## Part 1: Change the Game

#### [Sawchuk et al 1] ANTI-ASIANNESS IS BUILT INTO AMERICAN EDUCATION, but usually gets ignored.

Sawchuk et al 1: Sawchuk, Stephen [Associate Editor, *Education Week*], and Catherine Gewertz [Senior Contributing Writer, *Education Week*]. “Anti-Asian Violence: What Schools Should Start Doing About It.” *Education Week*, March 25, 2021. https://www.edweek.org/leadership/anti-asian-violence-what-schools-should-start-doing-about-it/2021/03 CH

The shootings of Asian people at three Atlanta spas earlier this month have set up a unique test for K-12 schools: Will they step up and grapple with anti-Asian racism, offering crucial supports to students and seizing the chance to teach about anti-Asian violence? Or will they overlook it? In the racial reckoning sparked by police killings of unarmed Black people across the country, many schools have begun to examine their own racism. But too often, educators say, that work pays little or no attention to the long history of anti-Asian violence, or to the current experiences of Asian students with anti-Asian racism. The history of violence toward the Asian community, like that towards Black people and people of color in general, “has been the underbelly of this country,” said Michael Matsuda, the superintendent of the Anaheim Union High School District in Orange County, Calif. The county has documented a recent, soaring rise in anti-Asian harassment. “This is another teachable moment for all of us to ask ourselves: What’s going on in our society where a group of people are being targeted and scapegoated for something they had nothing to do with?” Matsuda said. There’s nothing new about violence or racism targeting Asians and Asian Americans. But the Atlanta shootings have suddenly thrust those dynamics into the national spotlight, fueled by heated rhetoric about the origins of the COVID-19 pandemic. Research has linked former President Trump’s racist tweets, referring to the pandemic as “the China virus” and “Kung flu,” to spikes in the use of other anti-Asian hashtags on social-media. Many communities have experienced big increases in recent years in anti-Asian violence, especially against women and the elderly. That flammable backdrop creates something of a mandate for K-12 schools to face anti-Asian bias head-on, educators say. They must create safe, supportive, and empowering environments for Asian and Asian-American students and facilitate dialog and learning about the issue for all students, they say. Of the many challenges in that work, three in particular stand out. First, Asian Americans and their experiences are treated as monolithic, when they make up a complex community, with language and cultural differences rooted in the geopolitical history of Asia. Second, many Asian and Asian-American families arrived in the United States relatively recently. (Rates of Asian immigration to the United States increased after Congress’ 1965 reform of immigration policies, and were fueled by American involvement in two wars in East and Southeast Asia.) That means there can be cultural and language barriers for school and district leaders who are working to build relationships with newly arrived or first-generation students, parents, and kin. Finally, the “model minority” myth perpetuates the idea that Asian-American students don’t need special help or attention. Education Week interviewed five educators who are working to support Asian and Asian-American students in the aftermath of the shootings in Georgia earlier this month. Their suggestions move from more immediate responses to longer-term reforms to curriculum and coursework. Here’s what they said: Create safe spaces now for students and staff. It’s crucial that when traumatic events happen, especially those that might resonate with particular pain for students in historically marginalized groups, schools do more than simply make counselors available. Oregon’s Beaverton school district hosted Zoom discussions for Asian and Asian-American staff and students the week of the Atlanta shootings. Nearly 20 percent of the district’s 41,000 students are Asian or Asian-American, with many Nepalese, Indian, Vietnamese, and Filipino students in the mix. Miranda Trullench, an elementary school counselor who is Filipino-American, sat in on the session for middle school students and staff.

#### [ROJ] The Role of the Judge is to Promote Educational Justice, which means giving all students access to academic spaces – we can’t have *substantive* discussions of justice if we’re not here to begin with.

#### [Sawchuk et al 2] AND that means we need outlets for discussions of anti-Asianness.

Sawchuk et al 2: Sawchuk, Stephen [Associate Editor, *Education Week*], and Catherine Gewertz [Senior Contributing Writer, *Education Week*]. “Anti-Asian Violence: What Schools Should Start Doing About It.” *Education Week*, March 25, 2021.

https://www.edweek.org/leadership/anti-asian-violence-what-schools-should-start-doing-about-it/2021/03 CH

For the others, she said, she described what happened, explained the legal definition of a hate crime, and discussed why the event frightened her and why she experienced itas a hate crime. She invited children to ask questions and share their feelings, but few did. Still, Trullench said she felt the session was an important way for students to get information and support as they process a traumatic event aimed at their community. Question the historic erasure of Asians from the curriculum. Kleinrock, the Washington, D.C. teacher, said one of the challenges about responding to the events in Atlanta is that there’s often no common basis of understanding among teachers or students about Asian Americans’ experiences in the United States. The community is often all but absent in curriculum, even from lessons about civil rights. And students notice. “I remember teaching 3rd grade in L.A., and I had a lot of Latinx and Southeast Asian students and got a lot of questions from them about: ‘Where are people who look like me? Where are Asian people?’ So often when we talk about race and racism we’re talking about a Black-white binary … but really young kids were noticing there was a lack of representation,” Kleinrock said. The erasure of Asian Americans is likely a product of who’s working in K-12 schools—Asians are underrepresented among school and district leaders and among the overwhelmingly white teaching force. (Just 2 percent of teachers identify as Asian compared to 5 percent of K-12 students, according to federal data.) But Kleinrock believes it’s also the product of textbooks that gloss over Western imperialism and how that directly impacted migration. These students and staff wanted to be heard, to share their stories. Miranda Trullench, counselor, Beaverton (Ore.) school district “We might learn about the Opium Wars, but not about how they impacted the influx of Asians to the West Coast. Or the influx of Korean Americans during the Korean war,” she pointed out. It’s often hard for teachers who themselves don’t know the history to know where to begin, but she encourages them to start with some inquiry-based activities, even some simple questions to gauge students’ perceptions. “When you ask kids what they think you know about a topic, or a community, or an event in history, getting the bias out there is often the most uncomfortable part. But you can’t fix what you can’t identify,” Kleinrock said. “When they say, ‘I only know about anime or sushi,’ I can start to see what they come with, and what stereotypes they’re coming in with, and how we can engage in unlearning as much as learning information.” Kleinrock has also curated a collection of resources for teachers on the website of Learning for Justice, a curriculum project of the Southern Poverty Law Center. And the Oakland district created an elementary and secondary curriculum that explores the history of anti-Asian violence, with resource guides that have now been shared nationally.

#### [ROB] Thus, the Role of the Ballot is to Foster Antiracist Dialogue, which means increasing discussion that combats manifestations of racial injustice. All Lives Matter consequentialism can’t solve the aff – it furthers the ignorance behind anti-Asianness.

## Part 2: Copycat

#### [Eng & Han 1] THE DEMAND FOR MIMICRY IS THE CORE OF ANTI-ASIANNESS – forcing Asians to reproduce whiteness is violent.

Eng & Han 1: Eng, David L. [Professor of Asian American Studies, the Program in Comparative literature and Literary Theory, and the Program in Gender Sexuality and Women’s Studies at the University of Pennsylvania], and Shinhee Han [Psychotherapist in New York City]. “Racial Melancholia, Racial Dissociation.” Duke University Press, January 2019. https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0160-7\_601.pdf AC/CH

Racial melancholia as psychic splitting and national dis-ease opens on the interconnected terrains of mimicry, ambivalence, and the stereotype. **In his seminal essay “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” Homi Bhabha describes the ways in which** a colonial regime compels the colonized subject to mimic Western ideals of whiteness. At the same time, this mimicry is also condemned to failure. Bhabha writes, “Colonial mimicry is **the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually reproduce its slippage, its excess, its difference.… Almost the same but not white.”** Bhabha locates and labels the social imperative to assimilate as the colonial structure of mimicry. He highlights not only the social performance but also its inevitable, built-in failure. This doubling of difference that is almost the same but not quite, almost the same but not white, results in ambivalence, which comes to define the failure of mimicry. Here we elaborate on Bhabha’s observations of mimicry with its intrasubjective internalization into the psychic domain through the logic of racial melancholia. It is important to remember that, as with Bhabha’s analysis of mimicry in the colony, Freud marks ambivalence as one of melancholia’s defining characteristics. In describing the genealogy of ambivalence in melancholia, Freud himself moves from the domain of the social to the realm of the psychic. He notes that the “conflict due to ambivalence, which sometimes arises from real experiences, sometimes more from constitutional factors, must not be overlooked among the preconditions of melancholia.”29 According to Freud, melancholia not only traces an internalized pathological identification with what was once an external but now lost ideal. In this moving from outside to inside, we also get a strong sense of how social injunctions of mimicry configure individual psychic structures as split and dis-eased. The ambivalence that comes to define Freud’s concept of melancholia is one that finds its origins and routes in social history—in colonial and racial structures impelling performative displays of mimicry and man.

**They add:** Eng, David L. [Professor of Asian American Studies, the Program in Comparative literature and Literary Theory, and the Program in Gender Sexuality and Women’s Studies at the University of Pennsylvania], and Shinhee Han [Psychotherapist in New York City]. “Racial Melancholia, Racial Dissociation.” Duke University Press, January 2019. <https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0160-7_601.pdf> AC/CH

This discussion on intergenerational dilemmas of immigration and assimilation brings us to the related issue of mourning, melancholia, and language. Nelson, a first-generation Japanese American student who emigrated from Osaka to New Jersey when he was five, sought therapy with me (Dr. Han) in 1996, presenting chronic struggles with depression associated with racial conflict. Nelson is the eldest child and has two siblings, a brother and a sister, both of whom were born in the United States. Before Nelson entered school, his mother spoke only Japanese to the children. When Nelson started kindergarten, his teacher admonished his mother to replace Japanese with English at home if she wanted her children to assimilate and to become successful students. Despite the mother’s broken English, she followed the teacher’s instructions assiduously, speaking only English to her children. **Nelson recounts a story that took place later in grade school. During a reading lesson, he mispronounced “crooked” as “crookd” (one syllable). His teacher shamed him publicly for his failed speech act—his failed act of mimicry — and demanded to know where he learned to mispronounce such a simple word. Nelson reluctantly replied that he learned this pronunciation from his mother. Nelson remembers, in particular, feelings of social embarrassment and shame from the ridicule of his teacher and classmates.** What we learn about Nelson’s case history is that, although his original connection to the primary object (the mother) was through the Japanese language, this connection was interrupted by a foreign property, English. The mother’s poor mimicry of English severed and revised the earliest mother-child attachment, one brokered in Japanese. As such, Nelson could no longer mirror himself from his mother, in Japanese or in English. This estrangement from language, both native and foreign, is a double loss. Although acquiring a new language (English) should be perceived as a positive cognitive development, what is often not acknowledged sufficiently is the concomitant psychic trauma triggered by the loss of what had once been a safe, nurturing, and familiar language to the young child (Japanese). The loss of Japanese as a safe and nurturing object reveals another way to think about racial melancholia in relation to processes of immigration and assimilation. In Nelson’s case history, melancholia results not only from a thwarted identification with a dominant ideal of unattainable whiteness but also a vexed relationship to a compromised Japaneseness. Nelson’s situation reveals how on two fronts ideals of whiteness and ideals of Japaneseness are lost and unresolved. **Here the problem of accent marks an impossible social compliance. In both instances, language is the privileged vehicle — the privileged property— by which standards of successful assimilation and failed integration are measured. In this sense,** language itself might be thought of as a kind of property right and stereotype, demanding a flawless mimicry on the part of the young Nelson, whose failed performance leads him to shame and self-abasement at a crucial moment of social and psychic development**. Nelson’s transition from Japanese to English is another example of the negotiation between mourning and melancholia in the immigration and assimilation process. That is, although he suffers a loss and revaluation of his mother tongue, his transition into the adopted ideal of the English language is anything but smooth. We need to emphasize that the shaming ritual to which the grade-school teacher subjected Nelson—one all too common in the Darwinian space of the classroom— is one that not merely makes his transition into English difficult but also demonizes and repudiates the mother (and the mother tongue and accent) at the same time.** What was once a loved and safe object is retroactively transformed into an object of shame and insecurity. To the extent that the figure of the mother originally represents safe notions of “home,” Nelson’s estrangement from his mother, and from his mother tongue, renders her unheimlich— unhomely, unfamiliar, uncanny— a topic that critical race scholar Mari Matsuda has explored in her legal analyses of accent discrimination.44 The relationship between language, pedagogy, and assimilation into a mainstream national citizenry is examined also in a short story by Monique T. D. Truong. “Kelly”(1991) is about a young Vietnamese refugee, Thuy-Mai, who finds herself in the improbable space of a North Carolina classroom of 1975. Truong’s narrator composes a distressing epistolary monologue to her one and only (and now absent) friend from that dark period of her life, Kelly. In doing so, she reenacts the melancholic logic discussed above. That is, an intersubjective external dialogue meant for two parties is melancholically internalized and transformed into an intrasubjective monologue of one remarkable for its anger and solipsism. What is an epistolary, after all, other than an impassioned (but not necessarily answered) plea to the other? Truong’s narrator recalls their grade-school teacher: Kelly, remember how Mrs. Hammerick talked about Veteran’s Day? How about the Day of Infamy when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor? Mrs. Hammerick, you know, the mayor’s wife always had a sweet something surrounding her like she had spent too much time pulling taffy.... Kelly, you only knew that she liked the Beths and the Susans cause they wore pink and never bulged and buckled out of their shirt plackets. I was scared of her like no dark corners could ever scare me. You have to know that all the while she was teaching us history she was telling, with her language for the deaf, blind, and dumb; she was telling all the boys in our class that I was Pearl and my last name was Harbor. They understood her like she was speaking French and their names were all Claude and Pierre.45 Truong’s story expands our discussion of language and its performative effects on the constitution of good and bad national subjects. Here, Mrs. Hammerick’s common language for the “deaf, blind, and dumb”—a language from which Thuy-Mai is emphatically excluded—is used to create and then separate good students from bad students within the institutionalized space of the classroom. The Susans and the Beths, the Claudes and the Pierres, are all, as Louis Althusser would put it, “interpellated”by the mayor’s wife as good citizen- subjects of the classroom and nation-state.46 Truong emphasizes how education is a primary site through which narratives of national identity and belonging are established and reinforced through pedagogical compliance. At the same time, the Vietnamese refugee, Thuy-Mai, is pathologized as Asian enemy, dismissively labeled “Pearl Harbor,”erroneously conflated with the Japanese, and implicitly rendered a menace to the coherence and integrity of the US nation-state. Mrs. Hammerick is, of course, not literally speaking French (though Vietnam was of course colonized earlier by France), but Truong’s attention to **language underscores the ways in which an unconscious discourse of colonialism and** race, of national inclusion and **exclusion**, is circulated in the classroom**.** Furthermore, as Lowe points out, Mrs. Hammerick’s nationalizing tract is simultaneously a gendered discourse: “The narrator’s observations that the teacher’s history lesson addresses ‘all the boys’further instantiates how the American nationalist narrative recognizes, recruits, and incorporates male subjects, while ‘feminizing’and silencing the students who do not conform to that notion of patriotic subjectivity.”47 Racialized subjects, such as Nelson and Thuy-Mai, become “good” citizens when they identify with the paternal state and accept, as Lowe summarizes, “the terms of this identification by subordinating [their] racial difference and denying [their] ties with the feminized and racialized ‘motherland.’”48 In the following section, we turn to Melanie Klein’s theories of good and bad objects, of good and bad mothers and motherlands, to explore the politics of aggression and destructiveness, of guilt and reparation, as they configure the psychic limits of racial melancholia and expand on Freud’s account of loss and interminable mourning.

#### [Watson 1] AND white mimicry has empirically caused imperialism both within and *from* Asian states.

**Watson 1:** Watson, Jini Kim. [Duke University; she is an Assistant Professor of English and Comparative Literature. Her research focuses on the literature and culture of the Asia-Pacific, postcolonial theory, comparative modernities, and theories of architecture and urbanism.] “Imperial mimicry, modernisation theory and the contradictions of postcolonial South Korea.” Routledge, 10:2, 171-190, May 2007. AC/CH

An enormous amount has been written on **the Meiji period (1868–1912) of Japanese history, an era of spectacular growth and the rapid adoption of European technologies. Formed within this period, Japan’s colonising impulses must be understood as an integral part of the country’s effort to modernise through Westernisation.** In the intensely competitive geopolitical situation of the late nineteenth century, a Japanese-led counterforce against the West was perceived as the only means of resisting European domination of the globe. In 1887 the Japanese Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru urged: what we must do is to transform our empire and our people, make the empire like the countries of Europe and our people like the peoples of Europe. To put it differently, we have to establish a new, European-style empire on the edge of Asia. **After attaining Taiwan (Formosa) in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, further regional control through the defeat of Russia in 1904, and then rule over the Korean peninsula in 1910, Japan felt itself elevated to the ranks of the great** Western imperial powers, and regarded its first colony as ‘a symbol of the nation’s equality with the West and of its participation in the great work of modern civilization’. In the struggle for pieces of China, European-style imperialism was confirmed as the order of the day and Japan set out to not only emulate it, but surpass it. Several historians have noted, however, that the centuries-old national imaginary that went along with European colonisation simply did not exist in Japan; in Jansen’s phrase, ‘there were no Japanese Kiplings’. As a result, along with modern economic theories, **Western, and particularly British, colonialist thought and practices were actively studied and appropriated (right down to copying British** colonial **uniforms and architecture), and a chair in Colonial Studies at Tokyo University was established.** Taiwan and Korea played typical colonial roles as providers of raw materials (rice, sugar and minerals), labour and markets for the expansion of resource-poor Japan. Not long after **Japan** had **reinvented its own state institutions on the model of Western imperial nations,** it implemented similar reforms in its colonies. Results included modern education, finance, trade and transport systems, the rationalist replanning of the colonial capitals Seoul and Taipei, and the construction of grand, neo-Baroque administration buildings and governor’s mansions as symbols of Japan’s imperial power**.** When considering the kind of postcolonial critical tools which might interrogate or deconstruct Japanese colonial thinking and practices, the first difficulty is in recognising that the latter’s origins are not in Japan. Postcolonial scholars note that Japanese colonialism was at once the purest face of colonial brutality, and colonialism’s mere imitation. In Chungmoo Choi’s words: Japanese imperialism reproduced the fictionality of the European colonial discourse. It was a pastiche of the European Enlightenment. Japanese imperialism simulated and reproduced this grand but empty narrative, in yet another form of colonialism, not with any Enlightenment pretense but through a pastiche of colonization.

#### [Bekus] Next, Asian space appropriation is a desperate attempt to “join the club” of so-called “developed” states.

Bekus: Bekus, Nelly. [Ph.D., Associate Research Fellow in the History Department, University of Exeter] “Outer space technopolitics and postcolonial modernity in Kazakhstan.” *Central Asian Survey*, February 25, 2021. https://tinyurl.com/arw3tsry CH

Much like nuclear technologies in the 1970s and 1980s, space has come to represent ‘modernity’ and the promise of gaining new economic and social benefits from the application of advanced space technologies to current problems. Spacefaring capabilities have long been associated with progressive nationhood, providing spectacular evidence of a nation’s technological prowess and standing on the world stage (Mieczkowski 2013). As in the case of many postcolonial states, the space programme in Kazakhstan initiated by elites embodies complex dilemmas regarding the country’s development and its place on the global map. Official Kazakhstani technopolitics has met with resistance from those who define the realm of Kazakh culture, tradition and science as lying outside the Soviet modernization project, which they deem external and anti-Kazakh by definition due to its intrusive and transformative nature. This confrontation reproduces the postcolonial process of creative tension between ‘modern’ science and technology and vital elements of a socio-cultural heritage that can be observed in many countries of South Asia (Arnold 2000). The Kazakhstani state seeks to equip the retrospective national idea with a technological aspiration – the space programme – which is meant to elevate the landscape of history and tradition and to embody its future. The outer space programme in Kazakhstan emerges as the privileged instrument of identity management and state advancement. In a bid to demonstrate involvement in a scientifically advanced space programme, which can stand in for development, the state seeks to produce a modern fetish. The link between space technology and a refashioning of national selfhood invokes the capacity of the artefact to signal a complex, polyvalent message, what Appadurai (1986) has called the ‘semiotic virtuosity’ of the object. The transformative power characteristic of the fetish is associated with the belief held by ruling elites that becoming a spacefaring nation would bring about affluence, recognition and a respected status on the global stage. The mere possession of something owned by the West, namely, ‘rich world technology’ (Edgerton 2006), is seen as ‘synonymous with the re-creation of the structures of “advanced” production, lifestyles, histories, and societal context within domestic space’ (Krishna 2009, 72). A technologically advanced artefact, such as the space programme in Kazakhstan, is expected to be both integrated into the narrative of national identity and to describe the trajectory of its future development. Space technology and promises of the nation’s bright future thus function as methods to secure this same future (Brown, Rappert, and Webster 2000, 10).

#### [Fernández] AND Asian states depend on private entities for space expansion – China proves.

Fernández: Fernández, Ray. [Journalist, ScreenRant] “China Opens Space and Unleashes The Power Of Its Private Sector.” ScreenRant, November 27, 2021. https://screenrant.com/chinese-companies-boost-space-development/ CH

In a new move to boost space development, China has opened up space to private companies. China's space program is heavily linked with the military and wrapped up in secrecy. However, recent Chinese space accomplishments, rovers on the Moon and Mars, new satellites and new space stations were primarily developed by government efforts. The U.S. brought in the private sector as a strategy to boost its space program and develop expensive and ambitious new projects. Now China is doing the same. The last time China used national private companies to increase development was when it declared Artificial Intelligence a national priority. Fast forward a few years, Chinese AI dominates globally. At the 7th China (International) Commercial Aerospace Forum, national private companies presented many new and ambitious projects, including spaceplanes, space resources, a massive constellation of satellites and more. One of the companies at the event was the space giant China Aerospace Science and Industry Corp. (CASIC). The Ministry of Science and Technology, China National Space Administration, and other government arms sponsored and supervised the event. CASIC said that the Xingyun constellation — made up of 80 satellites is moving full speed ahead. The corporation announced that the intelligent space satellite production factory was operating. They are now launching rockets from their own rocket park in the city of Wuhan. Today the rocket park and smart sat factory produce 20 solid-fuel launches and 100 satellites per year but plans to increase capacities are on their way. CASIC is also working on the Tengyun spaceplane, recently flight-testing an advanced turbine-based combined cycle engine in the Gobi desert. CASIC is not the only private company developing space planes in China. The China Aerospace Science and Technology Corp. and iSpace also presented their plans for space planes and space crafts. iSpace has designed two missions to the Moon, which they assure will be the first commercial missions to the natural satellite. China is getting some inspiration from U.S. companies. Local companies in China are looking into space tourism with suborbital and orbital flights. And Deep Blue Aerospace is developing a reusable launcher that looks very much like the Heavy Falcon of SpaceX. The event's main themes were IoT space networks, multi-purpose satellite constellations, space resources (mining) and taking the Chinese space sector to a new level with private participation. While the U.S. has its eye on Chinese military space vehicles, it may have overlooked and underestimated the impact that the Chinese private sector will have. Hundreds of new companies have responded to the government's call to "start a new journey for commercial aerospace" in China. It is only a matter of time until their full power and capabilities are unleashed into space.

## Thus:

#### [Eng & Han 2] I affirm: The appropriation of outer space by private entities is unjust. I critique private appropriation through Asian Melancholia, abbreviated “AM,” a method that recognizes the injustice of forced integration of white technocracy into Asian subjects.

Eng & Han 2: Eng, David L. [Professor of Asian American Studies, the Program in Comparative literature and Literary Theory, and the Program in Gender Sexuality and Women’s Studies at the University of Pennsylvania], and Shinhee Han [Psychotherapist in New York City]. “Racial Melancholia, Racial Dissociation.” Duke University Press, January 2019. https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0160-7\_601.pdf AC/CH

﻿THE “CONDITION” OF WHITENESS Configuring whiteness as a contagion, Birdie Lee, the narrator of Danzy Senna’s novel Caucasia (1998), connects assimilation to illness and disease. Separated from her African American activist father, Birdie and her blue-blooded mother flee from the law in a racialized and radicalized Boston of the 1970s. Eventually, the two take up residence in New Hampshire, where Birdie passes as “Jesse” and for white. This assimilation into the whiteness of New Hampshire plagues Birdie, who wonders if she “had actually become Jesse, and it was this girl, this Birdie Lee who haunted these streets, searching for ghosts, who was the lie.”1 This vexing condition of whiteness alters the narrator’s physical existence—the manner in which Birdie walks, talks, dresses, and dances. Moreover, it configures the sphere of the affective—the ways in which Birdie ultimately apprehends the world and its occupants around her. Physically and psychically haunted, Birdie/Jesse feels “contaminated.”2 This is the condition of racial melancholia. A DIALOGUE ON RACIAL MELANCHOLIA As noted in our introduction, part I of this book focuses on Generation X, largely second-generation and comparatively privileged Asian Americans attending public and private universities from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s. Our psychoanalytic perspective is that of racial melancholia. This chapter is the outcome of a series of sustained dialogues on racial melancholia in which we engaged during the fall and winter of 1998. It was first published in 2000 as an article in the clinical journal Psychoanalytic Dialogues, and we have edited and updated it for publication here. We originally wrote “A Dialogue on Racial Melancholia” as a critical response to disturbing patterns of depression we witnessed in a growing number of our Asian American students and patients. Not all Asian Americans are depressed, but several studies have shown higher levels of social isolation and depressive symptoms among Asian American adolescents in comparison to their African American, Latino/a, and white peers.3 The article provided an opportunity for us not only to reflect on race and depression but also to consider more generally various approaches to investigating problems of race, immigration, exclusion, and loss in psychoanalytic theory and practice, a topic as important in 1998 as it is today. As Freud’s privileged theory of unresolved grief, melancholia presents a compelling framework to conceptualize registers of loss and depression attendant to social and psychic processes of immigration, assimilation, and racialization.4 Freud typically casts melancholia as pathological. However, we are more concerned with exploring this psychic condition as a depathologized “structure of feeling,” to borrow a concept from Raymond Williams describing emergent patterns of emotion still struggling for social form and recognition.5 From this particular vantage, melancholia might be theorized in relation to our everyday conflicts and struggles with experiences of racial exclusion and discrimination. Furthermore, even though Freud conceives of melancholia in terms of individual loss and suffering, we are equally interested in approaching melancholia as a collective psychic condition—more interested, that is, in addressing group identities and identifications. How might a focus on racial identifications and differences in psychoanalytic theory allow us particular insights on the history of the Asian American subject in relation to the subject of history—to historical processes of immigration, assimilation, and racialization underpinning the formation of Asian American subjectivity? ASSIMILATION AS/AND MELANCHOLIA Freud’s theory of melancholia provides a provocative model to consider how processes of assimilation work in the United States, and how the depression that characterizes much of contemporary culture for Generation X might be theorized in relation to race. In the United States today, assimilation into mainstream culture for people of color still means adopting a set of dominant norms and ideals—whiteness, heteronormativity, middle-class family values, Judeo-Christian religious traditions. The exclusion from these norms—the reiterated loss of whiteness as an ideal, notably—establishes a melancholic framework for assimilation and racialization processes in the United States precisely as a series of failed and unresolved integrations. Let us begin with Freud’s essay “Mourning and Melancholia” (1917), in which he attempts to draw a clear distinction between these two psychic states through the question of “successful” and “failed” resolutions to loss. Freud reminds us at the start of his essay that “mourning is regularly the reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one’s country, liberty, an ideal, and so on.

## Part 3: Staying Sad

#### [Eng & Han 3] AM SPOTLIGHTS THE OVERBURDENING OF COLONIALIST OPPRESSION – it tells Asians they’ll never be good enough or white enough.

Eng & Han 3: Eng, David L. [Professor of Asian American Studies, the Program in Comparative literature and Literary Theory, and the Program in Gender Sexuality and Women’s Studies at the University of Pennsylvania], and Shinhee Han [Psychotherapist in New York City]. “Racial Melancholia, Racial Dissociation.” Duke University Press, January 2019. https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0160-7\_601.pdf AC/CH

In some people the same influences produce melancholia instead of mourning and we consequently suspect them of a pathological disposition.”6 Mourning, unlike melancholia, is a psychic process in which the loss of an object or ideal occasions the withdrawal of libido from that object or ideal. This withdrawal cannot be enacted at once; instead, it is a gradual letting go. Libido is detached bit by bit so that, eventually, the mourner is able to declare the object dead and to invest in new objects. In Freud’s initial definition of the concept, melancholia is pathological precisely because it is a mourning without end. Interminable grief is the result of the melancholic’s inability to resolve the various conflicts and ambivalences that the loss of the loved object effects. In other words, the melancholic cannot “get over” this loss—cannot work out this loss in order to invest in new objects and ideals. To the extent that ideals of whiteness for Asian Americans and other people of color remain unattainable, processes of assimilation are suspended, conflicted, and unresolved. The irresolution of this process places the concept of assimilation within a melancholic framework. Put otherwise, mourning describes a finite process that might be reasonably aligned with the popular myth of the American “melting pot” for dominant Western European ethnic groups whose various differences are legally, socially, and psychically forged into an ideal of whiteness.7 In contrast, melancholia describes an unresolved process that might usefully describe the compromised immigration and assimilation of Asian Americans into the national fabric. The suspended assimilation, the inability to blend into the American melting pot, suggests that for Asian Americans ideals of whiteness are perpetually strained—continually estranged. They remain at an unattainable distance, at once a compelling fantasy and a lost ideal. In configuring assimilation and melancholia in this particular manner, it is important to challenge Freud’s contention that melancholia ensues from a “pathological disposition”—that it emerges from the disturbance of an intrasubjective psychopathology rather than the disruption of an intersubjective relationship. In our analysis, the inability to get over unattainable ideals of whiteness is less an individual than a collective social transaction. Neil Gotanda notes that Asian Americans are racialized precisely as foreign.8 US mainstream society typically perceives Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners largely based on physiognomy—on skin color and physical markings. Despite the fact that they may be native-born, or however long they may have resided in the country, or whatever their official legal status, Asian Americans are continually viewed as eccentric to the nation. Whether depicted as menacing yellow peril or applauded as model minorities, Asian Americans are cast as an economic threat and hyperproductive automatons and hence pathological to the US nation-state. In either scenario, mainstream refusal to see Asian Americans as part and parcel of the American melting pot is less an individual failure to blend in with the collective than a legally and socially sanctioned interdiction. Even Freud suggests in his essay that melancholia may proceed from “environmental influences” rather than internal conditions that threaten the existence of the object or ideal.9

#### [Edwards] AND AM results from the willful forgetting of violence against Asians in pursuit of white ideals.

Edwards: Edwards, Naomi. [Ph.D., Stony Brook] “Haunting History: Melancholia and Specters of Racialization in Contemporary Asian American Fiction, A Dissertation Presented by Naomi Edwards to The Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English”, Stony Brook University, May 2014. https://tinyurl.com/ypra2tzb CH

So, inspired by Gordon, I went in search of ghosts. From Maxine Hong Kingston’s Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts to Lois-Ann Yamanaka’s Blu’s Hanging to Nora Okja Keller’s Comfort Woman, depictions of ghosts and haunting are prevalent across a striking range of recent Asian American texts1, and the dissertation investigates why this trope is so potent a device for understanding Asian American subjectivities. Asian American racialization, I maintain, is a process deeply haunted not only by U.S. military interventions and imperialism in Asia but also by official historical narratives that foreclose or willfully forget minority histories in order to uphold a fictive national harmony. Jacques Derrida’s Specters of Marx is likewise influential in shaping my approach to reading ghosts and haunting in recent Asian American fiction. Derrida argues that speaking of the ghost, to the ghost, and with the ghost is fundamentally concerned with justice and 1 Other notable examples include Chang-rae Lee’s Native Speaker, Wendy Law-Yone’s The Coffin Tree, Hualing Nieh’s Mulberry and Peach, Andrew X. Pham’s Catfish and Mandala, Rahna Reiko Rizzuto’s Why She Left Us, lê thi diem thúy’s The Gangster We Are All Looking For, Shani Mootoo’s Cereus Blooms At Night, and Kiana Davenport’s The Song of the Exile. 2 responsibility—responsibility to those who are not here. This refers not only to those who are no longer here but also to those who are not yet here: the specters of the past and the future that continually haunt the present. The notion of disjointed temporalities is central to Derrida’s conception of the spectral (he continuously returns to Hamlet’s statement that “the time is out of joint” as a sign of haunting). The specter, “this non-object, this non-present present, this being- there of an absent or departed one,” (5) exists outside of time, outside of the living present, creating a rupture of temporalities, a “sort of non-contemporaneity of present time with itself” (29). This is in part because the spectral is necessarily based on a structure of repetition or return: “a specter is always a revenant.2 One cannot control its comings and goings because it begins by coming back” (11). Paradoxically, the first appearance of the specter is simultaneously a repetition. Thus the spectral moment is a disruption of the present not only by the anxieties of the past but also of the future: “It is a proper characteristic of the specter, if there is any, that no one can be sure if by returning it testifies to a living past or to a living future, for the revenant may already mark the promised return of the specter of living being. Once again, untimeliness and disadjustment of the contemporary” (123). This collapsing of temporalities is important to understanding how the writers and works I analyze deploy ghosts as a means of mediating, recovering, and revising American and Asian American histories. The novels studied here are fundamentally concerned not just with the ways in which the past continually haunts and shapes the present, but how the present might become a means through which we might remember and redeem that past and, by extension, the future. The specter confronts us with a pressing ethical responsibility to the pasts and futures of the world. 2 Translator’s note: “A common term for ghost or specter, the revenant is literally that which comes back” (224). 3 This conception recalls in many ways Walter Benjamin’s “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in which he considers the dangers of a historicism that would seek to banish the past to the past. He writes, “The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again . . . For every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably” (255). This threat of misrecognition, of forgetting, of allowing history simply to vanish, held especially devastating potential, of course, when Benjamin wrote it in the midst of the mass extermination of European Jews. Indeed, his “angel of history” appears bereft as he is dragged violently into the future: “His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of this feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed” (257, emphasis added). If Benjamin’s angel of history is forever being dragged forcefully into a future to which his back is turned, can we think of the ghost as that which drags the past into the present, or the present into the past, as that which might “blast open the continuum of history” (262)? Haunting History: Melancholia and Specters of Racialization in Contemporary Asian American Fiction studies the prevalence of ghosts and haunting in contemporary Asian American fiction as a telling symptom of racial and transnational melancholia. Analyzing seminal novels from the past two decades by American writers of Asian descent, I argue that melancholia functions in these texts as a critical form of resistance to the untenable demands of national identity formation and cultural belonging. This study advances recent scholarship on racial melancholia and loss by repositioning the melancholic psyche from a state of debilitating pathology to a richly productive site of resistance and critique. Through readings of Monique 4 Truong’s The Book of Salt (2003), Julie Otsuka’s When the Emperor Was Divine (2002), Chang- rae Lee’s A Gesture Life (1999), Heinz Insu Fenkl’s Memories of My Ghost Brother (1997), and Nora Okja Keller’s Fox Girl (2002), I argue that the Asian American ghost is a crucial trope for understanding not only the host of losses produced through processes of immigration, assimilation, and exclusion in Asian America, but also for challenging the structures of power that undergird U.S. global hegemony. The haunting melancholia that characterizes much of contemporary Asian American fiction marks a crucial ambivalence at the heart of Asian American racialized subjectivities that resists, at once, fantasies of the “model minority” and happy multiculture at home, and ongoing U.S. imperialisms abroad. The works of fiction I analyze are centrally concerned with traumatic experiences of war, colonization, and displacement, as well as the heteropatriarchal violence that so often works in tandem with militarized nationalisms. Ghosts and haunting emerge in these texts, I maintain, as telltale signs of traumatic memory and melancholic attachment. Whereas Freud initially pathologizes melancholia, this project repositions the racially melancholic psyche as a powerful instrument of critique in contemporary Asian American fiction. Ghosts and Haunting as Symptoms of Melancholia In “Mourning and Melancholia,” Sigmund Freud argues that mourning is the process by which a subject successfully grieves and moves on from a loss through a withdrawal of the ego from the lost object and a subsequent reinvestment in a new object. This linear psychic trajectory from loss, to grief, to letting go is considered by Freud the “normal” way of processing loss which ends in completion, leaving the ego “free and uninhibited again” (127). Melancholia, 5 however, results when the subject cannot let go of the lost object, and is the result, Freud argues,3 of “a morbid pathological disposition” (125). When a subject becomes melancholic, the libido is withdrawn into the ego rather than redirected to another object, establishing “an identification of the ego with the abandoned object. Thus the shadow of the object fell upon the ego” (131, emphasis in original). This “shadow” becomes incorporated into the melancholic subject’s ego, establishing itself as a loss-but-not-a-loss that haunts the subject. This study extends recent work on racial melancholia, notably Anne Anlin Cheng and David L. Eng. In The Melancholy of Race, Cheng describes melancholic attachment as “taking in the other-made-ghostly,” and David Eng and Shinhee Han similarly observe that by “identifying with the lost object, the melancholic is able to preserve it but only as a type of haunted, ghostly identification” (346). The preservation of the lost object is felt as a painful absence/presence that refuses closure. Cheng argues that Asian American racialization in particular occupies a ghostly position because of the centrality of the black-white color line in the structure of U.S. racial politics: The question of the racialization of Asian Americans is in some ways more apparently melancholic than that of African Americans in American history in the sense that the history of virulent racism directed against Asians and Asian Americans has been at once consistently upheld and denied. Shuttling between ‘black’ and ‘white’—the Scylla and Charybdis between which all American immigrants have had to ‘pass’—Asian Americans occupy a truly ghostly position in the story of American racialization. (23) The racialized subjects in the texts I analyze are, on the one hand, haunted by the ghosts of an unattainable whiteness and an inability to “blend in” to the myth of the American melting pot. 3 Freud later revises his understanding of melancholia in The Ego and the Id, arguing that the ego is actually constituted through the attachment to lost objects. 6 But these racialized subjects are also themselves made ghostly through their exclusion from a nation whose racist social structures are founded on a melancholic attachment that mirrors their own, as Cheng argues: “Racialization . . . may be said to operate through the institutional process of producing a dominant, standard, white national ideal, which is sustained by the exclusion-yet- retention of racialized others” (10). The nation cannot simply reject the racialized subject, as it needs that which it despises as an other against which to define its own ideal. Eng likewise considers immigrant experience as fundamentally melancholic and centered around loss: it is important to emphasize that the experience of immigration is based on a structure of loss . . . When one leaves a country of origin, voluntarily or involuntarily, . . . a host of losses both concrete and abstract must be mourned. To the extent lost ideals of Asianness (including homeland, family, language, property, identity, custom, and status) are irrecoverable, immigration, assimilation, and racialization are placed within a melancholic framework—a state of suspension between “over there” and “over here.” (“Transnational” 16) This in-between position of the racially melancholic subject is central to my analysis of the novels studied in this dissertation, and reflects the importance of the transnational frame for understanding and theorizing contemporary Asian American fiction that is fundamentally concerned with issues of war, displacement, and global migration, and the many intersecting ideologies (race, gender and sexuality, labor, colonialism) that shape them. Where my work diverges from that of Cheng and Eng is in its concern with the productive potential of the melancholic psyche in literature. Freud unfavorably characterizes melancholia as an “attitude of revolt,” a formulation I find telling and useful in this regard. This spirit of revolt, and the resistance to closure that defines it, is precisely what is productive in melancholia. The writers studied here emphatically keep open the “wound” of racialization, not to wallow in loss, but to demand political accountability and historical memory. Both Cheng and Eng gesture toward this productive potential, but the primary emphasis in their work on melancholia is a conception of American racialized subjectivities in terms of “self-as-loss,” as Cheng puts it. In “A Dialogue on Racial Melancholia,” Eng and Han end their essay by turning toward the potential productivity of racial melancholia, arguing that it is “the ego’s melancholic yet militant refusal to allow certain objects to disappear into oblivion” that may constitute a critical ethics of melancholia (365). I seek to position that potential not as an end point, but as a starting point for reconceptualizing how contemporary Asian American writers engage with issues of race, loss, and haunting in ways that move beyond an ethos of damage. This dissertation analyzes how recent Asian American writers have taken up the figure of traumatic racialization and a haunted Asian American subject and use that to critique notions of national belonging, American imperialism, model minority discourse, and other problematic historical narratives. This is not to say that the very real material and psychic losses suffered by Asian and Asian American populations are insignificant or should ever be downplayed simply for the sake of “accentuating the positive.” To the contrary, each of the chapters which follows engages at length with the “host of losses” produced through painful processes of immigration, racialization, (post)colonialism, and war, as well as the heteropatriarchal violences which structure them.

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Men’s sense of their own manhood has derived from their perceptions both of other men’s masculinity and the femininity of women of different races and social classes” (199-200). This dissertation takes a cue from Enloe and investigates how the imbricated ideologies of race, class, gender, sexuality, and global politics have historically worked in tandem to produce the haunted Asian American subjectivities represented in the fiction analyzed here. Traumatic Histories From forced exile, to wartime internment, to sexual slavery and militarized prostitution, as well as less violent—though still often painful—experiences of migration and assimilation, the dissertation engages with a range of traumatic events that profoundly and indelibly shape the psyches of the characters in these novels. The psychological structure of trauma, centered around repetition and return, also holds particularly fruitful explanatory power when thinking about ghosts and haunting as signs of histories that refuse to be forgotten. As Cathy Caruth explains, “The historical power of the trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only in and through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at all. And it is this inherent latency of the event that paradoxically explains that peculiar, temporal structure” (17). In the psychoanalytic explanation of trauma, that is, the traumatic event cannot be fully grasped at the moment of its occurrence, but is relived by the survivor as a compulsive repetition. Trauma functions as “the story of a wound that cries out” from the past, belatedly, as a sign of something lost or forgotten (Caruth 4). The “host of losses” represented in the texts 12 studied here similarly cry out, as these writers ask us as readers to bear witness to forgotten or silenced histories. Trauma’s effects are not contained, however, only in the psyches of those who have experienced the traumatic event. Grace Cho’s Haunting the Korean Diaspora considers how the Korean diaspora in the U.S. is affected by the buried traumas of the U.S.-Korea War and constitutes a site of transgenerational trauma. The second generation, the children of Korean War survivors, Cho argues, tells “a collective oral history in which they felt affected by some inarticulate presence that had left its imprint on what seemed to be their normal everyday lives . . . This experience of the children of Korean War survivors—having been haunted by silences that take the form of an ‘unhappy wind,’ ‘a hole,’ or some other intangible or invisible force— reflects the notion that an unresolved trauma is unconsciously passed from one generation to the next” (11). This is in large part due to the first generation’s reluctance to discuss their experiences of war, but beyond that, as Cho argues, is the deliberate forgetting in U.S. national narratives that have written the Korean War into history as the “Forgotten War.” Cho’s articulation of transgenerational haunting, or transgenerational trauma, particularly in relation to the Korean American population, demonstrates the ways in which American historical amnesia comes to function as a kind of secondary trauma. But what she also shows in the haunting power of transgenerational trauma is the persistence of forgotten histories, their refusal to be fully forgotten. It is no coincidence, in my view, that three of the five novels I consider here are written by Korean American authors. Much of the Korean American population is in the U.S. precisely because of U.S. military intervention in Korea and the occupation of South Korea (which many viewed as little more than a continuation of colonial rule of the Japanese, helmed by the U.S. instead) well into the 1970s. Further haunting this long and violent history of war 13 and colonization is the fact that the Korea War still has not ended, despite the implications of the dismissive labeling as the “Forgotten War” and the burying of this history that Cho so painstakingly recounts. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub’s Testimony identifies literature as precisely the place where traumatic experiences might be mediated and recovered where normative history fails us, as it has in Cho’s example of the “Forgotten War.” Felman and Laub argue that “the consequent, ongoing, as yet unresolved crisis of history, a crisis which in turn is translated into a crisis of literature insofar as literature becomes a witness, and perhaps the only witness, to the crisis within history which precisely cannot be articulated, witnessed in the given categories of history itself” (xviii). As with Gordon’s turn to the fictive as a site for filling in the gaps in social and historical narratives, Felman and Laub demonstrate the ways in which “art inscribes (artistically bears witness to) what we do not yet know of our lived historical relation to events of our times” (xx, emphasis in original). When history is used in service of ongoing processes of forgetting, it is often the fictive, the artistic, that seeks to recover—or perhaps, rather, to un-cover—that which has been hidden from view. Much of recent Asian American fiction does precisely this, giving voice to the marginalized and invisible, bearing witness to difficult histories of loss and exclusion, and imaginatively reconstructing narratives that have been foreclosed.

#### [Eng & Han 4] Next, AM results in psychological trauma – it unjustly destroys Asian people’s sense of self.

Eng & Han 4: Eng, David L. [Professor of Asian American Studies, the Program in Comparative literature and Literary Theory, and the Program in Gender Sexuality and Women’s Studies at the University of Pennsylvania], and Shinhee Han [Psychotherapist in New York City]. “Racial Melancholia, Racial Dissociation.” Duke University Press, January 2019. https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0160-7\_601.pdf AC/CH

Freud goes on to delineate the debilitating consequences of melancholia. When faced with unresolved grief, the melancholic preserves the lost object or ideal by incorporating it into the ego and establishing an ambivalent identification with it—ambivalent precisely because of the unresolved and conflicted nature of this forfeiture. From a slightly different perspective, we might say that ambivalence is precisely the result of the transformation an intersubjective conflict into an intrasubjective loss, as the melancholic makes every conceivable effort to retain the absent object or ideal, to keep it alive in the shelter of the ego. However, the tremendous costs of maintaining this ongoing relationship to the lost object or ideal are psychically damaging. Freud notes that the “distinguishing mental features of melancholia are a profoundly painful dejection, cessation of interest in the outside world, loss of the capacity to love, inhibition of all activity, and a lowering of the self-regarding feelings to a degree that finds utterance in self-reproaches and self-revilings, and culminates in a delusional expectation of punishment.”10 In identifying with the lost object, the melancholic is able to preserve it but only as a type of haunted, ghostly identification. That is, the melancholic assumes the emptiness of the lost object or ideal, identifies with this emptiness, and thus participates in his or her own self-denigration and ruination of self-esteem. Freud summarizes the distinction between mourning and melancholia in this oft-quoted remark: “In mourning it is the world which has become poor and empty; in melancholia it is the ego itself.”11 He contends that melancholia is one of the most difficult of psychic conditions to confront and to cure as it is largely an unconscious process, one in which the significance of the lost object remains unconscious and opaque. To reprise our citation from the opening pages of our introduction, Freud observes, “In yet other ﻿cases, one feels justified in maintaining the belief that a loss of this [melancholic] kind occurred, but one cannot see clearly what it is that has been lost, and it is all the more reasonable to suppose that the patient cannot consciously perceive what he has lost either. This, indeed, might be so even if the patient is aware of the loss which has given rise to his melancholia, but only in the sense that he knows whom he has lost but not what he has lost in him.”12 Freud tells us that the depression often accompanying melancholia is extremely dangerous, characterized by the tendency to suicide. Here, we might add, suicide may not merely be physical; as in Caucasia, it may also manifest in the psychical erasure of one’s identity—a self-imposed exile and exclusion. The effacing of a particular racial, sexual, or gender identity marks the emergence of a precarious social and psychic life.