from rigorous studies such as Joseph Campbell's seminal work, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949) widely known to be the professed bible for Hollywood producers and scriptwriters such as George Lucas of *Star Wars* fame, the heroic principle has been taking varied forms. Primarily, it is conceived as an orientation or the key thread simulating how mythological, legendary and fantasy heroes have had to go through the various steps and positive or negative encounters from the unknown to the known since time immemorial. It is about searching for and unmasking the symbolic disguises of "truths": the good and the bad; the beautiful and the beast. Campbell says (Ibid: viif) his goal was "to uncover some of the truths disguised for us under the figures of religion and mythology" and admits that, in looking at correspondences and similarities among the examples of 'heroic odysseys' he may have "overlooked the

differences between the various Oriental and Occidental, modern, ancient and primitive traditions.¹⁴¹ More significantly for this dissertation are Campbell's references to Sigmund Freud, the critical role of psychoanalysis as a modern tool in understanding the grammar of symbols, and the "tales" where distrust of truth begins:

The truths contained in religious doctrines are after all so distorted and systematically disguised that the mass of humanity cannot recognize them as truth. The case is similar to what happens when we tell a child that new-born babies are brought by the stork. Here too, we are telling the truth in symbolic clothing, for we know what the large bird signifies. But the child does not know it. He hears only the distorted part of what we say, and feels that he has been deceived; and we know how often his distrust of the grown-ups and his refractoriness actually take their start from this impression. We have become convinced that it is better to avoid such symbolic disguisings of the truth in what we tell children and not to withhold from them knowledge of the true state of affairs commensurate with their intellectual level.¹⁴²

Around some basic principles, educational and learning experiences called the *Heldenreise* or Hero's Journeys have been undertaken, popularized and commercialized.¹⁴³ Invariably, as in the abovementioned seminar, participants are taken through a journey that is designed to reveal and demonstrate critical indicators and variables that constitute the making of heroes such as meaningful changes for himself/herself and the bigger collective to which s/he belongs or identifies with.

How are Rizal's literary practices framed as heroic narratives and emancipatory engagement in the diaspora?

As already indicated, while pursuing an academic degree in Literature and Philosophy in Madrid and completing his medical studies in Europe, Rizal produced two novels that came to be known as the "*Noli-Fili* sequel", which were not only considered subversive but also implicated his role as leader, which Rizal himself denied, of the militant revolutionary movement referred to as *Katipunan*.¹⁴⁴ Here, let us recall that publishing the books in Europe with his own resources (the *Noli* in Berlin in 1878; and the *Fili* in Ghent in 1890) and then smuggling them into the Philippines directly led to mock trials and his execution for treason in 1996 by the Spanish colonial government.

¹⁴¹ Campbell's book was first published in 1949 by Princeton University in the US but I use the edition published by Fontana Press in the UK to which I refer.

¹⁴² Campbell quotes from Sigmund Freud's book, *The Future of Illusion* (originally published in 1927), p vii.

¹⁴³ Here is an example and a more general Wikipedia description: <http://www.heldenreise.de/https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heldenreise>

¹⁴⁴ *Katipunan* was the Tagalog term for the underground movement that revolted in arms in August 1896, which implicated Rizal whom authorities among Spanish friars and colonial administration accused as being its leader.

All that and many more of Rizal's works been reflected upon and analysed in several biographies and publications, some of which have been cited here. The problem is, as I have pointed out, that with a few exceptions, most of them take a historical approach and biased even by meticulous scholars, because they have been specifically designed for the study of Rizal as a moral hero and model Filipino patriot worth emulating with his impassioned programmatic zeal for nation building.¹⁴⁵ From different chapters of the world, members of the Order of the Knights of Rizal write books and articles (usually without citing the sources) and come through as being tendentious, because the writers usually identify themselves with Rizal's self-sacrificing personality and achievements as a heroic patriot, at times to the point of glorifying Rizal, not only with universalist ideals but as a superhuman being.

However, this study has a different take from the myriad other Rizal studies because it attempts a philosophical undertaking that focuses on Rizal's response to and coping with emancipatory issues while he was in the diaspora. And, it shifts the political perspective with the lens of culture to filter specific phenomena or behaviour that can be categorized as "heroic markers", for which the following are offered:

- 1) Rizal's civil courage to engage the "pen and the word" as creative instruments for expressing his dissent against the abusive friars in colonial governance;
- 2) Exercising one's right in freedom of expression to articulate grievances against misrule whose cultural underpinnings derived from discriminatory dogmas on racism, religion and the use of reason;
- 3) Producing narrative works such as the *Noli-Fili* sequel of novels with which he challenged the hegemonic authorities and dominant groups at their own game of having exclusive claims to being endowed with cognitive and creative powers; and
- 4) Raising the public question: by entering the forbidden public domain for intervention, whereupon Rizal dared to raise his own voice as a subaltern and framed personal and historical narratives with which he demanded to be heard on behalf of the collective "Filipino nation".

Those mental markers and categorizations have been gleaned and derived from various sources of which need to be specifically mentioned because of their direct relevance to contextualizing Rizal's heroism within this dissertation's conceptual framework. The first is Nick Joaquin's (2005) provocative book, *A Question of Heroes*, in which the author's critical essays focus on ten heroes of Philippine history with special regard to their roles in the Philippine Revolution against Spain from 1896 to 1898. Analysing Rizal as an anti-hero (because of the prudent stance he took against the call to arms for a militant uprising) and questioning the role of Bonifacio (who actually died in the field of battle as the brave revolutionary and

¹⁴⁵ While starting my research on this dissertation, I attempted the focused interview technique. During trial conversations with relatives and friends, I found out that there was a great deal of hesitance in revealing how much they knew or did not know about Rizal and still greater reluctance in disclosing their names, almost everyone telling me that they did not want to be judged against Rizal. For example, several have told me about the frustrations of teachers and students alike with educational books on Rizal because of the aforementioned strategic devices. Only one American-Filipina now living in Vienna, Stefanie Misa, was willing to have her name mentioned in admitting her frustrations at a science high school in Cebu, as she made specific references to textbooks.

whom post-colonial nationalist scholars and populist's would like to see as the national hero to replace Rizal) Joaquin asks (Ibid: chapter 1) How 'Filipino' was Burgos? The question not only turns the problematic concept of ethnic identity on its head, but also that of the "martyr as hero by accident". Jose Burgos is one of the three martyred protagonist priests of the Cavity Mutiny in 1972 to whom Rizal dedicated his *Fili*, as we have seen. Comparing the three priests with Rizal, Joaquin spins a theory about the accidental quality of heroism by which they all perished, not because history could find them guilty of the treason against the hegemonic order that they had been accused of, but for the sin of dealing with modernity and following modern trends in the church long before the event. In effect, they could have been martyred for playing with culture:

The modernity that arrived in the Philippines with the Basco Administration (1778-87) showed in the official sphere with the tobacco monopoly, our first real internal revenue; in culture with the appearance of a Creole literature impudent with French ideas; in society with a climber class angling for patents of nobility; in the military with the regearing of troops once meant for conquest into a national army; in commerce with the opening of free ports and the local establishment of foreign business firms; and in the church with the conversion of the old friar missions into a system of secular parishes – which means that, for churchmen, the way of advancement no longer ran through the friar orders, already in decline, but through the expanding secular priesthood.... However, when Burgos was ordained in the 1860s, the secular priesthood was finding its road blocked by a new zeal in the old declining culture. ... In the Philippines, but for a quirk of history, medievalism would have faded away with the friar orders as a native secular order grew in strength. And the fact that such talented Creoles as a Pedro Pelaez and a Burgos should be joining the secular clergy shows that it had grown not only in strength but in prestige. (Ibid: 3)

The next source, *Six Modern Filipino Heroes*, is a seemingly ordinary and unpretentious volume edited by Asuncion David Maramba (1993)¹⁴⁶ in which eight Filipino authors searched their archives of knowledge and memories to craft their narratives on six protagonists with whom they had worked at close hand and from whom they derived direct inspiration as well as insight. Maramba begins her Prefatory Essay with an ancient and classical provocation (that was raised by Carlyle in the 19th century in a series of essays on heroism as dealt with below): Would we measure greatness? Maramba's thoughts, replying to her own question are worth noting:

Without defining a hero or heroine or laying down criteria as to who is or who is not; people will know a hero when they see one. On that assumption, nay certainty: Benigno Aquino Jr., Jose Diokno, Estelita Juco, Gaston Ortigas, Joaquin Roces, Lorenzo Tanada are heroes. Like love, hero-hood is better felt than defined; better recognized than analysed.... **people can instinctively recognize a hero when they**

¹⁴⁶ Published in Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines by Anvil Publishing, Inc., which produced a second printing in 1996, the edition I use for making references.

meet one, just as they can smell a villain a mile away. Give that much credit to our people. That is why come every National Heroes' Day, **all the talk about what makes a hero** – whether it be media hype, or scholarly discussion, or legislative argument – amounts to so much paper and time wasted on semantics; mere ritual service to our heroes, and **almost a travesty on their nobility**. For how can Congress, often a body of dubious virtue, legislate on heroism? (Maramba 1996: 7 emphasis added)

At this point of the dissertation, I realize that I could be taking a big risk for being condemned among those implicated in defining heroes and legislating norms or criteria in that venture. But it is necessary to re-state my case in focusing the lights of culture on Rizal's literary works as signifying practice in answer to the question: how may his legacy be claimed, especially by Filipinos in the diaspora, if not as political hero? To do that, I offer some mental markers and analytical categories and I need to rely on some basis with which to establish such identifications, for which Maramba indicates some:

Just as we do not need to define or legislate on heroes, we also do not need to identify them. If it's a question of naming them, we know who they are: in the Epic Age, in the Spanish Period, the American conquest, the Japanese Occupation, and now, in this latest 60's to 80's period. But what we need for certain are two things: **we need heroes badly, and we need to know what kind of men and women they were** – not just snippets or high points of their lives, but more details and greater depth on what they chose to do, what they suffered and sacrificed, what led to the heroic dimension of their lives and the price they paid for it, how they lived and died. (Ibid: 7-8 emphasis added)

And, as though contradicting herself, Maramba laments that while there are indeed heroes and heroines, not much is known about them, which is one reason why they don't make a dent in people's lives and much more human effort is needed to make them known:

A flesh and blood awareness of them is almost totally absent from our life as a nation; zilch compared to an almost repugnant intimacy with the private lives of movie actors and actresses – thanks to voyeurs in media who tell us when stars and starlets sneeze. Our youth needs heroes badly, for as almost everyone observes, they have no role models. (Ibid: 8)

But, here's the big caveat: this research project offers those identifications of "heroic markers" as part of the approach to explore how a conceptual model can be developed for deciphering what is heroic in Rizal's works as signifying practices. In no way then should the markers be taken as an exhaustive or reductive list. Rather, they are given here as indicators based on an assumption that I submit as for an interpretative framing of the diaspora effect: around the basic principle already mentioned as well as to what is herein philosophically ascribed – partly drawn from mythological and symbolic accounts such as Campbell's *Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949/1993) – about people who respond

to life's call and cope with formidable tasks through adventures, imagined or real, where humans are transformed with superhuman qualities in strength and character as in "The Frog King" in *Grimm's Fairy Tales* that Campbell cites (Ibid: 49-50). But, the point is that there are many unforeseen and unpredictable ways in responding to "The Call to Adventure" or the summons of the herald, which in the example that Campbell gives (Ibid: 51), may begin with:

A blunder – apparently the merest chance – reveals an unsuspected world and the individual is drawn into a relationship with forces that are not rightly understood. As Freud has shown,¹⁴⁷ blunders are not the merest chance. They are the result of suppressed desires and conflict. They are ripples on the surface of life, produced by unsuspected springs. And these may be very deep – as deep as the soul itself. The blunder may amount to the opening of a destiny.... The herald's summons may be to live, as in the present instance, or at a later moment of the biography, to die. It may sound the call to some high historical undertaking. Or it may mark the dawn of religious illumination. As apprehended by the mystic, it marks what has been termed "the awakening of the self."¹⁴⁸

Thus, the concept of diaspora applied here assumes that the heroic principle is a response to "a call": to go into an unknown world through unknown ways and to struggle through challenges that include displacements/dispersions from one's origins/roles and/or original status/functions as an inevitable part of envisioning future moves onto "elsewhere", physically and/or psychologically.¹⁴⁹ Because the heroic principle offers challenges and opportunities for looking at situations from new or different perspectives and going beyond one's boundaries to enlarge horizons as well as to open up communication channels, those who go through the process – which entails and necessarily involves "mirroring" and "othering" – have the potential to emerge as "models" with enabled and/or empowered capacities and capabilities by drawing from a combination of dispositions and metaphorical entailments (Lakoff/Johnston 1980/2003) in qualities deemed heroic such as: courage, creativity, cooperation, risk-taking, proactive power, and empathic sensibility.

Moreover, this dissertation recognizes that Marshall McLuhan's digitized global village implicates everyone exposed to electronic media for cultural transitions that changes the nature of democracy itself and accommodates all kinds of alternative concepts and models. So I may have either subliminally imbibed some of the markers and categorizations that I propose above from reading encounters with

¹⁴⁷ Campbell's footnote 2: *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*. (Standard Edn., VI; orig. 1901)

¹⁴⁸ Campbell's footnote 3: Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism, A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1911), Part II, "The Mystic Way," Chapter II, "The Awakening of the Self."

¹⁴⁹ The concept of diaspora, the markers and the assumed "call" have been also derived from a catalogue of a collaborative exhibition, *people behind the things* edited by Kublai Munapé, published by READ-ME 2 Partners & Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini" in Rome 2012, which ended a long-term project among European ethnographic museums in a dialogue with Diaspora communities "to decolonize the mind and to make non-European communities visible in Europe" (pages 30, 49f, 52 and 90 of the catalogue).

The Gutenberg Galaxy (McLuhan 1962) or *The Medium is the Massage* (McLuhan & Fiore without being able to pin down the exact sources. Such could be the case while watching CNN's series on *Everyday Heroes*, where people from all walks of life have been spotlighted for unglamorous achievements in way out tiny corners of the earth and thus, like many others who have been duly given more than the now clichéd 15-minute stardom (that Warhol predicted for everyone) need to be duly recognized as sources of new knowledge. Indeed, local as well as international media have been profiling their own types of heroes as was done by *Österreichs größtes Nachrichtenmagazin News* when they played up oppositional heroes in "*Das Jahr der Helden und der Versager*" 2014¹⁵⁰. Campbell informs (1949/1993):

But whether small or great, and no matter what the stage or grade of life, the call rings up the curtain, always, on a mystery of transfiguration – a rite, or moment, of spiritual passage, which, when complete, amounts to a dying and a birth. The familiar life horizon has been outgrown; the old concepts, ideals and emotional patterns no longer fit; the time for the passing of a threshold is at hand.

The volume on Carlyle's Writings (Shelston 1971) needs to be mentioned now because the section *from Heroes and Hero-Worship*, comprising six courses in a series of public lectures, which Carlyle delivered in London in 1840, takes us to Rizal's time and the 19th century discourse with modernity and enlightenment issues, which he took an activist interest in as participant-observer. Shelston, editor of the collection points out that Carlyle's theme explicitly states: 'Universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the Great Men who have worked here (Ibid: 233)' Further, that Carlyle thought only a new 'Hero' can resolve the belief in utilitarianism that has resulted in 'A bewildering, inextricable jungle of delusions, confusions, falsehoods and absurdities' and that the lectures are devoted to heroes of the past from which six different types are classified (Ibid). The first part of the fifth lecture *from The Hero as Man of Letters* begins with a passage pertinent to this dissertation (Ibid: 235).

Hero-Gods, Prophets, Poets, Priests are forms of Heroism that belong to the old ages, make their appearance in the remotest times; some of them have ceased to be possible long since, and cannot anymore show themselves in this world. **The Hero as Man of Letters**, again, of which class we are to speak today, is altogether a product of these new ages; and so long as the wondrous art of Writing, or of Ready-Writing, which we call Printing, subsists, he may be expected to continue, as one of the main forms of heroism for all ages. He is, in various respects, a singular phenomenon. ... He is new.... Never, till about a hundred years ago was there seen any figure of a Great Soul living apart in that anomalous manner; endeavouring to speak forth the inspiration that was in him by Printed Books, and find place and subsistence, by what the world would please him for doing that. Much had been sold and bought, and left to

¹⁵⁰ Beaming faces on the cover of the Magazine include Conchita Wurst who won the Eurovision Contest that year, Austrian football international star Alaba (the product of a bicultural marriage made-in-Austria between his Nigerian father and Filipina mother), German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Russian President Vladimir Putin. Nr. 51-52, 18 December 2014 or www.news.at

make its own bargain in the marketplace; but the inspired wisdom of a Heroic Soul never till then, in that naked manner. He, with his copy-rights and copy-wrongs... ruling (for this is what he does), from his grave, after death, whole nations and generations who would, or would not, give him bread while living – is a rather curious spectacle! Few shapes of Heroism can be more unexpected. (emphasis added)

Apropos “letters”, Otto Rank’s *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (1914), points out the migration or movement and borrowing of myths in the movement of people, ideas and goods occur not only through the usual traffic and commerce but also through the influence of literature. *Imperial Eyes* by Mary Louise Pratt (1992) is a case in point: subtitled *Travel Writing and Transculturation*, it deals with a special theme in discursive colonial exploration: texts from writing about travels as an ideological apparatus of empire which may still be relevant under circumstances of globalisation. Even so, it is a source for deriving insights and suggestions as I have done in proposing the markers as well as for devising the analytical models for tracking Rizal’s emancipatory path and practice from heroic stance in diasporic sites. (See Figures 10 and 12 that heroic types may be responding to in a world suggestive of holons and pyramids implicating the search for opportunities through and in diasporic networks.)

What is the context in which heroism, poetics and diaspora come together? The theoretical claim of this dissertation project is that the heroic poetics of diaspora effect is a matter of cultural politics as can be evidenced in the literary practices of intellectual elites and writers who, while in the diaspora or going through diasporic states and sites have been able to move people to action as an alternative form of transnational and/or transcultural mobilisation. In the case of Rizal and Filipino reformists, we see an ethnic group in a state of “diasporic longing” for having been displaced from a common territory or coping with the fact of being dispersed from co-nationalities in time and/or place. During the last 30 years, the latter types of phenomena have been demonstrated in several ‘Third World’ and post cold war studies mostly as politics of religious identity and territorial integrity of peoples in the diaspora, but not to be confused with the already mentioned classical cases of diaspora (Jews, Armenians and Greeks). Certainly the trend in studies on the diaspora seem to have been motivated by development policies to harness labour migrants for largely economic concerns, as though echoing the desires and wishes of various migrant communities to contribute to nation-building thus, allowing themselves to be mobilised in terms of remittances and potential foreign direct investments.¹⁵¹

Recognising all such dynamics within the spectrum of studies on transnationalism and the diaspora, this project proposes to focus on heroic poetics of diaspora

¹⁵¹ Exemplified by Aguilar’s books (2002 and 2014) and the volume also already referred to, *Diasporas Reimagined* (2015) by Oxford Diasporas Programme. The economic orientation was also clear among the fellows who applied and were selected in a 3-year Social Research Fellowship Programme for the Central European region on *Diaspora* of the Vienna-based Erste Foundation, in which I participated as a member of the Peer Review Advisory Committee.

effect in order to consider and understand how the creative power of the imagination mobilizes artistic-literary practices and/or outcomes to blaze a trail towards a new home: an 'envisioned elsewhere', or an 'imaginary other'. Thus conceptually diaspora is not limited in spatial terms but also in an 'another time' or with an 'other' social group in and with which one feels at home. That diasporic frame provides this project's proposition that the case of Rizal's heroic activism be considered and explored from a different light: as a matter of cultural politics because he engaged varied forms of 'poetics' that constituted modes of resistance against the Spanish imperial system by which he raised basic questions about the cultural underpinnings that grounded and fixated Spain's colonial governance in the Philippines. This critical re-viewing of Rizal's literary practice and production is done here through a diasporic reading within an emancipatory context: tracking Rizal's paths at a time (last quarter of the 19th century) and in a place (in Western Europe) when other enlightened activists and committed writers used the strategic devices of creative/fiction writing as a construct for raising questions about changing realities: modernity, industrialization and the transformation of power relations within what remained of feudal systems and out-dated hegemonic orders. Rizal's activist heroism took place mainly during the last three decades of the 19th century, specifically referred to as "the century of emancipation", which puts his main literary production in context along with many other heroes who used the strategic devices of the novel as a cultural construct. There are enough examples provided and similar models are referred to in studies such as: *Paths of Emancipation*, a volume of essays edited by Pierre Birnbaum/Ira Katznelson (1995), which reframes Jewish diaspora narratives in modern terms; *Lives in Between* by Leo Spitzer (1989) about families with linked experiences of marginalization in Latin America, Africa and Central Europe; Deborah R. Coen's *Vienna in The Age of Uncertainty* (2007) exemplifying scientists and intellectuals in Central Europe going into self-made diasporic zones-of-comfort; in *Schnitzler's Century* (Peter Gay 2002) we see the bourgeoisie during the making of the middle class; and in the struggle for racial and gender equality in Carl E. Schorske's *Fin de Siécle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (1981)¹⁵².

Thus, this research project asks: how and why does emancipatory change occur while human beings move from out of secured comfort zones – in their homes or native/cultural origins, and then accept or resist chains that bind via processes of acculturation and socio-politicization in their host countries? The enquiry is mainly concerned with resolving a basic issue that seems common to peoples of the diaspora: How does a culture of politics empower people to become transformed from having been transgressed or violated in being displaced or dispersed and thus, move on forward via emancipatory modes into sites or locations where paradigmatic shifts and mental leaps can take place in more socially integral and politically freeing ways? And, those cornerstone issues beg more questions about assumptions that are basic to this enquiry: What is heroism, how does it link with the cultural and the political and where does the diaspora come in?

¹⁵² Schorke's book used here is the reprint by Vintage Books Edition.

How does literary activism make for a heroic poetics of diasporic effect?

As I have shown in previous chapters and demonstrate in chapter VI, Rizal's letters and diaries particularly show that he identified with the work of nation building albeit with a different, if transnational-cosmopolitan, slant: an envisioned elsewhere, which did not exclude Spaniards, the Peninsulares and Filipinos of that time. Thus, I argue that, when transformed into a literary practice, the diasporic stances of longing and/or yearning – which should not be considered in any way as mutually exclusive – rather as a pendulum's far swings within a spectrum or continuum of dynamic crossovers and fusion in the diaspora – can lead to an emergent consciousness as *diaspora effect*. And that effect may start with individuals or groups that can ripple into transnational and/or intracultural/transcultural modes. Referring to the apparent contradictions and paradoxes in diaspora engagement, In Reimagined Diasporas, (Sigona et al. 2015: 32-35) Nicholas Van Hear posits three different spheres as analytical categories by which it is possible to track how diasporas form and such dynamics as money transfers and other transformative practices of collectivities. There is the household or extended family, likely to be the most sustained of the three spheres; the known community or sphere of encounters “among people one knows or knows of”; and the imagined community, “with which one has affinity without necessarily knowing its members personally”, a concept attributed to Anderson (1983). However, Van Hear admits (Ibid: 34-5) that there is a good deal of overlap between the spheres and diaspora members may find themselves pulled between obligations, e.g. to their own family in the host country and to the wider political struggle, which are better understood if such activities are disaggregated. Thus, I contend that whatever the motive or intention, the heroic poetics of diaspora effect is only one among many possible consequences: only one of the many possible coping strategies for being displaced from one's country of birth, native homeland or site of cultural belonging that is usually accompanied by voluntary or involuntary dispersal in which those concerned find themselves in states of fragmentation and/or disorientedness.

Within such contexts and with reference to Rizal's diaries and *La Solidaridad* articles presented earlier, Rizal's poetic activism is critically seen as a matter of re-visioning cultural identity via a politics of memory to deal with issues that were at once personal-existential and concurrently collective-cultural as well as social-political.. Such a deep sense of loss may be evident even among exiles, expatriate nationals and naturalized/assimilated citizens, which may manifest itself in paradoxical and piecemeal approaches to daily life, unsatisfactory and incoherent relationships with others, or a lack of motivation to work and achieve. Nevertheless, a closely related concern in this dissertation has been to explore an understanding of the nature of heroism – its varied manifestations as diaspora effect – and thereby contribute to scholarship on Rizal's legacy beyond the narrow confines of nation-building and the on-going phenomenon: diaspora exploited as an economic minefield or source of investment from a country's (ex)citizens and nationals abroad. The urgency comes from the current crisis on refugees and mass migration particularly within the EU struggling with issues such as the allegiances and cultural identities of naturalized citizens retaining and demanding double citizenship. Decidedly being a part of a larger diaspora, feeling deeply affected and concerned by narrow and negative discourses on the politics

of memory and the pertinent 'othering' process, there is a need to break down cultural fixations within nation-state politics as well as to discern gaps/deficits of interest to advocacy groups in civil society and to policy makers within the EU.

Other examples could be provided from more recent poetic forms such as video films. For instance, at one point during a documentary that was filmed up high over 3,000 meters above sea level in Bolivia on the Andean Salar de Uyuni, a gigantic lake that dries up and turns into salt lands, the camera pans a 64 year old woman trailing her as she goes about her daily chores under visibly rough-and-tough working conditions and then, comes to a close up. Yearningly, she asks of the woman filmmaker, "why don't you take me along where you live so I might find some rest?" Geographically, the film shows a desert radically different from what is generally known from Africa or Asia: one of salt crystals in various marvellous forms that merge the skyscapes and landscapes into a fairy tale of sorts as the light of rising and setting suns play on them. But, we are told that tourists get out as quickly as they get there. Hotels look like makeshift and talks of development plans are not welcomed by the indigenous who fear their possible displacements. In another location the camera focuses on a group of teenage boys doing the usual unpaid work as they help parents load 50 kilos of salt sacks on trucks. A boy whose face is masked, to prevent his face from burning, he says, admits unapologetically: I want to get out of here when I finish high school, go study medicine and build a family somewhere else. In those two instances, we see cases of diasporic dreaming. By contrast, in another documentary film set in Chad, a French research team follows a Tubu tribe on their regular routes in the desert – in that part of the Sahara that is believed to be the cradle of civilization. Boys are taught the nomadic routine of seeking pastures for their camel and cowherds. A young woman, who is also the spokesperson at the UN for the Peul tribe that they encounter, describes coping strategies of the nomad families as they search for oases or trading places over far distances and explains how crucial it is to live in solidarity with each other, with the animals and with the environment in mutual respect. Not one word is said nor is there any slight indication, that among such cultures-on-the-move for whom wide stretches of desert sands represents a common homeland, there is a longing for a place of loss nor a yearning for an-elsewhere to go settle-in.¹⁵³

Along with journalistic reportage and other text forms, simple innocent-like stories far from "the madding crowd" and cyberspaces have been coming up more and more into the public eye by traveller-writers and altogether constitute archives of knowledge from which more questions emerge as matters of cultural politics for this study: What do peoples of the diaspora have in common, how are they distinguishable from each other, and to what extent may they be considered a force in current issues to intensify movements for positive globalization and peaceful co-existence? How should governments deal with issues of citizenship among labour migrant groups who build up families that are assumed to relate almost exclusively with their countries of origin as "homelands" to return to? How

¹⁵³ *Die Farben der Wüste: Die Weiße Wüste*, a film by Petra Haffter (ORF/ZDF/Ilona Grundmann Filmprod, 2011); *Tschad – Verborgene Schätze der Sahara*, a film by Nicolas Hulot (ORF/TF1/Bosio/Ushuaia Nature 2012) both films shown on 05.09.2016 in ORF III.

should host governments set up policies and programmes that may be far from being integrative of cultural identities and ethnic minorities but at least inclusive and non-discriminatory of difference, if not celebrative of diversity? What liberal norms, pluralist values and democratic processes could possibly inform E.U. governance in the face of displaced populations and mass refugees on its eastern and southern borders having to flee dire situations of economic deprivation, war, and political threat to one's life? And how should the E.U. deal with home grown terrorism fuelled by young people with migrant backgrounds who do not find a stake in the countries where they feel (mis)treated as "outsiders" and who are being lured to emancipate themselves through heroic activism: to fight for the past beaconing them as fixed points; back to what is supposedly their own legitimate cultural heritage and sacred legacies?

Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* was helpful in framing the questions I had, travelling with different lenses, no longer as a Filipino but as an Austrian who was supposed to cross borders with a different identity.¹⁵⁴ Another book proved useful: *Negotiating Cultures*, on Eugenio Barba's theory and practice of performance and the intercultural debate (Watson 2002).¹⁵⁵ Such basic references provide not only insightful perspectives but also valuable concepts as well as analytical approaches. Michel Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* referred to displacements and transformations of concepts and included a suggestion that G. Canguilhem's analyses may serve as models.¹⁵⁶ For now, I recall Foucault's contention that the old questions of the traditional analyses, concerned with links between disparities and establishing causal relations or successions, are replaced by questions that are the 'concerns' of this research project:

...concerned not with the description of cultural influences, traditions and continuities, but with internal coherences, axioms, deductive connexions, compatibilities (Foucault 1969/2008: 4-5)... The problem is no longer one of tradition, of tracing a line, but one of division, of limits; it is no longer one of lasting foundations, but one of transformations that serve as new foundations, the rebuilding of foundations. (Ibid: 6).

¹⁵⁴ Suddenly, for instance, I could feel not just relief from the interrogations at British embassies when applying for visas but also for "being different" upon being processed at Heathrow airport and going through as EU citizens and no longer as "other passports."

¹⁵⁵ The book was particularly helpful in performing my poems, occupying public spaces, via UrbanNomadMixes, a loose alliance of musicians, dancers and video performing artists I founded in 2000.

¹⁵⁶ References are to the 2008 reprint of the volume translated into English from the 1969 Editions Gallimard French original by A.M. Sheridan Smith, (London/New York, Routledge Classics) 2002, p. 5.

CHAPTER V

BRIDGING THEORETICAL & METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Here is, in fact, the reason why we are gathered. In the history of nations there are names that by themselves signify an achievement, that recall passion and greatness, names that, like magic formulae... become pact and a symbol of peace, bond of love between nations.

The names of Juan Luna and Manuel Hidalgo belong to these; they are glorious representations of the two extremes of the globe: in the East and the West, Spain and the Philippines; they belong as much to you as to us.
Jose Rizal¹⁵⁷

"The native's muscles are always tensed...He is in fact ready at any moment's notice to change the role of quarry for that of hunter. The native is an oppressed person whose permanent dream is to become the persecutor."
Frantz Fanon¹⁵⁸

What is distinctly new then in this dissertation as a research project?

At this point, it is important to clarify that this dissertation does not purport to be a bridge nor a normative pointer to some kind of political future or promised nirvana, neither for the Philippines nor for any country. Rather, as premised in chapter I, the goal is to show how to subject Rizal's texts to analysis, locating them within the corpus of the hero's cultural products and reading them as has been done with the products of other writers within what could be perceived as sharing a similar disposition: as a culturally re-wiring 'diasporic frame of mind'. For that disposition, I assume a developmental tendency to move away or to be distanced from a place of status quo with an orientation for progressive change: straddling modernist and post modernist modes, the process of 'Othering' or mirroring, and new terms of power relationships within a form of cultural politics towards creative literary outcomes that I have been referring to as the 'heroic poetics of diasporic effect'.

This research project differs from previous studies on Rizal's legacy in that it explores new understandings by focusing on the practice and products of Rizal's literary activism as matters of cultural politics, a form of cultural heroism distinguished from political heroism. Doing so, highlights the politics of memory and identity that Rizal engaged in to mobilize the collective. That puts him among a long lineage of courageous writers throughout history and in many parts of the world who ventured into using pen-and-words to encounter, confront and open up lines of communication with 'the Other', including but not exclusive to power relationships institutionalized as 'the political culture'. Thus, this project veers away from the usual debates about Rizal's role as to why he deserves the status of Philippine national hero especially vis-à-vis Filipino heroes who decided to struggle

¹⁵⁷ From "Rizal's Speech delivered in Madrid at the banquet in honour of the two Filipino Painters, Juan Luna and Felix Resurrección Hidalgo, who won prizes in an international art competition, 25 June 1884, published in José Rizal, Political and Historical Writings, Volume VII, (Manila: National Historical Institute) 2000, p. 17 Centennial Edition.

¹⁵⁸ Fanon, Frantz. *Concerning Violence*. (London: Penguin Books – Great Ideas, 2008.) First published in France, 1961 as *Les Damnés de la Terre*, translated as *The Wretched of the Earth*, published by McGibbon and Kee in 1965 translation copyright by Constance Farrington.

in militant ways and died in the field of battle for political sovereignty and separation of the Philippines from Spain.

In light of the above, what distinguishes this research project is a conglomeration or a new mix: thematic cultural perspectives with a methodological approach entailing conceptual frames and models for modernist readings of Rizal's texts that have been derived and adapted from a triangulation of social science disciplines applied within the context of the diaspora. That involves a new way of seeing (reading) Rizal's heroic literary engagement as emancipatory paths along a trajectory: 1) within the larger framework of contemporary discourses on people, not as objects of history but as subjective agents who are able and equal to make choices freely in a modernist-progressive mode within globalizing systems; 2) from the perspective of Rizal's encounters in the diaspora and as an exile: observing and making comparisons on exercising and asserting civil liberties and basic rights of humans to move across borders; and 3) as human discursive agents taking risks in the diaspora. Thus Rizal's heroic poetics of diasporic effect is viewed at three levels: a) personal or renewed self-identifications from encountering "the others" and coping with unfamiliar environments; b) cultural discontinuities and shifts from critical thinking that disrupts one's sense of belonging, identifications and identity; and c) politicization of the collective from the need to negotiate the consequential disruptions in relating with power constructs of hegemonic orders. Therefore, while acknowledging the need for critical engagement with other perspectives and claims over what patriotic or nationalistic heroism signifies – especially considering present-day emancipatory engagements outside nation-state borders – that is not within the scope of this dissertation.

Drawing from Rizal's correspondence with different groups, it may be helpful to consider and critique how, in terms of the ideological triad under focus, Rizal had stepped beyond the borders of narrow exclusivist systems into a modernist mode: appealing to a *modus vivendi* based on racial justice and mutual respect among divergent cultures through transparently negotiated institutional arrangements, albeit, within the existing plurinational hegemonic order. Rizal's role in attempting 'reforms based on Enlightenment values with the Spanish colonial authorities short of being a militant revolutionary pre-dates Sun Yat Sen in China or India's Gandhi who also outrightly refused to employ violence-oriented or terrorist tactics of liberation fighters, which has become a de-stabilizing feature of international relations at the turn of the 21st century.

Rethinking Rizal's legacy through the perspective of culture is based on the base or red line of this dissertation: that Rizal's critique of colonial governance under imperial Spain was to challenge its cultural underpinnings. To do that, I presented my theoretical claims in Chapter I, namely, that Rizal strategically applied perspectives and tools of culture, which are specifically framed and contextualized in Chapters II and III. I also explained the basic approach: 1) to anchor the conceptual logic and 2) to frame the methodological parameters that are applied with which this dissertation's thesis on Rizal's stance in the public domain are analysed and argued using empirical evidence from Rizal's writings as primary sources. To locate Rizal's works as products of cultural resistance within temporal

and spatial terms, I derive and adapt from the comparative positions of relevant critics of cultural studies: at the interface of 'the literary' and 'the political' in Dvorak (1997); the historical dimension in Denning (2004) and Easthope (1991/1996); the political perspectives in Mouffe (1993/2005) and Marchart (2008) and the literary text as sources of critiques on multiculturalist ideology by San Juan (2002). To demonstrate my point, I draw from scholarly works on literary artistic texts such as from those already mentioned: Docker on Joyce's *Ulysses*, Dvorak on Schnitzler's *Der Weg ins Freie*, Rushdie in *Imaginary Homelands*, Said in *Orientalism*, San Juan in *Rizal in our Time* and Tadiar on contemporary Filipina artists, among others. My research interests and concerns dictated my choice of those specialist scholars: whose interdisciplinary approaches and critical analyses of literary practices have applied 'culture' in ways I frame and adapt to both magnify the lens and sharpen the focus on Rizal's own literary works. My selection of writers is based foremost on the authority that they have achieved in dealing with issues of cultural politics especially those having to bear on diasporic states of mind from cultural displacements or fragmentation.

In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn explains his concept of paradigm as a model of reality that is collectively held as a belief system until a new one comes along.¹⁵⁹ In effect, Kuhn was reinforcing those who had issues with the mechanistic theory and Cartesian worldview that were being debunked not only in academia but also in the countercultural movement during the 1960s.¹⁶⁰ Specifically with respect to the paradigm of literary study and the theory wars during the 1970s and 1980s in the UK and the US, which "acquired a rather political edge", Anthony Easthope elucidates that, by paradigm, Kuhn meant both theory and practice, both an entire constellation of beliefs, values as well as the concrete puzzle-solutions that happen within them.¹⁶¹

But a universal definition of paradigm may be neither possible nor desirable, since to some extent theory and to a much larger extent ways of demonstrating facts will be appropriate and specific to a particular object and mode of knowledge. 'Paradigm' may be preferable to the wider notion of an organised body of questions and answers assumed by the term 'problematic' given currency by Althusser. 'Paradigm' also neatly signals the dependence and understanding on discourse while including the idea of knowledge and so, crucially, all epistemology involving a subject/object relation (1991: 10).

¹⁵⁹ Kuhn and his book, which appeared in 1962, are the focus of Alexander Bird's critique as part of Philosophy Now series on thinkers who have been in the forefront of ideas in the analytic tradition of the philosophy of science (U.S.: Princeton University Press, 2000), to which I will be referring in the chapter on methodological parameters.

¹⁶⁰ I had come across Kuhn's work during my undergraduate studies. But it was only later, as a lecturer in social science at De La Salle University and as I had become involved with social activists and behavioural scientists, in efforts to set up livelihood opportunities for Indo-Chinese exiles seeking refuge in the Philippines from the invasive spread of the so-called red-Communists, that I began to understand the import of his ideas. What I had experienced first-hand intensified later when I went to the U.S. for graduate studies, participating in Martin Luther King's anti-racist marches as well as demonstrations to stop the war in Vietnam.

¹⁶¹ Cited in: Anthony Easthope, *Literary into Cultural Studies*, (London: Routledge, 1991, New York Reprint 1996), p. 9

Tracking the terrain of theoretical positions and contestations between major protagonists from F.R. Leavis in the 1930s through to Terry Eagleton in the 1990s, Easthope specifically considers a basic problem that is most germane to this research project: how the opposition between “**literature**” and “**popular culture**” could be resolved within a single frame of reference. Cultural Studies (CS hereafter) was the answer-in-the-making and Easthope’s aforementioned volume is a pertinent comprehensive analysis particularly as it focuses on the Open University ‘Popular Culture’ course that ran from 1982-1987. Calling it “the most advanced form of cultural studies worked out in Britain”, Easthope’s critique is noteworthy: 1) its ‘nationalist’ concern with English culture beginning in 1850 and 2) its tendency, because focused on texts and practices from within popular culture, “to repeat and reproduce the boundary between high and popular culture maintained by Leavis and others” (Ibid: 108). Thus, he contends that new developments would need to: 1) take up cultural analysis within an international perspective, not simply national; and 2) be directed impartially at both high and popular cultural texts, crossing boundaries to erode distinctions (Ibid.), an appeal that this research project wants to address.

Significantly also, Easthope (Ibid: 140) identifies two initiators of CS and their seminal works: Raymond Williams whose *Culture and Society* (published in 1958) “opens an analysis of culture in relation to an account of the social formation”; and Roland Barthes, who is supposed to have written *Mythologies* in the early 1950s but got it published only in 1957. Williams has been referred to in previous sections. For now, because this dissertation is also about de-mythologizing Rizal, it is important to follow Easthope who shows (Ibid.) how Barthes illustrates his argument that a sign system can conceal the “myth” – the ideology – in which it is embedded, particularly with realist systems of representation: a first-order system (or ‘denotation’) pushes into the background a second-order system (the ‘connotation’). Thus, Easthope asserts that Barthes illustration on the cover of the *Paris-Match* magazine is exactly right as an ideological critique (Ibid.):

On the cover, a young Negro in a French uniform is saluting, with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolour. All this is the *meaning* of the picture. But, whether naively or not, I see very well what it signifies to me: that France is a great Empire, that all her sons without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors. (1973, p. 116)

Easthope underscores Barthes’s deployment of a version of the ‘modernist reading’ via a system of ‘deep’ or ‘close’ reading that had been previously only applied to the literary canon. So it is crucial to follow Easthope elucidating significant distinctions (Ibid: 141) as part of the approach that frames analysing Rizal’s works in this dissertation:

If we examine a text assuming everything is significant, this can draw attention to ideology, gender meaning, subject position and the sense of the other as these are presented thematically and through the position of the signifier. Some development of the **modernist reading** then, is needed **for analysing myth, for ideological critique**. However, as applied in the study of signifying practice, the modernist reading differs

from its traditional literary usage both negatively and positively: negatively, because it does not aim to seek out and substantiate the *unity* of the text, it is not heading into the same ideological coral as literary study; and positively, because it subscribes to a decentred problematic for the analysis of texts, it always presumes the unity of the text to be a temporary, provisional and contextual consequence of its actual disjunction. Nor does the revised modernist reading advance itself on empiricist grounds – that is, as an obvious and natural response to the complexities of the literary work; rather, a result of following the paradigm advocated for cultural studies, it explicitly **acknowledges the context** – the terms – within which the text is taken up and **a reading constructed**. (Highlighting added)

In that light, there is a critical issue to be discerned in reading Rizal's texts: in positioning the reader, in constructing or dissolving the literary object and, in literary reading in high cultural or popular discursive mode. The 'high cultural' discourse raises questions because it puts obligations on the reader: to look for privileging the classic canonical literary values and to reconcile those with pleasurable narratives on the presumption that there is one meaning that fits unified harmonised texts. In contrast, from the perspective of 'modernist' thinking or reading, texts (like *Kippbilder* images presented in chapter I) may be perceived in different ways and endowed with a multiplicity of meanings (polysemy) if decentralised from a unifying centre. Easthope cogently demonstrates this mode of 'popular cultural discourse' in passages from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and *Tarzan of the Apes*. For now, it is important to align this dissertation's bias for multifarious and multilevel readings with thoughts that Easthope extracted from Pierre Macherey's *A Theory of Literary Production* (1978, pp. 78-9):

The postulated unity of the work which, more or less explicitly, has always haunted the enterprise of criticism, must now be denounced...
Rather than that sufficiency, that ideal consistency, we must stress that determinate insufficiency, that incompleteness which actually shapes the work.

As though in a process of reflecting on Macherey's above cited book Easthope (1991/1996: 23-24) offers specific pointers, which are listed below (as though Easthope is being quoted; actually I am paraphrasing him) because the list is taken up as significant indicators that are adapted and applied in the analytical chapters for this research project:

Point 1: The text is never complete so interpretation of it is never finished because in a human history stretching into the future, the Homeric poems, as but one example of literary texts, have not been finished being read (Macherey 1978: 70). **Point 2:** Invoking the siting of the text within temporality to explain recognition of its insufficiency, and just as conscious awareness functions on condition that the operation of the unconscious is repressed, so the literary text achieves apparent unity by the deliberate non-activation of other meanings, thus, making up what Macherey refers to as '*the unconscious of the work*' (Ibid: 92), which finds expression in the lacunae and contradictions that the text seems to smooth over. **Point 3:** Whether thought of as an identity reproduced within history or as an object always in process, the text can never be at one

with itself, a self division that is better explained in linguistic terms by saying that the order of the signifier and the order of the signified are always disjunct. **Point 4:** As meaning is always plural and since the elements of any text can be read in ways that lead off to any direction, the 'unity' of the text can be maintained only by closing off all but one (or one set) of these possible meanings or directions *each time*. That **process of closure** is authorised by invoking an imaginary presence (a signifying origin or an intention though that is necessarily an effect of a context of reading and the reader operating in that context. **Point 5:** Based on Jacques Lacan's argument that the production of meaning is constituted temporally in a dialectical movement, there is a continual sliding of signifieds under signifiers. The subject is always at work along the line of signifiers anticipating meaning with each new term because the line is always punctuated by an **'anchoring point'** by which the signifier stops the otherwise endless movement of the signification. **Point 6:** The changing expectation of meaning is prospective; its anchoring down, retrospective. (Macherey 1977a. p. 303 in Easthope 1991: 24)

Setting a text in play and reading it differently in different contexts is Easthope's strategy "to demonstrate its potentially unlimited polysemy or multiplication of "meanings". To illustrate the dialectic involved, Easthope refers to the final scene in Orson Welles' now classic feature film *Citizen Kane*, when the dying protagonist Kane drops a glass toy containing a snow-drenched scene and whispers "Rosebud".

Pulled forward into the narrative by a desire for resolution of this enigma, the viewing subject entertains varying expectations of what 'Rosebud' means. When the final sequence in the film reveals it was the name of the sledge Kane played with in the snow as a boy in his mother's house, we reread the whole text.... So our reading includes both a sense of the unity of the narrative held in place at the end and the different wishes and guesses made along the way. **The identity of a text is both** determinate and indeterminate, and **every reading of a text is just that...** the signifier simultaneously opening and closing the text in and for the subject situated in a context. (Easthope 1991/1996: 24-5, highlighting added)

Apropos dialectics, Easthope (Ibid: 70-71) refers to an important conceptualisation that emanates from an analysis of the other, which diverges towards three directions: The first is towards the psychoanalytic distinction between the conscious and the unconscious, which is constituted through an active repression (presumably by the former) so that its effects are 'other' (always indirectly coming through as strange, exotic or uncanny). The second is towards a Derridean deconstruction of binary oppositions, which take the form of privileging one of the two terms by denying its dependence on the other. The third is directly relevant as an analytical approach for this dissertation:

towards the particular binary structure established in historical discourses **concerned with race** such that an Occidental, European subject privileges and substantiates itself by defining as an object its supposedly Oriental other (this account of the social other has been the contribution of Edward Said, see 1978). ... Institution, sign

system, ideology, gender, identification and subject position, the other: these **six distinct but related conceptualizations** now provide the necessary set of terms within which textuality must be discussed (highlighting added).

Mapping developments in the theory of CS specific to the British experience in the 1970s and 1980s, Easthope (Ibid: 72-73) elucidates how the above conceptualizations derive from a history of theorization driven by the perceived inadequacies of the former paradigm of literary studies. Thus, they take their place within a continuous theoretical project, which has been inseparable from a radical politics with the effect of making it impossible to sustain a study founded on privileging of literary over popular culture. From 'culturalism' in the late 1950s through Marxism/structuralism in the 1960s and Gramscian 'hegemony' in the 1970s, a particular mix emerged known as 'post-structuralism', which was derived from the writings of Lacan, Barthes, Kristeva and Foucault. Effectively, literary into cultural studies not only transformed the field, it introduced a modernist way of 'thinking and seeing' that could no longer avoid 'the political'. The result was to focus attention on a range of signifying practices that included forms of text, which emanated from cinema and photography, fine arts, advertising and literature. All those forms of signifying practices are "conceived as relatively autonomous within a social formation ultimately determined by economic practice." (Ibid: 73) Along these lines, Marchart (2008) analyses noteworthy developments in CS: cultural populism, the public as an active actor, and the media's politics of signification, each one demanding another research project beyond the terms of the one at hand. Ultimately, it is Easthope's exploration of the politics of CS that enables this dissertation to establish new lineages and linkages between Rizal and writers after him who also engage their literary practices in terms of three aspects: as signifying practice that "specifies the text in terms of a process of transformation in which meanings are transformed from one state to another"; as taking up cultural analysis within an international, and not simply nationalist, perspective; and as crossing the boundary to erode distinctions between high and popular or mass culture (1991/1997: 108).

With the abovementioned "shift" in perspectives and perceptual/viewing instruments, this research project presents alternative "understandings" beyond Rizal in three abstract ways, namely that: 1) the study of literary practice of which novels are only a part, as narrative framing, are cultural preoccupations with clear links to the political, which involves new memory construction and spans a process of modernist to post-modernist modes; 2) the study of migrants and refugees or asylum seekers along with expatriates and pilgrims/travellers, who are now variously referred to as people of the diaspora, engage in politics of memory that they deliberately bring as discursive material to image/assert/regain their lost roles and dysfunctionalities in the public domain; and 3) the study of Rizal grappling with issues of identity from his situation in diasporic sites, may reveal other aspects of emancipatory issues in search of freedom for oneself as autonomous subjective agency – a cultural activist seeking redress of grievances and social justice from a sense of belonging to the collective.

In practical terms, my concerns have been stirred by the media's burgeoning self-styled heroes in the wake of Jihadists and extremist suicidal phenomena among terrorist groups, popularized heroes in print fiction and on film, legendary/classical heroes reloaded into Hollywood's pulp and mega-imaged Superman/Batman and star warriors. More recently, along with CNN's search for the documentary "*Everyday Heroes*", there's been a spate of workshops on heroism being offered plus intense online dialogues linked to *Reise des Helden* or Journeys of Heroes. However, my own theoretical interest is to consider structural patterns that may not necessarily have a causal and linear link to heroism but rather, to identify constitutive elements for an explanatory model or conceptual paradigm that can describe the stuff of which heroes are made: the nature and conditions of their heroic transformations as part of the process of mediating or negotiating the cultural identities they continually reconstruct. Within that context, I want to understand how Rizal's legacy can have relevance today. Nevertheless, while cognizant of Joseph Campbell's influence on the making of Hollywood's heroes, I prepared a model the "World of Holonic Spheres"¹⁶² derived from Thomas Carlyle's hero types (Figure 10), which may be appropriate for considering Rizal's disposition within the context of his modernity¹⁶³ It is also a model that can be linked to other movements and diasporic spaces such the more familiar "World of Ladders" (see Figure 12).

In deducing and analysing Rizal's "literary engagement", it is important to note that explanatory models proposed and applied in this study adopt neither a historical nor sociological nor programmatic approach; neither are any of the models intended to be normative-led nor prescriptive; and none of them proposes neither a right nor a wrong way. In contrast to predominant and popular studies on the Philippine national hero, this research project is an attempt to locate and verify Rizal's lineage among international writers in the diaspora by raising questions that would: a) situate his politics of cultural memory and identity within a political form of global imperialism that was imbued by a polyvalent system of religious, political and cultural values; b) identify points of (dis)concordance between visions and perspectives as articulated in his texts with the *Weltanschauung* of his time (Rizal b.1861/d.1896), viewed as the century of emancipation; c) comparing Rizal's heroic literary engagements as "*Haltung der Auseinandersetzung*" with contemporary writers who can be considered political actors out of the "heroic poetics of diasporic effect", confronting emancipatory issues of liberalist-democratic values; and d) map out indicators of significant meanings from Rizal's heroic literary activism to draw out understandings or specifying what, how and why these could have relevance today in "post/modern terms".

¹⁶² I derived the concept of holons and holodynamics as an alternative to subsystems within systems from Ken Wilbur's *A Theory of Everything* (Shambala: Boston) 2001, with particular references to Chapters 3 (Integral Vision) and 5 (The Real World).

¹⁶³ See especially: from Lecture 5, *The Hero as Man of Letters*, pp 235-255 in: *Thomas Carlyle: Selected Writings*, first published by Penguin Books in the U.K. as a Collection in 1971, copyright Alan Shelston.

What specific research considerations led to the dissertation's strategy: to discern, describe and evaluate Rizal's works in his own voice as a subaltern?

To begin with, the strategy entailed requires clarifying and specifying what objects of study are focused upon with the lens of 'culture', which is herein framed in a double gazing with 'politics' in terms of institutionalized social interactions/relations: culture being concerned with the production, exchange and reproduction of meanings; in contrast to politics concerned with exercises of power and social regulation¹⁶⁴. In that light, Rizal's literary practice and outcomes are studied as 'signifying practices' with respect to those three themes: reason, religion and racism. If that seems to be limiting and derived from cultural studies approaches in the UK where, as explained by Easthope, the opposition between high and popular culture became untenable (1991: with special reference to Chapter 5), there is a need to invoke Denning's appeal that '... the question we face in cultural studies – as teachers, critics, artists and activists – is the relation between the great variety of cultural commodities and the norms, values and beliefs of subaltern peoples' (2004: 119). We need to be aware, Denning suggests, of conflicting definitions of culture that arose such as that between workers and mass culture without '... having to conflate them: cultural studies is both the study of systems of norms, values and beliefs, and the study of cultural texts, artifacts and performances' (Ibid.). In that sense, I take Denning's useful admonition that cultural studies consists in drawing maps as means of conceiving totalities and understanding boundaries – where the terrains are contested, where they join and separate – thus, always abstract and provisional, no single map telling everything we want to know because it is the point of view of the cartographer that is crucial (Ibid: 120).

Nevertheless, I part with Denning's criticism and rejection of Janice Radway's choice of 'journey' over 'maps' whom he quotes because of key issues she raises for cultural critics: "... perhaps it is not only mass culture that has come to an end but 'the cultural' itself as a distinct, identifiable region separate from the rest of daily existence conceived as somehow more political and more real.... cultural studies should take as its governing metaphor not the map produced by the distant cartographer but the journey itself whereby concrete individuals wend their way from region to region, from experience to experience, trying not only to make sense of what they see and of their place within it but also trying to figure out what to do next" (Ibid: 118). It is precisely that 'journey itself' that locates the 'meanings': constantly and continuously being produced, exchanged and reproduced out of being in the diaspora – from coping strategies and responses that form the individual's diasporic consciousness between states of "no-longer-there" and "not-yet-here" as indicated in Figure 5.

It also needs pointing out that the map-maker need not be seen as Radway's distant cartographer drawing boundaries as a cold scientist, an economic enterprise or a political statesmen's venture. I claim that it is enough that s/he ought to be distanced from the object of study by explicitly articulating where s/he

¹⁶⁴ I use those contrasting frames from Key Concepts in Cultural Studies and Communications by O'Sullivan, et al 1994, p. 153.

stands and then showing how to manage those biases and assumptions, as is being attempted by this researcher in engaging on his map-making model for this study.

***How do language and metaphorical concepts matter for this research?
As boundaries for or as bridges from culture and politics?***

For this research project, a postmodernist reading is framed in the context of the so-called 'Foucaultian relationship' between discourse and power, which Christopher Butler refers to as the most important postmodernist ethical concern (2002: 44). Butler identifies discourse as a historically evolved set of interlocking and mutually supporting statements to define and describe a subject matter. By this definition, discursive practices or the language of the intellectual disciplines (medicine, law, aesthetics) are applied without the practitioners accepting a "dominating theory" in the guise of a paradigm or guide that is usual in the 'orthodox sciences' (ibid). As such, Butler contends that discourses are seen to "involve politically contentious activities" of which he exemplifies: one, the certainty with which 'immigrant' or 'asylum seeker' or 'criminal' are proscribed and described; and two, expressing and enacting "the political authority of their users (ibid.: 44-5) Highlighting how words are endowed with power, Butler contends:

All reasonably systematic uses of language are to be seen as having a particular power-enforcing function. You believe what the young surgeon tells you, and so give him permission to anaesthetize you, cut you up, and help you recover. The language game of the discourse expresses and enacts the authority of those who are empowered to use it within a social group, which includes hospitals, law courts, board of examiners, and professors like me writing books like this. (ibid.: 45)

Thus, Butler adds that powerful discourses can also be designed and used to control or subordinate and exclude or marginalize those who are outside of any particular discourse – witches, mesmerists, faith healers, homosexuals, Communist sympathizers, anarchist protesters. Butler considers Foucault's studies as giving the most influential analyses of the relationship between discourse and power and identifies Foucault's exclusions as emerging in a 'classically Marxist manner'.

The general juridical form that guaranteed a system of rights that were generally egalitarian in principle was unsupported by these fine, everyday, physical mechanisms, by all those systems of micro-power that are essentially non-egalitarian and asymmetrical that we call the 'disciplines' such as exams, hospitals, prisons, the regulation of workshops, schools, the army. (Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (1977).

It cannot be overemphasized that neither hero worship nor harking back to the past motivates this study; and neither does ancestral worship nor a sense of loss that would simply project a return to native birthplaces or original homelands. What drives this project is the vision of arriving at a synthesis of complex realities by mapping and systematizing several years of analysis and reflection on having been a participant-observer under various identifications or labels for diverse

functional roles.¹⁶⁵ In that sense, I admit that this study has a positivist bias for encounters with ‘the Other’ as foreigner or stranger: as action-research encounters to mirror the multifarious ways people of the diaspora articulate themselves and negotiate their varied interests in the public domain, as autonomous agents: free and equal cultural subjects or cosmopolitans.

Apropos ‘Othering’, it may be interesting to note that Regina Bendix’s *“Ethnology, Cultural Reification, and the Dynamics of Difference in the Kronprinzwerk”*,¹⁶⁶ analyzes the dynamics in the production of Crown Prince Rudolf von Habsburg’s ethnographic cum ethnology project in 1884 to document what he saw was lacking in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: “...which would communicate in both stimulating and educational fashion a comprehensive image of our fatherland and its peoples (*Volkstämme*), building on the best of current scholarly research and supported by the perfected means of artistic reproduction.” (Extracted from the Crown Prince’s letter to his father, the Emperor Franz Josef I as quoted in the aforementioned essay footnoting the source, Renate Basch-Ritter, *Österreich-Ungarn in Wort und Bild, Menschen und Länder* (Graz, Styria, 1995), 6. The original is available in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv)

Why so many questions, each tending to spin off in various directions: from which common thread of the core thesis?

This research project allies itself with certain schools of thought from which it can build ‘models’ or approaches for reading and thinking about heroic poetics in terms of cultural politics as proposed in my thesis. Because each of those aforementioned terms in the core thesis are socially inscribed and discursive, the analytical tools required begins with categories for understanding “discourse” defined as struggle with relational power – a shared “critical science” perspective – to explore the links between social and political engagement (Mayer/Wodak 2001: in *Methods and Critical Discourse Analysis* (hereafter MCDA). But that definition begs for more that are entailed in model building: theoretical and practical perspectives, terms and concepts that were presented in the first three chapters with which to urge and foster deconstructions in the culturally-wired mindset. The modelling frame applied here is derived from *Key Concepts in Communication and Cultural Studies* by a group of authors, among whom Danny Saunders offers a concept of model as: “The structural representation of a different set of elements that aims to guide analysis of complex and perhaps novel issues” (1994: 195). He

¹⁶⁵ As my autobiographical note indicates, while being officially employed with the U.N. in Vienna as an international civil servant I was simultaneously feeling as a Filipino exile/refugee during the Marcos dictatorship (1972-86) in the Philippines. I am, myself, constitutive of fluid identities and varied identifications. Firstly, having left the Philippines at age 24 under a Rotary International Foundation fellowship to pursue graduate studies in the USA; next, travelling throughout South America to discover my cultural links and roots, spending time with liberal theology activists in Mexico and Brazil, on the basis of which, ironically, I found employment as an international civil servant in the U.N.’s technical cooperation programmes for development. Subsequent to getting out of being a technocrat-diplomat, I found myself being elected as representative of migrant communities to the Vienna Integration Conference in 1999 and as member of its Advisory Board. Latterly, I have been doing pro bono work, coping with an “exile frame of mind” among some Roma NGOs, going in search of “differences” within the context of human unfolding and modernity in Central Europe.

¹⁶⁶ In: *Creating the Other* (edited by Nancy M. Wingfield, Berghahn books: Canada 2004), p. 139

elaborates that concept:

Models are considered essential for the construction of hypothesis and in suggesting new investigations of old areas because of a reference to situations or processes that may be more easily comprehended. In this sense a model can be an **iconic** representation that reminds one of the real thing – as would a photograph or a doll. Or the model may refer to some ideal type that real versions satisfy only partially, as with some super powerful **hero/heroine**. Other applications, of which there are many, include explanatory modelling, where there is often no exact one-to-one similarity between two corresponding elements within the comparison process. ... The danger with the use of models, especially when devised for explanatory rather than descriptive reasons, is that they may be taken too literally. They may then become restrictive to future theorizing because of the acceptance of arbitrarily imposed (but at one time convenient) boundaries (Ibid.)¹⁶⁷

Thus, a central argument of this dissertation is: Rizal's heroism can be deconstructed by re-visioning his literary practice and discursive interventions that raised fundamental issues to question 'the public domain', not only to challenge its exclusive confines but also to break into 'forbidden' or privileged areas for creative spaces and discourse': going into and opening up the colonial-imperial borders with pen and words as his cultural swords. Using cultural tools with which Rizal demonstrated his capacities for literacy and literary competence to construct an 'imaginary elsewhere with envisioned others', Rizal deliberately and heroically entered the public domain in a form of cultural politics to assert his claims starting with the civil liberty of freedom of speech, to argue on equal terms with the colonial powers against the racial charge of a "savage and indolent nature, and to demonstrate capacities for participating in affairs of government. A transnational orientation and poetics of the diaspora are keys to understanding Rizal's cultural heroism and political activism and his demands to create a space for public discourse on the road to liberal democratic reforms within a new form of secularist civil society.

It is relevant to assert that the range of questions posed above are considered not within the usual post-colonial or transgression models that deal with issues of oppression and resistance but rather as a model of "transformative practice". In this sense, it is a study allied with the concerns of Lawrence Grossberg in posing the question: "*Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is?*"¹⁶⁸

What is the interdisciplinary nature of this research project?

While grounded in political science, conceptual notions and definitions applied for the purpose are adapted from various disciplines as analytical instruments. And thus, it is worth emphasizing the importance of **context**. This dissertation –

¹⁶⁷ Co-authors are Tim O'Sullivan, John Hartley, Martin Montgomery and John Fiske. My reference is to the second edition of the volume published in London and New York by Routledge in 1994.

¹⁶⁸ In *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1996) reprinted 2013.

focusing on Rizal, as a case study of cultural politics, admits that other framing approaches and definitions are possible and therefore needs to be considered as only a small segment or just one part of what could be a larger interdisciplinary research project. Thus, appropriated concepts and theoretical considerations from other social science disciplines are clarified in terms of their specific applications. Here too, it must be noted that, while based in political science, **this project enquiry applies a triangulation of social science concepts, approaches and tools** that are combined with multilevel-readings: taking a focused or close, microscopic and diasporic reading for analysing Rizal's literary texts and for deconstructing the cultural narratives such as transnational lineage and linkage considerations.

I argue that Rizal's activism during the last quarter of the 19th century, engaging literary creative modes (while he was pursuing studies in Western Europe or travelling abroad and, where he initiated educational-civic projects while exiled in Dapitan – then a remote place in Mindanao in southern Philippines (see Illustration 19 on the house Rizal built in exile) – is a form of diaspora effect: one of many possible outcomes and varied practices that can be mobilized and activated when human beings are on the move: no-longer-there" at the point of departure (usually viewed as one's country of origin or native birthplace) but "not-yet-here" (in the host country or where one dreams and/or envisions oneself to be). I suggest and demonstrate that when that literary engagement involves mobilizing an active commitment to put into literary form grievances, as part of an aggrieved collective or group membership, it effectively constitutes a heroic activism out of a diasporic consciousness arising from that sense of being made to feel: one is with "imagined Others" in a them-versus-us constellation. A divide is effectively constituted deriving from the signal given by the "Us" as to whether one among "Them" can feel a real sense of identity and belonging in achieving the pervading dream/vision for those wanting to "arrive at home". This diasporic consciousness occurs in many ways and motivations but I want to refer to what Salman Rushdie explains in his introduction to *Imaginary Homelands* particularly with regard to the articles he wrote on the experience of Indian migrants during the 1980s in Britain:

My purpose had been simple: to tell the white majority how life in Britain all too often felt to members of racial minority groups. By articulating a grievance, I could help, or so I hoped, to build bridges of understanding. (1991: 4)

It is such hoped-for bridge of understanding that this enquiry will explore as the poetics of diasporic effect, which could be re-claimed from Rizal, not only by Filipinos who are into hero-worship, but especially also for others like me who have become citizens and nationals in their host countries but find themselves in a diasporic mindset still questioning identities or identifications on the basis of ethnicity, religion, nation, state or nation-state. In *Transnationalism*, Steven Vertovec (2009) explores the latter forms and sites of diasporic practices. Significantly, Vertovec surveys the broad meanings of the term "diaspora" by providing a wide spectrum as well as in-depth content of the various unbounded ways by which individuals, groups and institutions are linked across borders of nation-states. Those ways range from socio-cultural through political, economic and religious transformations spinning into and spinning off new kinds of collective

identities. Thus, to make a case for Rizal and demonstrate my claim I will argue that the poetics of diaspora 'effecting' from literary practice has a collective staying power that is as politically potent as migrants being mobilized into communities for religious or ideological and other purposes, such as is being done by government ministries or by private sector initiatives (Chambers of Commerce and Big Brother business) to harness the economic force of their respective diaspora communities through remittances, entrepreneurial ventures and foreign direct investments.

As mentioned in chapter I, emphasis is placed on what this dissertation is about: using the "light" of culture and its perspectives (as magnifying lens in Figure 4 and refracting "prism" in Figure 5), rather than the exclusive "political perspectives" that are usually applied in post-colonial and programmatic nationalist studies, in order to explore how Rizal's literary engagement in the diaspora has effected his own brand of heroic civil activism. Thus, it is an academic deconstruction to understand phenomena directly focused on and related to a heroic poetics of diaspora effect. The theoretical and methodological mix are applied in microscoping on Rizal's works: conducted by zooming on the following analytical units: reason, as a basis for defining culture (of which Germany's "*Kultur*" is only one, albeit controversial point of reference); on religion, as the root of the imperial ideology for a racially-oppressive culture; and on race, rationalising the Spanish Empire's politics of colonial governance. I demonstrate in chapter VI how the three key notions were linked together as an ideological triad in Rizal's thinking as part of his "interior migrations", a process of internalizing 'othering' and evaluating experiences as part of his being in the diaspora. Moreover, I show how the above-mentioned terminologies develop into concepts that can be applied to a set of empirical observation statements demonstrably derived from Rizal's own words as primary testimonies to confirm or deny the proposed thesis. Concluding in chapter VII, I deal with how the concepts can be applied to a comparative analysis for deriving observational implications that also point to what implications they may have.

Presumably, this project enquiry could have significance for showing how the transferability of concepts within the social sciences into a common language is necessary to advance interdisciplinary research by which meaningful comparisons, judgments and claims can be made. That common language could have urgent currency to make sense of wide-ranging discursive policy constructs amidst rampant racism and the resurgence of patriotic nationalist phenomena, claims among civil society groups to adopt universalist notions of citizenship and/or for a cultural politics that entails efforts to integrate migrants and refugees in the global diaspora today where heroic and emancipatory activism have contextual resonances much as they did during the last quarter of the 19th century in Rizal's time.

Deconstructing Rizal's novels is done by contextualizing them as parts of a lifetime *oeuvre*, to explore patterns and relationships during the diasporic phases or journeys that Rizal went through. A similar treatment will be made with other writers who used the novel and other forms of literary artistic practice as articulations of emancipatory resistance vis-à-vis socio-political hierarchies and hegemonic orders, and who asserted themselves in the public domain, much as

civil society groups have been doing in contemporary Europe as a matter of cultural politics. The flip side of attempting to reconstruct Rizal's legacy will be an attempt to explore and understand Rizal's lineage among a line of transnational thinkers and locating their writings in the diaspora while dealing with the same questions and themes such as heroic activism, and the role that reason, religion and race play in the making of a cultural hero. It cannot be overly emphasized that the argument being made here is that Rizal was a cultural hero, rather than the political hero he was made to be, a claim that I hope might shed a different light on the ongoing discourse as to whether or not Rizal still deserves to remain the Philippine national hero.

The study will therefore conclude with considerations as to what Filipinos abroad, especially those in Austria and as Filipino diaspora within the EU, might reclaim from Rizal's legacy and what to do with it: perhaps, a different kind of heroic activism innovating upon the poetic diaspora effect – as a matter of cultural politics? This research project on Jose Rizal's texts, as sources of his literary practice and archival memory will be conducted by taking apart various elements as analytical units: 1) Whose voice/voices: singular or representational? Imagined community or the "imaginary transcultural homeland"? 2) What kinds/types of memories: in diaries, letters, travel reportage, fiction? 3) From what narratives: biopics, historical, other's stories, structure and process? cultural politics away from his native birthplace and homeland, re-processing materials that memory provides as he encountered "the Other" and experienced "cultural differences".

CHAPTER VI

IMPERIAL SPAIN'S IDEOLOGICAL TRIAD: REASON, RELIGION, RACE

*"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, "it means just what I choose it to mean—
neither more nor less."*
"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."
Lewis Carroll¹⁶⁹

With regard to self-love, I confess to you in all candour that at one time I begged God to truly rid me of it, but He who knows what is good for us, has kept it in me. Now I understand that one must never be without this sentiment, although never to excess. I hold that self-love is the greatest good that God has given to Man for his perfection and integrity, saving him from any base and unworthy acts when those precepts in which he has been trained are forgotten. Self-love (when it is within reason I call it sense of dignity), which good judgement must always hold in check, is precisely for me like the sap that drives the tree skyward in search of the sun or the force that pushes the ship on its course... I do not know how Your Reverence will take these ideas of mine, perhaps you will find them too independent. But that is the way I am, the way I have been educated, and I would be offending you if I should be less than sincere in writing you. I do not believe that pride has dictated this to me. Only God who reads consciences and does not err can say
so.
José Rizal¹⁷⁰

Why and how do words have power over reason?

As a starting point for this chapter, I would like to quote from what has come to be known as the Rizal-Pastells Correspondence, which the author, Raul J. Bonoan, S.J.¹⁷¹ describes in terms that encompass not only a most relevant background but cover a range of features around the ideological triad of issues addressed:

In 1892-93 Dr. José Rizal and Fr. Pablo Pastells, S.J. conducted a protracted and lengthy correspondence. Rizal, thirty one years of age, political ideologue and writer, wrote from his exile in Dapitan in the island of Mindanao, while Pastells, then forty five and Superior of the Jesuits in the Philippines wrote from the walled city of Manila. The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence... was a philosophico-theological discussion, turned into a debate, on three principal topics: the role of private judgment, the problem of God, and the revelation... The purposes of the correspondents were personal and provincial: Rizal wished to justify his religious situation and Pastells wanted to bring back Rizal to the Church. But the extended exchange reflected the wider clash, whose principal theatre was Europe, between the ideas of the Enlightenment and Roman Catholicism. Its unique significance lies in the role of Rizal in the history of his country and in the fact that it

169 Lewis Carroll (Charles L. Dodgson), *Through the Looking-Glass*, chapter 6, p. 205 (1934). First published in 1872.

¹⁷⁰ The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence, (Ateneo de Manila University Press: Philippines, 1994).

References herein are to the second printing 1996.

Ibid. 123

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p. 3.

took place in the dying days of the Old Regime and the Spanish Empire.

The way Rizal uses words to argue his case is the result of a long developmental phase, beginning from using words to remember his hometown and using poetry to recall memories from his childhood. Traces of his poetic and symbolic or evocative argumentation and reasoning can be seen from the preliminary quote above where Rizal responds to Pastells accusation that Rizal's abandoning the Catholic Church and belief in God, as a "shipwreck of faith" and raising the question as to whether the cause could be pinned down on self-love and selfish pride. Rizal's response is direct and unapologetic: where he refers to self-love, which "when used within reason I call it a sense of dignity". It is clear that Rizal puts reason on a high scale in his position and he maintains this from his first letter in September 1892 up to the fifth and last letter ten months later, which Rizal abruptly ends saying the enterprise should not have started at all because they was no way of seeing eye to eye. Bonoan gives a brilliant and balanced theological critique but that does not fall within the purview of this study so I leave it to others to go in depth on that aspect of his book, to which I will make references later where relevant.

The date 25 June 1884 is a historical marker in Rizal's life for many historians, political analysts and cultural commentators on account of a speech that he gave in Madrid during a formal banquet at the *Café Restaurante Inglés*, which has also become one of those key places of 'pilgrimage' for Filipinos who trace Rizal's footsteps in Europe. Roces (2006) devotes a whole chapter to this episode that he referred to as Reclaiming History (Ibid: chapter 27) explaining that the 23-year old Rizal was an unknown to the Spanish literati and that he "chose the occasion to come out of the political closet and articulate the ilustrado cause." (Ibid: 157). It was an event to honour two Filipino painters who won the top prizes in a competition submitted to the Fine Arts Exhibition of Madrid, which put them on a par with the leading European artists of that period. Roces narrates that the Filipinos showed up in full force, important artists and writers including the Cuban activist Rafael Ma. De Lara attended, and prominent liberal Spanish figures and media people who were "sympathetic to the Filipino cause were there to grace the occasion (Ibid.)." There were several speakers but it was Rizal who caught the attention of the press on the part of the speech quoted hereunder (Rizal 2000: 17-18) around which various discourses ensued which also went across the colonies.

Here is, in fact, the reason why we are gathered. In the history of nations there are names that by themselves **signify** an achievement, that recall passion and greatness... names that become a pact, a symbol of peace, **a bond of love between nations**. The names of Luna and Hidalgo belong to these: their glories illumine... Spanish as well as Philippine glories. They were born in the Philippines but they could have been born in Spain, because **genius knows no country**, genius **sprouts everywhere**, genius is like light, air, the patrimony of everybody, **cosmopolitan** like space, like life, **like God**. (emphasis added)

As signifying practices, Rizal's texts provided a good catch of insights, some of which I have highlighted especially those that reveal a 'diasporic consciousness'.

But I have a quip with Roces contending, as he does above, that Rizal chose the occasion to come out politically. Firstly, Rizal was meticulous in his diaries and I want to cite from a book published in Spain, *Yo, José Rizal* (Molina 1998: 97) because the author, a Filipino Spanish philosopher-historian meticulously and scholarly, makes Rizal speak as though recollecting his own life. Rizal was invited on the same day to substitute for Pedro Paterno, one of the main leaders of the Filipino community in Madrid and Rizal confides that he had accepted because he could not afford to but a meal for days and was starving. That Rizal took up the challenge at a moment's notice is another thing. But he already showed his strategic device in the poem, *To the Filipino Youth* (1879), and *Council of the Gods*, a dramatic prose (1880). As mentioned earlier, both were the first prize winners in a competition by the Artistic Literary Society in the Philippines but the latter was rescinded after the jury and organizers found out that Rizal was an Indio, a case of racial discrimination as the prize was given to a Spaniard. The point is that, text-wise Rizal's strategy was to make comparisons with argumentative evidence that Filipinos were able and equal with Spaniards in reasoning out and dealing with sublime matters.

Rizal's role and place among Filipino heroes is a question of re-interpretation and is necessarily discursive. His heroism was considered the first of its kind in Asia for asserting national identity and pride in the Malay race. Thus, his story supposedly served as a model or a frame of reference by later independence movements in the region (Nery 2011). Problems of perception, tricks of reasoning, myopic interpretation as well as the manipulative handling of documentary and historical data all combined to create a complex story around Jose Rizal which led scholars to question the myth and reality of Rizal's heroism and his role in Philippine history. Literature and correspondence can be and have been used to augment historical understanding. However, these easily lend themselves to be applied out of context and thus to play convenient tricks on the collective memory, particularly so when that memory relates to political struggles. Rizal's *Noli-Fili* sequel and socio-political essays are a case in point. These novels were considered subversive by the Spanish authorities who alleged that they were political tools to sabotage the imperial colonial regime. Rizal had therefore to be condemned before the mock trial that sealed his execution by firing squad. From the time the *Noli* was censored and condemned by the Religious Commission in Manila in 1887, the facts became even more muddled. Rizal's life was in danger and he had to leave the Philippines. Despite the diaspora effect, which also affected his family, Rizal intensified his resistance and literary engagement, which I call heroic poetics.

So Rizal's martyrdom continuous to be celebrated for supposedly firing the spirit of the Filipino militant revolutionary movement, which was short-lived because the Spanish-American War led to the US takeover of the Philippines as a colony for the next 50 years. Emancipation from the US strengthened the cult of Rizal as a symbol of national identity and rallying point for nation-building following the so-called grant of independence in 1946. However, as already mentioned, the ensuing debate had also put doubts in the minds of younger generation Filipinos as to whether or not Rizal should continue to be held up as the Philippine National Hero vis-à-vis those who actually went to battle for their country, shed their blood,

and not only risked but readily offered their lives to cut the umbilical cord from the colonial masters.

But, as earlier mentioned, this study shifts the above-mentioned political perspectives. As a project in cultural politics, this study argues that it is a “return to culture” that will enable history to give back to Rizal his respectful due, which is a place in the history of ideas that does not need to shortchange his role as Philippine national hero. For in that role, Rizal can be seen as an intellectual revolutionary who put into question “the absolute knowledge” and the bases of mediating by Spanish friars who represented a religious system that legitimized the hegemonial political order in the Philippine colony. It was the culturally-embedded injustices that Rizal had challenged in the manner of liberal thinkers of the day. At its source, Rizal’s subversive act constituted a fundamental threat to the prevailing culture because it challenged the ethics and epistemology upon which the Spanish Regime’s religio-political hegemony was based, with its array of unpalatable implications and consequences ranging from racial discrimination to discursive claims as to who had privileged rights, let alone free expression in the public domain.

Thus the shift also involves refocusing the lens on Rizal’s transnationalist-cum-integrative politics, which has been demonstrated in his link with the Filipinologist Ferdinand Blumentritt. The Rizal-Blumentritt alliance demonstrates how, in terms of ideas, both had stepped beyond the borders of their respective traditional systems into a modernist mode. Both appealed to a *modus vivendi* based on racial justice and co-existence of divergent cultures through an accommodation, albeit, within existing plurinational-political arrangements. These they attempted to negotiate without being militant revolutionaries, thus pre-dating Gandhi by refusing to employ the violence-oriented or terrorist tactics of liberation fighters, which had become a de-stabilising feature of international relations at the turn of the 21st century.

As mentioned earlier, Blumentritt invited Rizal in May 1887, to visit him and his family in Leitmeritz, in the former Kingdom of Bohemia of the then Austrian Empire. This first and only meeting is referred to as a watershed in Philippine history. Prior to that meeting, the two had corresponded mainly on a shared interest in ethnography, which sparked Blumentritt’s support of Rizal’s scientific interests, introducing him to scientific circles where he met prominent Europeans among them: ophthalmologists (Wecker, Becker and Schultzer) with whom he trained and Rudolf Virchow. The latter is described as “a physician and anthropologist, atheist, materialist, and staunch anti-Catholic who gave the name *Kulturkampf* to the anti-Catholic movement in Germany, Austria and Switzerland” (Bonoan 1996: 16).¹⁷² Raul Bonoan, the Jesuit author of *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence* from whom I have quoted the aforementioned description elaborates (Ibid: 140, n16) on that network in a footnote, which I reproduce below not only because of its relevance but also because it is crucial to understanding a source of “the clash of cultures” between Rizal and the Jesuit Pablo Pastells, his former spiritual director:

¹⁷² Ibid: Bonoan brackets his citation, an obvious reference to his source, thus: (Freudenthal 1967, 267).

Rudolf Virchow (18221-1902), German pathologist, anthropologist, and liberal statesman, is remembered for his achievements in microscopical pathology. An atheist, materialist and staunch anti-Catholic, he gave the name *Kulturkampf* (struggle for civilization) to the Church-State conflict in Prussia and in other states of Germany, Austria and Switzerland (see Ackernecht 1970: 23: 34-35; Freudenthal 1967, 8:267). In a letter of 12 January 1887, Rizal describes how he was introduced to Virchow by Jagor at a meeting of the Gessellschaft für Erkunde of Berlin (Schumacher 1973, 210n; ER 5:57-58). Feodor Jagor travelled in the Philippines in 1859-60 and wrote *Resisen in den Philippinen* in 1873 (Schumacher 1973, 210n). Wilhelm Joest was an ethnographer who published articles on the Philippines after a brief travel to the islands (Schumacher 1973, 210n). Dr. Schulzer was an ophthalmologist, in whose surgical clinic in Berlin Rizal trained and worked.

The alliance of scientists referred to in the above footnote partly provides the background to Rizal's rebuttal in his second letter to Pastells (translated from Spanish to English in Bonoan1996: 139) which is self explanatory.¹⁷³ Rizal also alludes to the fact that many of his enemies in the Philippines, especially among the Friars and illiberal authorities, have made the same charge:

As to the German inspiration of my work, I regret that the distinguished Fr. Pastells is confused on this point along with the crowd that believe whatever they hear without first looking into the matter. The fact is, I did read works in German, but this was at the time when I was already engaged in the discussion of things I had earlier found in books. To suppose that the Germans inspired my work is to be ignorant of the German people, their character and pursuits. Half of the *Noli* had been written in Madrid, one quarter of it in Paris, and the rest in Geramny: there are people in these countries who saw me at work and they are my witnesses. When common people come upon something that surprises them, not having the patience and calmness to study the matter carefully, they attribute the problem to causes which they are most preoccupied with: if a thing is good, it must come from friendly spirits; if it's bad, from hostile ones. In the Middle ages everything bad was the work of the devil, and everything good was the work of God or his saints; the French today see every misadventure the hand of Germany; there are other similar cases.

Nevertheless, in deference to truth, I admit that I corrected my work in Germany, making many revisions and shortening it considerably; but likewise I had occasion to temper my outbursts, tone down my language and reduce many passages as distance provided me with a wider perspective and my imagination cooled not deny the environment d off in the atmosphere of calm peculiar to that country. Moreover, no German knew of my work before its publication – neither Blumentritt

¹⁷³ All of the letters cited here from the Rizal-Pastells Correspondence are the English translation from Bonoan's book.

who always sang the praises of the Catholic religion in his letters, not Virchow, nor Jagor, nor Joest, with whom I had dealings in the association to which they belonged, nor Schulzer in whose clinic I worked. The printers who did the printing job did not know a single word of Spanish. Notwithstanding, I do not deny that the environment in which I lived could have influenced me, especially when I called to mind my country, among such a people – free, hard-working, studious, well governed, full of hope in their future and master of their own destinies.

From that last sentence the collateral development of Rizal's diasporic consciousness is clearly evident, with all the comparative allusions that he makes from living in the Philippines, Spain, England, France and others. In effect, Blumentritt, who is described by Rizal as staunch conservative and Catholic, became the best friend who offered Rizal a European base by which he was introduced to a wide network of liberal Protestants and masons. also functioned as a nucleus for an international support network to promote their joint "cultural politics". In the same letter, Rizal not only refutes (Ibid: 140f) Pastell's charge that he had become a Protestant, he also reasons against discriminating differences:

As to my being Protestant, if your Reverence had known how much I gave up by not professing conformity to protestant ideas, you would not say such a thing. If I had no respect for religion, if I took religion as a matter of convenience or the art of getting along in life, **instead of being a poor exile**, I would now be rich, free, crowned with honors.¹⁷⁴ Rizal a Protestant! I laugh inside of me and I am able to control myself only because I respect everything you say. Your Reverence should have listened to my discussions with a Protestant Pastor in the long twilights of summer in the solitude of Odenwald.¹⁷⁵ There, conversing slowly and calmly, with freedom to speak, we exchanged views concerning the moral values of peoples and the influence of their respective faiths on their lives. A profound respect for the good faith of the adversary and for the most contrary ideas which **differences in race, educational attainment, and age necessarily give rise to**, almost always led us to the conclusion that **religions**, whatever they may be, ought to make men not enemies of one another, but brothers and good brothers at that.

Winding up, Rizal refers (Ibid: 141) to a most important lesson learned as though emphasizing the role of education even during the most informal aspects of daily existence and the role of intimate friendships:

From these conversations which went on almost everyday for the space of more than three months, I think I have learned only one

¹⁷⁴ Bonoan notes that Rizal had made a proposal to his Protestant partner Nellie Bousted, an English woman from a supposedly well-off family in Britain but whose condition "to embrace Christianity as I understand it" Rizal could not comply with.

¹⁷⁵ Here also, Bonoan refers to Karl Ulmer, the Pastor in Wilhelmsfeld with whose family Rizal had stayed for three months.

lesson, if I am not mistaken – a profound respect for every idea sincerely conceived and put to practice with conviction. A Catholic pastor from the banks of the Rhine used to visit him.¹⁷⁶ This priest, an intimate friend of the Protestant pastor, gave me an example of what is meant by Christian brotherhood. They looked upon themselves as two servants of the same God, and instead of wasting their time quarrelling over conflicting opinions, each one did his duty, leaving it up to the Lord to judge who interpreted his will more accurately.

Thus we see how Rizal had argued for respecting religion and race on his own terms. Nevertheless, the point of his engaging reason is that it was consistently geared towards a shared vision: respect for dignity through equitable cosmopolitan democracy towards human mutuality in the long run. In effect, the Rizal-Blumentritt alliance was a modernist project at its core. With Blumentritt, Rizal found an ally beyond ethnic-nationalist loyalties. I believe this embryonic form of a Filipino-Austrian alliance could serve as a reference point for Filipino-Europeans looking for a common ground in the EU which is facing centripetal forces towards a new kind of euro-ethnocentrism and away from an integrative vision of culturally diverse member states. Going back to the Rizal-Blumentritt/Filipino-Austrian alliance and viewing it as a pre-NGO model of non-racist cultural politics, may provide a model, even if partially, for responding to a diaspora effect: that complex issue heated up in a discourse by a world-wide-web of political actors engaged in resolving why and how people's common desire to move result in local conflicts with global implications. I have analysed the theoretical bases and threads of the Rizal-Blumentritt transnational project in order to shed light on the normative-driven concerns of this cultural-political alliance aimed at resolving the conflict between the Spanish colonial system and the oppressed "Indios", a conflict that I contend was rooted in cultural racism with its religious-political underpinnings. But it is a conflict that can have irreversible ramifications, which underscores the importance of having a support network like the Rizal-Blumentritt duo maintained. This is evident from a letter of Blumentritt to Rizal dated 17 February 1890 (Rizal, 1963: Vol. II p. 335), where he refers to the effect of Rizal's serialized essay in *La Solidaridad*, *The Philippines a Century Hence*, as having changed the way liberal groups in Spain had began to look at the Philippines with different eyes. The letter also refers to how a Spanish reviewer named Barrantes who had been unfair in his earlier critiques had wrongly accused Blumentritt of having been commissioned by Bismarck to undermine Spain and was asking Rizal for advice as to how to respond to this unfair charge, especially as Blumentritt did not want to embarrass the Filipinos and their legitimate cause for emancipation.

I submit that Rizal's heroism, emanating from his execution under the Spanish Regime in 1896, continues to be controversial, if muddled, because it has been instrumentalized by the American governance that replaced Spain in 1898 as well as by Filipino nationalists during both the ensuing battle to gain Philippine independence and in the post colonial period after 1946. Responses and reactions

¹⁷⁶ Bonoan footnotes the name of the Catholic Priest who visited Pastor Ulmer: Father Heinrich Bardorf.

to Rizal's heroism range from a form of cultism where he is worshipped like a god on Mount Banahaw near Manila to romanticized notions of Rizal's ideals and values by which one acquires "knighthood membership" and to educating and awarding students who prove themselves in nation-wide competitions and training camps as national models.

Specifically, the suggestion has been made that there are others more-deserving of the title because they had proven their patriotic bravery in more direct terms of engagement against "the Imperial/colonialist enemy", to wit: Filipinos like Andres Bonifacio, who actually led the revolutionary forces with only his machete against the Spanish militia and died in the field of battle; or Emilio Aguinaldo, who led the revolutionary provisional government that declared Philippine independence on the 12th of June 1898. Both, it has been argued, and many others are more likely candidates for the title because they had actually given up their lives heroically in a direct confrontation and long-term struggle for emancipation from the Spanish and American regimes that make them worthy of the name Philippine National Hero. However, that argument and demonstrative evidence is a reductive approach that needs to be refuted as part of this study.

On the downside, there have been scholarly condemnations of Rizal's so-called "Eurocentricism" and ever since the Marcos- dictatorship in the 1970s, when an anti-intellectual mood seems to have been crippling the Philippines as the "sick man of Asia", Rizal's heroism has been more fiercely contested. A stronger resistance to remembering the hero is prevalent among a silent underground of the young generation, 30 and under, as well as by Filipinos living abroad who say "Rizal belongs to another era, we do not really care about him." Indeed, previous admonitions to "forget Rizal" are taking their natural course.

But why, it has been objected, should intellectual activities – writing novels, essays and dramatic plays and raising them for public discourse like Rizal practiced – lead to heroism? That objection begs other critical issues that are contemporary and also raised in ongoing "Arab Spring events", to wit: What is the nature of heroism that sustains such political struggle embedded in cultural dimensions that can lead to constructive closure? How is civil courage "best" exercised within struggles for national identity, democratic participation and social justice? And, more pertinently for this study: why can "understanding Rizal" become relevant and break new ground under the circumstances. Indeed, how can issues of a century ago be reformulated and explained in contemporary templates? What is instructive and derivative? Or why and to what extent can Rizal's activism be considered a heroic model for young people today? Could this study lead to a new set of scientifically verifiable meta propositions about how and under what conditions heroism works.

Part of answering such questions will entail an analysis of various components of cultural politics, viz:

- a) Identifying those beliefs and values as core features by which Rizal aimed to de-construct the cultural bases of governance and then to reconstruct a political culture of socio-humanitarian concerns such as social justice and human rights; and

- b) Analysing which specific elements or features of liberalism Rizal was interested in grafting onto his discourse for cultural construction and identity politics.
- c) Distinguishing various perceptions and interpretations by which the *Noli-Fili* had been mediated in different ways.
- d) Comparing the historical-political contexts in which the mediations took place in order to demonstrative and prove the point: that in the process, Rizal's cultural politics was undermined, in both literal and metaphorical senses.

History and cultural studies during the last three decades especially since the end of the cold war demonstrate several possibilities and legitimate ways to end oppressive systems of governance. More specifically, we learn that repressive influence based on cultural paradigms and the power of cultural constructs, as was the case during almost 350 years of imperial domination by Spain in the Philippines, can have wider ramifications and deeply penetrating consequences than have been superficially understood. Historiographers give evidence to the position I take: that Rizal had moved from a position during his initial years in Madrid and Barcelona of being a propagandist, as demonstrated from his writings and contributions to the *La Solidaridad*. The time and place of that change can be clearly marked: 1884, when he had made a proposal to his Propaganda comrades: that they embark on a group literary project, which they rejected. So he took it upon himself to accomplish that with the publication of the *Noli-Fili* novels.

Rizal's creative literary practice was a two-edged sword: a) on the one hand, it was forged to debunk the prevailing idea among Spanish "hegemons" that Filipino natives or "Indios" were not capable of creative and critical thinking; b) on the other, it used the novel as a mirror of social-realism to cut through the "native indolence" and consequent ignorance that perpetuate not just political dependency but more significantly cuts deeply into that hideous form of cultural slavery, a colonial slavish mentality that has long-lasting socio-political outcomes.

Clearly, Rizal's creative literary practice had allied itself with those he made specific references to: Friedrich Schiller and Victor Hugo, as well as to emancipatory and enlightened philosophers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire. History does well emphasizing that Rizal went to Madrid in pursuit of medical studies in the 1880s but does not seem to play up the fact that he had managed to earn a degree in literature and philosophy, *summa cum laude*, while doing so. During that period, Rizal's diaries reveal that his intellectual development had been profoundly influenced by encounters and discussions with liberal thinkers among his Spanish professors and Latin American colleagues at the Universidad Central de Madrid. Also, having been accepted into the Lodge of Freemasons in London, he met radical and free thinkers of varied liberal groups. But in all these encounters and in all his writings, one value overrode Rizal's concerns: his search for freedom, not just for himself, but as part of being human, thus, for the collectivity.

In *Anatomy of the Spirit*, author Caroline Myss (1997) deals with the role of power as being at the root of the human experience and energy systems, referring to

“How power mediates between our external and internal worlds, and as it does so, communicates in a language of myth and symbol” (Ibid: 45) Her book revolves around the thesis that each of us has many power symbols around which our lives are structured: attitudes and belief patterns as extensions of the ways we define and use power. The underlying dynamic at work in our relationships, Myss asserts, is the negotiation of power: who has it and how we can maintain our share of it (Ibid.)

I went into that excursion not only because I want to ally myself with Myss’s thinking about the span of power from the micro-level humans to the ecosystemic level. Interestingly, it conveys notions that echo the work of Harold Lasswell on “Politics” as referred to earlier (Lasswell 1936) and whose definition of that concept I take as critically useful and significantly relevant for purposes of this study. Rizal questioned the symbolic power and its workings on day-to-day *Realpolitik* of the religious friars under the Spanish regime in the Philippines because of the way it was exercised: invasively within the private sphere, expansively into the socioeconomic and political arenas, and absolutely, with a zero tolerance for anyone who questioned their authority. At that time, the experience of history and hindsight was at the disposal of anyone who could afford to be educated: only the privileged few who had access to the development of critical powers of thought, which could then be applied to acquire knowledge through travels (abroad) and comparative observation of how other social groups were coping, in particular with the emancipatory struggle. Rizal who was sent by his brother for further studies in Europe saw more than he probably bargained for. It is easy to see why his sense of justice was affronted: he had to respond.

Why would Rizal’s engaging the power of reason have relevance today?

On the topical relevance today of reason, religion and racism as a thematic triad being focused in Rizal’s works, I have already referred to the fact that they resonate in various media on socio-political and economic discourse. And there is particular urgency when one clicks on digitised and online websites, which provide sufficient proof about ‘hate speech’ and adversarial hatreds from fixated rationalizations, fundamentalist religious positions and racialized ethnic groups. At the *Alpbach Political and Legal Symposium in 2016*,¹⁷⁷ scholars, politicians and commentators drew attention to “eventful moments” by which masses of population groups around the globalised world have been mobilized starting with 9/11: a point of awareness that the US President Bush’s declared war on terrorism involved religion and race at the interstice of which, one gets lost in asking and reasoning why. The three issues come up again when ‘colour’ and ‘black lives matter’ were hot issues leading to Barack Obama’s election in 2004 as the first Afro-American President and during his second-term from 2008 when race riots against police brutality seemed like a day-to-day occurrence in the US. Then came January 2010 and the Arab Spring that sent shock waves throughout the world with dynasties of authoritarian rulers like dominoes falling one after another in North Africa. Meanwhile, America’s wars in Iraq and Syria have left those countries

¹⁷⁷ See Scope, an Alpbach Media Academy Publication, September 2016 issue.

embroiled in civil wars and ISIS has emerged to replay the issues of religion and race where reason seem captive to them. Where are they now: those who followed *Stylist* magazine art director Joaquim Roncin who pronounced, “*Je suis Charlie*” after the attacks in Paris on the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*?¹⁷⁸ Who, how and why reacted to Angela Merkel’s courageous declaration, “*Wir schaffen das*”, referring to Germany’s influx of refugees, which, compared to the other EU countries, were in overwhelming numbers, but which made other EU leaders panic, for fear of being plagued by hundreds of thousands of Muslim refugees who flee the ravages of war, persecution politics as well as mass migration from irresponsible and unfair economic practices particularly in failed nation-states. But the nature of the discourse in the media and among politicians and intellectual commentators has changed from one in which educational qualifications for the integration of migrants/refugees in the labour market were an initial concern to one in which ‘populist’ tones of political parties have taken over. Argumentative rationalizations now range from the costs of accommodating the mass migration and refugee inflow to the impact on low employment levels of young people in the host countries and measures to contain terrorism. And ‘migrants’ is a word that is being victimised. But that situation, pointing to a complexity of issues and the interdependence that is required for solutions is not new to socio-economic and political systems analysis. What is new is the tremendous amount of digitised information that is readily available from the global village, which cannot simply be ignored by the overwhelmingly large number of actors that take part in the public domain as a constitutional right in the democratic process, at least within the EU.

But how could someone from the 19th century like Rizal possibly still have relevance in showing a way out of current dilemmas? The point of this dissertation is to explore how Rizal’s “emancipatory paths” as bridging operations between the past and the future might suggest ways out of the aforementioned dilemmas in the present: not only to incoming refugees/migrants or Filipinos but also to others in the diaspora of Europe, a great many of whom remain a part of the problem in the face of unresolved terms of existential survival while struggling with issues of memory and identity. In that tug-of-war, the line of least resistance has been to forget or suppress the ‘cultural’. The critical question remains, how many among those who are left negotiating their lives in that unsettled zone between “no longer there” and “not yet here” could be solutions rather than problems who complicate the right of migrants or refugees to mobility and the right of settled peoples to security? And there are enough empirical data generated and content analyses in those directions by contemporary scholars already cited – such as Aguilar (2014), San Juan (2002) – who especially address themselves to issues of Filipino diaspora. I have also referred to Neferti Tadiar whose research from the US is directly relevant to this dissertation because they are specific to Filipino cultures as post-colonial themes exemplified in *Things Fall Away: Philippine Historical Experience and the Makings of Globalization* (2009) and *Fantasy-Production: Sexual Economies and Other Philippine Consequences for the New World Order* (2004). Specifically concerned with the disposability and surplus of life-making under contemporary conditions of global empire, Neferti’s research also

¹⁷⁸ Interviewed in *Die Welt*, 14 August 2015, page 6. The whole issue had several articles related with the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*.

deals with broader questions of gender, race and sexuality at the interface of literature and political economics within global relations frameworks and the role of cultural practice in, marginalization, wealth production and emancipatory movements.

But beneath and beyond economic issues of labour migrants I have also referred to the roles and practices of writers themselves: Naipaul, Rushdie, Schnitzler and Joyce who struggled with diasporic consciousness as they come to terms with religion and race and whose works resonate as they evoke the strongest feelings of moving from victimhood to agency. A few comparative examples might suggest how Rizal forms a lineage with them and how they in turn constitute Rizal's bridge to the present.

Among those selected for showcasing by Christopher O'Reilly (2001/2007) in his book, *Post-Colonial Literature*, Salman Rushdie and V.S. Naipaul are considered important references for the problem of context, the so-called 'Third World', because, despite '*Britishness*' as writers, after so many years of growing up and being educated among 'elite institutions' in the UK, they appear to have been consistently writing from the perspective of exile with a focus on the regions of their native birth places: Rushdie to South Asia; Naipaul to the Caribbean, a region that brings to mind multifaceted faces and places. O'Reilly (Ibid: 11) describes both as 'transcultural' writers in the sense that they live and write across national and cultural boundaries – a sense, which entails features of rootlessness and dislocation as well as challenging "the idea that national and cultural identities can be easily defined and that individuals fit neatly into such categories." (Ibid.). I have mentioned how Rushdie elicits the same sensibility in other writers whom he has brought together in *Imaginary Homelands* and I have also referred to Naipaul's *Finding the Center*, in a long series of diasporic journeys, which involved writing of transcultural travels and narratives. But, I refer to two texts that are revealing as to how Naipaul came to take a stance and make the claims of a diasporic writer. The first (Naipaul 1986: ix), about getting a job and being sent off:

My brief – which was to look at various colonial territories in the Caribbean and South America – was political-cultural in intention. But I had no views or opinions, no system. I was interested in history, but I was also interested in landscape; above all, I was interested – at times frivolously – in people as I found them. When it came to the writing, I was uncertain about the value I should give to the traveler's "I". This kind of direct participation came awkwardly to me, and the literary problem was also partly a personal one. In 1960 I was still a colonial, traveling to far-off places that were still colonies, in a world still more or less ruled by colonial ideas.

The second text below, Naipaul (Ibid.) refers to travelling in West Africa to write a piece of fiction about the Ivory Coast and is significant in the way he refers to himself carrying multiple identifications.

... the people I found, the people I was attracted to were not unlike myself. They too were trying to find order in their world, looking for the center; and my discovery of these people is as much part of the story as the unfolding of the West African background. A writer after a time

carries his world with him, his own burden of experience, human experience and literary experience (one deepening the other) and I do believe... that I would have found equivalent connections with my past and myself wherever I had gone.

This dissertation's thesis implies that Rizal embarked on a cultural strategy as an alternative to the failed political strategy of the Propaganda Movement for "assimilative reforms" between the Spanish Republican government in Madrid and the Spanish administration in Manila. The latter were under the absolute influence of friars whom Rizal and other propagandists charged as quasi governing a theocracy, i.e. a Catholic State, against the grain of enlightened values and modernist principles. Through his varied literary works Rizal engaged the power of reason: demonstrating that he was able and equal with Europeans who employ reasoning as a cultural construct, not only to legitimize hegemony as well as to rationalize social structural power relations. Empirically, it is possible to track how Rizal did that because he was not only consistent and consequent in the ways he applied learning and education as strategic devices in his own personal development: he especially engaged the pen and word to articulate his thoughts especially against the educational system in the Philippines, which, under the absolute authority of the religious friars, was based on cultural ideologies that were strategic devices to prove that the indigenous Filipinos had to be kept in their places as savage Indios. That rationalization was Rizal's main target and in attacking the theocratic educational system he was fully equipped for the following reasons: first, his classical preparation in rhetoric under the Jesuits at the Ateneo Municipal; secondly, his own experience and observations of the racist treatment of students at the University of Santo Thomas under the Dominican friars; and thirdly, first-hand experiences in the conflict between two opposing mindsets, which Rizal encountered in Spain. Seeing how liberal-minded professors at the Central University of Madrid as well as radical republican politicians imbued with 'Enlightenment' and Freemasonry ideas were struggling against the 'absolutist power' under the Spanish clerical system, Rizal began to realize that the problem was the frailocracy in the Philippines, and not Spain as such. All that is particularly addressed and analysed in Sarkisyanz's book (1995) that has already been referred to in Chapter II of this dissertation. The point here is to stress that Rizal was persistent and consequential in writing not just himself but his country into history. Thus to preserve "the memory" as a struggle against loss, he documented the outcomes of his efforts and achievements in the public domain, a legacy that he left behind as literary works. Rizal knew what the risks were in doing so as a deliberate device to activate the collective, which, it also needs stressing, he strategized, or rationalized in the manner that the friars and their supporters strategically employed. Nevertheless, Rizal was always intent on educating his readers by exercising fairness and, not in competition, while taking the effort to balance an opposing view and therefore always being consistent with the rules of rhetoric and argumentation and the country's progress as the point of engaging in discourse. Rizal's method of reasoning can be drawn from various examples but various features of it are evident in a long essay "The Town Schools in the

Philippines”,¹⁷⁹ where Rizal evaluates elementary instruction. The article was published under a pseudonym, *Laong Laan* (Tagalog term that means *ever-ready*) – a practice that was applied by anti-government media such as *La Solidaridad*, to protect the families and friends of contributing writers from harassment and persecution. Rizal begins in crisp and clear journalistic fashion:

Education in the Philippines is the subject of the present article. This question, which has filled many columns of local newspapers, has been debated, discussed and expounded in a clear and brilliant way; and if it is now our subject, it is for the purpose of considering it from another point of view. However, it is not our intention to publish a work that pretends to be better than the preceding ones, no. **Dedicated to the great masses** in the towns, which are the object of all our efforts and toil, rather than addressed to the Government of the superior authorities, it is entirely of a different character from what we know. It will not compete with any that has preceded it (Rizal 1964: 4).

At first glance, Rizal seems to be refuting unfair criticism that foreigners traveling in the Philippines have been making: “German, English and French travellers find us backward... and they find or do not express the cause of it frankly and clearly enough ... (Ibid: 5). And, a concern that he expressed might be open to criticism in current terms for being suggestive of an objection to being compared with other places:

The writers of the mother country, that is, those who had held here high or insignificant positions for a longer or shorter time and had wished afterwards to publish their memoirs or observations about what they had seen or heard, relate anecdotes or cases more or less improbable, about our education that we imagine reading some fantastic account of a trip to the interior of Africa... (Ibid: 5).

In fact, Rizal’s primary concern is to describe the state of the town schools, which he refers to as the “first laboratories of human knowledge” (Ibid: 6), as part of his envisioning a larger framework of progress, certainly based on what he had seen in Europe from where he was writing, so where does one begin?

We believe that the cause of our backwardness and ignorance is the lack of means of education, the vice that afflicts us from the beginning until the end of our careers, if not the lack of a stimulus of a doubtful future, or the fetters and obstacles that are encountered at every step. We are not going to propose a reform in the orders of government. Our voice is too unauthorised for us to pretend and dream of the impossible. We just want to get the greatest good from the present state of the system of education. And as this is a vast and delicate question, we shall limit ourselves for the present to elementary education that the children receive in the modest town schools... (Ibid: 6).

Rizal describes the dismal state of the “invisible”, if non-existent infrastructural

¹⁷⁹ My reference is to Rizal’s *Miscellaneous Writings*, Volume VIII, National Heroes Commission edition, 1964, pages 4-15.

conditions, let alone the lack of the most basic learning tools and materials under which children are subjected to schooling (Ibid: 6-10). Deprived of “the spirit of emulation being awakened” and no encouragement nor “anything to reward his sacrifices” children are subjected to humiliation “with beatings in the sight of his companions” (Ibid: 11). So, Rizal finds another reason for making his point:

Do not blame then the backwardness of the Philippine towns on indolence. ... We say it because we know it from our own long experience; because we are children of the towns and we have been victims of that unfortunate routine. Whatever those who may take notice of this may say will be merely beautiful and rationalized theory founded on hollow and pretentious vulgarities unless it is based on true practical cases and on the study and observation of facts (Ibid).

That clearly is an example of ‘heroic poetics’ where in the first sentence Rizal uses the genre of the essay to critique a cultural prejudice, which he identifies with and represents as his own example, a subaltern, who speaks on behalf of others, suggesting another way of considering how to produce new understandings: with an empirical basis that in effect, debunks the prevailing knowledge. But, Rizal is respectful of the adversarial position and, instead of simply engaging in a debate based on factual knowledge to annihilate the antagonistic position, tries to facilitate and agonistic reasonable way of bringing the contrarian side to his point of view. In the essay at hand, Rizal (Ibid: 11-12) indulges the discourse in rhetoric and abstraction.

And in fact, **what is indolence?** A state of the soul characterized by utmost indifference that surrounds and concerns one. Well now, is it possible to admit such an ailment of the spirit considering the knowledge that one has of its faculties and properties? He also knows that the will always goes after the good or the object that pleases it; he who has knowledge of the impulses of what they call freedom of will, whether enlightened by reason, whether blinded by passion; he who has a knowledge of its power and dominion; could he admit without committing treason or without contradicting himself a chronic and incurable constitutional indolence? (emphasis added)

Moreover, Rizal’s essay exemplifies what this dissertation has been referring to as ‘diaspora effect’ from a ‘double gazing’: from the perspective of a concerned subaltern writing in exile and from the viewpoint of the many students who, like him, had to go to Manila and then to Europe for studies - those whose circumstances Rizal assumes to observe and represent – on account of inadequacies in educational opportunities that disables empowerment.

Would you say it is indolence that makes those students flock to Manila from all the provinces crowding at the two or three doors that open to them an obscure and uncertain future? Is it the effect of indolence the existence of those whole districts of artists and artisans there (Philippines) where there is either a college, academy nor school of arts and trades? Is it also indolence that explains the existence of those manufactured articles that stun for their fitness and delicacy as well as the products of industry and agriculture in spite of the primitive state in which the country is found. And finally, is it indolence that

explains the pile of applications for the acquisition of lands, applications filed by those desirous of employing and utilizing time, intelligence and labor?

... Teach, educate, and enlighten the *Indio*; rather, teach us, educate us, enlighten us, and indifference, apathy and indolence will disappear.

Thus, it has been possible to collect and examine a good deal of the evidence as graphically presented in Figures 13-15, which deal with Rizal's heroic poetics of diaspora effect in the following trajectories: Figure 13, on emancipatory paths, Figure 14, on literary praxis, and Figure 15 on his being a cultural agent: a subaltern, representing, mobilizing and activating the collective with clear political designs for instigating political reforms out of his intervention in the public domain.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, reason is part of an ideological triad of themes (with religion and racism) that Rizal hammered upon as he engaged a dialectics of them-versus-us or "othering" discourses: to make the Spanish authorities and friars see how their own rationalized oppressive-repressive governance were groundless and ridiculous, if not downright the resulting of arrogance and ignorance. In exposing the latter tricks and deficits, Rizal appears harsh as a subaltern but in fact he cunningly uses literary devices such as laughing about sad recollections or remembrances of tragic events, satire and irony to evoke and make his points. It is in this sense that clearly, Rizal is seen to consistently engage a memory of politics. It is not intended to discuss all the works mentioned to prove these arguments as to why Rizal engaged the power of reason, but it is possible to draw evidential indicators from some essays and journalistic pieces that were published in *La Solidaridad*.¹⁸⁰

Tears and Laughter may be appropriate to start with, not only because it was published earlier (30 November 1889) but also because the title suggests a lighter reading. Rizal begins (Ibid: 171) by declaring "I do not miss my childhood nor my adolescence", referring to a time in his native land when "I saw the sun only through my tears; I did not breathe its breeze without a sigh." Rizal describes his early education as in a satirical mode but unambiguous where he cites a string of facts as from a clear mountain spring or waterfalls.

I had teachers, many of whom taught me all their knowledge. Their knowledge was confined to certain maxims, like these: Spare the rod and spoil the child; children are born bad; and others. By dint of spanking they compelled us to learn by heart books in a language we did not understand; in this language they taught us prayers, and they made us pray whole hours – and we were very sleepy – before the images which must be tired of seeing our tearful faces. Then college. Many times the professor, forgetting the lesson, would discourse on our

¹⁸⁰ Already referred to earlier, Rizal contributed articles in the fortnightly magazine of the Propaganda Movement of Filipino *Ilustrados* in Madrid from 1889 up to 1892 when he returned to the Philippines and decided to stay away from politics. Citations and references as regards the two articles are derived from Rizal's *Political and Historical Writings*, Volume VII of the Centennial Edition by the NHI, printing in 2000)

race and our country; and we, trembling before his omnipotence, cowardly swallowed our tears, and kept silent. Later at the university, despite the fact that the professors did not understand themselves, I understood better the world I was in; there were privileges for some and laws for others, and certainly not according to merit.

So here is Rizal out of a diasporic consciousness, rationalizing “I loved my native country and I fled from her; binding me to the world are only some beings and a home... (Ibid: 171-172)”. Thus, yearning for a life beyond the confines of his narrow education and responding to opportunities that seem to be opening up, Rizal wafts poetic and envisions:

Endowed with physical vigour and thirst for life, one has to drag himself out of a narrow prison when he sees an open field, a vast horizon in the distance, when he hears the vibration high above, when he feels the heart throbbing and believes he has a right to cherish beautiful ambitions.... My country's breeze keeps my sighs; in her springs are drops of my tears; on the leaves of her canes, palms and trees I have written my complaints and remembrances. ... far from all that I love, in a foreign land, among unknown and indifferent people, I do not weep for her... My eyes are dry and I laugh.

Laughter is frequently encountered in Rizal's writings and although it might suggest a therapeutic value only for the writer, the effect of this literary device is to make the reader stumble along the metaphorical and political allusions:

I laugh when I see my people brutalized and deceived with great theories and dazzling words, when I hear the demand for freedom and reason for one, shackles and routine for another, human laws, fraternity, rights for others, and exceptions for others. Instead of irritating me, instead of arousing my anger, I raise my eyes to heaven and I pray (Ibid: 172-173).

Prayer is also a frequent encounter. But the way Rizal resorts to it may be calculated to evoke not just irritation from those he especially targets, namely the religious friars who have institutionalized frailocracy to its utmost abusive capacity and possibilities, Rizal leads sympathizers to cry out with him as he addresses, nay accuses, the Godhead in a no-nonsensical art of praising and petitioning on behalf of oppressed subalterns in the Philippines:

Blessed art Thou, God of freemen. God of Clement VII, Torquemada, England, Russia, Bismarck, *La Epoca* and of *La Union* [the last two are Manila newspapers]. God of Krupp, **Thou art the friend** of those who have many cannons, guns, torpedoes, and money; Thou always help the strongest, in order not to quarrel with him, and **Thou give the reason** to the one who has the strongest clutches. Thou created the lion, tiger, fox and Sagasta [Spanish Prime Minister in 1885 who] levies taxes on eight million people and denies them representation in the Cortes (the Spanish Parliament). ... Thou who said that to enter heaven one must be poor, Thou who promised to look after those who thirst for justice... Do not forget to send us every fortnightly the worst left-overs in Spain, like the rascals, the dissolute, the hypocrites, the

lazy, the ignorant, and the hungry; make a bureau of all of them, put a tax on anything, place at every street corner a censorship office and twenty spies ... forbid us to read, write, and speak; turn us blind, deaf and mute; and leave us only enough strength to applaud and to work (Ibid: 173.174 Information in brackets provided).

In this as in several of his writings, reason and religion meet racism – that third part of the ideological triad under the microscope in this dissertation – Rizal refers to his own experience of racial discrimination. Back to when he was still studying in Manila, Rizal entered an allegorical drama, *Consejo de los Dioses* (Council of the Gods, where Jupiter on Mount Olympus presides in judgement to choose the best writer among Virgil, Horace and Cervantes) in a literary contest that was held by the Liceo Artistico-Literario de Manila in 1880, which was open to any Spaniard or native Filipinos. Rizal's piece won first prize, but when it was found out that he was an Indio, that was rescinded and given to a Spaniard; Rizal was then awarded the second prize:

I took part in literary contests and unfortunately I won; I heard the sound of sincere and enthusiastic applause; but we revealed ourself [sic], and the applause was transformed into coldness, into mockery, into insult, and the defeated one was honoured instead (Ibid: 172).

The Indolence of the Filipino, (op. cit. Rizal 2000, Vol. VII) is a long journalistic essay that was written in Spain and serialized in *La Solidaridad*, which demonstrates how intent Rizal was in reasoning out with people and it affords him a platform for using a mix of rhetorical devices from his classical training. Nevertheless, Rizal has entered a modernist mode: imbued with the principles of enlightenment and the influence of writers like Voltaire, Rousseau and many others who showed how to use their writings to empower the individual to participate in negotiating roles and functions as a sovereign subjective agent in the public domain. Rizal (Ibid: 227) begins the essay by categorically saying "that such indolence does not exist", citing for evidence an obvious public authority who has demonstrated so with facts and reports from institutions referred to, thus "Doctor Sanciano in his *Progreso de Filipinas* (Philippine Progress) has dealt with this question." But Rizal observes that the question persists in the public arena and not one to ignore it, he suggests ways for opening up a reasonable discourse, hence also, serializing the essay, which gives an opportunity for others to interject:

... as against the evidence cited by Dr. Sanciano, others of greater or less weight can be presented, it seems to us desirable to study thoroughly this question without contempt or sensitiveness, without bias, without pessimism. And as we can only serve our country by telling her the truth, however bitter it be, as a categorical and artificial denial cannot destroy a real and positive fact, despite the brilliance of the arguments, as a mere assertion is not enough to create an impossible thing, we are going to examine the question calmly with all the impartiality of which a man is capable who is convinced that there is no redemption unless based solidly on virtue (Ibid: 227).

It is important to note what values besides that of 'having to reason' Rizal is going for: truth, redemption and virtue are constancies in his language. And he insists on

the need to respect words:

Very much misused is the word *indolence*, in the sense of little love for work, lack of activity, etc.; but ridicule has covered the misuse. This popular subject has suffered the same fate as panaceas and specifics which have been discredited because of the impossible virtues attributed to them by charlatans. In the Medieval Age, and even in many Catholic countries of our times, whatever superstitious folk cannot understand, or men, because of malice refuse to confess, is attributed to the devil; in the Philippines, one's own and another's shortcomings, the stupidities of some, and the crimes of others are attributed to indolence. Thus, as in the Medieval Age, one who tried to seek an explanation of natural phenomena outside of the devil's influence was persecuted, in the Philippines, one who seeks the origin of his ignorance beyond the accepted beliefs meets a worse fate (Ibid: 227-228).

There again, it is possible to deduce how Rizal keeps harping on the same theme: Catholic beliefs and practices embedded in superstition that gives to the devil a greater responsibility for people in the Philippines sinning by even just dreaming to be free of their ignorance, and thus to get out of the Medieval Age. But even as Rizal himself shows how embedded his language is in Catholic terms, he never strays from the forms and modes of reasonable discourse:

We must confess that there indolence actually and positively exists; but instead of regarding it as the *cause* of the backwardness and disorder, we should regard it as the *effect* of disorder and backwardness, which fosters the growth of a disastrous predisposition.... Before proposing a remedy, we shall examine the causes and though a predisposition, strictly speaking, is not a cause, we are going to study however in its true worth the predisposition due to nature (Ibid: 229).

Then something happens. Admitting outright that the predisposition exists and explaining why, Rizal turns on his comparative lens, obviously having in mind the countries where he studied and travelled widely, he practically slips into a kind of reverse racism:

The warm climate requires quiet and rest for the individual, just as cold incites him to work and to action. For this reason the Spaniard is more indolent than the French, and the French more so than the German. The very Europeans who accuse the peoples of the colonies of indolence (and I'm no longer referring to the Spaniards but also to the Germans and Englishmen), how do they live in the tropical countries? Surrounded by many servants, never walking but riding, needing servants not only to remove their shoes but to fan them! And nevertheless, they live and eat better, work for themselves and to enrich themselves, with hope of a future, free, respected, while the poor colonial, the indolent colonial, is poorly nourished and lives without hope, toils for others, and is forced and compelled to work! What? The white men will reply perhaps that they are not made to suffer the rigors of the climate. A mistake! Man can live under any climate if he only will adapt himself to its requirements and conditions. What kills the European in the warm countries is the abuse of alcohol, the desire to live as in his own country under another

sky and another sun. We the inhabitants of tropical countries live well in northern Europe whenever we take the same precautions as the people there do. The Europeans can also live well in the torrid zone if they would only get rid of their prejudices. (Ibid: 229-231)

Accounting for climate in asking who is indolent, Rizal gets into slippery zones with sarcastic observations as he brings into the discussion examples from the European's zones of comfort transported to Philippine situations, and he doesn't let religion get out of his argumentative clutches:

Moreover, don't we see the active European who has gained strength during winter, who feels the fresh blood of spring boil in his veins, don't we see him abandon his work during the few days of his changeable summer, close his office, where the work after all is not hard – for many, consisting of talking and gesticulating in the shade beside a desk – run to watering-places, sit down at the cafés, stroll about, etc.? What wonder then that the inhabitant of tropical countries, worn out and with his blood thinned by the prolonged and excessive heat, is reduced to inaction? Who is the indolent one, the Indio coadjutor, poorly paid and badly treated, who ahs to visit all the indigent sick living in the country, or the friar curate who gets fabulously rich, goes about in a carriage, eats and drinks well, and does not trouble himself unless he can collect excessive fees?

And with that dig at the religious curate, Rizal turns to another nationality in the Philippines, which, by decentring the author, presents to us a clear example and a good opportunity at diasporic reading: where several histories and timeframes might be involved by engaging a repertoire of philosophizing about or rationalizing natural laws into 'mirroring' Filipinos through an 'Othering' process with Europeans and Chinese into an envisioning that evokes the American Dream:

Leaving aside the Europeans, in what hard work do the Chinese engage, the industrious Chinese who flee from their country driven by hunger and want and whose sole ambition is to amass a small fortune? With the exception of some porters, an occupation which the Filipinos also follow, almost all of them are engage in trading, in commerce; so very rarely do they take up agriculture that we know of no one.

We find then the tendency to indolence very natural and we have to admit it and bless it because we cannot alter natural laws and because without it the race would have disappeared. Man is not a brute, he is not a machine. His aim is not merely to produce despite the claim of some white Christians who wish to make of the colored Christian a kind of motive power somewhat more intelligent and less costly than steam. His purpose is not to satisfy the passions of another man. His object is to seek happiness for himself and his fellow men by following the road towards progress and perfection (Ibid: 231).

But why and how did Rizal Consider Religion as a Blessed Curse?

This section focuses on two empirical materials from Rizal's production. The first, *The Lord Gazes at the Philippine Islands*, is a theatrical satirical piece that is

included among his Prose collection (Rizal 1962: Vol. III, Book Two, p.129) but which remains obscure because it does not seem mentioned nor referred to in any of major studies on Rizal.

And secondly, the Rizal-Pastells correspondence: the letters that Rizal exchanged with the Jesuit priest Pablo Pastells, Rizal's "spiritual director" from his student days at the Ateneo Municipal in Manila. The exchange of letters shows how Rizal's stance about religion had developed and changed over the years and how, evidentially, such a developmental change disappointed Pastells. The 'exchange' was conducted while Rizal was exiled in Dapitan, a remote part of the southern Philippines where he spent six months after he was accused of treason and while awaiting his execution. Significantly, both outcomes indicate why he came to terms with religion. The root cause that engendered the problems and the discursive rationale of the imperialist enterprise, which the Spanish Catholic monarchs had embarked upon in 1492 – a key point in globalization with Columbus's mission to exchange the "Western cross" for the supposed "gold of the East" – was a chain of navigations that took Magellan's ship to the Philippines in 1521 and established Manila as a trading post for the 'Galleon Trade', a globalizing phenomenon from the 16th century until 1814 between New Spain (Mexico) and China that had diasporic repercussions.

So why and how did race come to be a disgrace?

How did the Spanish Empire's cultural politics rationalize its hegemonic order based on 'divine right' with discriminatory ethno-racist and patriarchal macho-gendered colonial institutions that had far-reaching implications and ramifications. Rizal made references in his various texts about racism but did not come to terms with it as a specific thematic issue. Rather than facing the problem as such, he appears to have wrapped it as part of larger narratives on developing the Filipino nation's consciousness in the same ways his biographers, socio-political analysts and commentators have been doing. Rizal had specific ideas on the role of women but this seems to have been confined to their roles/functions as potential wives and mothers. The concern here is to extract how Rizal saw himself in the "gaze" of 'the Other' and how he juxtaposed the power of the imagination vis-à-vis the power of a "white or mestizo" image in his texts to mirror the 'Other' in his narratives. Such 'them-versus-us' discourses of power were bolstered under the American colonial commercial-based practices, which have been dominating Philippine public domain not only economically but politically and culturally as well. In this regard, an interesting phenomenon for further research could be the burgeoning 'beauty contest' industries to search for "Miss Philippines" that would win in various international pageantries.)

How do the issues (reason, religion, race) string together as a thematic triad?

Concluding these chapters on empirical analyses, I argue and demonstrate how the focused themes (reason, religion, race) underwent changes in Rizal's thinking as part of a physical-intellectual odyssey or journey that entailed "interior migrations": an acculturation and intercultural modification process of internalizing lessons learned and revaluating polyvalent experiences while in the diaspora.

It is curious that although Rizal had spent much time in London and travelled in Britain, he does not seem to have made direct reference to Marx's nor to Darwin's ideas although they had been part of the dominant discourse among intellectual circles in Europe. Nevertheless, Rizal's literary discourses are indicators of how much he had studied the cultural-political implications of Voltaire and Rousseau's thoughts that were linked to the French Revolutionists who said enough to "L'Etat c'est moi" and challenged the divine right theory dating back to antiquity. Concerned with individual conscience and subjective agency, Rizal was disappointed from his trip to the United States seeing that neither religious persecution, which sent the Pilgrim Fathers to found colonies for refugees in America, nor the abolition of slavery in 1861 had resulted in a promised land of 'new freedoms'.

In May-June 1887, while completing the *Noli* (his first novel) in Heidelberg, where Rizal went to further his medical studies, Rizal reveals new diasporic emancipatory paths when he lived with the family of the Lutheran Vicar Ulmer in nearby Wilhelmsfeld.

Rizal enjoyed networking with renowned scientists among them, Rudolf Virchow who was reputedly "the most prominent scientist of his time" and who invited Rizal to join the exclusive Anthropological Society of Berlin. And, through a decisive visit with Ferdinand Blumentritt and his family in Leitmeritz in Bohemia, then a city within the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy: an enduring transnational friendship developed that forged the conscience of Filipino Indios from the Malay race building the Filipino nation, thus, giving the world a foretaste of James Joyce doing that for the Irish some two-three decades later through his protagonist, Stephen Hero in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Out of that friendship and pen-smithing project, Harry Sichrovsky writes a whole chapter "*World History Made in Leitmeritz*" (18-19) in his book on the friendship that developed between the two, which can be evidenced from letters exchanged in German in a ten-year correspondence that reveals much about the range of Rizal's immense interest in the process of 'mirroring through othering'. The correspondence also provides glimpses of alternative routes to spiritual links with humanity, possibly different from those Rizal had encountered in association with Free Masonry, arguably denoted from declarations of sympathies with a new form of "religious affiliation" called "*Kulturation*", which gave him a reputation for being "El Aleman", as he was called by some Filipinos.

What issues are linked to this project's cultural and political assumptions: how and why do they form an ideological triad ?

On reason: Rizal's enlightenment values and thinking have been critiqued as part of the anti-Rizal-as-national-hero discourse: that he had a deeply entrenched 'Eurocentric bias', which has not been helpful to the anti-imperialist revolution (Constantino 1970/1976), thus the imperative to *Forget Rizal*. But that critique needs to be seen from discursive post-colonial-nationalist perspectives and could be comparatively reviewed by considering specific aspects of Rizal's stance on reason within a 19th century perspective: First, how did Rizal engage reflective thought as a mental mode of thinking to articulate and critique what ideas, ideals and ideologies? Secondly, why and how did Rizal think about and focus on

education as an instrument of acculturation, in particular, training of the mind? Thirdly, how did Rizal present his proposals for reform and why?

On religion: This theme directly explains why Rizal had to go into the diaspora. That Rizal had to be compelled to change his name and to leave for Europe was the direct result of a foundational event in Philippine nationalist and nation building: the Cavite Mutiny of 1872. To quell that Mutiny of Filipino nationalists, the Spanish authorities blamed three priests who were the leaders of the movement to secularize the church parishes and who were thus implicated as mobilizing the militant revolutionaries. Their martyrdom came to be known as GomBurZa (Gomez, Burgos and Zamora) that unleashed a wave of repressive regime that hounded down others possibly involved, including Rizal's family, specifically his older brother Protasio, who was known to have been a close friend of Father Burgos to whom he had been confidante.

On racism: Rizal's childhood experiences of his parents' unjust oppression by Spanish authorities, as a student competing for literary prizes, and as an adolescent observing repressive colonial governance emanated from the claim that Filipino native-born "Indios" were savages living under pre-civilizational conditions who needed to be saved by missionaries, the saving graces of Spanish imperialism. The discourse on Rizal seems to have skirted racism as an issue (**cite Sionil Jose**). Analysing Rizal's one article, "*The Indolence of the Filipino*", that directly addressed the issue, I will argue that his ideas and thoughts thereon, while dispersed throughout his various writings, demonstrate how and why racism undermined critical thinking out of a conundrum that legitimized cultural injustices in the educational system such as keeping the Indios ignorant even of the Spanish language by which they were governed and ruled. Such cultural incapacity further justified the policy and structure that kept Indios out of leadership positions in the hierarchy of the Catholic church. (see Schumacher 1981)

In Madrid, where Rizal received licentiate in philosophy, literature, and medicine, he not only encountered people with whom he shared libertarian ideas, he also met and had exchanges with radical thinkers on religion, including Freemasons among Ilustrado Filipinos and those in the Propaganda Movement, which he joined and for whose paper, *La Solidaridad*, he became an active writer-contributor.

Rizal went to Paris for an internship in Ophthalmology, which he left upon learning that he could further such at the University of Heidelberg. Shortly upon his arrival, Rizal met a Protestant Minister who invited him to live with his family in Wilhelmsfeld and with whom he studied German and carried out discussions together with a parish priest who lived nearby.

This enquiry does not go into details of what transpired during the abovementioned encounters, which have been dealt with in biographies on Rizal and in Philippine historical and other forms of discourse. But it is this dissertation's contention that Rizal acquired critical perspectives as a Filipino student abroad that were crucial to this project's focus: the diasporic effect that were clearly manifest in Rizal's exchange of letters from his place of exile with his former Jesuit spiritual director while studying at the Ateneo. Thus, I will argue that analyzing the volume known

as the *Rizal-Pastell Correspondence* can reveal insights about his thoughts on religion directly germane to his ideas on reason and racism.

What is the crucial methodological task?

Drawing on empirical data from Rizal's own works as the primary sources, this dissertation proposes a 'paradigm shift' using the light of 'culture' with a 'diasporic reading' to re-frame the Philippine national hero's literary practice as cultural politics in three main ways: Firstly, re-mapping the trajectory and lineage of Rizal's literary-artistic practice as a form of countercultural intervention in the public domain or civil society from the perspective of exile – the site of alternative political discourse in modernist terms (Figures 13-15); secondly, re-visioning Rizal's politics of cultural identity as a politics of memory (an act of internal migration to recollect and remember) as a way of critically resisting the imperialist-colonialist hegemony rather than with militant revolution; and thirdly, locating Rizal's activism as a political engagement within a cultural worldview of human evolution (collective development) in which Rizal projects "the Self" onto "the Nation" and finds resonance in the diaspora: the Propaganda movement and transnationalist networks.

In defining terms and concepts for considering and enquiring what was "modern" in Rizal's heroic and diasporic modes, it is important to note that explanatory models developed from this study is neither normative-led or prescriptive and proposes neither a right nor a wrong way. Applying a triangulation of approaches, mainly post structural to deconstruct Rizal's works, is part of an interdisciplinary framework for exploring what Filipinos in the diaspora today might still re-claim from collating, dissecting and organising the many sources, complex forms and varied practices evident from his literary texts. In tracking the trajectory and distilling the layers of Rizal's activist responses, this project is an attempt to verify Rizal's lineage and identify points of (dis)concordance between visions and perspectives as articulated in his texts with the *Weltanschauung* of his time. The models are therefore offered as heuristic tools to explain what contemporary political actors confronting emancipatory issues today may draw as relevant and thus find significant meanings from Rizal's heroic engagement that could be useful in current terms.

Rethinking how Rizal's creative literary production stirred a resonance is multi-tasking through many levels, which is particularly reconstituted in this study that espouses a different kind of viewing and interpreting Rizal's works: a closer reading and critical discourse analysis focusing on primary sources, namely, the Filipino national hero's own writings, from cultural perspectives and interpretations of the enlightenment values and political philosophy behind his modernist activism: to go beyond boundaries and unleash the chains that bind, no matter the risks to his life. This methodology differs from those that critique Rizal's writings in narrow, if specific programmatic terms: whether and to what extent these literary works served patriotic-nationalist ideologies that would make his engagement worthy of being memorialized specifically and solely in terms of martyrdom for his country.

In fact, this project is a deconstruction that involves reconsidering Rizal's heroic poetics of the diaspora, not just of one nation, the Philippines, but also beyond that

geopolitical entity along a historical-cultural lineage of humanity's creative and intellectual men and women who have been driven by "emancipation" from authoritarian and repressive strictures into open agendas: into transformative transnationalist orientations for transculturation mindsets. Thus, empirically, it is also an attempt to dissect the power of narratives being recalled from the past in uniting or dividing migrant communities in the diaspora, albeit having in mind Filipinos abroad, in particular, those in Austria.

I conduct this research from the perspective, experience and with the analytical tools of a participant-observer: a native of the Philippines who has lived abroad, mainly in Europe, over many years since going to the U.S. for graduate studies in 1967. Having served in technical cooperation projects at U.N. organizations based in Vienna but implemented in developing countries (of the so-called Third World), I had access to information and acquired knowledge from work-travels during a long period from the mid-70s up until 1998. Within that expatriate community of the U.N.'s international civil servants, "being and looking different" was a bonus, welcomed by those with whom I worked and those we served. When I opted to go for naturalization into Austrian citizenship in 1999, I began to work with the Filipino community, whom I subsequently represented in the Vienna Integration Conference for migrants, which provided a platform for active engagement. From there on, I began to empathize with many who are being asked the same question over and over again: "where do you come from?" By the mere fact of looking exotic and behaving or speaking 'differently' from expected norms or codes, one is marked as coming from "elsewhere". With that question, I began to understand why migrants, especially those who have been long in the country and who have acquired Austrian nationality are made to feel as though they really come from "elsewhere", reinforcing a sense of being constantly put in a state of limbo: **'no longer there but not yet here'** (the latter being in a destined choice of settlement). Nevertheless, that limbo-state can transform into a positive diaspora effect that, I propose as a hypothesis, happens under certain conditions, as when accompanied by a proactive moving or getting "out of it". That proactive stance is herein defined as the **"heroic factor"**: when it entails going beyond individualist personal fears, taking risks even at the cost to one's own life, to confront "them-versus-us" thinking modes and structures of thinking. In the case of Rizal I demonstrate that his activism had a patriotic flavour that went beyond nationalist concerns because it was contextualized as part of a collective movement emanating from enlightenment thought and values that Rizal experienced in Europe among Europeans he met who challenged the terms of power relations that were unacceptable within illiberal hegemonic orders such as those under prevailing forms of cultural imperialism. Indeed, Rizal's social criticisms and smuggling of his book-novels were literary practices that effectively constituted early forms of civil society engagement, which he derived from a European tradition of which he openly acknowledged the influence of Voltaire, Heine and August Comte, and many others. All that usually demands a counter-cultural strategy in confrontational and subversive ways: 1) Coming to terms with one's own integral self and that of the collective (Transcultural Travels, Prat 1992); 2) Getting into the public space: holding the mirror, questioning the exclusive state-of-affairs, exciting people in affective ways and inciting the need for changes to the status quo (cite Grayling's E-values in "The Age of Terrorism", ref freedom of

speech and representation). 3). Envisioning/pointing to an unknown uncharted territory that holds the promise of a better state or utopian dream in an “envisioned elsewhere” (as various authors in *Diaspora Reimagined* demonstrate, Sigona et al 2015)

Having been an active participant observer, I can myself attest to independence day celebrations and nation-building events during the last four decades (while working with the United Nations in Vienna, Austria, and subsequently as a resident after acquiring citizenship) where Philippine officials and diplomatic representatives exhorted Filipino workers abroad for their patriotic contributions to furthering the progressive development of the Philippines. With reference to emulating the nationally ennobled Rizal, his patriotism and heritage, overseas workers have been designated as modern-day heroes (primarily with reference to their statistically-evidenced contribution to the country's gross national product during the last how many years in terms of remittances and direct investments. Ticked and baffled for being implicated by that designation, I decided to become interested in the phenomenon of heroism, specifically how and in what forms it mobilizes a collective. Thus, this study attempts new and different understandings by exploring Rizal's lineage in and linkage to the seemingly universal emancipatory project by which one becomes a hero, based on that basic human right to break through chains of oppression and racial discrimination on behalf of a collective. That kind of heroism has especially gained high currency during the last two decades where a new pattern has emerged: people being mobilized to go beyond borders and to literally sacrifice their lives within religio-cultural clashes, globalization and terrorism

So, what do other contemporary scholars have to say and contribute?

What is cultural heroism and how is it manifested?

To demonstrate and prove my theses, I will use the *Noli-Fili* as the fulcrum for unravelling Rizal's writings and as lead to other primary sources of empirical data. Rizal's prolific production of poems and prose fiction, essays, reminiscences in diaries as travel reportage, letters, essays and other writings compiled by the Philippine National Commissions around the hero's birth and death centennials in 1961 and 1996, respectively, will be drawn upon to shed light on his **cultural politics**: as heroism of a different kind. That heroism is **not unlike** what we have been seeing in Europe during the 19th century and again during post-Soviet decades when writers used the fictional as well as non-fictional writing to come to terms with socio-political structures and to subvert institutionalized oppression, especially as regards political rights: freedom of expression and demanding for democratic reforms. Rizal unabashedly emulated creative literary practices and culled ideas from a wide range of intellectuals and observers who engaged themselves in a similar vein: Virgil through Comte, Voltaire, Rousseau and Victor Hugo; the German romantic novelists Goethe-Schiller-Heine-Lessing, fairy-tale writer Hans Christian Andersen, Charles Dickens and the American Harriet Beecham Stowe, to name a few.

Rizal's literary practice and the production of his novels was a specific form of cultural resistance engagement by which he launched a stinging satire to expose the excesses of the Spanish authorities as part of a holistic diagnosis about “the

social cancer” that he claimed to be eating up, not just the Philippines as a colony of Spain, but its Hispanic-Filipino culture, the very soul that bonded his colonized “fatherland” to the imperial “motherland”. More significantly, that engagement had a modernist twist: a developmental, if intellectual and critical, perspective. From a writer who was then furthering his medical studies in Germany, Rizal’s radical, if imaginative, diagnosis was made as though nothing short of a “brain-with-heart transplant and a fresh blood transfusion” could ever arrest the far-reaching metastasis, the effect of deeply embedded cultural underpinnings within a problematic cultural, because cancerous, imperialist strategy and colonialist structure.

But in this case, Rizal needs to be seen as a child of his time: an age of revolutionary and emancipatory engagements; a time when medical doctors used their powers of observation and applied holistic and humanistic perspectives with precise scientific-diagnostic competencies to socio-political occurrences and processes.

What is the “Sin” of Rizal and other literary prophets?

Writers and artists who engage their imaginative competencies and creative energies to articulate and symbolize cultural constructs in all their political ramifications and systemic consequences is the subject of this study, and could as well be entitled: “The Trouble with Culture”.

Tellingly, for example, F. Sionil Jose, internationally-acclaimed Filipino novelist and publicist, when asked by the Russian writer Igor Podberezky about the role of Filipino writers and that of his own, replied: “First and foremost, I write to express myself. But then, I realize that I would be more useful if in expressing myself, I also try to express the lives of the people that I know best – the poor, the farmers and the oppressed – because these people have no voice at all.”¹⁸¹ Podberezky digs further: “But you also write about the oppressors. And as a rule, the oppressors in your novels are not pure Filipinos. They are, almost always, mestizos. Isn’t this preoccupation with the mestizo blood in all the oppressors a reflection of some racial bias in your writings?” And he gets the reply: “Maybe in my subconscious there is something. But ... you must remember that in this country, the higher you go, the whiter it becomes. Spanish white, not American because the Americans did not stay long enough. And when I attack the Filipino oligarchy, it cannot be avoided, they are lumped with the mestizos.” Then, sort of defensively, Sionil Jose adds, “Although not all mestizos are that bad. But in the ‘20s or in the ‘30s, when I was a boy, all the landlords were mestizos.” Interestingly, he flips this revelatory thought: “Do not forget, Filipinos are also racist. They look down on those who are dark-skinned like the aboriginal Aetas, for example. Beauty is white – that is why most of our movie stars are mestizas, even if they can neither act nor sing.”

Podberezky interrupts, “But now, there are brown Filipinos who are even worse oppressors. ... (T)here was a great Russian poet named Nicholas Nekrasov who said that the worst oppressors come from the oppressed because they know how it

¹⁸¹ Igor Podberezky, “Socialism and the Artist,” in Miguel A. Bernad, ed., *Conversations with F. Sionil José* (Manila, VERA-REYES INC., 1991), p103.

felt. That, by the way, is parallel to something that Rizal once said, that the slaves of today can become the tyrants of tomorrow.” Sionil Jose says, “Absolutely, I recognize that. But going back to the mestizo identification with the oppressor, I hope that it is not taken as a general rule because that is not my intention. I try to portray reality as it is. Even today, for instance, many of the ranking Filipino companies are managed by mestizos. These corporations are havens for mestizos.” To which Podberezky replies, “That’s true. But some note of caution. An unprepared reader may take it as a statement against white men in general, or every mestizo.” Sionil Jose retorts, “Some of my best friends are mestizos.” Podberezky warns, “Well, all Russian anti-Semitists will say: ‘I have a very good friend who is a Jew.’ But that does not change anything. He is still anti-Semite. Unfortunately that’s a problem now in my country.”¹⁸²

As a project bearing on the politics of discourse in (de)constructing a Filipino culture of consciousness or national identity, I consider my efforts allied to those of Ruth Wodak and her colleagues at the University of Vienna who applied critical discourse analysis (CDA) to studies, originating in her work as director of the Discourse, Politics, Identity Research Centre at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. In particular, I refer to two works of Wodak et al., *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (1999) and *Discourse and Discrimination* (2001) as points of orientation pertinent to the politics of national identity and racism that I will specifically investigate in Rizal’s works. In the latter, Martin Reisigl and Wodak ask why racism and anti-Semitism are virulent even today long after World War II circumstances. Particularly helpful for this political science study is how CDA demonstrates its value in analyzing political language for the enactment, reproduction and legitimisation of power relations bearing on abuse, domination and injustice. Within that constellation, CDA reminds “critics” that analysts are not “disembodied hermetic individuals” but, remain in fact, always interested members of social groups with specific viewpoints. Thus, a methodical way for critical discourse analysts to minimise the risk of critical biasing and to avoid simply politicising is to follow the principle of triangulation. Indeed, one of the most salient distinguishing features of the CDA approach is its interdisciplinary endeavour, working with multiple perspectives and methodologies on the basis of a variety of different empirical data as well as background information. Nevertheless, as its practitioners stress, CDA is not a direction or specialization next to other social science approaches. Instead, it offers an alternative “mode” of theorizing and analysis for a whole field of diverse areas to explore the interconnectedness of discursive practices and their extra-linguistic social structures with reference to concrete problems that can be applied, in this case, to the dialectical relationship to change, transform or dismantle the status quo.

It is not within the purview of this paper to deal with the intricacies of discourse as a methodological requirement via an original work in-depth. But some clarifications may be in order. Andrew Heywood says that discourse in everyday language refers to any form of verbal communication, talk, or conversation; but which in its technical sense: is a system of knowledge embodied in a particular language, and

¹⁸² *ibid.*, pp. 104-105

is thus, "... understood as social practice that constitutes and is constituted by the social structure (Heywood 2000: 87)." ¹⁸³ This definition is consistent with "discourse" in Norman Fairclough's terms: "a way of signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective."

As a way of looking at constructed reality, CDA is a research tool cum approach, neither a theory nor a dogma, which could complement analytical units in other humanities and social science fields. Wodak and her CDA colleagues remind us that what is crucial and central to content analysis is a system of categorisation to isolate and define the variables or indicators as fully explicit as possible:

Culture, like diaspora as we have seen in chapter I, is a prismatic word, one of several that are disputed for accomodating anything and everything, and thus, ends up meaning nothing. As such, culture has been easily discredited, especially because the word itself, let alone as concept, begs a horde of questions. As to its essence: what does it contain in terms of critical features? What not? As to its source: who claims it? And, for whom? And so all sorts of referential terms and categories are denoted and connoted in such obviously relevant questions that are begged: how does culture relate to race; and racism to nation; or, nationalism to identity? Finally, within that labyrinth of loaded, if manipulated and much abused words: how does the political come in and what makes cultural politics? In comparison, creative literary practice sounds easy to grasp, but is it? And, what of the public question, or, of discursive constructs in the public space? Finally, it is crucial not only to query who makes a pitch for modernity and how does memory become political, but also to raise the issue: why bother about digging into literary as historical archives from more than a hundred years ago?

All those questions take their cue from Dvorák's (1997: 20) critical synthesis of politics and culture in modernity:

Es geht also stets von Neuem um die Rekonstruktion, um die Wiedergewinnung eines Begriffs der Moderne, in dem sich nicht der Triumph der Sieger und die Hoffnungslosigkeit der Verlierer niederschlägt, sondern die Erinnerung an einer noch nicht verlorene Zukunft, die Aktualisierung einer einst verheißungsvollen und hoffnungsfrohen Vergangenheit."

Auch Bezeichnungen wie 'entwickelt' oder 'unterentwickelt' haben nur einen Sinn im Rahmen vergleichender Betrachtungen und die vergleichende Methode bedarf der Angabe der jeweiligen Ausgangs- oder Anfangsbedingungen sozio-ökonomischer Prozesse.

Rizal was profoundly influenced by the paradigmatic shifts and changing "**Weltanschauung**" in Europe where he studied in the 1880s: by models of knowledge and self-image with which societies began to interpret themselves differently in a new light. Nevertheless, while Rizal's emancipatory activism was

¹⁸³ This quoted concept, emphasis added, was lifted from the online publication of The Research Center "Discourse, Politics and Identity" (DPI) which acknowledges usage in the traditional sense of Wittgenstein's language games: <http://gerda.univie.ac.at/diskurs-politik-identitaet/index.php>

clearly influenced by European frameworks and ideologies, I wish to demonstrate that his activism cannot be reduced to “a Eurocentric engagement”, as some postcolonial scholars and analysts have charged or as his critics have played him down.¹⁸⁴ I will argue that Rizal’s activism was motivated by and mediated in practical rationalist terms. It is true that while in Europe where he studied, Rizal deepened his interest specifically with enlightenment philosophers and literary writers, in particular, with their activist engagement in the public space by which they contributed to cultural shifts affecting the course of political development.

And what constitute the primary units of analysis?

Within the aforementioned perspectives, this study claims that Rizal’s writing engagement is *a trajectory of cultural politics* within the logic of a developmental continuum that cannot be easily labelled and categorized as enlightened or modernist nor postmodernist in the Western mode. Rather, that activism was peculiar to non-western revolutionary elites like Rizal who had a good grounding in classical education and who were well acquainted with the works of cultural thinkers and reformers from as far back as antiquity. (*citation on Rizal making references to Cato and Cicero, Horace and Virgil*) and who gave as much value to sentiment and passion as to reason and logic. Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore in India as well as Sun Yat Sen in China are Asian cases in point. (**See also article on Mao and his cultural revolution in JRDiss Biblio under Documents**) And there were others from Latin America whom Rizal met while pursuing studies in Madrid or writing his novels in Paris, in Wilhelmsfeld near Heidelberg and in London.

While Rizal attempted to form an alliance with enlightened and liberal scientists and with European-based international resistance movements including Freemasonry, there was a different quality to his major achievement: he engaged in creative literary practice by which he abrogated the right to express himself freely through reflective and reflexive activism in the public domain. That process involved a writing technique: the gradual “merging rather than distancing” of subject from object via strategic uses of “irony and scepticism” to transform firstly, ‘knowledge’; into ‘power’; and finally, unleashing or ‘decentring the self’: towards a discursively constituted and collective-oriented cultural politics.

For Rizal, life ended at 35 with the judgment that the hero had committed treason by inciting the underground movement, called Katipunan, to armed rebellion with his novels, for which he was condemned by the Spanish authorities in a mock trial: to die by a firing squad.

Using critical discourse analysis, this study argues that Rizal’s heroism can be evaluated and accounted for differently from the way he had been catapulted to and sustained in that national hero status via the mere instrumentalization of his creative literary products. Strategic issue-analysis: Was Rizal’s intervention a utopian or a moral demand to change a cultural imperialist system rigged with injustice and inequality? On what version of European liberalist intervention did

¹⁸⁴ Among Rizal’s critics, the most prominent was Renato Constantino, who taught at the University of the Philippines from the mid-1960s onwards.

Rizal base his heroic emancipatory activism? To what extent did Germany's *Realpolitik* influence him?

Content analysis: What specific discursive acts and practices in Rizal's *Noli-Fili* sequel, as text, can be discerned with reference to cultural issues as a basis for establishing correspondence or non-correspondence with the political strategies that I attribute to Rizal's motives and sources for writing his novels? More specifically, what discourse strategies of argumentation were involved under what circumstances and what linguistic means or literary devices were used for realising the argumentation with regard to the following themes or issues?:

1. The invention or construction of national identity, for which I consider Stuart Hall's definition of "nation" as a system of collective or shared cultural representations most appropriate for purposes of this analysis. This does not necessarily exclude Anderson's "imagined communities" particularly because Rizal tells the story of a people who need to free themselves from an oppressive political system by destroying the legitimacy of its divinely-ordained hierarchical basis. (See Wodak et al. 1999: 21ff).

2. Racist or discriminatory references: ignoring, degrading, displacing, and/or oppressing the "Indio", the term by which the Spaniards pejoratively referred to natives of the Philippines of Malay extraction. Here also, I am aided by the conceptual bases of the Vienna School's CDA approach that, while race is a social construct, "it has been used as a legitimising ideological tool to oppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to material, cultural and political resources ...and rights." (Wodak 2001:2) While I follow the concept of racism as being related to power and hegemony, organised through discursive patterns of signification and representation (ascribed to Jäger/Wetherell & Potter, Ibid. 27/29),¹⁸⁵ of particular interest is that "...affected groups have adopted the idea of 'race' ...turned the concept around and used it to construct an alternative, positive self-identity."

3. Reforming the political culture: education for critical thinking and freedom of expression was a two-fold part of gaining independence of mind that Rizal demanded to change the terms for acceptable political engagement by Filipinos and Spaniards as equals. From a political science viewpoint, I use 'cultural politics' to mean a group's or a collective's pattern of orientation to the objects of political culture (the constitutional basis of governance, participation of the governed through representative systems such as political parties, and governmental institutions and mechanisms) that are expressed in and fashioned out of long-term beliefs, symbols and values, rather than simply a people's reactions to specific issues and problems bearing on the polity and political life.

¹⁸⁵ The sources referred to are 1). Jäger, M. 'Rassismus im Alltagsdiskurs', in: M. Jäger and F. Witchert (eds) (1996) *Rassismus und Biopolitik. Werkstattberichte. DISS-Forschungsbericht 1996.*, Duisburg: DISS, pp.34-45 and, 2). Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1987) *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*, London: Sage.

Context analysis: under which contexts – where when how and why did all that content-generation and manifesting of forms happen? What ideological perspectives, historical factors and literary influences are relevant to the above-listed content, which constitute discursive material that may help account for inferences made, i.e. the “more that is communicated” than what is actually said or reported?

Heroism versus Martyrdom as differing concepts: revisioning or remapping Rizal’s literary works as heroic poetics of diaspora effect, I intend to shed a different light on those aspects that drove Rizal’s cultural politics rather than the discursive aspects of his martyrdom or those owing to vested interests: American-imperialist, patriotic-nationalist, or romantic/mythological (the hero modelling and worship). Thus, it is not within the purview of this dissertation to consider the discourse on Rizal’s historical/speculated roles per se towards the Philippine declaration of independence against the Spaniards in 1898 or through Rizal’s centennial celebrations in 1961 and in 1996. Rather, I focus on the driving forces that made Rizal keep going despite pressures towards martyrdom that he tried to avoid and did not wish upon himself.¹⁸⁶ These driving factors may be grouped into 1) intellectual-ethical concerns grounded on the individual’s birthright and human mutuality; and 2) a liberal democratic orientation grounded in “ethnic pride” but fired by a what I believe to have been an embryonic form of cosmopolitan transnationalist connection. Rizal found a European stronghold and support in Ferdinand Blumentritt, a Philippinologist based in Bohemia under the Austrian–Hungarian monarchy. That connection, which involved other European contacts, suggests an early form of a non-governmental international alliance. This dimension entails analysing the two-volume collected correspondence, which has been used as primary source material by scholars and analysts for varied purposes. For this dissertation, the materials can provide the context for clues and cues from which meanings and significances on Rizal’s activism and especially also on the ideas exchanged can be drawn, particularly to prove my point that Blumentritt supported Rizal and vice versa for transnationalist concerns. In doing so, I bring a comparative perspective to this discourse going beyond the nationalist focus and traditional sources of Rizal-studies by considering other contexts of liberal democratic movements in Europe where Rizal had exposure and had been introduced by Blumentritt. This has particular significance in order to explore how political movements and claims in one cultural context can have different meanings and outcomes in another. I therefore draw on both normative and empirical considerations from primary and secondary resources to demonstrate that the Rizal-Blumentritt duo was motivated by a sensibility to the politics of cultural identity and integration which: 1) was not incompatible with the universalist claims of liberal Christian and humanist ideals then prevailing; and 2) was not always compatible with those who followed Rizal’ ideas and ideals, whether for political, educational, or scholarly purposes. Working on this transnationalist linkage, I also consider the role of freemasonry and Rizal’s admission to a Masonic Lodge in London.

¹⁸⁶Refer to Joaquin’s A Question of Heroes.

Taking a constructivist approach to transnational cultural conflicts, I suggest that multicultural political justice emerges at the interstices of such conflicts. The critical question is: what place does the history of political struggle for identity recognition and the memory of past conflicts have in forging moral-ethical principles on which a meaningful politics of multicultural differences or cultural diversity might be based?

Arising from the complex web of concerns mentioned above, I propose an initial confrontation with raciology and Rizal's charge of racism derived from a political system that justified exploitation of "inferior others" i.e. the Filipinos, whose redress of grievances and appeal to liberties as "rights" were suppressed by governing authorities who reserved to themselves the rule of law as an absolute privilege. Such absolutism was designed to foster and perpetuate abusive and unjust governance, because of the exclusive/racist bias. I contend that Rizal's goal, in a joint collaboration with Blumentritt, was to arouse a network of international supporters to end such abuse through fundamental liberal transformation as had been launched in other western democratic projects.

Both, Rizal and Blumentritt were educators. Interest in their legacy as a countercultural revolution has partially, if not totally, eclipsed a key element: the role of political education in pursuing and exercising radical liberal reforms. In his writings, Rizal insisted on the idea that one had to work for, that is, "merit" liberty and that it was not enough to awaken a national spirit. An enlightened citizenry applying reason and the fruits of science plus vigilance of the rule of law were prerequisites for a functioning just government. In looking at the causes, the conduct and the consequences of racism in a country's politics of memory and identity, I would also like to ask what impact their teachings had on the way "Filipino revolutionary elites" understood their nationalist struggle and their aspirations for working out an integrated cultural construct within the framework of western civilisation, in particular its Eurocentric bias.

Discursive Politics: the imaged word as literary performance in the Public Space. Writing has been used since antiquity as a political means to create an open space beyond and to connect people in new and engaging ways: into dialogues beyond everyday norms and rules. Like other performative art forms, writing has been effective in reaching out towards understanding other people's minds and focus and thus provides innovative opportunities for communication. Rizal used writing and the word as a metaphor and symbol of power for effective political activism.

The thematic context for this investigation is literary-artistic practice during the 2nd half of the 19th century when writers in Europe used the grand narrative or novel as a specific way of expressing their positions on issues in the public sphere: as discursive narratives of emancipation and thus, as expressions of resistance and opposition to challenge such cultural dogmas as the "divine right of kings" that gave legitimacy to structures of absolutist monarchs, imperialist hegemonies, and tyrannical governance.

Rizal was an intellectual with progressive ideas who chose a particular form, the novel, to engage in protest and to enter the forbidden public space where he

confronted not just the authorities but also all those in his particular society who lived by beliefs and values that constituted the cultural basis of the hegemonial structure. That specific form leads to the question of content and the role of the novel in public discourse. What was it that made it simplistic or difficult to see and respond to what Rizal was about, namely, contesting the political order of the day and the non-rational ways in which a colonial population gave their allegiance and total subjugation. Part of the answer is implied: that Spain's imperial cultural construct was taken for granted and thus, accepted without question? Another part can be found in asking how can we explain Rizal's modern style of reasoning? What were the sources of that style and how did Rizal go through a process of learning from both, personal experience and history, and then using that store of memory to guide heroic activism? In re-membering Rizal, what is likely to further and/or hinder progress that could make it worth the while reclaiming him, for whom, and under what prevailing circumstances? Here, we turn to paradigm shifts, in particular Thomas Kuhn's reference to historical contexts.

My take on paradigm shifts has to do with looking at the varied narratives, personal and social, by which beliefs and values are generated, established or maintained, and articulated or implicated. Beliefs and values guide behaviour and decisions for interacting with others that are also revealed in our communication styles and options. Culture can reveal fault lines in development models; in religious/metaphysical directions; and/or in a modern-orientation to "progress".

CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION

... At the very font of our civilization we are fortunate to have Homer's tale of the travels of the antihero Odysseus. His is a sacred story, not the account of man on the literal seas trying to get home, but the mystery drama of Everyman, the deep story of us all, men and women, as we try to make our way through life with the hope of arriving at a place that can be called home.

Thomas Moore¹⁸⁷

I say the same thing to my countrymen. The day on which you would see me in the clutches of the friars, do not waste time making petitions or uttering complaints or lamentations – it is useless. Try to put another in my place who may avenge me and make them pay dearly for my misfortune. If I would see a son of mine (if I had a son) in the mouth of a shark, I would not try to pull him out – for it is useless and all I would achieve is to destroy him – I would kill the shark if possible, and if not, I would waylay him. Well then, suppose that the friars are either sharks or only dalag (mudfish). If they are the first, they must be killed; if they are the second, they should not be feared. I rather think they are dalag and so I am not afraid to fall into their hands. They have to be very many, very many, in order to finish me, and even then they would have to pay for it.

Jose Rizal¹⁸⁸

What frames or models for re-visioning Rizal can have relevance at this stage?

As explained in chapters III-V, it has been possible to track Rizal's heroism by framing and contextualizing a developmental model of diasporic consciousness. The initial premise started with what Rizal was up against: the politics of missionary conquest or frailocracy in the Philippines as a form of imperial hegemony (see Figure 1) and its flip side or what he was envisioning: an "elsewhere" of freedoms for enlightened power relations (see Fig. 2). Both of those positions entailed a heroic stance (the thesis) within a wider sphere of engagement as matters of cultural politics (see Figure 3). To understand that stance and to argue the thesis necessitated zooming in with the lights of culture (Figure 4) that enabled paradigmatic shifts on Rizal's heroic poetics and a prism of diaspora effects (Figure 5) within a matrix of dynamic relations among other actors that can be viewed in temporal and/or spatial frames (see Figures 6-7) as well as motivational influences for cultural changes (Figures 8-9). Putting Carlyle's hero types within Wilber's postmodernist holonic (instead of systemic) worldview, Rizal's emancipatory paths and practice were tracked to examine what he was struggling for/against in terms of a thematic ideological triad (reason, religion and race) and how a time-space context affects or is affected by that heroic stance (Figure 10).

Using Rizal's metaphor of a stone to build upon towards educational or civilizational purposes, it is possible to imagine how his heroic stance produced ripple effects (see Figure 11), which, like 'effects' from conditioning responses in

¹⁸⁷ Original Self, 2000. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers), p 3

¹⁸⁸ From Rizal's Toasting Speech at a banquet in Madrid to honour Filipino painters Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo for winning top prizes at an Arts Exposition, on 25 June 1884. (See Rizal's Political and Historical Writings, Vol. VII, pp. 17-18.)

the diaspora, cannot be easily measured in quantifiable equations nor tracked in linear terms. Strategizing with each literary contribution, from his participation in literary contests while in Manila to the first speech that he gave in Madrid in 1884, Rizal sent each 'cultural' product of literary practice to materialize an 'effect' for the collective, which was therefore, decidedly 'political'. Indeed Rizal is proof that "writing is a political act", which Sionil Jose (1998: 62) contends is "... more so for us in colonial Asia where politics is not an impersonal thing but a commitment which is sometimes paid for with suffering and with our very lives." Contextualizing emancipatory, literary and diasporic practices within globalization, it is useful to juxtapose that world of heroic holonic spheres with the more familiar worlds of ladders and networks between the two (Figure 12). Drawing thus from conceptual frameworks on 'culture' it has been possible to combine variously adapted modernist approaches for paradigmatic 'diasporic readings' with 'metaphorical entailments' to map a developmental model of heroism with which Rizal's heroic poetics of diaspora effect could be examined. That was conducted by tracking Rizal's literary practice and works along three trajectories: as cultural subjective agent (Figure 13); as emancipatory paths (Figure 14); and, as literary praxis (Figure 15), which do not have to be seen in logical order. Tracking involved checking for heroic stances vis-à-vis the three themes he challenged: reason, religion and race.

The conceptual mapping within a developmental model as summarized above is a way of re-visioning the Philippine national hero's legacy and suggests that it is possible to view Rizal's works in various forms as signifying practices, which enables diasporic readings that transcend the limits and deterministic influences of origin, history or ethnicity. Arguably, Rizal went beyond those limiting influences even if at first glance he does not seem to have done so. An examination of his literary pieces such as the oft-quoted *To the Flowers of Heidelberg* reveals a 'looking back' and a 'yearning for' that easily deflects the meaning of moving on by 'envisioning' a new future. Thus this dissertation claims that it is perhaps easier to see significances of 'Othering' as a process in Rizal's works by considering his linkage or lineage through making comparisons with the works of other writers.

Focusing on the abovementioned triad of themes enabled constructing a table of indicators and drawing a mental framework in thinking about the heroic poetics of diaspora effect as 'Othering' process. Applying the indicative analytical units, as summarized below, I argued that it is possible to examine the risks and the courage entailed in breaking through the borders of the public domain to challenge hegemonic authorities with the power of writing: 1) Engaging acts of basic human rights and civil liberties such as to move about and to express oneself freely; 2) Demonstrating equality through discursive knowledge in combination with acquired communication tools; 3) Entering the exclusive public domain with creative products from literary practice; 4) Asserting the right to negotiate elements of the 'political culture' such as institutional governance by hegemonic racist policies; 5) Mobilizing the collective to stand up as vigilant citizen-artists in forms of resistance against the repressive status quo; and 6) Resonating in the collective cultural memory and historical experience, particularly when the consequences take "a sacrificial turn" as in martyrdom.

Aside from shifting the discourse on Rizal's nationalistic patriotism, what other critical scholarly contributions can be derived from this dissertation?

This investigation into the role and function of heroism and its cultural 'significance' for politics has focused on issues connected to writing in the diaspora as a matter of cultural politics in the form of heroic poetics. Combining its deconstructivist approach and diasporic readings with conceptual map-making models, it is hoped that it can serve enquiries and studies that straddle modernism and postmodernism and thereby also provide a different slant to the usual streams in cultural studies and political science analyses. This research project was intended to argue and demonstrate that heroism in Rizal need not be limited to evaluating the political role and function that arose from myopic perceptions and programmatic expectations. Through paradigm shifts, it is possible to change that by reframing the Rizal saga such that cultural interventions become the focus of a double gazing effect. Focusing on Rizal's literary works through activist engagement with other displaced and dispersed writers in Europe, other diaspora effects from heroic functions emerge into view: 1) creatively subverting the exclusiveness of literacy circles, Rizal submitted entries for literary competitions and uncovered the racist discrimination against Indios like himself; 2) innovating cultural spaces as public platforms for political purposes, in the manner of activist writers he met in Europe, he used articles, novels and pamphlets but also more significantly to advocate for democratic reforms from below; 3) doing so, he showed courage in resisting the hegemonic order and its ideological state apparatuses of oppressive top-down policies; 4) risking the borders and overcoming financial/legal resource constraints, Rizal managed to materialize and distribute his cultural production; 5) thus not only eliciting respect for the high standards that he demonstrated in cultural outcomes but also in gaining an understanding for the causes he advocated: freedom and justice in the Philippines. Finally, in showing that Rizal's discursive and dialectical approaches worked, it is hoped that I have been able to refute the contrary position/opinion held by sticking to fixed views on the hero and worse, framing his works to interpretations useful only for a legacy of nostalgic and cultic hero-worshipping. Thus, it is also hoped that new insights gained will make valuable, if useful, stepping stones as contributions to more comprehensive investigations of comparative case studies that will inform policy making bodies. The findings will certainly raise many more questions as well as epistemological and substantive issues to further research on literary practice as heroism in the diaspora, a phenomenon that has not been studied as such beyond the limitations of the 'text on the page' as demonstrated in this research project. In addition, it may be noted that Rizal's emancipatory path as poetic resistance exemplified in a special way a demonstration of power not just of 'Culture' in the supposedly Arnoldian high aesthetic canons of taste but also in Rizal's effort to reach out, not only to a greater reading public but to encourage reproducing culture in ways Shakespeare's works have been made to come alive for a greater public. Bridging gaps through more intensive dialogues among diaspora communities would enhance my own envisioning: a form of activist engagement that discovers how to restore the dignity of archived knowledge by resurrecting the ways they revive new ways of firing and activating the neurons in our culturally wired minds.

To what extent Rizal succeeded is a moot question because his martyrdom by execution at 35 years of age intervened prematurely. Nevertheless, by means of a trend analysis of Rizaliana discourse over time, i.e. during commemorative centennial celebrations in 1961 and 1996, it would be possible to follow how ideas and thoughts in Rizal's creative literary work have been re-constituted in the public space and then translated for intellectual and/or political impact.

Within Filipino communities abroad, this dissertation project may be caught in a jungle of unexplored, largely imagined and somewhat skimmed discursive issues, especially among migrants who left the Philippines, largely for economic rather than for explicit educational or political reasons. Arguably, it is likely for those among the former to be moved by forces, which may have nothing to do with a diasporic consciousness that is posited in this study, entailing a self-reflective 'othering process' and/or coping strategies in response to issues of transnational relations, hybrid or cross-pollinating identities as in mixed marriages and with "them-&-us" binary oppositional or antagonistic confrontations. Nevertheless, there comes the question that plagues every migrant – even after so many years of having been naturalized with permanent residency in the host country: oh, but, where do you come from? Austrian journalist Barbara Coudenhove-Kallergi wrote a possible stance in Austria's Amnesty International Journal, *"Identität: Eine Frage, die nervt"*¹⁸⁹, her article, subtitled with a reflective query:

*In einem Land, in dem jede*r Fünfte einen Migrationshintergrund hat, sollten wir die Frage nach Nationalität und Identität vielleicht nicht stellen.*

So I empathize with many migrants who irritatingly reflect: how long is this process – of being constantly asked where one is from – going to last? And where does it lead to: migrants or peoples seen as the diaspora, being no-longer-there in places of origin but not-yet-here in places of destination or host countries? Several valid approaches have been suggested by experts in various disciplines. This dissertation proposes considering the questions as part of the process of coping with the diaspora effect, for which I offer the prismatic model (see Figure 5) for a reading of the multiple paradoxical narratives that emanate from such diasporic consciousness, which I partly derived from Docker's analysis of "coming to terms" (2001:45).

As I have shown, Rizal put great emphasis on education as a way of meriting or deserving libertarian values and democratic ideals. Considering thus, Rizal's alliance with Blumentritt –could be viewed as a cultural-political engagement to unbind the conscience far beyond the bounds of the nationalist patriotic bent, a character orientation that both shared. It was to Blumentritt that Rizal had found both a friend and a brother in whom he confided his "inner life", which, I refer to as the development of a diasporic conscience that was expressed in a memory of politics for cultural identity as can be evidenced from their 10-year intensive correspondence that constitutes a significant primary resource for this research

¹⁸⁹ Amnesty Journal, Hoffnung am Horizont, September 2016, p.22 in www.amnesty.at

project.¹⁹⁰ Indeed, I argue that both, as activists at the end of the 19th century, were *Avant-gardes* among liberal transnationalists as is known today: opening doors and windows of cultural opportunity and serving as a form of collaborative civil society groups exploring a new sense of modernity and mobilizing collective networks of selfhood, as a subjective autonomous agency. Demands for racial equality and social justice as had been actively engaged by the Rizal-Blumentritt transnationalist network may have validity for political groups in contemporary terms who are dealing with terrorist violence and the consequences of American-led wars in the Middle East. Their “unbinding” of the nationalist patriotic conscience while articulating a transnational identity could serve the current discourse as a case of transcultural adaptation: from recognising “cultural difference in diversity” as well as a politics of memory that integrates intimate histories from daily life narratives such as those exemplified in Rizal’s prolific literary practice as can be read and deduced from his prolific diary writing and correspondence (see Figure 9 on Rizal’s cultural learning cycle).

That form of unbinding has serious implications for Filipinos abroad who continue to publicly celebrate ‘national independence day’ amidst the hate discourse directed at migrants and refugees by extreme right political parties and populist groups. The latter have been riding a wave of voter-support at elections out of scapegoating campaigns in which migrants/refugees are blamed for economic problems and financial crises pervading Europe in the 21st century.¹⁹¹ The question is: how and what can Filipinos abroad – especially those who left the Philippines as “contract workers overseas” who have been living within the European Union for years, many of them becoming “naturalised” citizens of host countries but without feeling integrated – claim from the Rizal-Blumentritt form of transnationalist attachment?

Filipinos have set up various types of organizations that define and acknowledge themselves in different ways as “diaspora”, which have been very active in the Americas, Asia, Australia and in the Middle East. Graphs 1 & 2 in Addendum II give an indication of the spread of Filipino nationals abroad from figures provided by the Commission of Filipinos Overseas (10.5 million in total in 2013 of which about 800,000 are in Europe out of which about 2% are in Austria.) But those figures only include those who have been processed through that Commission because Filipinos who have become naturalised or who go abroad for other reasons than as migrant labour do not come under the CFO’s radar and statistical concerns. The latter types are also not easy to comparatively track in numbers because systems of accounting for them vary in different countries and neither Embassies and nor Community associations are able to provide better help in this regard. One effort in tracking and mobilizing has come up during the last two years: a European Network of Filipino Diaspora (ENFID) was established whose goals and activities may be gleaned online as extracted hereunder from the

¹⁹⁰ I refer to The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence, Volume I (1886-1889) and Volume II (1890-1896) published by the National Historical Institute, 1992, a second printing based on the Jose Rizal national Centennial Edition, 1961.

¹⁹¹ Extremism and populism are daily fares in the media and in the Internet but for in-depth analyses, see Ruth Wodak *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean*, (LA/London/New Delhi/Singapore/Wash. D.C.: Sage, 2015).

website¹⁹².

Preamble: ENFiD is an active international networking association that hopes to (a) propagate the sense of Filipino “nationhood” away from the home country; (b) inculcate a strong sense of shared destiny and aspirations; (c) act as a catalyst in promoting resolutions to issues and arising problems among Filipinos in Europe.

Our vision is:

- a. A Filipino Diaspora community in Europe with a continued and sustained commitment and link to the Philippines, and at the same time fully integrated with the host country. (Commitment and full Integration)
- b. A vibrant and empowered Filipino Diaspora operating ‘glocally’ (globally and locally), whose talent, contribution and potential are recognized and rewarded both in Europe and in the Philippines, cognizant of the future generation of Filipino descent. (People)
- c. A Filipino Diaspora in touch with its cultural origins and its best traditional values, and how it enriches the diversity of life of the host country. (Identity)

From what I have seen and heard in attending diaspora groups, the aforementioned may also give an indication of similar objectives and strategies which begs the question: how does that effort implicate integration policies and mechanisms of host countries and what are the implications for the phenomenon of distanced nationalism referred to earlier, especially on those being threatened by a rightist/extremist wave of populism within the EU countries facing an unresolved refugee crisis and populist/political parties scapegoating migrants for economic and security issues. What can diaspora groups beyond Filipinos abroad learn from Rizal’s heroic legacy? In particular, the crucial question posed throughout this dissertation is: how can the mental maps and conceptual frames derived from exploring Rizal’s development of a diasporic consciousness apply to other groups. How can culture as signifying practice and maps/models of meaning models be applied to enlarge rather than contract the field of nationalist-patriotic vision as Rizal engaged his literary practice while in the diaspora to critique the established hegemonic leadership and order? And, in struggling for social justice and renegotiating an order of equity and equality, what can be learned from Rizal’s transculturation whereby he adopted a non-militant paradigm ‘to envision an elsewhere’ via emancipatory paths that mobilized the collective for a transnationalist cosmopolitan sense of solidarity. Rizal’s poetics of diasporic spaces as a matter of cultural politics was driven by a socially inclusive civil liberties activism in the discursive public space for an intercultural/transcultural orientation. There is a sense of urgency for deriving such lessons at a time when hegemonic politicians like Duterte, Erdogan, Le Pen, Orban, Putin and Trump (to name just a handful among the many) have set themselves up as models of violent heroism and who play out their game plans and star wars to solve complex conflicts with simpleton-formulas practically aping the way ISIS-heroes shake and move the world with terror and hatred.

¹⁹² www.enfid.org

While conducting such research projects, there is urgency, not just to debate but to resolve the complex phenomenon of divided loyalties in the face of ISIS terrorist attacks and employment concerns of people with migrant backgrounds affecting “security and stability” in their host countries. Juxtaposed with “racist and xenophobic” issues, the political discourse to consider new ways of renegotiating citizenship and the integration of ethnic-migrant groups has been getting more and more impossibly muddled.¹⁹³ Crucially also, public trust in politicians and governance institutions has been waning so rapidly, editorials have been warning against not only the return of absolutist dictators and fascist regimes as in the 20th century but the break up and spread of civil wars.¹⁹⁴ “Roadmaps” for peaceful resolution of conflicts are being undermined owing to the endemic and pervading influence of socially racialised exclusionist modes of thinking and behaviour. It is within this labyrinthine mindset that a culture of anarchy and its allied mechanisms such as a ‘politics of fear’ (Wodak 2015) corrupts the mental trafficking that prey upon political isolationists, ultra-ethnic groups and fundamental nationalists.

As I have shown particularly in chapter VI, Rizal's heroism resisting an ideological triad of issues (reason, religion and race) that were closely knit and still pervade the political landscapes in various ways, as a form of human rights advocacy, was a matter of cultural politics. I have argued throughout that Rizal's political activism was demonstrated in a literary practice by which he attempted to change the terms of the religious and racial-ethnic discourse in the public domain. I contend and claim that Rizal's goal, as can be gleaned and evidenced from his writings, was to effect a change in the consciousness of actors on conflicting sides within the colonial-imperial divide where critical thinking would balance the tradition of cultural history and emergent liberal values. As part of that goal, Rizal sought democratic reforms to redress the terms of the hegemonic-social order and discriminatory governance. In effect, Rizal's literary activism was a claim or diasporic stance and practice that demanded radical changes in the Spanish imperialist cultural construct: no less than uprooting a racist “*limpieza de sangre*” illusion and divine right absolutist rule, which legitimised political participation based on exclusivist-unequal terms of cultural identity. That form of politics ran against Rizal's memory and reasoning from culture about one's worth and value as a member of the human race.

Thus in the previous chapters, this study has provided argumentative evidence that the evolution of Rizal's developmental engagement and heroic activism was not directly aimed at political severance of the Philippines to achieve national sovereignty from imperial Spain. Rather, it was more concerned about going for collective cultural values: 1) an enlightened socio-political vision of human beings in a modernist mode towards progress; 2) an educated citizenry for liberal democratic participation with the power to think critically, confront abuses and

¹⁹³ Concerns and hopes for ways to resolve issues from various analyses from almost two decades ago seem not to have abated. See Rainer Bauböck (Ed.) *From Aliens to Citizens: Redefining the Status of Immigrants in Europe* (Avebury and European Centre Vienna, 1994)

¹⁹⁴ See for example https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/america-is-becoming-a-land-of-less-liberty/2016/12/29/2a91744c-ce09-11e6-a747-d03044780a02_story.html?utm_term=.d36ae85c57a7

challenge needed reforms against the prevailing cultural bind; and 3) creating the space for public discourse where everyone would have equal rights in freely expressing themselves as equals, emancipating the mind by renegotiating cultures that bind. Entering the public domain with the products of his creative literary practice – the letters, essays, plays and novels or *Noli-Fili* sequel – Rizal challenged and advocated for an opening up of the boundaries of freedom of speech and a de-blocking of civil liberties that had been denied to or negated for Filipino Indios under Spain's imperial strategies and colonial rule.

In light of the foregoing, I contend that the political engagement of Jose Rizal, which supposedly played a critical role in bringing the Spanish colonial regime in the Philippines to its knees at the turn of the 19th century, was neither secessionist nor separatist, as many historians, politicians and educationalists have been debating since. Instead, I conclude that Rizal's claim to heroism has to be seen as an emancipatory or liberation project of a cultural nature because it questioned the rational ideology of theocratic politics and racial discrimination and cultural imperialist constructs as the root or seat of oppressive Spanish governance which was incompatible with enlightened thinking among liberal and democratic movements in Europe, including Spain, and in America at the time.

Therefore, Rizal's cultural politics was not to demand political autonomy – a sort of Moses going before the Pharaoh and asserting "let my people go!" Rather, Rizal sought to change the fixated mindset and unenlightened thinking at the bases of corrupt, unjust and discriminatory practices in governance. This study pointed out clear and consistent indicators from Rizal's writings about what he envisioned: a system that could instill social justice and egalitarian liberties based on the idea of racial equality of all human beings as a moral birthright. His charge was that Filipinos had been unjustly subjected to indignities that were not in accord with universal Christian principles but with the Catholic Church's questionable institutions that had been encrusted as a divine right within the Spanish empire whose colonial governance oppressed the native "Indios" as savages, and who were accordingly mistreated as bonded to slavery status.

The Spanish friars had been concerned about Rizal's writings even long before he actually entered the forbidden public domain with the two novels and other literary and politico-historical outcomes that he had written and published in Europe, as well as periodic stays in Hong Kong and Japan over a ten-year period: 1882-1887; 1888-1892. That move was the result of Rizal's acculturation plus reflective critical resistance to the roots of an oppressive regime that he had experienced already as a child when he saw how his own father and mother coped with mistreatment by the authorities. It was tantamount to an open declaration of political war against the Spanish establishment on Rizal's part by which he had armed himself with the same cultural tools that he had imbibed: a mind educated in the classics, inspired by enlightenment values, open to 19th century emancipatory practices that challenged the cultural underpinnings of imperialism and colonial governance.

Within those discursive dilemmas I have attempted to demonstrate the thesis: Rizal's heroic engagement was a matter of cultural politics, not political severance from Spanish governance by radical and militant revolution but an

emancipation that demanded racial equality of Filipinos with Spaniards in the exercise of civil liberties and human rights in the public domain. This demand focused on the forms of racist bondage and discrimination that the colonial regime had exercised against the natives who were categorized as "Indios" and differentiated from other "Filipinos", thus, unworthy of higher-level human practices and status. For instance, education was available only to a privileged "few" and Spanish was not a language that everyone was taught. More crucially, Rizal wanted to end racial discrimination by calling attention to abuses of the colonial governance largely based on un-enlightened religious beliefs such as the divine right dogma and feudal traditions. Doing so, he challenged the cultural underpinnings or the roots of the repressive hegemonic order under the Spanish Empire. Literature, specifically the novels, was his way of breaking silence and breaking into the public space in a modernist mode.

Same crucial dilemmas? What is at stake now and who is going for it?

Displaced from their native birthplaces and original home structures, detached from familiar relations and functional roles, dispersed in places not representing that desired place-to-return-or-go-to, I argued that diaspora peoples engage poetic forms of articulating and communicating (of which writing is the focus of this research project) as a coping strategy. That may or may not differ from the more commonly known negative diaspora effect: namely, a sense of deep irretrievable loss and inability to recoup or find one's bearings involving a psycho-social disorientation and/or a cultural alienation with a sense of losing one's purpose in life, which may lead to all sorts of alternative escape mechanisms such as drugs, gambling, anomalous behaviour and militant terrorism.

Thus, this study also argued that Rizal's critical intervention – standing up and speaking out as a representative of other "Indio Filipino subalterns" – sought to change the thinking from cultural underpinnings that were at the root of socially unjust and absolutist colonial governance. Influenced by enlightenment philosophers during his studies in Europe, it is significant to have a reading in a different light, not just in-depth or between the lines, in order to see how Rizal expressed his envisioning a system that could instil social justice and egalitarian liberties based on the idea of racial equality of all human beings as a moral birthright. The question then is: How did Rizal's literary works demonstrate his claims that Filipinos had been unjustly subjected to indignities not in accord with universal Christian values propagated within the Spanish empire?

One answer may be found in Rizal's emphasis on education, which was his way to and understanding freedom: that one needs to work towards libertarian and democratic ideals. Considering thus, his alliance with Blumentritt could be viewed as a cultural-political engagement to unbind the conscience from parochial or extremist forms of nationalism towards a cosmopolitan bent. In retrospect, both developed into "transnationalists" as some, not all, are engaging in today: as a window of cultural opportunity serving as a mirror for a new sense of collective selfhood. This "unbinding" could serve the contemporary discourse as a case study of both a politics of recognising difference as well as a politics of memory by revisiting and integrating intimate histories such as those contained in literary practice towards questioning or articulating a transnational identity. That unbinding

has implications for the political behaviour of migrants like Filipinos abroad or in the diaspora, in particular, the complex phenomenon of divided loyalties especially on the part of those who become “naturalised” citizens of recipient countries.

Current concerns about “security and stability” juxtaposed with “racist and xenophobic” issues muddle the discourse to consider new definitions of citizenship and integrating ethnic-migrant groups. Demands for racial equality and justice by the Rizal-Blumentritt transnationalist network may have validity for political groups who are dealing with terrorist violence and American-led wars. “Roadmaps” for peaceful resolution of conflicts are being undermined owing to the endemic and pervading influence of racial hierarchical modes of thinking and behaviour. It is precisely within this seat of the labyrinthine mindset that a culture of corruption and its mechanisms need to be confronted. Only thus, might it be possible to consider why political institutions of checks and balances and the regulatory system to ensure transparency and accountability are not working.

In this light, I hypothesized that, ultimately, it is a matter of cultural politics for Rizal and those like him who engage their literary competencies to confront the narrow and exclusive confines of the public domain. A failure to understand that and its deeper ramifications is a failure to respect the heroic effort of individuals and groups who have been spearheading the march of human progress not only by producing images to envision the good life but also to negotiate required changes with the powers that be.

It is important to recall that Rizal’s context for evolving a diasporic consciousness was a temporal period of modernity that had been referred to variously as the century of emancipation in Europe and in America: the 19th century (despite some setbacks to absolutist forms of governance during the *Ancien Regime* and Napoleon’s imperialist incursions) had been culturally inseminated with liberal ideas – emanating from the English ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1689 and the French Revolution a hundred years later – to redefine power relationships and expand the base of political participation. Rizal’s experience seems to have been common and not altogether unique among travellers and exiles in the 1800s. In this regard, most particularly relevant references are: Deborah Coen’s (*Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty – on The Mind Set Free in Science, Liberalism and Private Life*; Johann Dvorak’s volume of essays *Selbstorganisierter Intellekt: Aufklärung, Bildung und Politik im neuzeitlichen England*; Peter Gay’s *Schnitzler’s Century – The Making of Middle Class Culture*; Leo Spitzer’s *Lives In Between – on the Experience of Marginality*. That emancipation saga involves a long process of individuation within a modernist mode: asserting oneself among subjugated peoples such as those from the colonies, who struggle to move from objectivity to subjectivity. *Towards the Light* is a reminder and an appeal by A.G. Grayling that such narratives on the struggle for liberty is what made the modern West, thus earning the *Spectator*’s praise: ‘A rollicking defence of Freedom and Enlightenment in the style of Tom Paine or William Godwin’ (Grayling 2007/2008: front cover).

But, into the 21st century, where’s the crux? Back into raising Lasswell’s (1936) *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, which I herein interpret as: what did the

West win for whom? Who are in and how do they remain? Who may not get in, no matter what? “Political Science,” Lasswell (Ibid: 25) defines:

is the study of influence and the influential. Influence is determined on the basis of shares in the values which are chosen for purposes of the analysis. ... No single index is wholly satisfactory as a gauge of influence, but situations may be clarified by the successive application of specific standards. Whatever the measures utilized, attention is centered upon the characteristics of the influential which may be described in selected terms like class, skill, personality and attitude. The fate of an elite is profoundly affected by the way it manipulates the environment; that is to say, by the use of violence, goods, symbols, practices.

Judging from responses of the influential to date, sharing values has not been altogether satisfactory. Statistics and analyses therefrom on the worsening economic divide do not reveal enough about their political implications and social ramifications, especially not about how the capitalist system maintains itself in the face of more precarious conditions among the lower economic classes. Discriminatory situations prevail despite well-meaning declarations and anti-discriminatory laws and regulatory measures. And judging from current mass media, the achievement of human rights activist groups within civil societies has been met with snail-paced positive changes, populist talk and tokenism, cold encounters or worse, with aggressively bold and violent counteractions from all sides. In fact, while working on this project, major print, online and other media have been saturated with reportage on refugees fleeing the raging wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria even as more and more people have been displaced internally and dispersed in the diaspora, not to mention the impact from the Arab Spring; violent interventions from Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram and ISIS Jihadist groups; and resurgence of racism in the U.S.A. and Europe. The consequent mass displacements of people, refugees and asylum seekers exacerbate issues of migration, which have been instrumentalized by populist, extremist and right wing political parties. The September 2016 issue of Scope, the magazine of the Alpbach Media Academy, which is part of the European Forum Alpbach, provides a feel of how the world looks like as discussed during the summer where around 700 participants from all over the world considered topics around the theme New Enlightenment. With the lead article, *Eastern Europe’s nationalists on the march: EU leaders struggle to cope*, others were flagged: *Feminism stirs in Islam: More than Hijabs and Burkinis*; *Economic Growth: We can’t carry on like this*; and *Borders under Strain: Sea crossings more dangerous*.¹⁹⁵

The initial premise of this dissertation project is that a heroic poetics of diaspora effect is a matter of cultural politics that can be empirically evidenced in the literary practices of writers such as Rizal who, while in the diaspora, take risks and courageous steps to evoke forms of inter-cultural and transnational mobilization. That mobilization of the collective take various forms, mainly as ways of speaking

¹⁹⁵ The Alpbach Summer Academy is a well-established institution that gathers leading experts and activists from various fields in the private as well public sectors as well as students from all over the world. I have attended the seminars on politics, including the one in 2017.

out: 1) to give voice to the 'subaltern' in hegemonic orders; 2) against "outsider status" in them-us power relations; and/or 3) being made to feel "strangers forever". Examples abound especially of ethnic groups who can be mobilized from conditions/states of "diasporic longing and/or yearning" for having been displaced from a common territory or coping with the fact of being dispersed from conationalities in time and/or place (Aguilar 2014). The latter types of phenomena have been demonstrated in several studies mostly as politics of identity and territorial integrity of peoples in the diaspora as in the Jewish-Greek-Armenian classical cases. Most recent studies on the diaspora have focused on the economic, as though echoing the concerns and orientation of various migrant communities to contribute to nation-building by way of allowing themselves to be exchangeable or exportable products in terms of remittances and foreign direct investment.

A foremost interest in this research project was to explore and find possible answers in terms of solid knowledge and understandings to the social science question: what is culture and how is inter-culturalization to be understood and distinguished from intra-culturalization; or acculturation from transculturation. How do such idioms, modes, or social activities affect cultural identities/identifications of protagonists drawing upon a politics of memory as heroic poetics of diaspora effect? Consequentially, how does one deduce alternative policy options in response to the protagonist's coping strategy in modernist mode while raising cultural issues to change and/or negotiate one's objective position into a participant subject-agent in the public domain and political realm? Those questions are crucial in examining Rizal's displacement, fragmentation and sense of loss prior to undergoing self-transformation and recovery within the context of events in late 19th century Europe. Specifically, in Rizal's case, I contend that it was constituted from a series of journeys for study away from his birthplace and native homeland that, in effect, took the form of multiple dispersions and displacements, and finally being accused and formally exiled by the colonial government, while under arrest towards the end of his young life. All that involved circumstances forced upon Rizal's having to be in a prolonged state where the diaspora effect inevitably made profound and indelible impressions and a sustaining impact.

What is therefore really at stake is not just to link up propositions and methods with cultural studies and drawing upon the garb of literary aesthetics for new insights and perspectives that can be revealed only in remixed social science triangulations. This dissertation is in a sense akin to democracy itself: less a well-established structure with clearly defined institutions but a process of "cultural poesis and politics", which James Clifford defines as 'the constant reconstitution of selves and others through specific exclusions, conventions and discursive practices'.¹⁹⁶

This research project is also based on the premise that understanding the diasporic phenomenon is imperative in a globalized multicultural/polyvalent world.

¹⁹⁶ "Introduction: Partial Truths", in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 24.

That is why it has been necessary to start by undertaking the literature review for the theoretical groundwork based on empirical evidence and indicators that ethical, moral, and legal-historical constructs are constantly clashing within socio-economic systems, which no longer seem tenable with the effect that more and more people are crossing borders but feel dislocated and deprived straddling the spaces between them where Homi Bhabba locates culture (1994). And, as the globe contracts in cyber worlds where physical distance no longer matters in terms of digitised possibilities, more and more people are mobilised as exchangeable commodities or exportable labour, causing migrant revolutions, as evidenced in Aguilar's (2014) work. Media news and reportage on the state-of-the-world indicate anxieties owing to political parties in so-called democratic systems unable to reach consensus on the one hand, and on the other, people from the periphery reaching out for a reliable compass and orientation maps from sure-fired populist leaders, as voters of Brexit, Duterte, Erdogan and Trump showed. Indeed, even within the confines of the relatively stable parts of the USA and EU, there is a sense of paralysis, which arguably stems from the incapacity to keep abreast of paradigmatic shifts and to relate power with socio-cultural and economic changes through processes of democratic governance. In that regard, I hope that this project can contribute to scholarship efforts: by turning to theoretical appeals and empirical approaches as rigorous ways of political/social science towards a shared understanding and critical thinking where knowledge can inform power relationships and all involved in policymaking or the art of managing the public domain. As digital media largely indicate, democracy, which is here considered "a process" rather than the model of a completed project, is being overtaken by a surrogate of violent interventions with massive collateral damage that erodes the gains of civil political protests and peaceful engagements of the critical political mind and dialogic political actors.

Despite the endless debates and better information tools that the digital age offers, moral orientation and clarity seem to be ever wanting in dealing with such inter-related issues as those mentioned above, which are imbued with a greater sense of urgency in the wake of internal revolutions that have been exploding myths linked to ideologies such as 'nationalism' and 'nation-state-ism' where people can no longer be kept in ignorance of so-called democracies with abusive, oppressive and/or unjust governance mechanisms. Thus, ever since the '90s, the media has been churning out narratives of violent resistance in the Balkans and former states of Yugoslavia, around North Africa and the Middle East compounding the war against terrorism declared by the United States and its Coalition of Alliances as a response to 9/11.

How does the poet function as prophet or 'conscience of the human race'?

It is no longer contested that the Internet and cyber worlds have thrust the march of postmodern human progress further and digital technologies have been changing the ways we communicate. Social media has empowered people to speak out so speedily, if nonsensically, that it no longer makes sense to buy the conceit that artists and writers have a monopoly in being the conscience of the human race. Singers and rappers have now taken the role of James Joyce. The right of such observers to be recognized as mouthpieces while expressing

themselves deserves its function in the public domain because such individual creative acts induce a sense of, if not a compass for, cultural identity and personal well-being that can spill over into the creative imagination of the collective beyond personal, spatial and temporal borders. Still, another Irish poet and Nobel Laureate Seamus Heaney warns: It is a role that modern poets have responded to with caution, often ironically, sometimes with downright mockery... as no poet can afford to surrender himself to the party line. 'You have to protect your inner freedom.' Thus, Heaney: 'I'd say the function of poetry is to record the adventures of the spirit rather than politics and sociology of the moment.'¹⁹⁷

Freedom of expression has been raised during the global discourse amidst the turmoil that raged in the Middle East in the wake of the long Arab Spring in 2010 that led to the fall of Tunisian, Egyptian, Libyan and Yemeni autocratic rulers. Basically, it begs the question: to what extent can people-sparked mass revolutions break barriers to and open up better ways, considering the implications and consequences for democracy?

For the many swept up by speeding opportunities of globalization and expanding possibilities in a digital world, it may now seem another century ago that the 20-year Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines was ended in 1986 by a revolution that also went into history books as "People Power". And from events in Arab and north African countries, it is easy to forget that it was one poor man's act that sparked the movement: Mohamed Bouazizi, one among many young Tunisians, whose trading on the streets in fruit and vegetables without a licence was challenged by abusive authorities in what has become a normal and usual policing function: in humiliating ways, both physically and psychologically. Ironically, it was a woman inspector, slapping him in public who transgressed a cultural limit that led to Bouazizi's self-immolation that resonated in a non-stoppable passionate chain reaction: a rallying cry of "enough is enough", creating an impact going beyond Tunisia's borders – possibly even further than CNN's programme in search of heroes. The incident unleashed a mega Pandora's box of pent-up emotions among poverty-stricken and long-oppressed peoples, stirring up wave upon wave of fearlessness even in the face of violent crackdowns in Bahrain, Iraq and then Syria and Yemen to quash demonstrators with deadly weapons.

Other harsh realities need to be faced given the continuous threat posed by ISIS and other terrorist groups. Historically, can Arab countries forgive and forget that Turkey once exercised colonial power over some of them? Geopolitically, to what extent can a seemingly vibrant metropolis such as Istanbul, straddling Asia and Europe, still bridge the multicultural divide? By multicultural, I refer to the system of beliefs and values not only between peoples but within the body politic – the complex of multilayered lights and shadows that take expression primarily in artistic and cultural activities, if not in unexpected emotional outbursts during day-to-day interactions, rituals, folkloristic or festive events.

¹⁹⁷ The Vienna Review, September 2009 published an interview with Heaney after he gave a lecture at the EFACIS in Vienna 03.09.09 on his own poetic influences.

And, demographically, how does the young generation, constituting the majority in many of those countries, react to Western leaders still talking down to them as “Fortress Gatekeepers” in a globalized capitalistic system with politicians acting like Pied Pipers harping on that tune: political order must precede cultural review and reformation? Specifically, how do migrants and refugees living in the EU react to the hardened stance of politicians and leaders altogether declaring at one point that “multiculturalism” has failed and call for stricter integrative measures.

Apropos geopolitics, Anderson (1983/1991: xv) suggests in *Imagined Communities* that, in thinking about nationalism, Southeast Asia offers splendid opportunities for comparative theorising since it comprises areas that had been colonised by all the past imperial powers as well as uncolonised Siam. Some historians and cultural anthropologists attest that divisiveness and fragmentation in the region had not been always so. Writing in the early 70s, Wilhelm G. Solheim II (1971) argued in his book, *New Light on a Forgotten Past*, that the focus on Southeast Asia owing to the Vietnam war obscured some astonishing discoveries about the peoples who live there and their ancient history which could drastically affect even the position of Western man and his place in the evolution of world culture. He made bold arguments pointing out that there are clear and powerful indications emerging from his findings to suggest that some of the earliest steps towards civilisation may have been taken in Southeast Asia.

Almost about the same time, a seminal work came out: *The Philippines in the World of Southeast Asia, A Cultural History*. Filipino author E.P. Patanne has woven materials collected from geological, archaeological and ethnological evidences which have come to light only in recent years for a bold, new reconstruction of the region’s past. As he traces external influences over the traditional cultural matrix, the author demonstrates that life, particularly as can be gleaned from village people, is suffused with a unity of deep and widespread roots. This volume is considered groundbreaking because the author has chosen a long-range historical view that looks East, rather than the usual West, thus going against the grain: “...of western bias, which makes up much of the histories of Southeast Asia.” (Patanne 1972: ii) Thus, it offers the Filipino a new way of considering the indelible cultural links which shaped the Philippines with enduring characteristics and affinities shared over time within the South-East Asian region.

In his Introduction to his book, *Identity and Change* (1965) Carlos P. Romulo, respected Filipino statesman (who held various positions including as resident commissioner of the Philippines to the U.S prior to independence following which he was Ambassador of the Philippines to the U. N. and elected President of its General Assembly as early as 1949) asserts:

The history of Asia... is composed of two disconnected episodes. The first is a record of Asian civilisation of which the highlights are the rich Asian contributions to... religion, art, poetry, philosophy and science. It is a long and nearly unbroken series of achievements of the Asian mind, in every way comparable to the achievements of the West. ...But the second episode is nebulous and disjunct. It begins with the coming of the white man, gathers force as his values impinge on the traditional Asian values, and finally gains ascendancy when he

decides to establish a more or less permanent presence in the continent. We who live in our times continue to be under the spell of this episode; and we, the historians included, continue to be perplexed by the effort to establish which is Asian and which Western in the confusing flux of events during the so-called Vasco de Gama age of Asian history. For the brand of colonialism is not only on the events themselves; it is also on the recording of the events. (Ibid., vi)

Indeed, viewed as “a sentiment or urge” for real independence and not only for the sake of formal political autonomy, nationalism is still considered a dynamic and potent force in shaping the destinies of many nation-states today, expressing itself in different ways and at various levels: political, economic and cultural. But as a post-modern phenomenon nationalism is no longer confined within territorial borders. It surges in surprising ways particularly among immigrant groups scattered over what are now regarded as cultural minorities in the diaspora – those who leave their countries not only for political reasons but also on account of other economic and socio-psychological push-and-pull factors.

Rizal’s nationalism has also been flogged like a dead horse by political analysts, social scientists and other scholars, as well as by journalists and the media in their attempts to find out whether or not it unites peoples of “emerging nations” in the same manner classic/traditional nationalism worked for western European nations at the advent of the modern period. But the study of nationalism during the last quarter of the 20th century seems to have been radically transformed taking into account the stress given to the “Third World” origins of nationalism and to overcome the eurocentric prerogative or western bias. The discourse rages on precisely because not enough has been done or said from among “other voices” to swing the pendulum to a sensible equilibrium.

And yet, well into the 21st century, it is appropriate to raise whether what is called nationalism and the terms of the theoretical framework have really changed from that which had been bandied about ever since it was initially debated and given its western label. For there still is that wide spectrum of interests, as in the case of Southeast Asia, which continues to bear out the thesis put forward in the 60s by two American scholars that a variety of countervailing groups employ nationalism as a justification for satisfying narrow and indeed selfish aspirations (Vandenbosch and Butwell 1966). Furthermore, it is far more easy to recollect sketches of so-called democratic or communist politicians, liberal or socialist economists, benevolent or humanitarian autocrats than to pin them down in terms of distinctive features and essence that bear on nationalist motives and behaviour.

Significant ‘meanings’ from Rizal’s cultural politics as he practised in the diaspora through his literary engagements might be deduced from Mouffe’s (2005/2006: 21) injunction:

What is at stake in the agonistic struggle... is the very configuration of power relations around which a given society is structured: it is **a struggle between opposing hegemonic projects**, which can never be reconciled rationally. The antagonistic dimension is always present. It is a real confrontation but one which is played out under conditions

regulated by a set of democratic procedures accepted by the adversaries. (emphasis added)

Within that line of ‘reasoning’ an issue connected to the nationalist charge that Rizal was a “Eurocentric” comes up: how meaningful is it to invoke enlightenment ideals for the transformation of societies in the 21st century? Here, Dvorak’s volume of essays (1997) is particularly useful in terms of orienting, anchoring as well as providing this research project’s red thread or “*Zusammenhänge im Kontext*”: set during the last quarter of the 19th century as a historical context for considering Rizal’s ‘heroic poetics’ as ‘cultural politics’ along such analytical concepts of ‘modernity thinking’, as distinguished from ‘modernization’ (associated with ‘progress’ brought about by industrialization) and being ‘modern’, as exemplified by bourgeois values and lifestyles. How can such analytical distinctions be useful with which Dvorak described the discourse of intellectuals and novelists like Arthur Schnitzler who grappled with cultural identity and racist politics during the Habsburg Monarchy’s last decades.

The menu of tales and narratives from various information media and documentary films, representing human movement since antiquity through to the feudal/medieval ages and up to the present, demonstrates that cases in the Western world have not much more improved from how Alexander Dumas and Victor Hugo or Charles Dickens and Joseph Conrad had described human conditions of the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. Readily available information-scenarios and instantly clickable images reel out negative answers to the aforementioned questions indicative of discouraging people who persist in exercising their human right to move.¹⁹⁸ The archives are not complete and there is reason to suspect that all over the world, the greater part of humanity is kept in different kinds of bindings: more subtle, rather numbingly horrible and uncivilized ways – what with more powerful double-edged technologies available and accessible on a much wider basis than heretofore.¹⁹⁹ In most nation-states that are self-proclaimed democracies or constitutionally established as such, Promethean-like humans get severely sanctioned for passing on “inner fires”, stirring public discourses, or encouraging those who demonstrate a “heroic streak” by daring to

¹⁹⁸ Mobility as a human right was only established under international conventions in the wake of World War II. But, the Österreichische Exilbibliothek, Literaturhaus Wien, founded in 1993 by an Austrian institution that aims to document and disseminate scholarly as well as fictional/popular materials as part of cultural memory makes the point: that “émigrés” and “exile” or migration-diaspora narratives are constitutive of Austria’s history and experience, even if the library focuses and specializes in works since the period of Austro-fascism 1933/38 and the Nazi war years. The library includes an extensive and large collection of media/film archives.

¹⁹⁹ See Nicholas van Hear’s books: *New Diasporas* (London: Routledge, 1998), *The Migration-Development Nexus* (Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2003) and *Catching Fire: Containing forced migration in a volatile world* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006). While researching and writing this project, journalistic chronicles in the wake of the Arab Spring, on Lampedusa and the plight of refugees from Afghanistan, the Middle East and North Africa have been feeding the dailies and parliament discourses; e.g. Vienna’s *Der Standard*, 19 June 2015, p. 9, “*Flüchtlinge müssen in freien übernachten*”, cf. also online Reportage, *Move on and Amnesty* reports).

be “godlike” in challenging overtly and repressively enslaving practices of those privileged by institutional powers.²⁰⁰ In multiple levels of human narratives, masses of people go haplessly looking for that elusive “dreamland”, waiting with nostalgic and/or romantic notions for the opportunity to return to “promised lands” or lost home places. In between, various grim narratives repeat themselves and proliferate as evidence of a grim politics of cultural memory in a never-ending cycle of production from creative minds.

So how would the paradigm shift in this research project make a difference?

In exploring the discursive contestations behind Rizal’s heroism, I want to understand what was really at stake in Rizal having risked his life and for what envisioned cultural construct. My initial literature survey and readings of his works as primary archival empirical sources suggest that a shift of perspective from the political to the cultural and a different way of focusing the lights for reviewing and re-visioning Rizal’s legacy can help in that regard. This entails not only finding his real voice amidst all the noise around the ways he was heroic or not heroic enough. The work must also include questioning some assumptions about how and in what light Rizal has been seen to date, which I suspect, derives from basic differences in perceptual instruments as to why he decided on specific forms and practices of subverting cultural codes and how he applied these to his implicit and stated goals.

With the abovementioned “shift” in cultural perspectives and perceptual/viewing instruments, this research project presents ‘alternative understandings’ in considering Rizal’s resistance and emancipatory paths in three abstract ways, namely that: 1) the study of literary practice and novels, as narrative framing, are cultural preoccupations on social power relations with clear links to the political, which involves new memory construction and spans modernity stances/positions through modernization to post-modernist modes; 2) the study of migrants and refugees or asylum seekers along with expatriates and pilgrims/travellers, who are now variously referred to as people of the diaspora, engaging in politics of memory that they deliberately bring as discursive material to image/assert their (dys)functionalities in the public space, and 3) the study of Rizal grappling with issues of identity from the standpoint of diasporic sites that he went through, may reveal varied aspects of emancipatory issues in search of freedom: for oneself as a cultural activist and for one’s sense of belonging to the collective.

In short, general ideas can be expressed as a mapping of general conceptual metaphors that may comprise submappings, which constitute simpler metaphors that are embodied in and are based on correlations from everyday experience (Lakoff 2009: 255). That light serves the purpose of analysing Rizal’s works specifically on the three political issues that are framed in this dissertation as

²⁰⁰ A German-sponsored international seminar as a culminating exercise of ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) during the mid-1980s manifest shared problems and issues to further research: see Migrant Overseas Workers: New Area of Concern for Labour Unions (Manila: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Economic Research Centre University of Santo Thomas, 1988).

bound together in culture: reason, religion and race or ethnicity, which has been analysed in Chapter VI.

How can “heroic poetics of diaspora effect” be read as a form of linkage and lineage of cultural politics?

In revisiting Rizal’s literary works as emancipatory engagement within a diasporic perspective, I also take as springboards other contemporary literati critics recognized as social science scholars who, like Dvorak, have particularly focused on literary engagement as cultural politics:

During the 19th century, many countries other than in Asia or Europe such as in Mexico and Cuba (two countries with whom the Philippines had close historical links at that time), had engaged in literary practice as a political tool or weapon. Rizal had been consciously aware that he was joining a literary-historical lineage and trajectory (source from his diaries and letters). For instance, he mentioned in his diaries having met some of them while he was studying in Madrid during the mid-1880s. Still, he preferred to refer to French intellectuals (Hugo, Descartes, Rousseau and Voltaire) and German writers (Lessing, Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, whose *“William Tell”* he translated into Tagalog) as his sources of inspiration.

An undercurrent running through this dissertation was to discern the causes, conditions and impact-patterns by which liberal democratic systems engage in governance while employing unfair economic pressures and/or terrorist militarism as political intervention instruments that have become integral to globally-oriented power games. It has argued that imperialist driven cultural formations and a deep-seated racial hierarchy continues to underpin the repertory of institutionalised strategies and tactics by international players on the contemporary stage of cultural politics. Globalisation and the Internet have radically expanded the political arena and the way civil society is changing the terms and structure of games run by power elites.

I began by arguing that nationalism in the Philippines is a complex phenomenon which needs to be understood in context. However, I also referred to that context as a double bind: on the one hand there is that push from its own setting in Southeast Asia among a collective of nation-states that must face continued challenges, both interior and exterior, to assert their earned sovereignty; on the other, there is that pull towards a special partnership with the U.S. and, by extension, some kind of pressure to be enmeshed in a web of political relationships with the West based on some shared history and cultural construct. But that is precisely where the trouble lies. Beneath the formal veneer of Filipinos looking, speaking, and behaving like their Asian neighbours, there is an embedded mass akin to that beneath the tip of an iceberg that could wreak havoc as in the Titanic tragedy. For that mass comprises a *Weltanschauung* that does not readily show in terms of mindset and socio-cultural values which are the source, mostly unconscious, of what drives many a Filipino-nationalist going for the carrot in a global order. This double-bind tells us that Philippine nationalism in the international scene is not just a complex phenomenon; it is also highly suspect as far as where its real loyalty or direction is concerned, that X-factor in politics that

can come up with last-minute turn-around manoeuvres, precisely because it operates in a catch-22 situation.

I reassert the proposition that Philippine nationalism is allied to nationalist movements in Southeast Asia as transnationalism in that it is a product of and a reaction to Western colonialism. As such, nationalism has been, and paradoxically remains, a bonding force among Southeast Asians in their common goal to lift themselves up to the level of the industrialised and modern nation-states. Non-colonised Thailand is an exception and had a different, if more relatively smooth, path to modernisation and American authors Harold Kerbo and John Mckinstry demonstrate in lucid ways not only why Thailand achieved impressive economic growth but also how the benefits spread beyond the rich and middle class to the poor. (Kerbo/Mckinstry 2000, esp. chapters 2/3)

While it is true that nationalism in Southeast Asia could be seen as a revolt against Western imperialism, it is not opposed to Western civilisation in favour of what is traditional or indigenously Asian. History demonstrates that nationalism has also inspired determined intellectual elites in every country with the desire, sometimes passionate, to learn and apply Western ideas and techniques so that they would be able to participate in the socio-economic and psycho-cultural life of the modern world. But there is always that flipside which nationalism stirs: to do this on equal terms without sacrificing or making a mockery of sovereignty. And although Southeast Asians have been cautious in their relations with Japan, that country is in fact looked up to as a sort of guiding light. For Japan is a classic example of a highly modernised Asian power which successfully drew on the positive side of nationalism to remain true to its cultural construct while adopting Western models and in adapting to them during the task of national development. Here also, the specialist-team Kerbo/McKinstry authored book on *Modern Japan* where they analyse precisely how Japan has differed from other Asian nations in applying democratic concepts despite having what is practically an American-dictated Constitution. (Kerbo/McKinstry 1998)

As in other Southeast Asian versions, it is possible to discern in Philippine nationalism a movement that is directed not so much against scientifically modern technologies and advanced weapons or popular education and recreational institutions as against the assumed claim of Western superiority which functions like an undertow or currents that will carry out to dangerous high waters many an innocent and unprepared victim. This Western claim can be deceptively couched in terms of a hierarchy of values that may extend to racial issues. The reaction could range from an attitudinal wall of resentment, preventing mutually important cooperation for both the Southeast Asian and its Western partner, to explosive situations and unnecessary loss of life and its resources. And here is why Philipino-American relations deserve more careful attention for lessons to be learned.

An interesting phenomena of recent occurrence is the withdrawal of former Western colonial powers in Southeast Asia. But the presence of the U.S. continues particularly in maintaining military bases in contiguous areas of Southeast Asia and the South Pacific Basin. As the leading capitalist power and the most advanced

among Western nation-states, the U.S. immediately lends itself as a prime target for aggressive nationalists in the region. At the same time China has made remarkable advances of control not to mention that subtle influence towards a substitute way of life and the lure away from decadent values of a materialist system. Indeed, the forces of communism continue to take advantage of the ignorance of masses and the emotional tensions they face – struggling through indignities, marginalisation and peripheral existence. The rise of the Communist-led Hukbalahaps, a peasant movement that has its roots in WW II when they fought alongside the Americans against the Japanese, could not be studied within the limits of this paper but it remains a force to be reckoned with, albeit in mutative form because of associations with underground movements like the New People's Army and those of Muslims in southern Philippines.

In looking at Philipino-American relations, what is perhaps most urgently called for is a fundamental paradigm shift requiring no less than a psychological change in attitudes towards each other for achieving a more honest and mutually beneficial relationship. Only when both sides approach each other with a sincere effort to understand where they are coming from will they be enabled to adopt appropriate measures which are neither too limited, or one-sided, or too late, and thus, emotionally-laden with resentment and a lingering distaste in the mind. Hopefully, the restlessness and confusion in the world, and especially among Americans concerned about living in the shadow of lost liberties and in the fire of Bush's War Against Terrorism, will yet produce a new kind of citizenship in a globalised and digitised world where each can reach out to others with respectful confidence and human solidarity.

How does a diasporic frame of mind relate with heroism and poetics?

Particularly during the last 50 years, there has been a proliferation of literature on nomadism, the wanderlust, forced internal/external displacements caused by war and natural calamities, labour migration and transcultural travels, which have been covered as diasporic phenomena within a diverse and wide spectra of motivations, environmental conditions, survival mechanisms and characteristic lifestyles. Invariably and arguably, much of the literature reveal heroic motivations and achievements of protagonists in the diaspora as ancient as can be deduced from biblical sources (the Exodus in the *Hebraic Bible*, Jesus our of Nazareth in the *New Testament*, Mohammed's Hegira in the *Koran*). Heroism can also be deduced from historical and social realism narratives as in Rizal's *Noli-Fili* sequel, which Rizal himself associates within a lineage of writers and thinkers as his predecessors. Filipino Overseas Workers can cause a *Migration Revolution* (Aguilar 2014) or, as Neferti Tadiar focuses on, Filipino women artists can engage issues of displacement and disembodiment where domestic helpers and entertainers risk taking employment with abusive contract agents under conditions that have been called modern-day slavery. Thomas Sedlacek also deals with such in his book, *The Economics of Good and Evil*²⁰¹ in which he argues using as evidential documents, the varied stories that have been inspired as much by

²⁰¹ Subtitled *The Quest for Meaning from Gilgamesh to Wall Street* (Oxford University Press: Oxford/New York, 2011).

curiosity as by hunting instincts and other human needs. Deriving from history, memory and the fictive imaginations of individuals, ethnic communities and national groups, Mary Louise Pratt does the same, also demonstrating similar human drives and motives in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*.²⁰²

Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, Horace's *Ulysses* as well as Virgil's *Aeneid* are classic examples from antiquity's epic poets, dealing with mythical and legendary heroes in search of what I explore in this study as that 'envisioned elsewhere' or mythic somewhere. Indeed, Rizal's classical education had made him encounter not only those seminal diasporic literary works from antiquity; he also demonstrated sufficient familiarity with venturing into unfamiliar frontiers and uncharted territories, particularly migrating into a person's unknown interior terrains or jungles of the mind. He had a good sense of the power of leading and opening up minds to new worlds within words not only through critical questioning but also with symbolic and metaphorical thinking. Thus, in his own literary practices and outcomes he makes references to a variety of readings such as the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Dante's *Divina Comedia*, Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, Voltaire's *Candide*, and Schiller's *William Tell* (which Rizal translated into Tagalog, the emergent Philippine language) to name a few. In that epiphany, the Filipino poet Balagtas along with his epic *Florante at Laura* needs to be mentioned, especially as Rizal treated the author with remarkable hero worship and regarded the work as sacred especially because it was the first literary work in Tagalog.

In a similar vein, Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* have been transfixing readers and theatergoers ever since audiences became enchanted in The Globe Theatre amidst the gagging crowd to see and hear how the stage brought to life the tragic-comedy of feuding medieval families in Italian city-states exercising authority to stop love from crossing psycho-emotive borders, never mind that the young lovers were of the same social status and economic class. Leonard Bernstein's musical version in the 1950s turned New York upside down when his hero and heroine got caught between the barriers put up by two warring gangs, the Jets, representing settled Americans – presumably many blacks – in the slums of Manhattan, battling the Sharks of Puerto Rican immigrants, who were seen as the foreign outsiders even as they belted out the energy of the song, *I wanna be in America*.²⁰³ Growing up in the Philippines, the only colony the U.S. ever had, and emerging from World War II with the American Dream firmly embedded in the Filipino cultural mentality, I belong to that generation, which that infectious song contaminated unreservedly along with hundreds of thousands around the world who desired a taste, if not a big bite, of the Big Apple. *West Side Story* stormed Broadway with a hit, "*Somewhere*", whose lyrics by Stephen Sondheim kept that desire burning and

²⁰² A study in colonial and exploration discourse published in 1992 by Routledge in London.

²⁰³ From the online version "Der Kleine Musikuss" (home.arcor.de) an interesting background note about the plot states that, originally, the Shakespearean adaptation was intended as an East Side Story with a Catholic Romeo and a Jewish Juliet: *Zunächst sollte die Geschichte als East Side Story von der tragischen Liebe eines katholischen Jungen zu einem jüdischen Mädchen handeln. Diese Idee wurde allerdings zugunsten der aufkeimenden Probleme mit Ausländern in Manhattan verworfen und es entstand die West Side Story. Die Handlung der West Side Story lehnt sich an die Tragödie Romeo und Julia von William Shakespeare an.*

buzzing across borders with a metaphorical longing especially for those who, like me, got involved in discursive cross-cultural marriages and explosively contentious partnerships responding to that integrative cosmopolitan, if not transcendental cosmic, call:

There's a place for us/ Somewhere a place for us/ Peace and quiet
and open air/
Wait for us/ Somewhere.
There's a time for us/ Some day a time for us/ Time together with
time to spare,
Time to learn, time to care/ Some day!
Somewhere/ We'll find a new way of living/ We'll find a way of
forgiving...²⁰⁴

I would like to end this academic exercise with an advice from one of the greatest politicians and remarkable thinkers of our time, Simone Weil from her book "Oppression and Liberty" (1958/ 2002: p. 2):

Throughout history men have struggled, suffered and died to free the oppressed. Their efforts, when they did not remain sterile, have never led to anything except the replacing of one oppressive regime by another. Marx, who had observed this, thought he was able to demonstrate scientifically that things were different in our day, and that the struggle of the oppressed would now lead to a true emancipation, not to a new oppression. It is this idea, which we have preserved as an article of faith, that we need to examine afresh, unless we mean systematically to close our eyes to the events of the past twenty years. Let us spare ourselves the disillusionments of those who, having fought for Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, discovered one fine day that what they had got was, as Marx says, Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery. But they at any rate were able to draw some lesson from the surprises of history; sadder is the lot of those who perished in 1792 or 1793, in the street or on the frontiers, fully convinced that with their lives they were purchasing the freedom of mankind. If we are to perish in the battles of the future, let us do our best to prepare ourselves to perish with a clear vision of the world we shall be leaving behind.

It cannot be said too strongly that the thrust of this dissertation revolves around the idea of literary practice as heroic poetics of diaspora effect. I hope that I have succeeded in not only presenting the possibility of a paradigm shift to reconsider Rizal's heroism but also ways of envisioning the future in the way Rizal did: by archiving memory and relating it to the present as a way for showing how to move forward. Thus may we be able to also move forward with Simone Weil's appeal to a vision for the future. It is important that we end with a women politician reminding us of the importance of envisioning because it jives with San Juan's radical interpretation to consider the role of women as in *Sisa's Vengeance* (2014) which vindicates the position of the women characters in Rizal's novels.

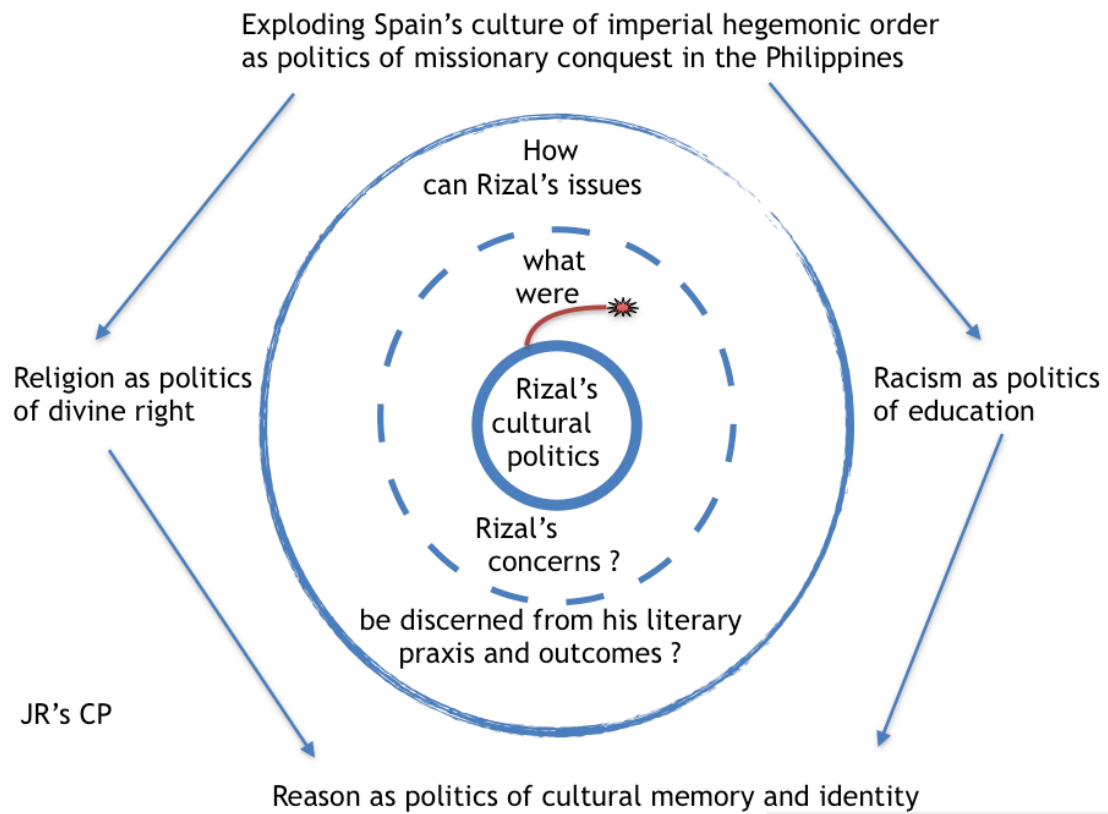
²⁰⁴ https://www.google.at/?client=safari#q=somewhere+west+side+story+lyrics&gfe_rd=cr

I will end by quoting Rizal's vision from one of his letters to Pastells (Bonoan 1997: 138f):

"My only desire is to do what is possible, what lies in my hands, what is necessary. I have seen a little ray of light and I believe it is my duty to point it out to my countrymen... What I had were a clear vision of the real situation in my fatherland, vivid imagers of what was going on, and enough skill to diagnose the disease, so much so that I not only was able to portray what took place but also foretold what was to come."

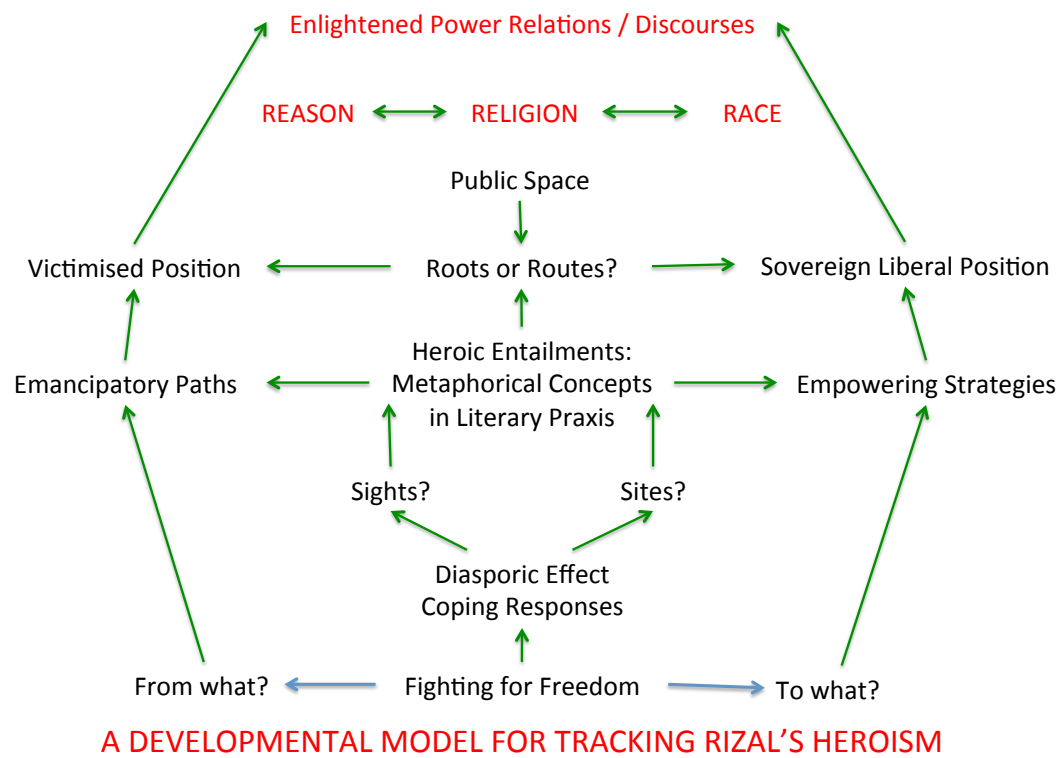
ADDENDUM I: Figures

Figure 1:

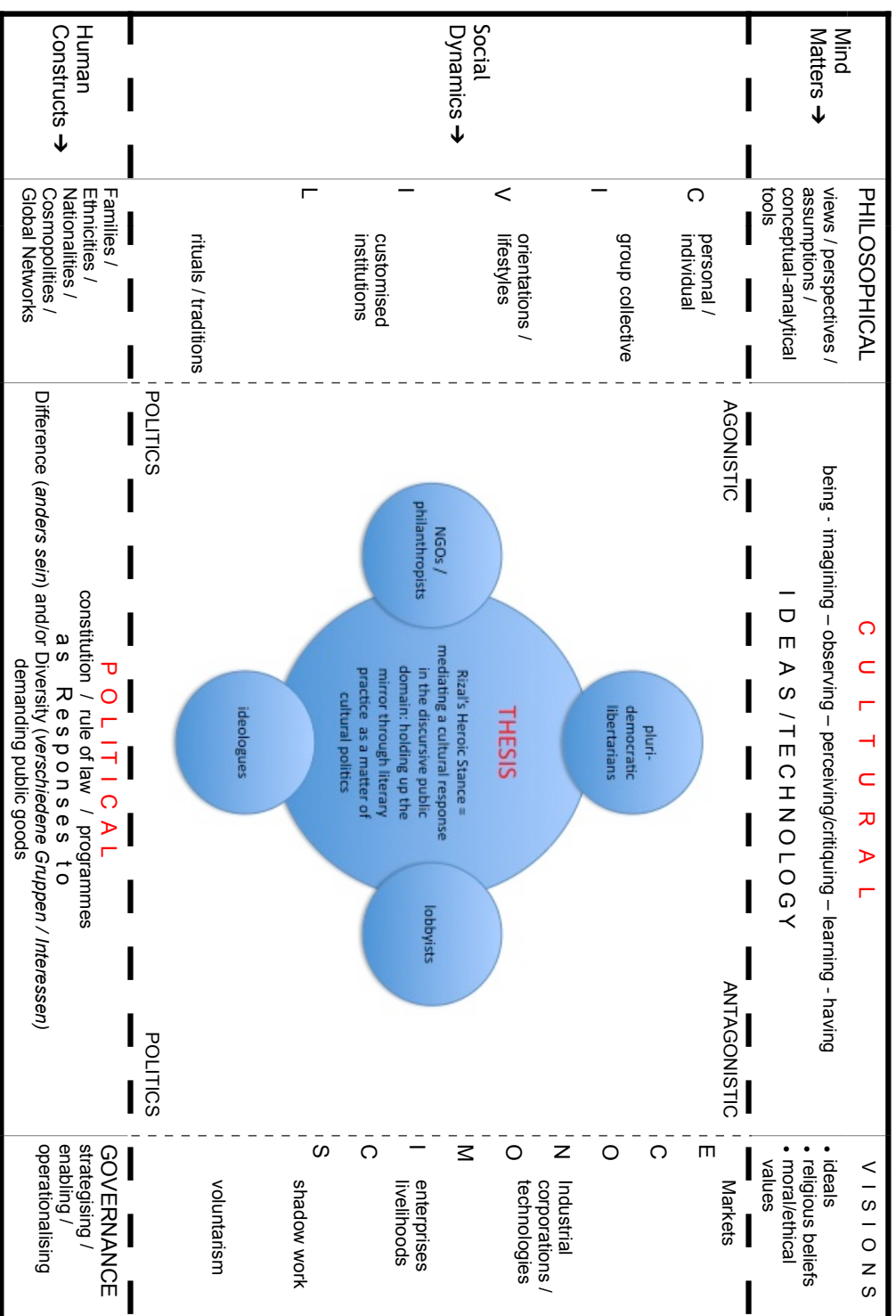


JR Dissertation by Camilo Antonio UniVie Figure 1

Figure 2:



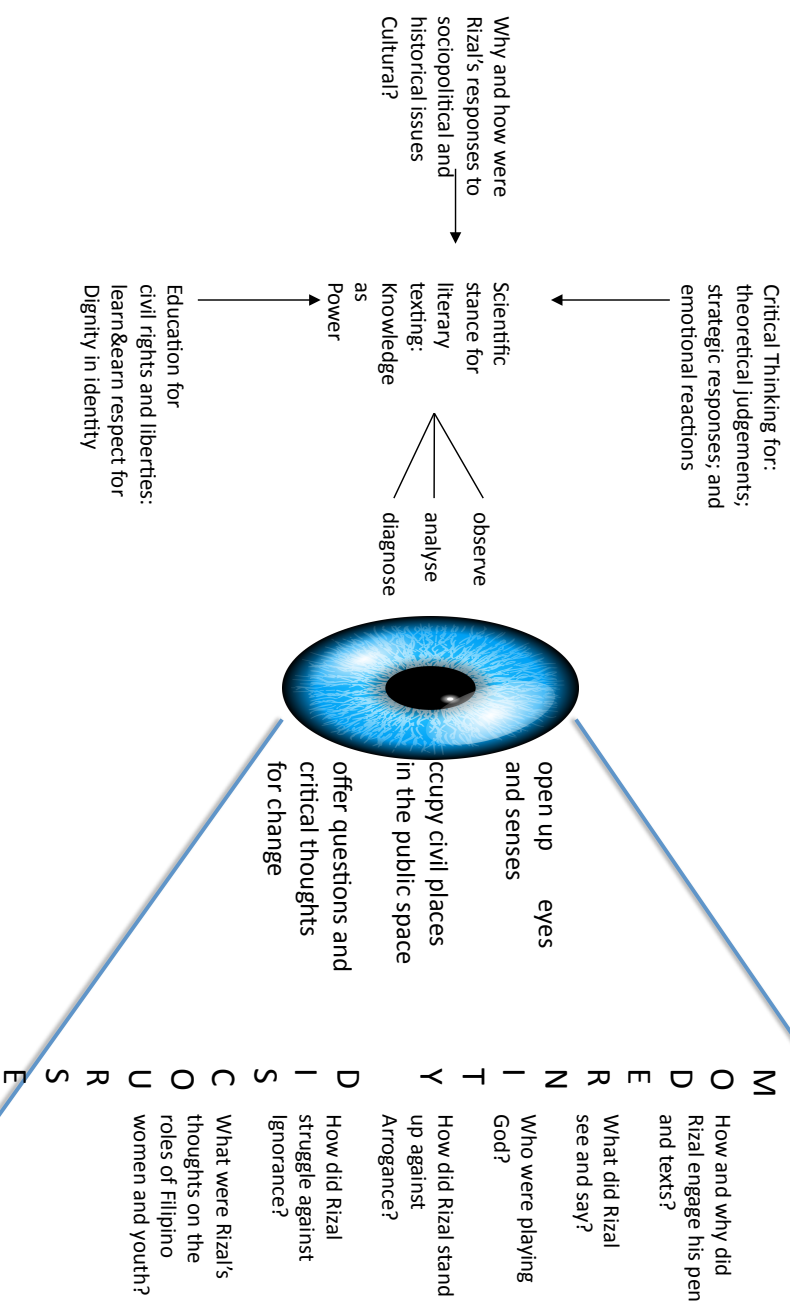
Jose Rizal Dissertation by Camilo Antonio, Figure 2



JR Dissertation by Camilo Antonio, UniVie Figure 3

Figure 3

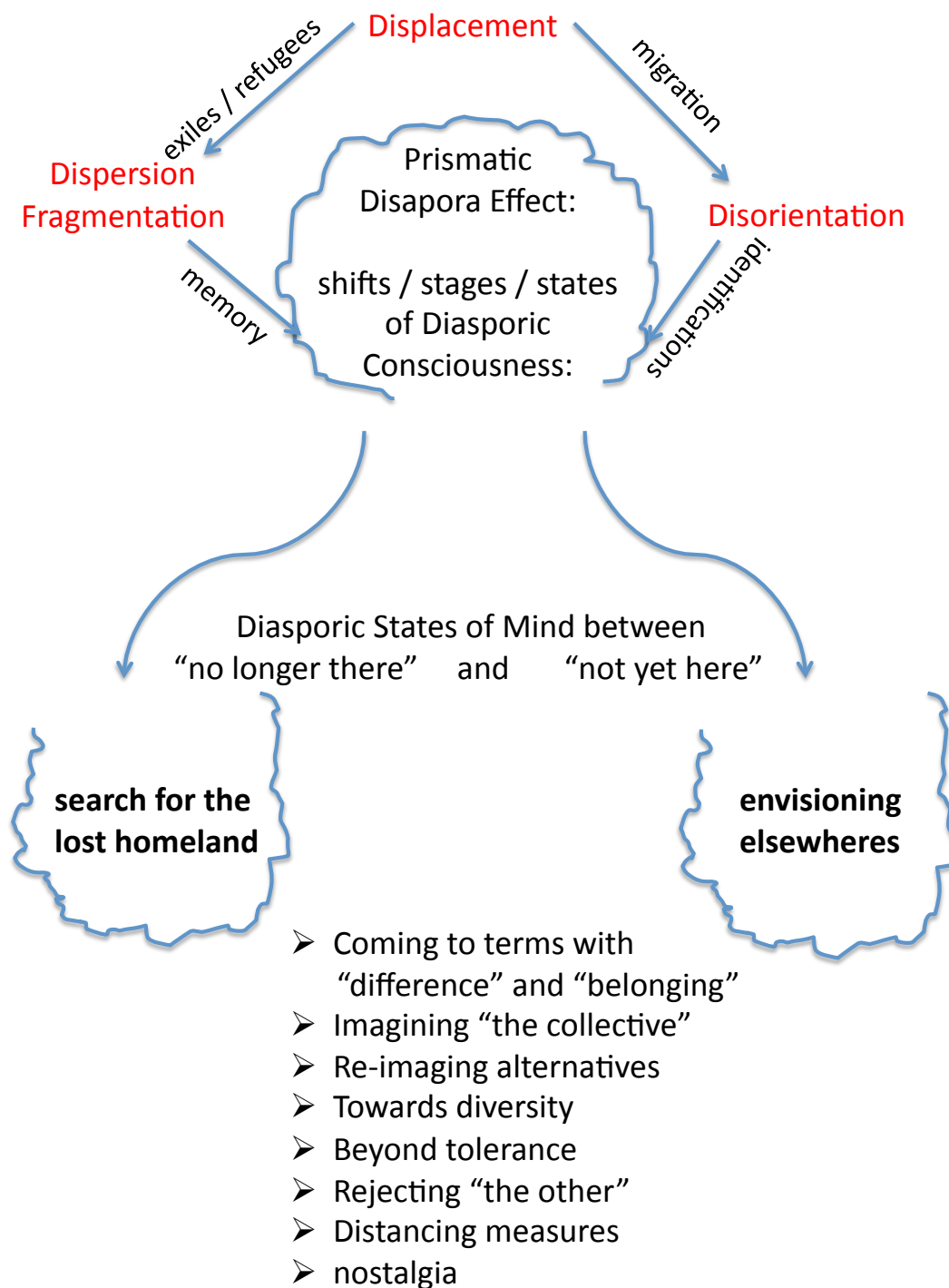
Cultural Perspectives: A Different Light and Lens to Magnify Literary Practice as Heroic Activism as Matters of Cultural Politics



* Jose Rizal Dissertation by Camilo C. Antonio Figure 4

Figure 4

Figure 5



Jose Rizal Dissertation by Camilo Antonio Figure 5

Figure 6

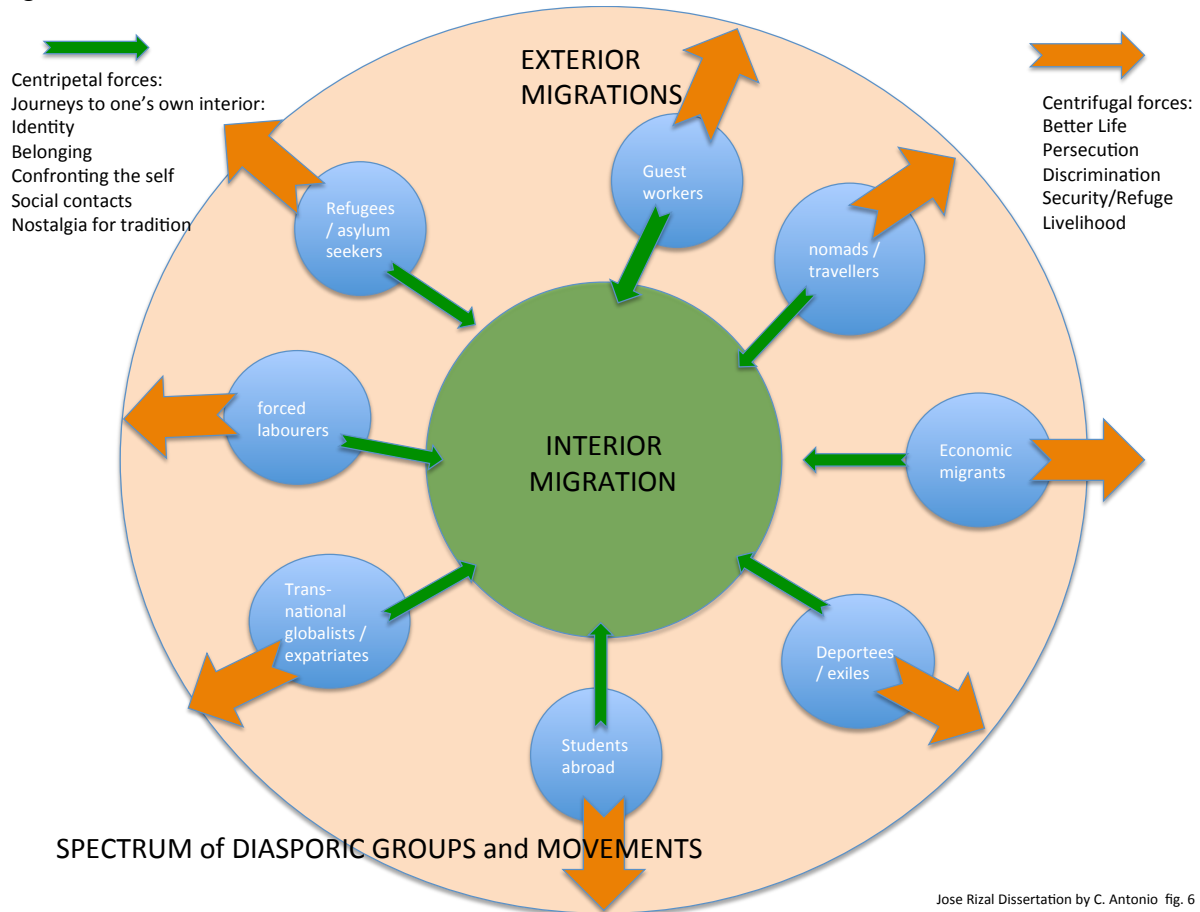


Figure 7:

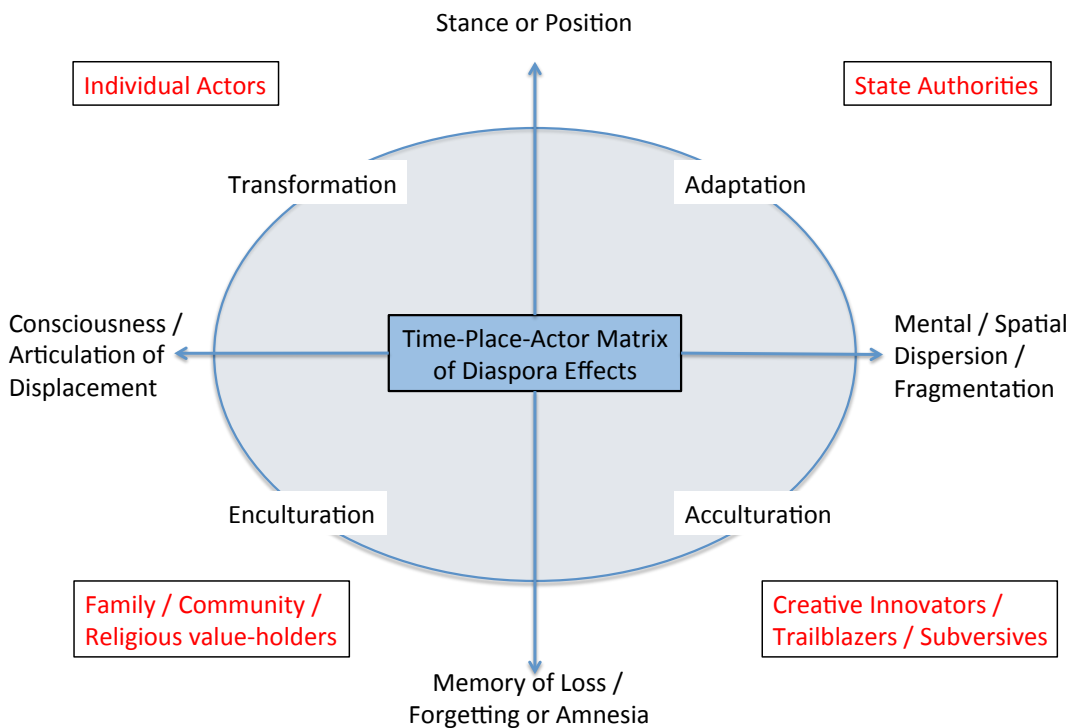


Figure 8:

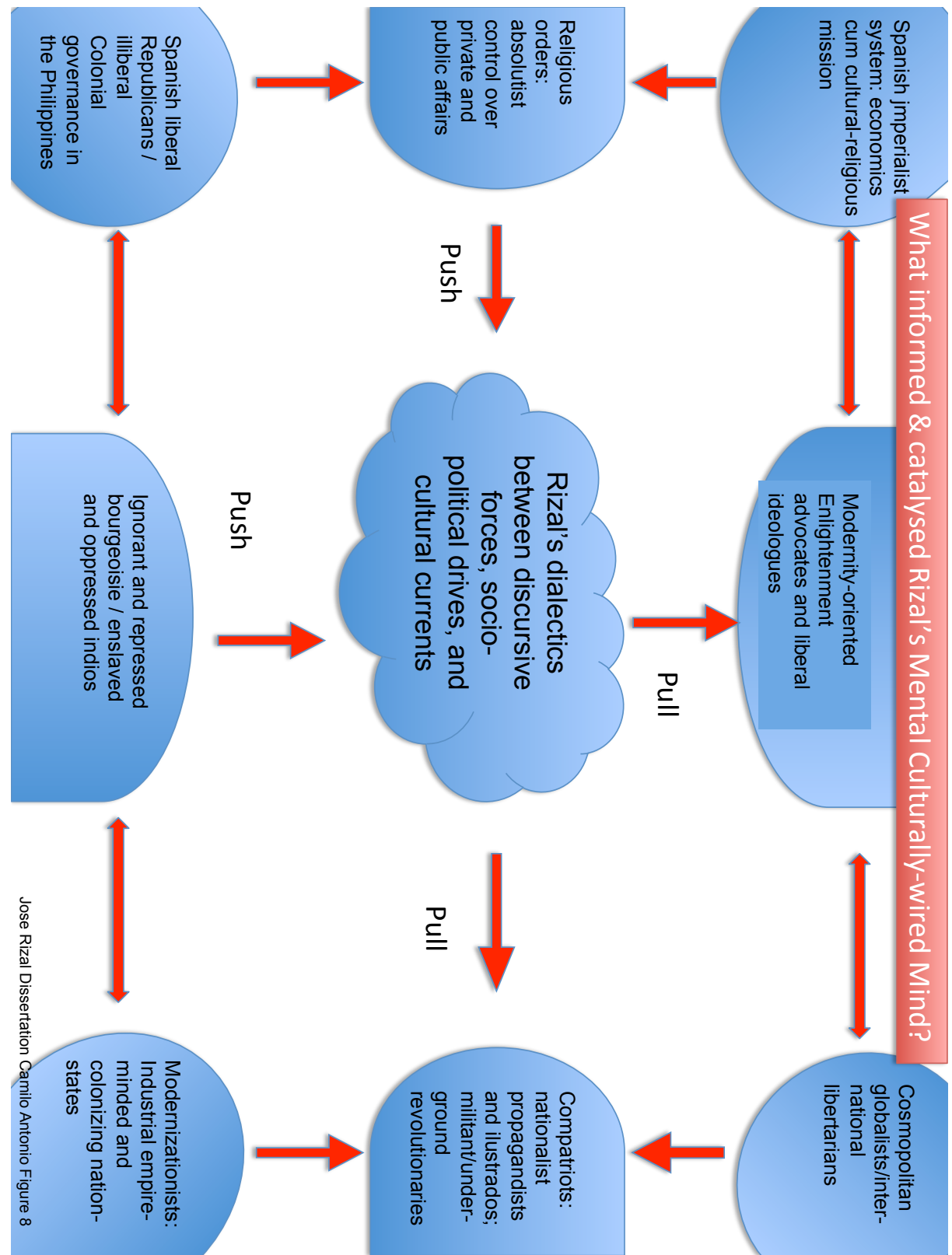
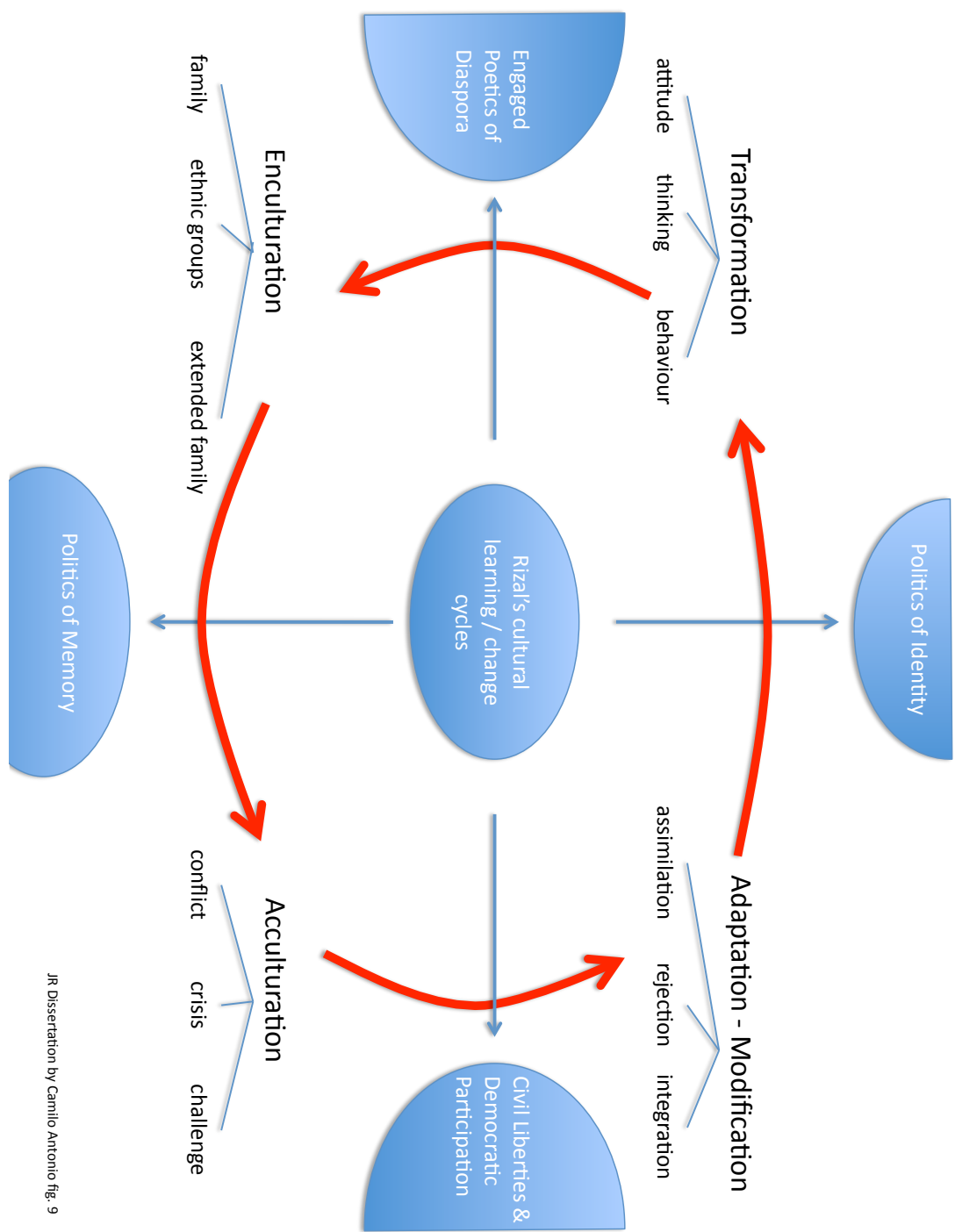


Figure 9:



JR Dissertation by Camilo Antonio fig. 9

Figure 10:

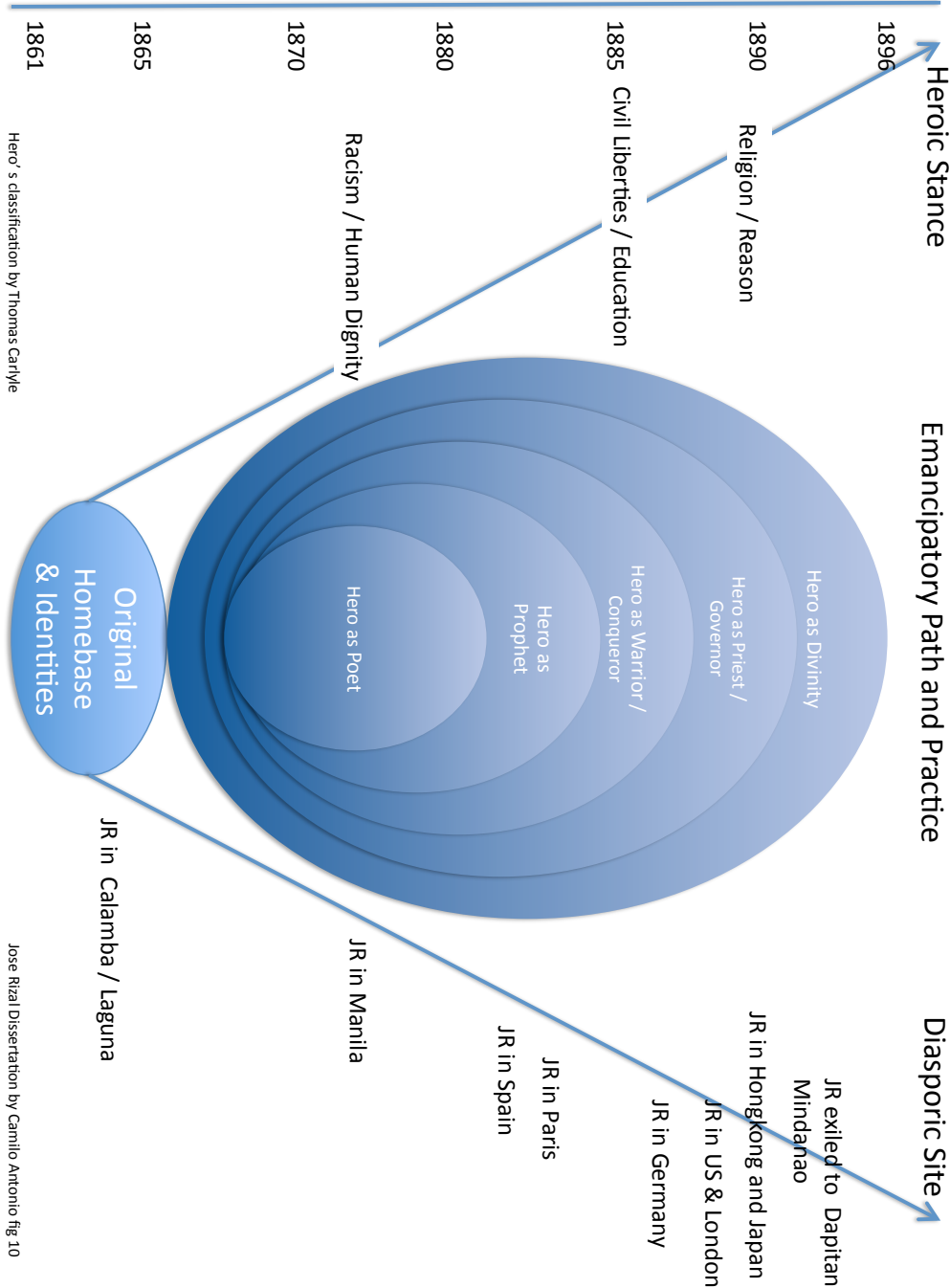


Figure 11:

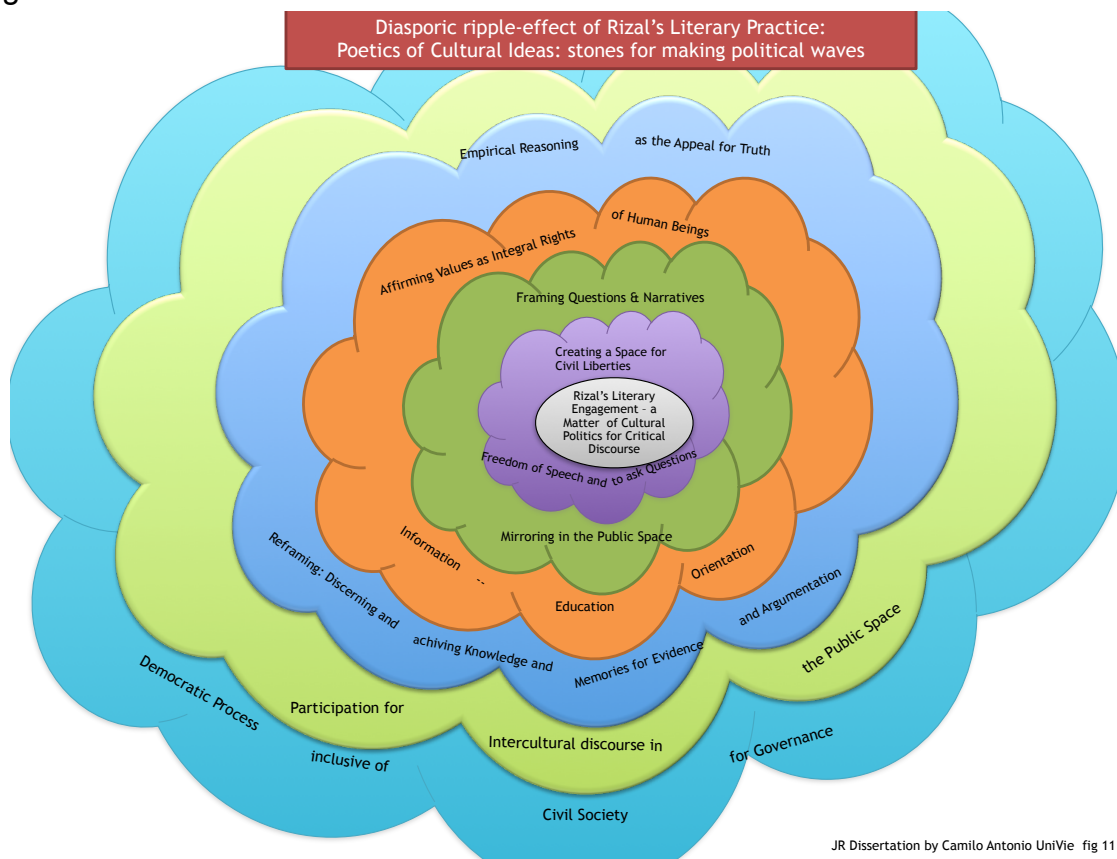


Figure 12:

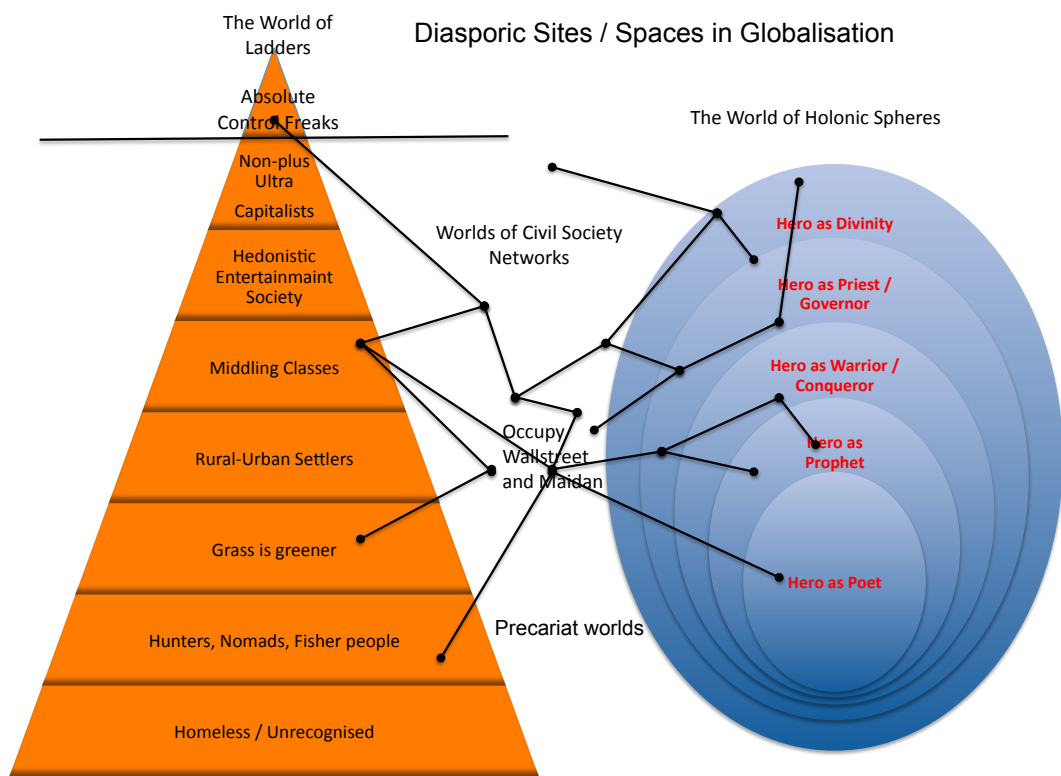


Figure 13:

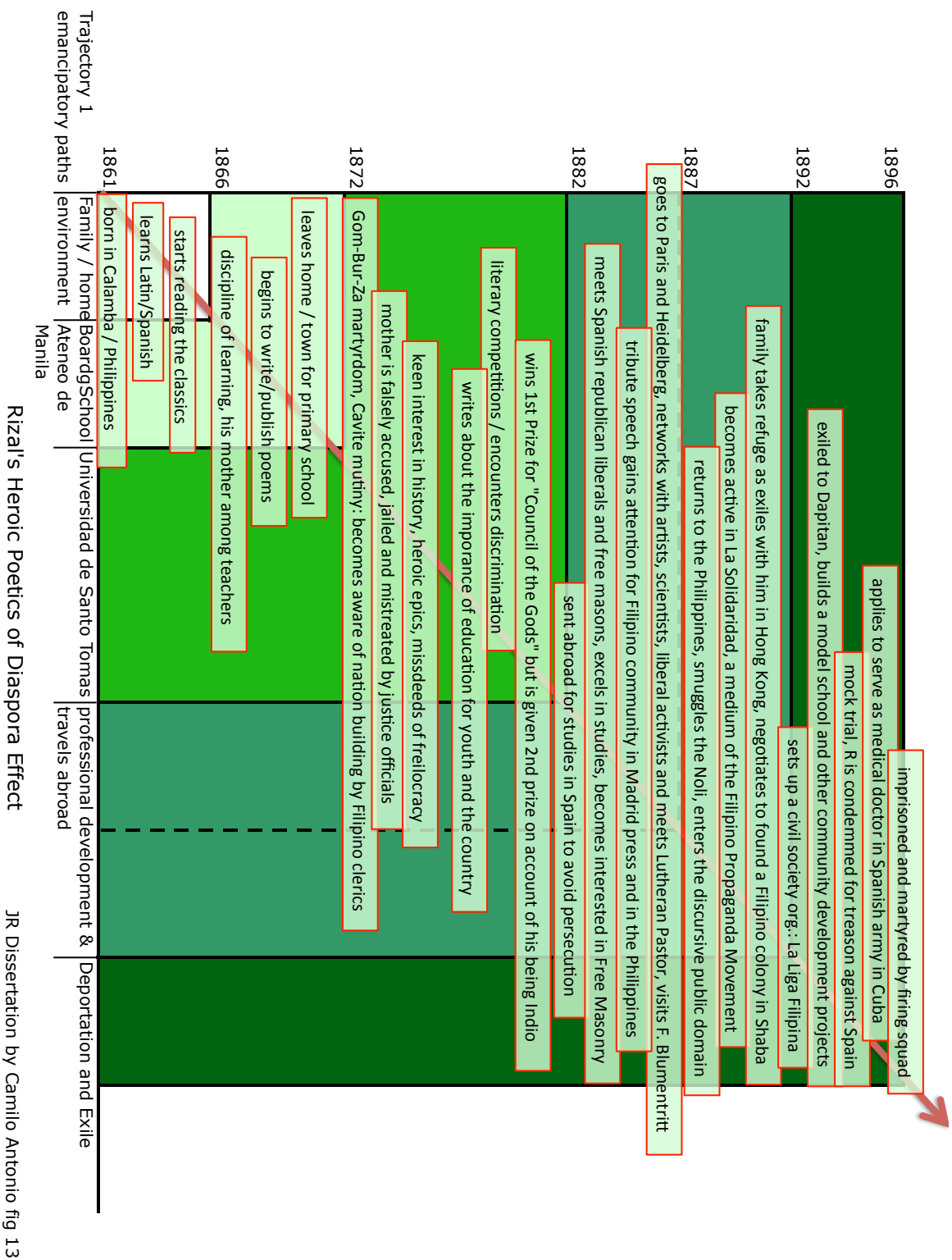
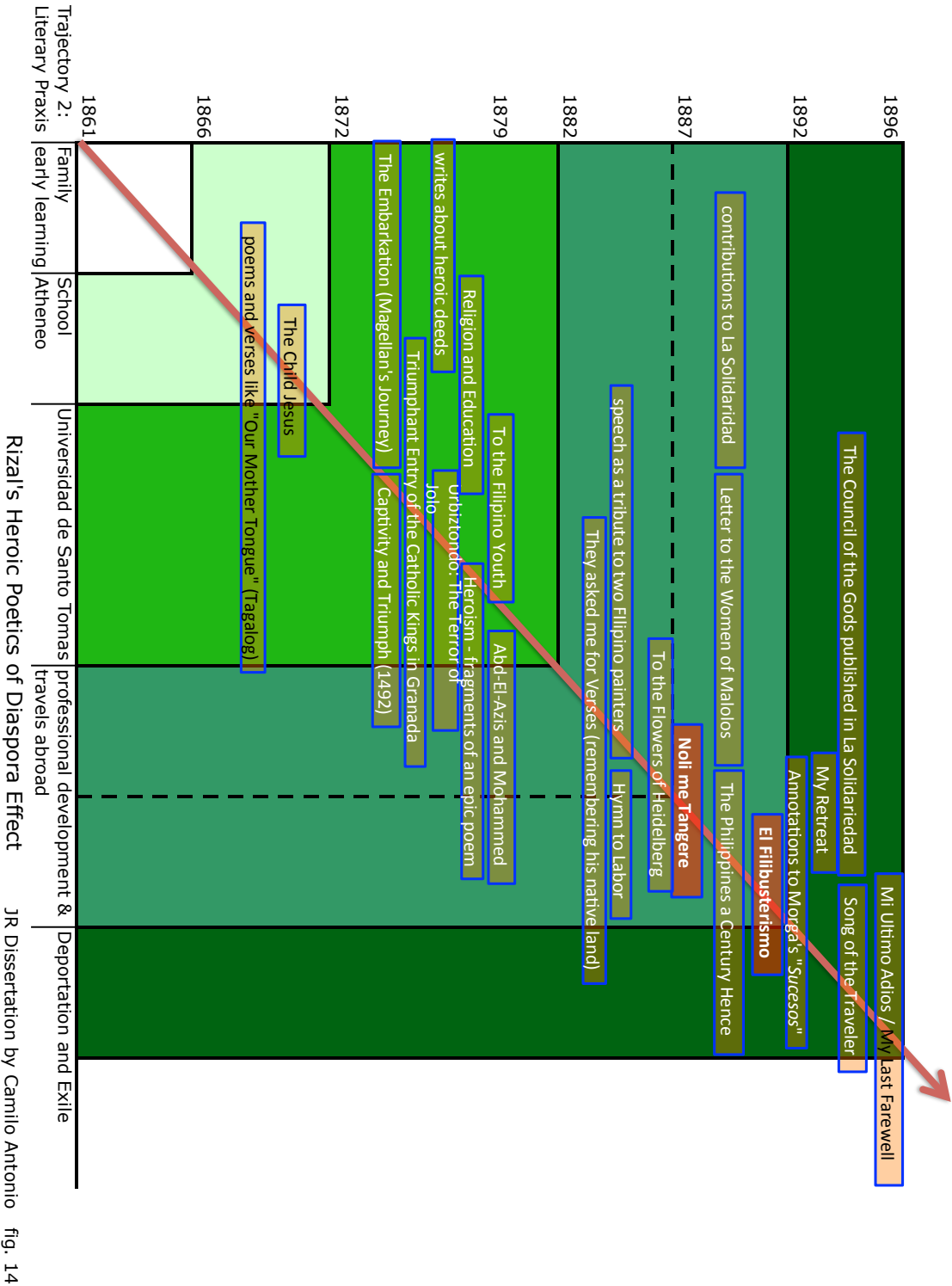


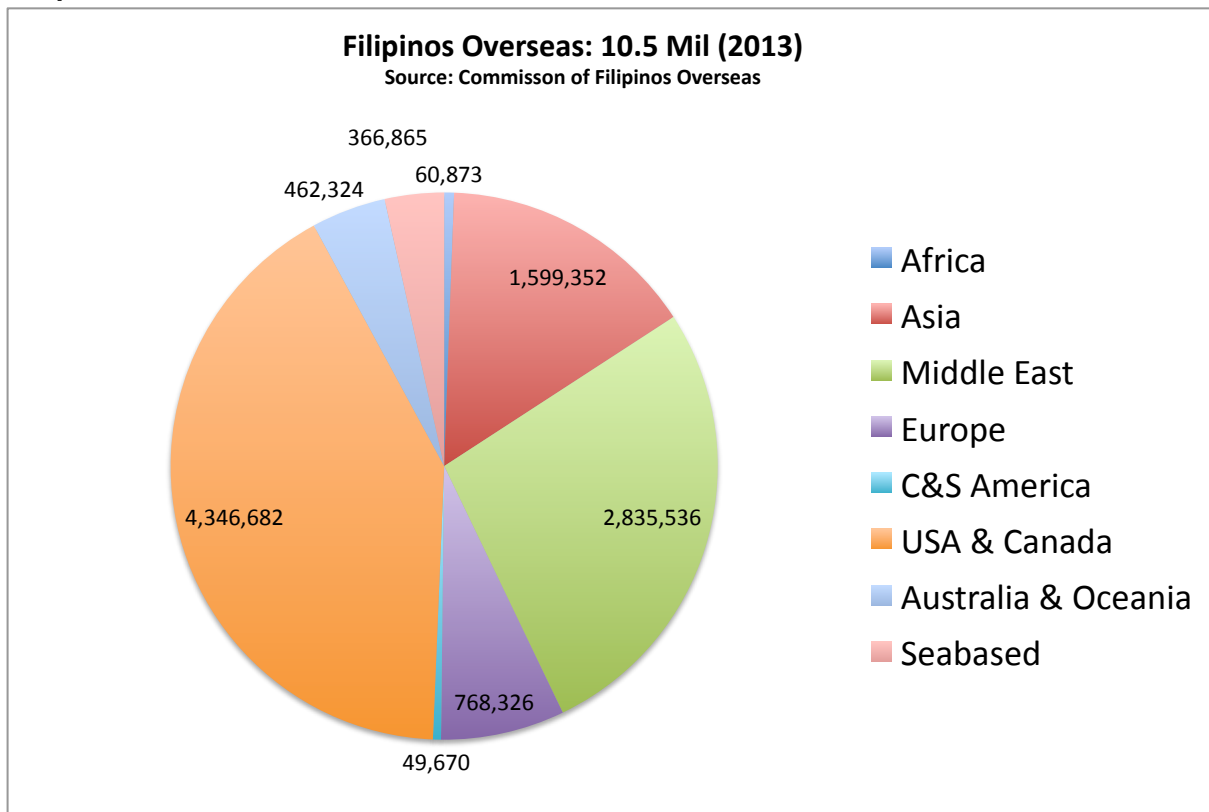
Figure 14:



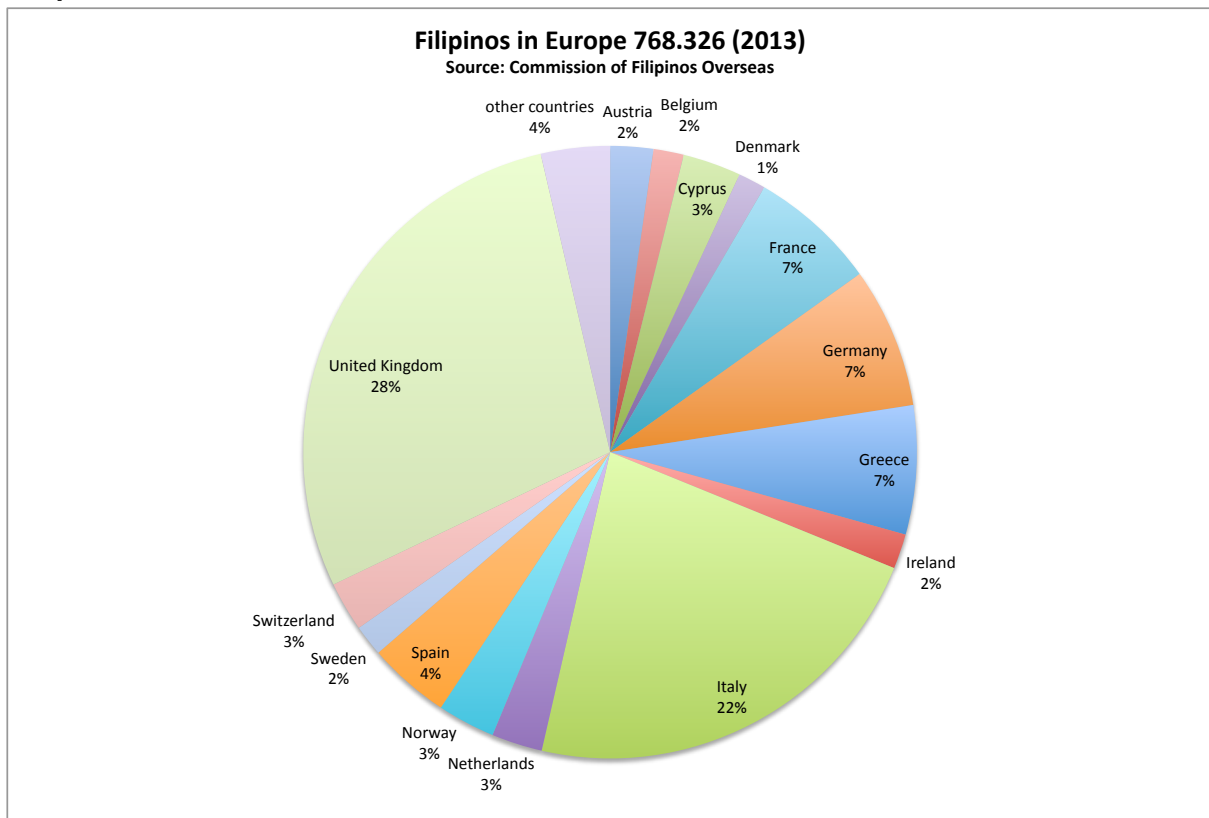
Year	Life Stage	Key Event
1861	Family	starts engaging in literary practice for remembrances / memory
1866	School	writes historical / epic plays
1872	School	activates youth to become interested in education for the native country
1882	School	questions the education and the role of religious friars in the Philippines
1887	School	develops a transnational friendship with the Austrian Filipinologist Ferdinand Blumentritt
1892	School	refutes lies about the Philippines in Spanish papers by writing journalistic articles and letters
1896	School	addresses the Philippines in his "Last Farewell"

ADDENDUM II: Graphs

Graph 1



Graph 2



ADDENDUM III: Illustrations

Rizal's two novels, the *Noli-Fili* sequel, the latest translations in English by Ma. Soledad Lacson-Locsin (1997) who has restored important omissions in previous editions, which made me decide to use this versus previous versions. For this dissertation project, I decided to use translations of Rizal's works into English because these are the materials that are used in the study of Rizal in the Philippines and it is the lingua franca in which the discourse on Rizal has been mainly conducted ever since the US takeover from Spain in 1898. For the *Noli-Fili* sequel, I

use the latest English translation by Ma. Soledad Lacson-Locsin, an acclaimed Filipino bilingual writer who has restored significant omissions in previous

Illustration 1



translations, which are considered crucial to a faithful rendition of Rizal original works. The translations, which were commissioned for the Rizal's Centennial Martyrdom in 1996 and for the Philippine Independence Centennial in 1998, are accompanied by detailed annotations that had been compiled by the National Commission on Rizal's centenary from various sources and editions which she elaborated upon. In her Introduction to the *Noli*, Lacson-Locsin refers to herself as part of that generation at the turn of the 20th century when Spanish was the language of communication and when "...the perceptions and mores of my early childhood were still largely influenced by the backwash of four centuries of Castilian rule and Catholicism." Then, she proceeds to clarify her approach and makes explicit methodological problems that she had encountered in reading other translations: "Somehow, I had the uneasy feeling that there was a greater pursuit to depict the political and social thoughts of Rizal's time in the context of the translator's milieu rather than simply to tell the story of a different world in a different time. Although translations have to be in tandem with the semantics of the age in which they are read to be appreciated, my own personal view is that they should, as much as possible, capture much of the nuances and cadence of the period in which they had been written, even at the risk of sounding awkward or stilted." Her son, writer Raul L. Locsin edited both books and published them in Makati, Philippines: Bookmark, Inc., in 1996 and 1997, respectively. (photo by the author)

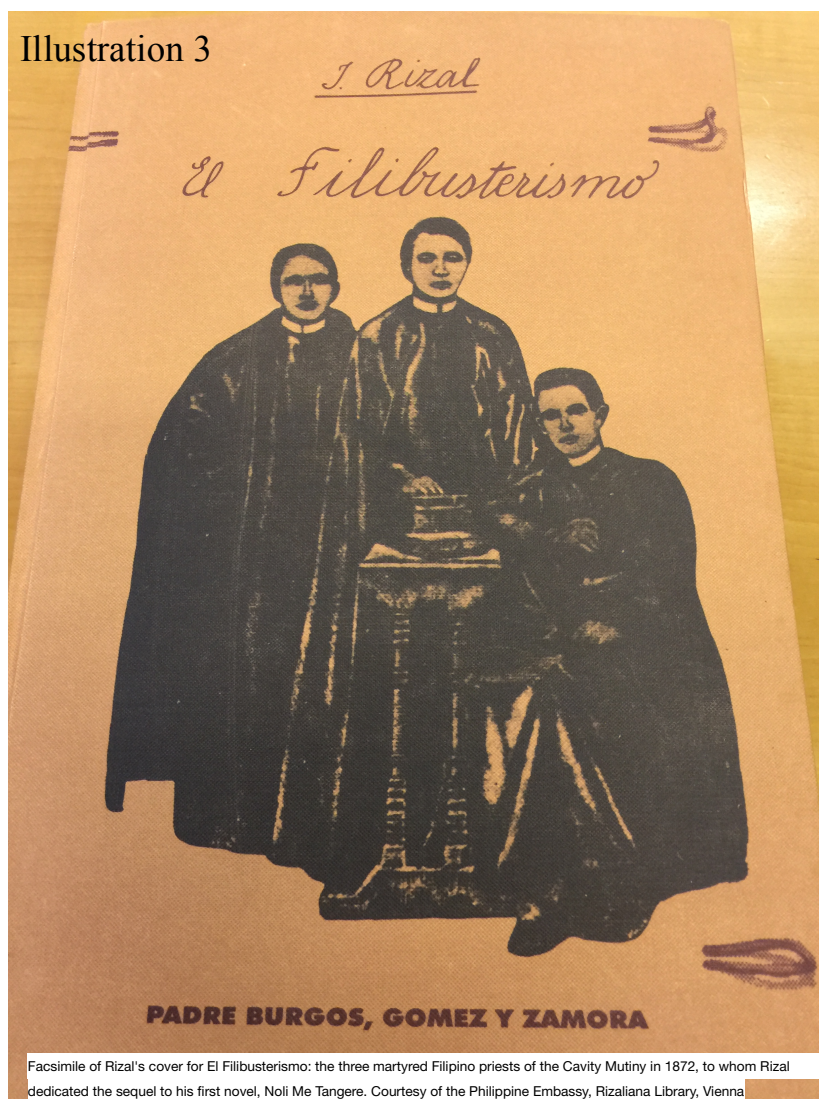
Illustration 2



The Rizal family homestead. Kalamba, Laguna

Source: <http://www.retrato.com.ph/photodtl.asp?id=SC00637>

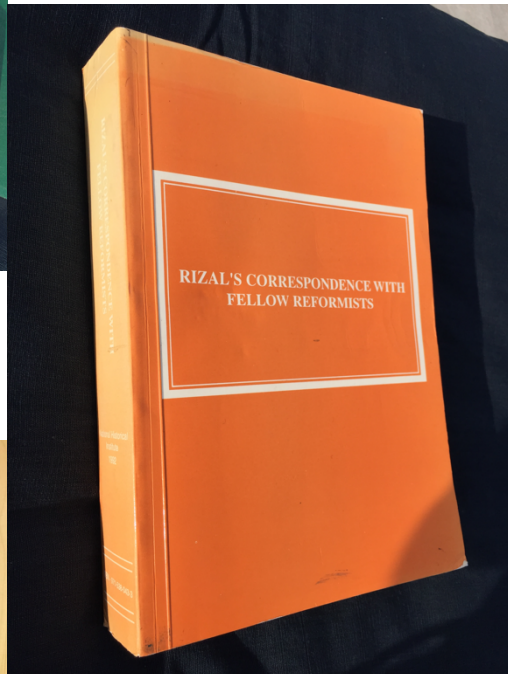
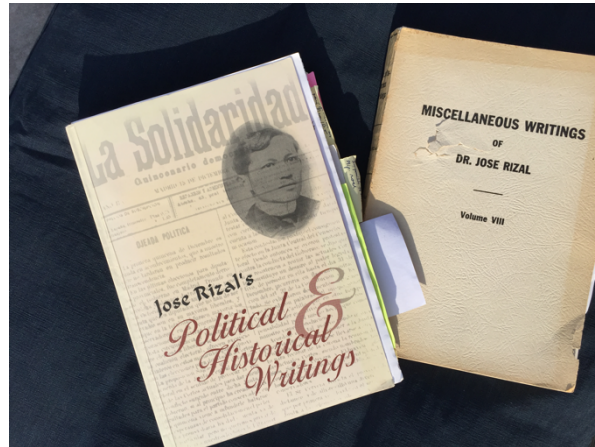
Illustration 3



Facsimile of Rizal's cover for *El Filibusterismo*: the three martyred Filipino priests of the Cavite Mutiny in 1872, to whom Rizal dedicated the sequel to his first novel, *Noli Me Tangere*. Courtesy of the Philippine Embassy, Rizalana Library, Vienna

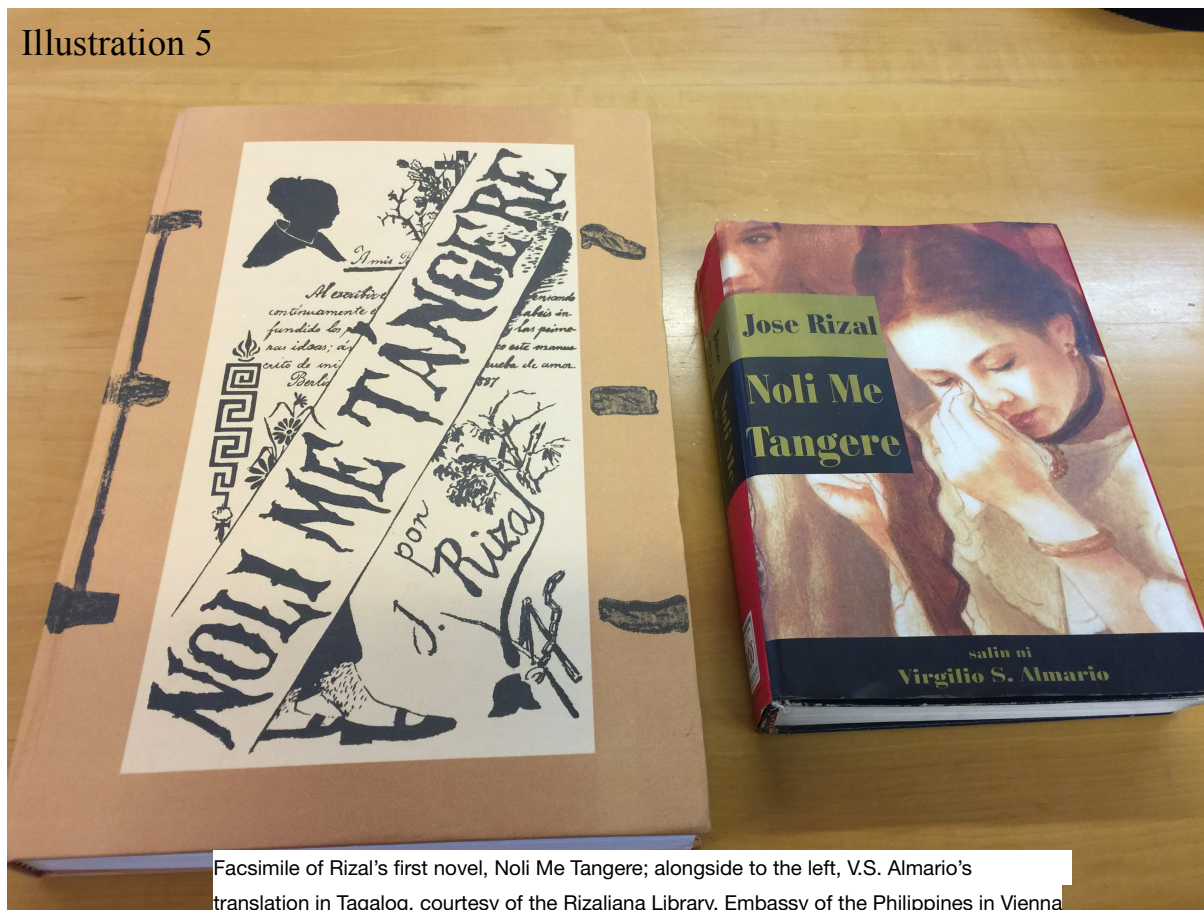
A sample of primary source materials from Rizal's works accessed from different places.

Illustration 4



five volumes of “La Solidaridad”,
accessed at the José Rizal Library at the Philippine Embassy in Vienna
(photos by the author)

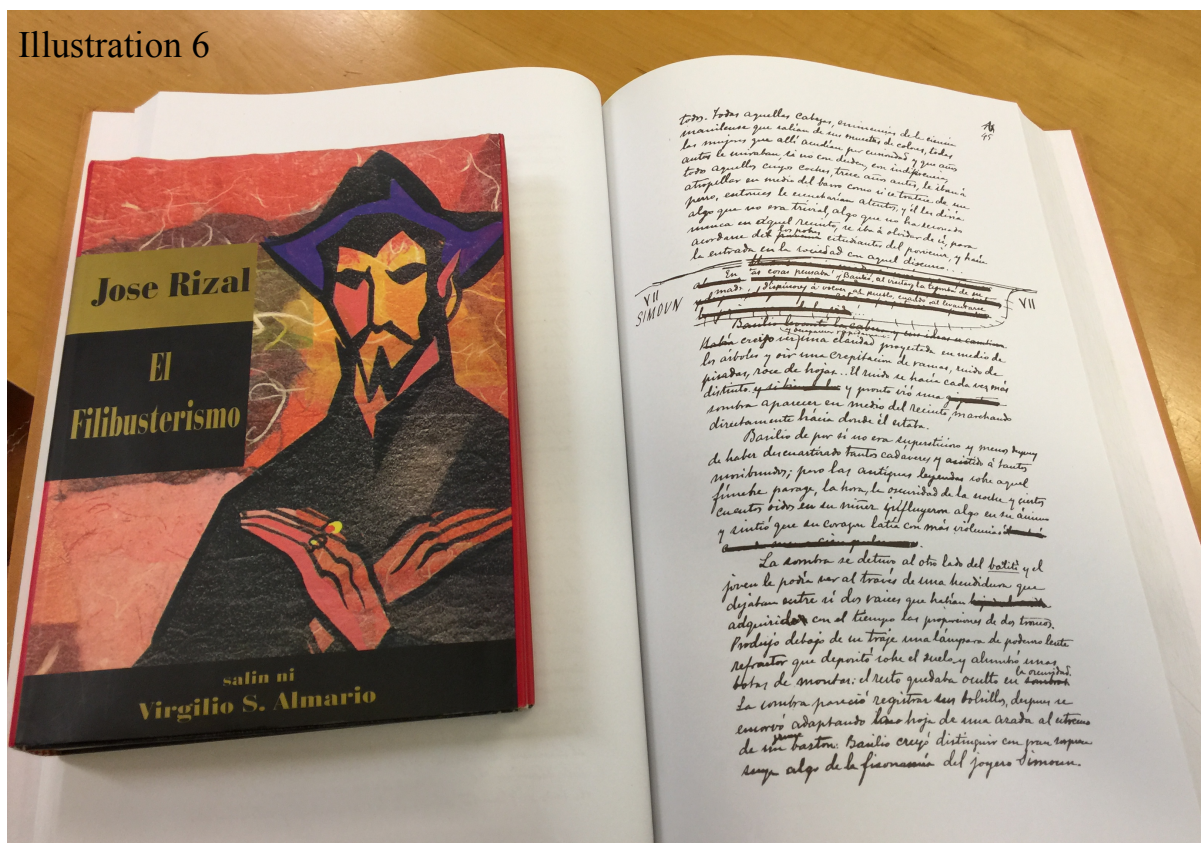
Illustration 5



Facsimile of Rizal's first novel, Noli Me Tangere; alongside to the left, V.S. Almario's translation in Tagalog, courtesy of the Rizaliana Library, Embassy of the Philippines in Vienna

Foto by the Author

Illustration 6



Facsimile copies juxtaposed: on the right, starting page of Chapter 7 (in Rizal's original handwriting in Spanish) of El Filibusterismo, a reference to Simoun as title character; on the left, the cover book of the translation in Tagalog of the Fili.

Illustration 7

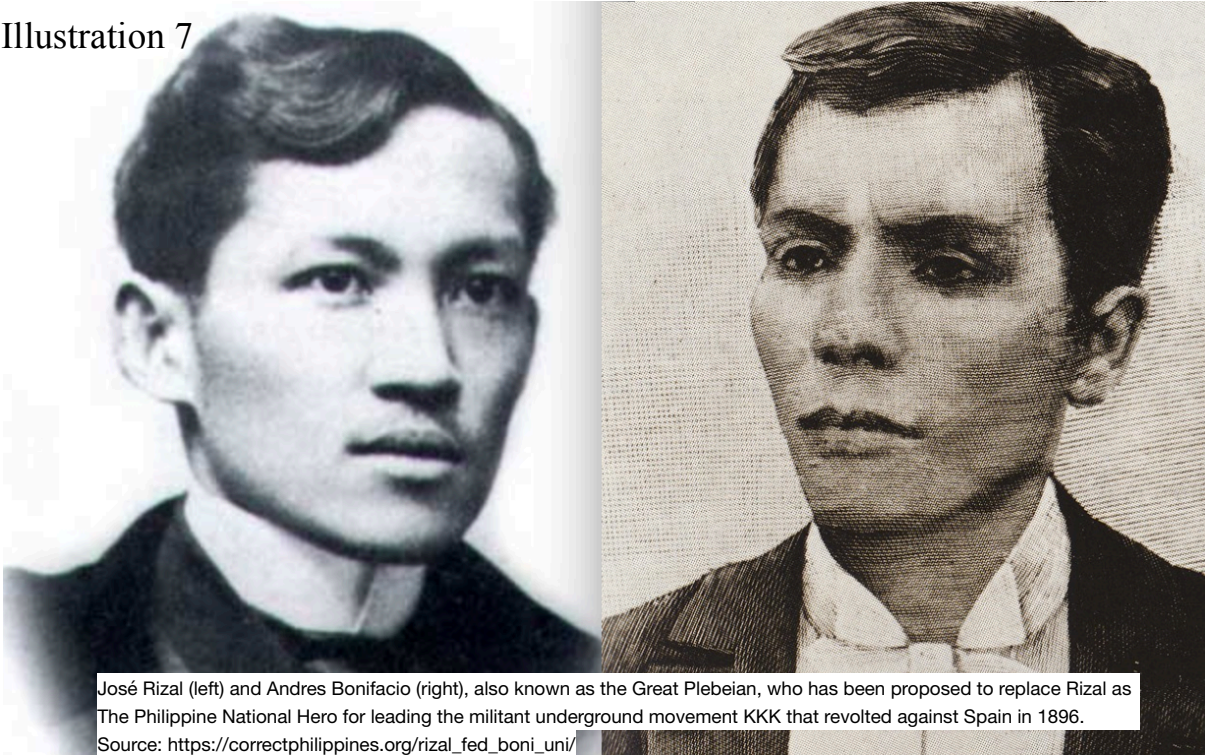


Illustration 8



Illustration 9



Dr. Ferdinand Blumentritt with his three children. Sons, Fritz and Conrad and daughter, Loleng, drawn in pencil by the national hero while he was in exile in Dapitan, 1892. Probably copied from an album of photographs he carried. These drawings were recovered from a Bacolor, Pampanga family.
Source: <http://www.retrato.com.ph/photodtl.asp?id=SC00204>

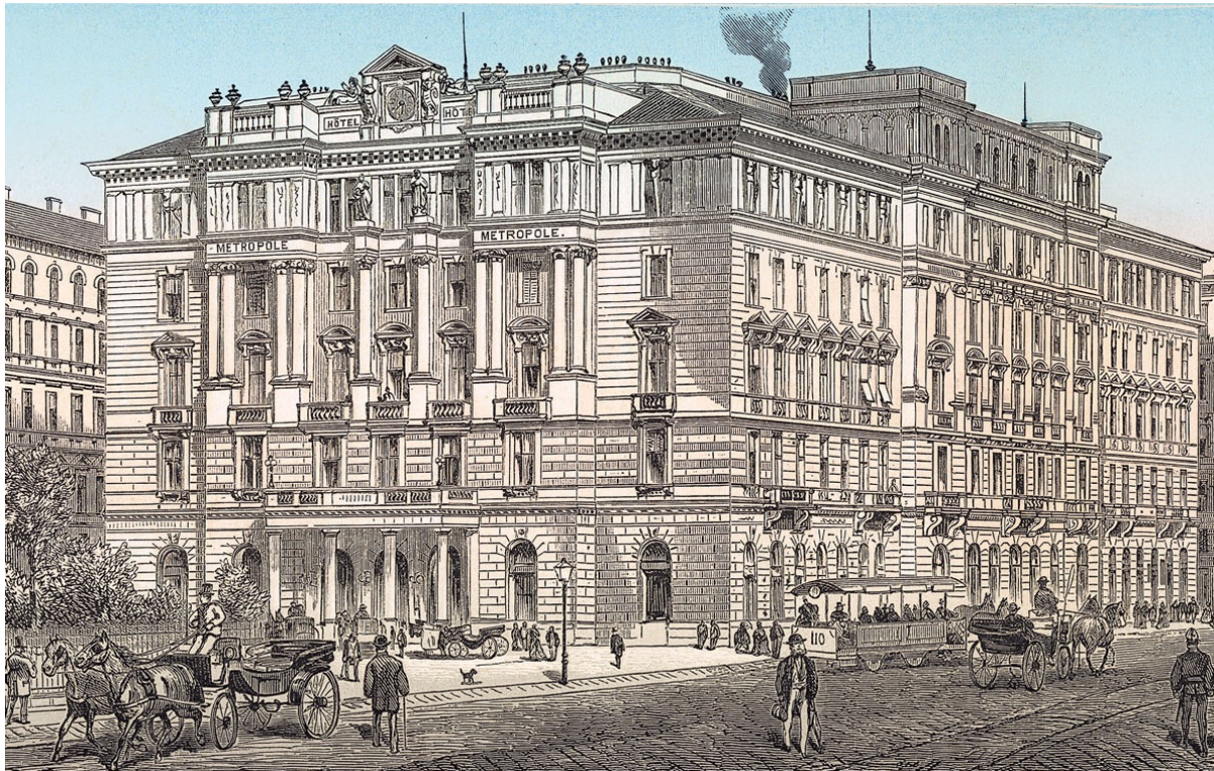


Illustration 10

source: <http://www.edition-wh.at/Produkt/die-wiener-ringstrasse/>

Illustration 11



Plaque memorialising the visit of Rizal from 20-24 May 1887 in Vienna following his historic encounter with Ferdinand Blumentritt in Leitmeritz, Bohemia. Rizal stayed at the Hotel Metropole on Morzinplatz in the city centre, which became the Nazi Headquarters before it was demolished. The Plaque hangs on the wall of the present building of apartments/offices where the Metropole Hotel once stood. Rizal was accompanied by his Filipino Friend Maximo Viola who initially provided the funds for the publication of the *Noli Me Tangere* in Berlin.

Illustration 12



The house of Lutheran Pastor Ulmer in Wilhelmsfeld (photos by the author)

Illustration 13



Illustration 14



Busts of scientific scholars with whom Rizal formed friendships (from a memorial in Wilhelmshof, showing these scientists and José Rizal) (photos by the author)

Illustration 15

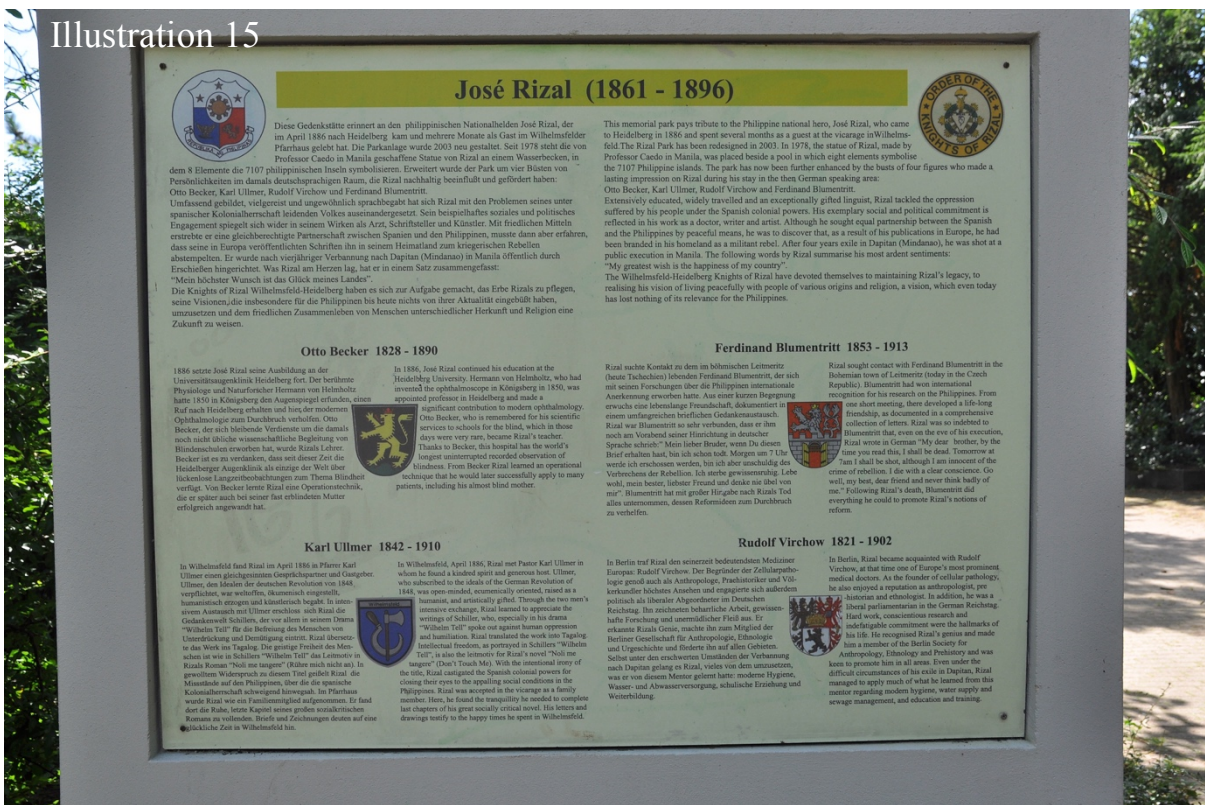


Illustration 16



Rizal with other Filipino Ilustrados in Madrid, many of whom were members of the Propaganda Movement which sought reforms in the colonial government of Spain in the Philippines.

Source: <http://www.retrato.com.ph/photodtl.asp?id=HI00843>

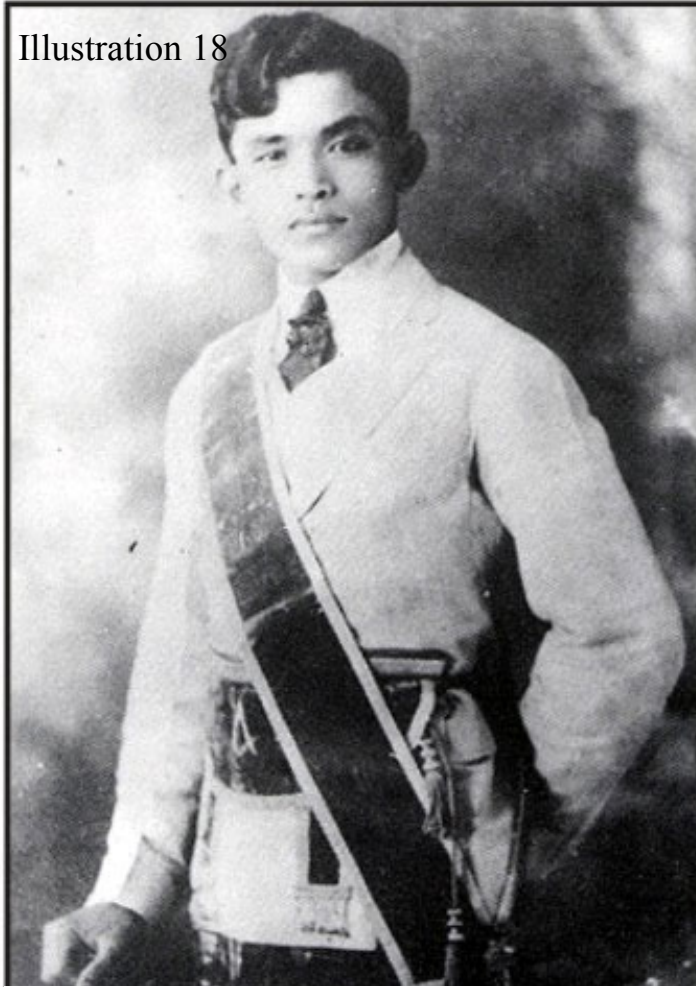
Illustration 17



Rizal with friends, notable among them the two Filipino artists, painter Juan Luna and sculptor Felix Resurrección Hidalgo (top winners of a competition by the National Exhibition of Fine Arts in Madrid) for whom a dinner was held in a restaurant attended by prominent personalities in Madrid in June 1884 at which Rizal gave a "Laudatio" or toasting speech that marked his entry into the 'public domain'. It seems that Rizal was aware of how the event would be strategic: it projected the Filipino community into the public eye, his speech caused a debate in the papers, winning for him both friends and enemies and alarming his mother who wrote warning her son, Rizal, to stay away from politics.

Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/28098727@N00/15165572084>

Illustration 18



A portrait of Rizal in Masonic Uniform: alleged to have joined the Free Masons through the Lodge in Spain in 1890, which also gave him the right to enter the lodges in France and in London. Source: <http://mrrml355.blogspot.co.at/2011/06/rizal-as-mason-never-retracted-but.html>

Illustration 19



Replica of the house constructed by José Rizal. Also called Casa Guadrada, Rizal lived here from March 1893 to July 1896. His estate occupied an area of 18 hectares and was bought by him after he had won a lottery prize. Source: <http://www.retrato.com.ph/photodtl.asp?id=GE01013>

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Source Materials consulted and References cited

I. Annotated list of primary print source materials on José Rizal's literary works as the outcomes of the Philippine National Hero's cultural production:

Accessed and retrieved from collected documents and archival materials intended and made available for public use and academic/scholarly research:

* Teodoro Kalaw (ed). 1938. *Epistolario Rizalino*. (Manila: the Philippine National Library)

The originals of several letters and diaries by Rizal had been published **in five volumes** before World War II under the U.S. Commonwealth Government in the Philippines. The anthologies of Rizaliana manuscripts were considered significant to illuminate an important part of Philippine colonial history.

* *Rizaliana Collection* of the Bureau of Public Libraries in Manila, Philippines. 1961. Rizal's original works (mostly in Spanish; some in German) and their translations, mainly into English (the lingua franca of the Philippines ever since Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States in 1898) and Tagalog (the national language of the Philippines since 1946, selected out of nine major languages, which became problematic in terms of unifying the Philippine archipelago made up of three major groups of islands).

* *Reminiscences and Travels of José Rizal* 1961. Centennial Edition.

Publications of the José Rizal National Centennial Commission, an interdisciplinary body of academic scholars and educationalists from public and private institutions that was created by law to process and supervise the collection in preparation for the first centenary celebration of the birth of the Philippine National Hero. As mentioned in the Chairman's Foreword (José E. Romero, in his capacity as then Secretary of the Ministry of Education of the Philippines): **The whole set covers the entire field of the Rizal writings, namely:**

- Rizal's Reminiscences and Travels
- All of Rizal's extant letters known to the Commission
- Two volumes of Collections of Rizal's Poems and Prose
- The novels: *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*
- Rizal's Annotated Edition of *Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*
- Political and Historical writings
- Selected excerpts from Rizal's Philosophical thoughts with a Special volume on Political Philosophy.
- Facsimiles of some of Rizal's other works.
- A bibliography of Rizal's writings and published works about Rizal.
- A Rizaliana Album
(containing pictures, sketches, maps, and other items associated with the life of Rizal).
- Additional volumes containing the writings about Rizal as Philippine National Hero by his contemporaries/colleagues, Filipinos and foreigners

as well as poems dedicated to him.

Nota Bene: Unless specified otherwise, all translations of the abovementioned works from Spanish to English are the work of Encarnacion Alzona, or a team under his supervision and guidance.

*** Special editions/volumes and publications accessed from various other sources:**

For Rizal's two novels, the following are used in this research project:

- Rizal, Jose. 1996. *Noli me Tangere* translated by Ma. Soledad Lacson-Locsin. Manila: Bookmark, Inc.
- Rizal Jose. 1997. *El Filibusterismo* translated by Ma. Soledad Lacson-Locsin. Manila: Bookmark, Inc.
- ***The Rizal – Blumentritt Correspondence, Volume I 1886 – 1889;***
- ***The Rizal – Blumentritt Correspondence, Volume II 1890 – 1896.***
(The National Historical Institute published both volumes in Manila in 1992.)
For this research project, reference is to the second printing based on the Centennial Edition, Rizaliana Collection in 1961: "In commemoration of the decade of the centennials of Filipino Nationalism, Nationhood and the Philippine Revolutionary Movement, and the Philippine Decade of Culture.")

Nota Bene: The two volumes were compiled from original German manuscripts and translations into English of a ten-year correspondence between Jose Rizal and Ferdinand Blumentritt, a Filipinologist and the European ethnographer of the Philippines who had established a reliable authority as a scholar among the Filipinos in Europe during the 1880s. Blumentritt was the director of a Gymnasium in Leitmeritz (Litomerice) in Bohemia within the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy when he invited Rizal to visit him in 1887. The documents demonstrate why and how Blumentritt became Rizal's primary support-base in Europe and the main defender after Rizal's execution in Manila. Blumentritt continued to research and write about the Philippines until his death in 1913.

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JSTOR, a digital library for academic ebooks, journals and primary sources including a Political Science LibGuide on the latest scholarship with highlights of content and key links to related sources.

Worldcat.org (library materials online)

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For the most up-to-date comprehensive data on global remittances, see the [World Bank's Migration and Development Briefs](#)

www.subaltern.org: an organization for underrepresented artists;
[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subaltern_\(postcolonialism\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subaltern_(postcolonialism))

Global Forum on Migration and Development (UN):
<http://www.gfmd.org/>

International Organization for Migration:
<http://www.iom.int/jahia/jsp/index.jsp>

Migration for Development Knowledge Exchange (UNDP):
<http://www.migration4development.org/>

Dilip Ratha (Lead Economist at World Bank on Migration and Remittances) 'People Move' blog, which is excellent for up-to-date stories (you can sign up for email alerts/RSS feed): <http://blogs.worldbank.org/peoplemove/blog/36>

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www.phil.uni-passau.de/suedostasien for access to studies and scholarly materials by the Southeast Asian Faculty at the University of Passau, Germany.

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