bureaucrat whose sole artistic policy consists of placating the Helmsites on the Hill. The report of the independent commission evaluating the NEA not only proposed that peer panels include more laypeople and multiculturists—and fewer artists—but also suggested that the chairman take more responsibility for the grants. There was no wisdom in either of these proposals. They have helped to create a serious crisis in the arts.

**The anxiety of global influence.**

**What Is World Poetry?**

**BY STEPHEN OWEN**

Let me begin with a gentle heresy, that no poet has ever made a poem for himself or herself alone. Poems are made only for audiences. And unlike the audiences for the more lucrative arts, the audiences for whom poems are made are always imaginary ones. I confess that this heresy is itself imaginary; it forces us to see an Emily Dickinson who dreamed into being a century that could so richly appreciate her work. Still, it is a useful heresy, because it helps us to understand the forces at work in the formation of a creature that never existed before: "world poetry."

The imaginary audiences of poets are ruthless in their capacity for scorn and extravagant in their capacity for approval. The real audiences tend to be far milder in both. It follows that the imaginary audience, by the sheer intimidating force of its suspected likes and dislikes, has the greater power to shape the direction that a poet's work will take. The imaginary audiences also have the tendency to grow swiftly and immodestly. The poet may begin by imagining the responses of a small group of friends who profess interest in poetry, and who will, for friendship's sake, probably read and like what a poet has written. Pretty soon local poetry prizes are being awarded while crowds cheer, and they are followed in quick succession by national audiences who will read their work in translation. For a poet, such speculation runs the fine margin of nightmare. Not to imagine being read and admired beyond one's linguistic borders, however, is to accept a painful limitation, a sense of provinciality. A few of the hardiest poets can do this; but those are the ones we never read in translation, and thus we know very little about them.

The August Sleepwalker
by Bei Dao
translated by Bonnie S. McDougall
(New Directions, 144 pp., $16.95, $8.95 paper)

The Nobel Prize plays an interesting role in shaping "world poetry," particularly the poetry of the Third World. Its culture can sometimes be immense; it is "international" (that is, Western) recognition that casts glory on one's nation and promises a moment when the provincial can stand in the global center of attention. There is a waiting line for the prize, and a general opinion that every country ought to have its turn, on the assumption that literary talent should be as fairly distributed as seats in the United Nations.

American poets have the provincial's sweet gift of needing to dream no further than an eternity of English-speaking audiences. To write in the dominant language of the age is to have the luxury of writing with unshaken faith in the permanence of a culture's hegemony. But poets in many other countries and languages must, as their imaginary audiences swell, dream of being translated. And thus they must write envisaging audiences who will read their work in translation. For a poet, such speculation runs the fine margin of nightmare. Not to imagine being read and admired beyond one's linguistic borders, however, is to accept a painful limitation, a sense of provinciality. A few of the hardiest poets can do this; but those are the ones we never read in translation, and thus we know very little about them.

The most interesting aspect of the Nobel Prize for literature, however, is that it is commonly given for literature in translation. When the Nobel Prize is awarded to a poet, the success of that poet's work in translation is inevitably an important, perhaps even a deciding, factor.

This need to have one's work approved in translation creates, in turn, a pressure for an increasing fungibility of words. Yet poetry has traditionally been built of words with a particular history of usage in a single language—of words that cannot be exchanged for other words. Poets who write in the "wrong language" (even exceedingly populous wrong languages, like Chinese) not only must imagine themselves being translated in order to reach an audience of a satisfying magnitude, they must also engage in the peculiar act of imagining a world poetry and placing themselves within it. And, although it is supposedly free of all local literary history, this "world poetry" turns out, unsurprisingly, to be a version of Anglo-American modernism or French modernism, depending on which wave of colonial culture first washed over the intellectuals of the country in question. This situation is the quintessence of cultural hegemony, when an essentially local tradition (Anglo-European) is widely taken for granted as universal.

I have a friend who writes poetry in classical Chinese and "new poetry" in vernacular Chinese. He thinks of his classical poetry as "Chinese," as deeply embedded in its history, as immensely pleasing to him in the crafting, but not as an entirely serious endeavor. It is the poetry he writes for his friends. His "new poetry," by contrast, is what permits him to think of himself as a Poet, what offers him the hope of eventual recognition. He sees the "new poetry" as simply poetry, as if it had no nationality or history. He does not recognize the weight of local European literary history that lies behind some of the conventional moves that he makes or the habitual images that he uses.

The formation of a world poetry that anyone can write and that can be translated into something still recognizable as poetry requires a corresponding redefinition of the "local." Within "world poetry," in other words, the poet must find an acceptable means to declare his or her nationality. Instead of a true national poetry, all poetries become merely ethnic. Poets often appeal to names, images, and traditions that serve to bolster local pride, and to gratify the international reader's desire for "local color." At the same time, the intricate learning presumed in traditional poetries is forbidden. Elements of local color in a poem are the verbal flags of nationality; and like a well-packaged cruise, they will give the international reader an altogether safe and quick experience of another culture. Apart from this carefully circumscribed "local color," there is a strong preference for universal images. This poetry tends to be studied with concrete things—preferably things that are frequently exported or imported, and thus readily translatable. Phrases of local...
We should finally introduce ourselves into the strange cultural drama of lyric poetry that is unfolding in the last part of the century. We are the real international audience, as opposed to the imaginary one. We have come to occupy some of the seats left vacant by the imaginary international audience. There are only a few of us scattered widely through a huge auditorium. We shout to one another across the empty chairs. We have been assured—we read it clearly in the advertising on the back of the books' dust jackets—that if only this performance were taking place where the poet was an international audience, the auditorium would be packed to overflowing with cheering crowds. Meanwhile, back home, it often happens that the local audiences have been assured that the international performances always play to cheering crowds, and that only at home is the poet inadequately appreciated.

What are we seeking when we come into this auditorium? International audiences, real and imaginary, are usually daunted by the strenuous demands that are made by the traditional poetries of other cultures. At the same time, audiences do not want poetry from which all traces of nationality or ethnicity have been erased. They want the poetry to represent the other country or culture. They seek some show of local color and local issues within a kind of poetry that is essentially familiar, easily accessible; they seek a cozy ethnicity. And, if that is the case, then we, as international readers, must recognize that this poet from another land and from a different culture is writing at least in part for us, writing at least in part what he imagines will satisfy us. He is writing in an idiom that has been formed from reading our own poetry. Moreover, the "new poetries"—new Chinese poetry, new Hindi poetry, new Japanese poetry—have often been formed by reading Western poetry in translations, sometimes in very poor translations. Which is to say that we, the Anglo-American or European audience, are reading translations of a poetry that originally grew out of reading translations of our own poetic heritage. If poetry is, as the cliché goes, what gets lost in translation, this is a most troubling situation.

Or it may be that the international readers of translated poetry do not come in search of poetry at all, but rather in search of windows upon other cultural phenomena. They may be looking for some exotic religious tradition or political strategy. These Western fashions in exotica and causes are ephemeral things. They seek some show of local color and have come to occupy some of the seats left empty by the imaginary international audience. They are making the traditional poetries of other cultures their real international audience, are reading their works in search of poetry at all, but rather in search of windows upon other cultural phenomena. They may be looking for some exotic religious tradition or political strategy. These Western fashions in exotica and causes are ephemeral things. Who now reads Tagore? He is a bargain that fills the shelves of poetry sections in used book stores. In contemporary Chinese poetry, the international reader is likely to come looking for a reference to the recent struggle for democracy. The struggle for democracy in China is in fashion, while other ongoing struggles for democracy have won their moments of attention and faded from notice.

 Quite apart from our political opinions, and quite apart from effective political action, there is a thrill at the representation of suffering—the traditional experience of pity and fear, coupled with virtuous indignation. The suffering of oppression, however, does not guarantee good poetry, anymore than it endows the victims of oppression with virtue. And there is always a particular danger of using one's victimization for self-interest: in this case, to sell oneself abroad by what an international audience, hungry for political virtue, which is always in short supply, finds touching. Writing on the struggle for democracy has very little to do with the struggle for democracy, and if anything worth reading comes out of the writing about it, we won't know for a while—not until we can separate it from its function as a selling point.

From the broader case of "world poetry," we may turn to the particular case of modern Chinese poetry. The tradition of classical poetry in China was a long and very complicated one by the end of the imperial period, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this was a sharp, often witty, highly nuanced and allusive poetry, and a poetry much overburdened by its own history. It was a weary poetry at a dead end. Perhaps it was for the Chinese tradition as a whole that Bei Dao, who was born in Beijing in 1949, offered the following beautifully elegiac image in "Random Thoughts":

"Stoles wrapped in moss soft as silk are like extinguished lanterns."

Although China had perhaps the deepest sense of the encumbrance and the attenuation of its tradition during the encounter with the West, that encounter was no less part of what we have come to call the "new poetries"—new Chinese poetry, new Hindi poetry, new Japanese poetry—have often been formed by reading Western poetry in translations, sometimes in very poor translations. Which is to say that we, the Anglo-American or European audience, are reading translations of a poetry that originally grew out of reading translations of our own poetic heritage. If poetry is, as the cliché goes, what gets lost in translation, this is a most troubling situation.

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gather with the reality of Western military and technical power. Western poetry, in most cases Romantic poetry, entered these traditions like a breath of fresh air. The excitement at the strange, exotic poetry of Europe was not unlike the West's excitement on encountering Asian literary traditions—but in this case the excitement was coupled with cultural shock, and often with national humiliation.

Romantic poetry opened up a whole new range of topics and modes of treatment, a whole new sense of what poetry is. Yet Romantic poetry usually arrived in translation, or through an imperfect knowledge of the original languages. Thus it came to China, as to other countries, with little sense of the weight of the cultural and literary history that lay behind it. It appeared as a poetry free of history, which was the very lie that Romantic poetry told about itself, that it was a miraculously new thing. Nobody who knows English poetry well can believe that particular myth about English Romantic poetry (China's particular colonial poetic import), but to the outsider the claim of novelty was credible, and it gave a hope of escape from a history that seemed to have failed.

From that first hope for a poetry free of history, for words that could be transparent vehicles of the liberated imagination and pure human feeling, many early twentieth-century poets in Asian traditions created new poetries that sought to break with their past. It was a grand hope, but it was rarely realized successfully. After the initial encounter with Romantic poetry, Chinese poetry of this century has continued to grow by means of the engagement with modernist Western poetry, and as in any cross-cultural exchange that goes in only one direction, the culture that receives influence will always find itself in the secondary position. It will always appear slightly "behind the times." The Western novel was successfully assimilated and transformed, but the new poetries of Asia often seemed thin and wanting, particularly in comparison to the glories of traditional poetry.

The fate of contemporary poetry in China could easily serve as the figure for a more profound sense of decline, a fall from the center of the universe to an uncertainty about where and who one is in a world that no longer has either a center or clear boundaries by which to orient oneself. Bei Dao writes well of this in "An End or a Beginning":

Ah, my beloved land
Why don't you sing any more
Can it be true that even the ropes of the Yellow River townmen

Like sundered lute-strings
Reverberate no more
True that time, this dark mirror
Has also turned its back on you forever
Leaving only stars and drifting clouds behind

Sentimentality was one of the consequences of the deceptive promise of immediacy and purity in the new poetry. Poetry will always try to speak the difficult truths of the heart, and to break free of the tribe's clichés that involuntarily rise to the lips to take the place of everything that is hard to say. But a successful poetry recognizes that this process is a struggle, that such words do not come easily. As a culture acquires more history, credibly simple words seem more and more difficult to achieve; those beautifully simple phrases can only break through the cracks in poems, like the vegetation that grows only in the cracks of the mountains. When a poet achieves such a phrase or line, it seems like a miracle.

Such eruptions of simplicity are one thing. They occur in modern poetry, and when they occur, we honor them. But when a poet tries to write such words without having won them, without having earned the right to say them, we are in the presence of a pose. We have sentimentality. We wince. I wince when Bei Dao begins a poem:

A perpetual stranger
am I to the world
I thought I destroyed the only copy of that poem when I was 14, a year after I wrote it. I thought we all did. We destroyed it the moment we discovered the immense difference between writing and reading what we have written. Such sentimentality (or, perhaps, self-conscious posing) is, however, the disease of modern Chinese poetry, and a deception far deeper than all the stifling weight of the past in classical poetry. In modern China, it appears in political poetry and apolitical poetry alike. It appears a few times in the poems translated in Bei Dao's The August Sleepwalker. It may be a poet's single most important task to learn to avoid passages like the following from "Rainy Night":

Even if tomorrow morning
the muzzle and the bleeding sun
make me surrender freedom youth and pen
I will never surrender this evening
I will never surrender you
let walls split my mouth
let iron bars divide my sky
as long as my heart keeps pounding the blood will ebb and flow
and your smile be imprinted on the crimson
rising each night outside my small window recalling memories

or in "The Orange is Ripe":

Let me into your heart
to find my shattered dream

Despite these painful quotations, it is to Bei Dao's credit (and to Bonnie McDougall's) that The August Sleepwalker is free of large doses of Nutrasweet than virtually any other modern Chinese poetry I have read. Bei Dao's talents, and McDougall's considerable skill as a translator, make these among the only translations of modern Chinese poetry that are not, by and large, embarrassing. Bei Dao is one of a group of talented younger poets to rise out of the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution into the shaken and much changed China that followed. These new poets were considerably more daring in their images, and in their collocations of images, than were their predecessors. They also grew more daring in the topics that they took up and in the sentiments that they declared. Although Western readers of twentieth-century poetry may find little that is daring in their clusters of images and their sentiments, daring is a notoriously relative quality. In the context of the intense conservativism of Chinese literature, such poetry gave the kind of thrill that Western readers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century must have experienced in the birth of poetic modernism. (This comparison would be merely condescending if these poets were not seeking to produce precisely such a thrill, and to do so precisely on the model of modernist Western poetry.) The thrill of daring does not last long, to be sure; but after the smoke blows away, real poetry is often present. Although it is difficult to see Bei Dao and his contemporaries as "major" poets, there is real poetry here. From another point of view, as well, the work of Bei Dao and some of his contemporaries represents a welcome move in contemporary Chinese poetry, a move away from a narrowly defined and obvious version of political engagement. It is a great misfortune that the state's capacity for real brutality forces us to be interested in what is so inherently uninteresting. The scars of the state's brutality appear here and there as topics in the poems of The August Sleepwalker, and Bei Dao writes such poetry well (as in "An End or a Beginning"). So if there is heroism in Bei Dao's poetry, it is not in his overt opposition to a regime that is as ludicrous in its transparent lies as it is vicious in enforcing them. Such opposition is a political position that is, at the strongest, unsurprising. His heroism lies, rather, in his determination to find other aspects of human life and art that are worthy of a poet's attention.

To write something valuable that is not
Western readers will generally welcome the political dimension of Bei Dao's poetry as more perfectly representing the range a "world poet" should have. Yet an interesting problem arises here. Chinese readers of "new poetry" with whom I have spoken tend to admire Bei Dao's earlier, more engaged political poetry, and they tend to deplore his turn away from politics to more private concerns. Who decides what is valuable, what is a good tendency, in a poet's work—the Western reader or the Chinese reader? Whose stamp of approval carries more weight? Scholars of modern Chinese literature often object to the imposition of Western criteria of literary judgment on Chinese literature. It is a wise caution. But is this Chinese literature, or literature that began in the Chinese language? For what imaginary audience has this poetry been written?

Success in creating a "world poetry" is not without its costs. Bei Dao has, by and large, written international poetry. Local color is used, but sparsely. Nor is such achievement of the translator, as skillful as she is: most of these poems translate themselves. These could just as easily be translations from a Slovak or an Estonian or a Philippine poet. It could even be a kind of American poetry, though in this final hypothesis a question arises that must trouble us. If this had been an American poet writing in English, would this book have been published, and by a prestigious press? We must wonder if such collections of poetry in translation become publishable only because the publisher and the readership have been assured that the poetry was lost in translation. But what if the poetry wasn't lost in translation? What if this is it?

"This is it. The poetry of The Augut Sleewalker is a poetry written to travel well, and it declares the fact proudly, as in "True":

Spring has no nationality, Clouds are citizens of the world. Become friends again with mankind, My song.

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flake in the hand, caught and carried by
the wind of a poet’s whisper and blown
into an abyss, where there are no mar-
gins and no frontiers. This may be a
darker and more frightening vision of
the truly international poem. National
poetry had a history and a landscape; the
shape of the poem was more or less fixed
darker and more frightening vision of
The poem is always in passage, the book
into an abyss, where there are no mar-
truly international poem. National
blank background without frontiers, a
poetry had a history and a landscape; the
achieves moments of beauty, but it does
in the passage above, the
book lying open on the table
makes a rustling noise, like
the sound of a fire
or fan-like wings
goriously opening, flame and bird
together
in the space above the abyss
The poem is always in passage, the book
that is flame and bird.
McDougall observes of Bei Dao’s poe-
ty that “the language on the whole
does not rely heavily on word patterns,
a particular vocabulary, or special musi-
cal effects.” In the passage above, the
book that hovers like a bird above the
abyss is a brilliant image in the translat-
able sense. The image in itself would
probably have beauty in almost any lan-
guage. McDougall, however, has trans-
lated this world poetry of fungible im-
gages into true English poetry, which
does indeed rely heavily on word pat-
tons, on a particular vocabulary, and on
musical effects (not to mention sev-
cal sorcery.)
Any English reader who reads the
passage above out loud should recog-
nize a real mastery of this language,
which is a mastery of particular words
and their placement. We smile reading
it, and we are moved no more for the
image itself than for the way in which
the image is embedded in the rhythms,
in the placement of caesuras, and in
the particular choice and arrangement of
words.
It is only fair to offer this instance,
when the poet’s brilliant image meets
the translator’s magical touch for her
own country because he translated
publicist, he may well attain in the
West the absolute pre-eminence among
contemporary Chinese poets that he
cannot quite attain in China itself. And
the very fact of wide foreign (Western)
recognition could, in turn, grant him
pre-eminence in China. Thus we would
have the strange phenomenon of a
poet who became the leading poet in
his own country because he translated
well.
The international audience admires
the poetry, imagining what it might be if
the poetry had not been lost in transla-
tion. And the audience at home admires
the poetry, knowing how much it is ap-
preciated internationally, in translation.
Welcome to the late twentieth century.

The Saving Remnant

BY CHRISTOPHER LASCH

The Feeling Intellect: Selected Writings
by Philip Rieff
edited with an introduction by Jonathan B. Imber
(University of Chicago Press, 416 pp., $15, $19.95 paper)

"Why publish?" Philip Rieff asked himself
not long ago. "With so many authors, who
remains behind to read?" Almost twenty
years have passed since Rieff brought
out his last book, Fellow Teachers; evi-
dently he meant what he said when he
urged authors to file away their best
ideas instead of adding to the "babel of
criticism" that threatens to deafen us
all. If others exercised the same self-
restraint, we might have less reason to
regret it in Rieff. Since there is little
hope that his example will become con-
tagious, however, it is a good thing that
Jonathan Imber, a former student and
now a teacher of sociological theory at
Welllesley College, has given us this an-
thology of Rieff's uncollected essays to
set against the rising flood of books
that continue to clamor for ill-deserved
attention. We need this book at a
time when we are besieged by lesser
books—books announcing breathtaking
methodological and conceptual break-
throughs, recycling old ideas in new jarg-
on, rediscovering the obvious, refusing
to acknowledge any predecessors or
worse, betraying no awareness of their
existences.

Readers who have not yet made
Rieff's acquaintance will find in this col-
pilation something of what makes him
indispensable, and will be led to read
not only Fellow Teachers (1973), but also
his earlier books, Freud: The Mind of the
Moralist (1959) and The Triumph of the
Therapeutic (1966). Those who already
admired him will find that their admira-
tion was not misplaced. These essays re-
veal an intelligence at once biting and
unfailingly courteous; generous to ad-
versaries and demanding of allies; solemn and playful; pessimistic and hopeful.
According to Rieff, the collapse of re-
ligion, its replacement by the remorseless
ly analytic and critical sensibility exemplified by Freud, and the degenera-
tion of the "analytic attitude" into an
all-out assault on ideals of every kind—an impulse to drag everything lofty into
the dust—have left our culture in a sor-
ry state. He does not expect immediate
improvement, nor does he advance a
program of cultural renovation, but he
seems to think it is still possible to make a
modest contribution to the cause of truth
and justice. It is possible, for instance,
to find honorable employment as a
teacher, provided that teachers do not
give in to the temptation to become
"armchair prophets." The university,
notwithstanding its present disarray, is
a "sacred institution," and teachers can
set an example for others if they ap-
proach their calling in a spirit of rever-
ence.

A certain ambiguity lurks in this exalt-
ed conception of the intellectual life. Is
it the teacher’s calling itself that is sac-
cred, or the culture historically pre-
served in the university? Rieff is at his
best when he leans to the first of these
positions, when he argues that the office
of the devoted teacher is not to deify or
even defend a "dying culture" but to
resist the "downward movement" of a
culture that threatens any form of culture at all.

His advice to teachers, which consists
largely of negative commandments, re-
flects his belief that intellectuals betray
their vocation when they give in to the

The New Republic November 15, 1990
THE HISPANIC-BLACK FEUD, BY LINDA CHAVEZ

Christopher Lasch on Philip Rieff

To the Finland Station?
The Solzhenitsyn factor
Russian politics

Michael Scammell
onor O'Clergy