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Inside:



Ana Mendieta, "Rupestrian Series," 1981, a life-size rock carving on a cave wall in Jaruco, Cuba. One of many contemporary art works by women inspired by goddess imagery included in *The Once and Future Goddess*, reviewed by Jane Caputi on p.14.

◆◆ What do feminists and vegetarians have in common? Plenty, says Carol Adams. In a review of *The Sexual Politics of Meat* Bettyann Kevles assesses her answer, p.11.

◆◆ The "impenetrable" Gertrude Stein attracts new interpreters in every generation; Catharine Stimpson reads Judy Grahn reading Stein, p.6.

◆◆ Nancy Chodorow's first new book since *The Reproduction of Mothering* shows her continuing commitment to feminism and to psychoanalysis, as Deborah Luepnitz finds, p.17.

Dangerous liaisons

by Anne McClintock

Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics, by Cynthia Enloe. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990, 238 pp., \$35.00 hardcover, \$10.95 paper.

"If you own a big chunk of the bloody Third World, the children just come with the scenery," as the Chrissie Hynde song goes. And from the evidence of Cynthia Enloe's marvelously original and witty book, in the boys' own adventure of international politics women too are no more than scenic backdrops to the big-brass business of male maneuvers, mergers and massacres.

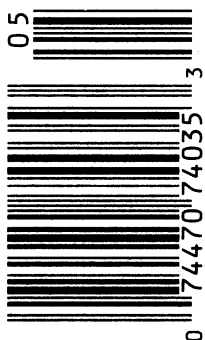
But *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* shows how mightily the day-to-day brokering of global power depends on constructions of gender. Women around the world share invisibility, but without women's work "in the back rows of politics," as Adrienne Rich puts it, the world's bases and banks, airlines and hotels would shut down in an instant, and the global assembly line would shudder to a halt.

Written in a scintillating and lucid prose, this is that rare combination, an eminently readable and eminently erudite book. Enloe takes on topics usually flicked aside as too trivial for foreign policy debate—the sex tourism industry; fashions for colonial nostalgia; the lives of base women and diplomatic wives; the politics of food and clothing; the international traffic in housework; nationalism and masculinity; brothels and bananas. She shows thereby how the male-order world of international politics could not survive a day without its structures of gender.

The politics of the banana, for one, she argues, is a politics of gender. When in the 1940s the climate for gunboat diplomacy became chilly, United States' relations with Latin America were warmed by a new policy euphemistically dubbed "Good Neighborliness." The new imperialism depended on powerful constructions of race and gender. Carmen Miranda, the Brazilian singer, be-

continued on p.3

and more...



NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Jane Caputi is the author of *The Age of Sex Crime* and collaborated with Mary Daly on *Websters' First New Intergalactic Wickedary of the English Language*. She is writing a book on female power and the nuclear age.

Patricia Cumming was a founding member of Alice James Books and has published two volumes of poetry there, *Afterwards* and *Letter from an Outlying Province*. She teaches part-time at Wheaton College, MA, and is working on a novel.

Berenice Fisher teaches women's studies and educational philosophy at New York University. She has written on topics such as political activism, feminist pedagogy and caring, and is working on a study of women without children.

Liz Galst doesn't think it's nice to wish death on anyone. All the same, she wouldn't shed a tear if what befell the fictional Ronald Horne in *People in Trouble* likewise befell the real-life Donald Trump.

Hilary Haines is a lecturer at the Centre for Women's Studies, University of Waikato in Hamilton, New Zealand, where she teaches a graduate course on women's health policies. She was previously deputy Director of the Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand and has written extensively on women's mental health issues.

Joan D. Hedrick is the Director of Women's Studies at Trinity College, Hartford, CT. She is the author of *Solitary Comrade: Jack London and His Work* (University of North Carolina Press, 1982) and is writing a biography of Harriet Beecher Stowe to be published by Oxford University Press.

Lois Rita Helmbold is a historian and activist who coordinates the Women's Studies Program at San Jose State University. The University of Illinois Press will publish her book, *Making Choices, Making Do: Survival Strategies of Black and White Working Class Women during the Great Depression*. Her most recent publication is "Women's Labor History, 1790-1945" (with Ann Schofield) in *Reviews in American History*, December 1989.

Bettyann Kevles writes about science for the *Los Angeles Times* and *Moxie* magazine. Her most recent book, *Females of the Species: Sex and Survival in the Animal Kingdom*, was published in paperback by Harvard University Press in 1988. She is working on a comparative study of animal rights.

Felicia Kornbluh edited the feminist newspaper *Subterranean Review* at Harvard-Radcliffe from 1987 to 1989. She works on poverty and family policy for the federal government's Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families.

Amanda Leslie-Spinks is a doctoral candidate in Social and Political Thought at York University, Toronto, Ontario, and is a freelance writer and broadcaster.

Deborah Anna Luepnitz practices psychoanalytic psychotherapy in Philadelphia. She is the author of *The Family Interpreted: Feminist Theory in Clinical Practice* (Basic Books, 1988). Her book in progress is *Winnicott and Lacan: Constructing the Psychoanalytic Subject*.

Anne McClintock is an assistant professor of English at Columbia University, specializing in cultural and women's studies. She has completed a book manuscript on race and gender in Victorian Britain and is working on a book on women in the New York sex industry.

Marge Piercy's most recent novel is *Summer People* (Summit Books, 1989). Her most recent book of poetry, *Available Light*, was published in 1988 by Knopf, and an anthology of American women's poetry, *Early Ripening* (Unwin Hyman), also came out that year.

Jane E. Schultz is assistant professor of English and adjunct assistant professor of Women's Studies and American Studies at Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis. Next year she will be on leave to complete a manuscript on women's narratives of the American Civil War battlefield.

Catharine R. Stimpson is University Professor and Dean of the Graduate School at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.

Alison Townsend is a poet and essayist. She teaches English at Madison Area Technical College, and also works as a Library Administrative Specialist at the University of Wisconsin/Baraboo. Recent work is forthcoming in *Earth's Daughters*, *Midwives of Winter: A Women's Anthology on Death and Vision* and *Birth and the Literary Imagination*.

Rosalind Warren is a recipient of a 1990 Pennsylvania Council on the Arts Literature Fellowship, and the editor of *Women's Glib*, a collection of feminist humor to be published by Crossing Press.

Iris Young is an activist currently involved in housing issues. She teaches philosophy at Worcester Polytechnic Institute. With Jeffner Allen she has edited *The Thinking Muse: Feminism and Modern French Philosophy*. Her book, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, will be issued by Princeton University Press in late 1990. Indiana University Press will publish a volume of her essays entitled *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory*.

continued from p.1

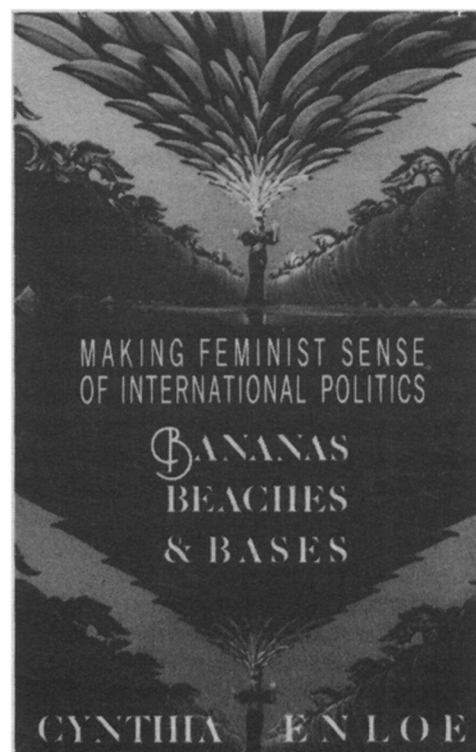
came the Hollywood bridesmaid of this new American influence, helping to wed the consumer loyalties of American housewives to virile agribusiness. Stepping off the boat in New York in 1939 with her outrageous, fruited headgear and insinuating eyes, Miranda helped make Latin America a safer backyard for United States money. Her newly minted, flamboyant English gave currency to the latest brand of imperialism. "Money, money, money ... hot dog," she chirped to a reporter. "I say yes, no, and I say money, money, money and I say turkey sandwich and I say grape juice."

The yellow bananas that Miranda sported on her head symbolized, says Enloe, America's global reach and a new imperialism. The giant cold-storage ships of the United Fruit Company circled the world, taking bananas from poor agrarian countries dominated by monocultures and the Marines to the tables of affluent housewives. At the same time United Fruit launched a powerful consumer campaign aimed at women. As American troops scrambled onto the bloody beaches of Europe, United Fruit created the "Chiquita Banana": a Miranda-esque, calypso-singing, female fruit that trilled "Good Neighborliness" from coast to coast. And while Central America hand-picked bananas for the United States, the United States hand-picked dictators for Central America.

Like bananas, Enloe argues, tourism is as much about gender as it is about sun, souvenirs and surf. The international politics of Third World debt and the international pursuit of commercial sex are intimately entangled. "The tourism formula" for rescuing "remote" countries from debt draws them, instead, into a dangerous liaison with international commerce, usually on unequal terms. The militarization of sexuality and the sexualization of the military has had deep repercussions. Enloe observes that in many countries tourism has replaced products such as sugar and bauxite as the leading earner of foreign exchange, and women have become as crucial to tourist capitalism as miners were to mining capitalism, performing sex work by the millions in the burgeoning cruise-ship industry, in military brothels, hotels and beaches.

Foreign sun-seekers fly with airlines that promise to embody the very feminine essence of their nation: "Singapore Girl ... You're a great way to fly." Sex tourism depends on a racial geography of sex that persuades affluent men that Third World women are more available and submissive; it depends on women desperate enough to do sex work under perilous conditions, and on a network of international companies willing to invest in organized sex tours and to prevent sex workers from organizing.

IN A WORLD WHERE the principal actors are seen to be men, the diplomat's wife, standing discreetly at the elbow of power, is an ambiguous figure. Enloe describes how



the life-long careers of these women in off-the-record diplomacy are expected, but not respected. Diplomats lean heavily on their wives' "voluntary" skills to carry on the business of power; the fate of nations depends on them, but their lonely and anonymous lives go unsung and unpaid. Many wives sacrifice their careers, their earning power and interests to be the handmaidens of their husbands' careers, only to be left divorced and impoverished in their old age. Recently, however, diplomatic and military wives as well as military servicewomen have begun to press for an end to the "twofer" marriage, for the right to be seen as private citizens with separate careers and needs, or at least to be justly remunerated for their work.

Yet it cannot be forgotten that a military or diplomatic wife plays an important role in subduing the women and men of less muscular countries. A valuable feature of *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* is Enloe's insistence on exploring how privileged women can be complicit in global injustice: "In search of adventure, that physical and intellectual excitement typically reserved for men, some affluent women have helped turn other women into exotic landscapes." Relations between the Victorian woman traveler and the Kenyan woman washing her chemise, the French tourist and the Haitian chambermaid making her bed, the American colonel's wife and the Filipina prostitute at the barracks gate, all fall far short of global sisterhood.

Recent films like *Out of Africa*, the Banana Republic chain of stores and perfumes called "Safari" peddle colonial nostalgia for an era when European women in brisk white shirts and safari green supposedly found freedom in empire: running coffee plantations, flaunting their sexual peccadillos, killing lions and zipping about the colonial skies in aeroplanes—an entirely misbegotten commercialization of women's

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liberation that has not made it any easier for women of color to form alliances with white women anywhere, let alone to parry criticisms by male nationalists already hostile to feminism.

IN ONE OF HER finest chapters, Enloe explores women's uneasy alliance with nationalism. Squabbles about the role of women have ruffled virtually all nationalist movements: in Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Ireland, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Afghanistan, Canada, Mexico, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Cuba, China and elsewhere. "Nationalism typically has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation, and masculinized hope." All too often women are seen as no more than the mothers and mascots of the nation. Yet the "not now, later" advice to women to hold their tongues, lest they make nationalist men nervous and stall the struggle, presumes that the dilemmas of a nation emerging into history can be addressed without any reference to power relations between men and women. Unless women are allowed a vocal say before a revolution, it is hardly likely they will be well served at the bargaining table after the struggle for power is over. Yet Enloe stresses that women in nationalist liberation movements have, as a result, begun to analyze the intimate connections that bind family households to the "international system," connections Western women have barely begun to glimpse.

"Hey ho, the dairy-o, the farmer wants a wife." Yet coupling "the farmer and his wife" obscures the fact that "Women *grow* more food than men. Women *buy* more food than men. Women *cook* more food than men." Women *own* less land than men. And women *eat* less food than men."

The fact that women own less than one percent of the world's property has traditionally concealed the fact that they produce at least half of the world's food. In Africa women produce 60 to 80 percent of all food, yet in the new dispensations of grain, technology, cash and loans, men are the favored beneficiaries. On plantations around the world a vast and invisible force of female packers and harvesters, sorters and cleaners, unpaid wives and harried prostitutes comprise a feminized labor force that is intensely vulnerable to shoddy pay, sexual abuse, chemical pollution and all manner of injustices.

Enloe stresses that the international trade in domestic work and prostitution cannot be discussed outside of the issues of nationalism, land reform and demilitarization. The hypocrisy of "protecting" women by criminalizing sex work was made perilously clear when the Philippine president Corazon Aquino ordered raids on Manila's famous entertainment area. Working women were not consulted, no alternative work was provided, and though hundreds of women were arrested, hardly any clients or businessmen were jailed.

For Enloe, being a mail-order bride, buying a pink pith-helmet from a Banana Republic store, or chemically cleaning bananas are all variations of foreign policy at work. The masculinized international banking policies of the major banking countries have destabilized more regimes than all the world's terrorists together. Two-thirds of the world's refugees are women, in flight from man-made wars and man-made laws, yet women have had scant say in the global policies that shape our lives. Enloe's ground-breaking book calls the bluff of male politicians by profoundly altering our sense of what qualifies as a foreign policy issue, and contributes profoundly thereby to the global effort to put control of women's lives back in women's hands. ♦♦

