

[연구논문]

Representing the Other: *24 and Leatherstocking Tales**

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The words Islam and Muslim come from the Arabic root meaning peace (*s-l-m*) but since the events of 9/11, the perception of Muslims, Arabs, and Middle-Easterners in the United States has deteriorated considerably. The clash of civilizations rhetoric, which sees Muslim-majority countries as static, violent, and sexist, has dominated the public sphere before the “Arab Spring.” Bearded Muslim fanatics; oppressed, veiled women; and deceptive, cruel terrorists who live among ordinary Americans and conspire to bring about their destruction—all these stereotypes have re-emerged with newly gained force. Arab American critics, who had once “lamented a lack of Arab American issues in various disciplines,” have explored and criticized with a passion and a sense of mission, the origin, circulation, and use of the negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims, which they find strengthen the threatening strangeness of the Muslim Other in

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films, television programs, and the political discourse.¹⁾ This paper examines the popular television series *24*, which has been widely criticized for its negative portrayal of Arabs and Muslims, and compares it with James Fenimore Cooper's representation of Native Americans in *Leatherstocking Tales*. Emphasis will be placed on contradictory representations of Muslim terrorists in the show and on how a comparison with Cooper's work provides new insight into how the root causes of their grievances are portrayed.

1

24 is a television series about the efforts of Jack Bauer and the Counter Terrorist Unit (CTU) to stop terrorist threats and attacks—whether nuclear, biological or chemical—on American soil. It has run eight seasons, appealed to a large American audience—over ten million Americans watched the show every week, except seasons 1 and 8, which were viewed by about nine million—and was awarded numerous Emmys and Golden Globes. Its split-screen presentation, ticking clock sound, and real time format have changed the way that espionage thrillers are made thereafter not only in the US but around

1) Steven Salaita, "Ethnic Identity and Imperative Patriotism: Arab Americans Before and After 9/11," *College Literature* 32:2 (Spring 2005), 147. See Jack Shaheen, *Guilty: Hollywood's Verdict on Arabs After 9/11* (Northampton, Mass.: Interlink, 2008); Steven Salaita, *The Uncultured Wars: Arabs, Muslims and the Poverty of Liberal Thought—New Essays* (New York: Zed Books, 2008); Peter Morey and Amina Yaqin, *Framing Muslims: Stereotyping and Representation After 9/11* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Deepa Kumar, *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2012).

the world.²⁾

The series has been severely criticized not only for its graphic depiction of violence and torture (particularly the normalization of torture) and its support for the conservative political agenda of the Bush administration, but also for stereotyping Arabs, Muslims and Middle-Easterners as villains.³⁾ In Season Four (2005) a series of attacks on the US are made: Muslim terrorists succeed in kidnapping the Secretary of Defense and attempt to put him on trial and televise it on the internet; they melt down a nuclear power plant; they steal a stealth fighter to shoot down Air Force One with the president badly injured; and they steal and launch a nuclear missile towards LA. Terrorists casually torture and kill civilians. A female terrorist is shown poisoning her son's girlfriend to keep her plan secret, and her husband is willing to kill his own son for a greater cause. Muslims and Arabs are predominantly portrayed as "ruthless, devious, resourceful, cunning, dangerous, and evil," as epitomized in Habib Marwan, an

2) For instance, the influence of *24* in format as well as contents is clearly visible in television espionage thrillers like *Iris* and *Athena: Goddess of War*, which aired in 2009 and 2010-11 respectively in Korea.

3) See John Downing, "Terrorism, Torture and Television: *24* in Its Context," *Democratic Communic* 21:2 (Fall 2007): 62-83; Steven Keslowitz, "The Simpsons, *24*, and *The Law*: How Homer Simpson and Jack Bauer Influence Congressional Lawmaking and Judicial Reasoning," *Cardozo Law Review* 29:6 (2008): 2787-822; Tung Yin, "Jack Bauer Syndrome: Hollywood's Depiction of National Security Law," *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal* 17 (2008): 279-99; David Holloway, "The War on Terror Espionage Thriller, and the Imperialism of Human Rights," *Comparative Literature Studies* 46:1 (2009): 20-44; Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt, "Where Is Jack Bauer When You Need Him?: The Uses of Television Drama in Mediated Political Discourse," *Political Communication* 26 (2009): 367-87; Elspeth Van Veen, "Interrogating *24*: Making Sense of US Counter-terrorism in the Global War on Terrorism," *New Political Science* 31:3 (2009): 361-84.

immigrant from Turkey and the mastermind behind all these attacks.⁴⁾

There is one notable instance of Middle-Easterners who are not terrorists. Two brothers who are also Muslim and owners of a gun shop, decide to help Bauer who is pursued by a group of mercenaries after he explains to them his situation. The older brother says: “For years we’ve been blamed for the attacks by these terrorists. We grew up in this neighborhood. This country is our home.” And the younger brother adds: “If you’re fighting the people who caused today’s bloodshed, then we’ll help you.”⁵⁾ This scene appears to be so obvious an attempt to include some good Arab Americans in the show that it does not seem significant. Their roles are too minor and their appearance is too short. The brothers show no indication that they have tried to understand why terrorists made attacks or to protest against the unfair treatment they have received thereafter.

In contrast with the patriotic and innocent brothers, Marwan attempts to present his case before executing the Secretary of Defense:

We are about to embark on a process of justice that will forever change the world. Our people will finally be liberated from the tangle of corruption that has been choking them for centuries. No longer will justice be the propagandist tool of the power elite. It will once again become the instrument of the people, delivered through true believers, whose courage to use the sword has made this day not only possible, but inevitable. . . . Today is the day the United States of America will be tested . . .⁶⁾

Again before launching the missile he declares:

4) Veeren, “Interrogating 24,” 375.

5) 24, Season 4, Episode 13.

6) 24, Season 4, Episode 5.

People of America, you wake up today to a different world. One of your own nuclear weapons has been used against you. It'll be days and weeks before you can measure the damage we have caused. But as you count your dead, remember why this has happened to you. You have no knowledge for the causes of the people you strike down or the nations you conquer. You choose to meddle in their affairs, without respect. You follow your government, unquestioningly, toward your own slaughter. Today, you pay the price for that ignorance. . . . Unless you renounce your policies of imperialism and interventionist activities, this attack will be followed by another . . . and another after that. After this day, every elected official and citizen of America will know that America cannot intervene in our lives, in our countries, with impunity.⁷⁾

These two speeches seem to be presented as the best case for terrorists in the entire season. What is striking in the statements is their lack of specificity and personal details. The US government is criticized for its imperialist and interventionist policies in the Middle East, and Americans are held responsible for their ignorance. These criticisms sound like a stockpile of propaganda, which is hollow, abstract, and uninterested in persuasion. They do not appeal to the human heart and are lacking in specific examples of how ordinary people in the region have had to suffer as a result of US policies. Legitimate grievances terrorists may have or represent are not presented as the motive for their massive and indiscriminate attack on civilian Americans in a persuasive manner. Marwan's speech could have been made to include issues such as Palestinians' grievance over the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, the miserable conditions of the refugees in the camp, effects of US stationing of troops in the

7) 24, Season 4, Episode 20.

region, or consequences of US support of repressive regimes, to name a few. Obviously it is a separate matter whether or not a terrorist with a legitimate grievance would be justified in attacking and killing civilians.

In Season 4, Arabs and Muslims tend to be portrayed in a flat way. They do not grow or develop through their experiences. Either they are patriotic immigrants who do not take the trouble to figure out what's happening around them or "machine-like haters of the United States"⁸⁾ without a legitimate reason. They are portrayed simply as "bad guys," and thus dehumanized—suitable objects for being tortured and hunted down. In fact, most characters in *24* do not develop and change with experience. This problem may not necessarily be representation per se but genre. The genre conventions of a primetime television show structures *24*. American TV—and the TV of other nations—tends to rely upon flat, one-dimensional characters, whether bad guys or good guys, for generic reasons. This is true for genre reasons and regardless of the race or religion of the characters in question. When the character in question is from a group perceived as threatening by viewers, say a terrorist, such a convention has more negative repercussions.

There is, however, one compelling, illuminating scene in which Bauer and Marwan understand each other and acknowledge each other in a self-reflexive way. Bauer asks Marwan about the target of the missile in exchange for providing him the chance to talk with the president of the US:

8) Ibid., 295.

MARWAN: Your president sees me in only one dimension. Evil.

BAUER: As you see us.

MARWAN: Yes, and vulnerable.⁹⁾

Here a terrorist and a CTU agent are made to view themselves through each other's eyes. Scenes like this, however, are rarely found in *24*.

2

In Season Six (2007), the villain is Abu Fayed, a ruthless and tenacious terrorist. He appears to fit the stereotype of portraying Arabs or Muslims as villains. Whereas Marwan is at least shown to come from Turkey, Fayed is not provided with his nationality. His brother was involved with the bombing of the US embassy in Lebanon in 1999 and was killed while being interrogated by Bauer. Fayed and his followers target cities in the US from coast to coast in a series of suicide bombings, and succeed in detonating a nuclear bomb in Valencia, north of LA. Twelve thousand Americans are killed as a result from the initial explosion; many more are expected to die from exposure to nuclear radiation. Fayed reminds viewers of a desert, barren, harsh, and cruel and he looks like a machine more than Marwan. He and his followers threaten, torture, and kill civilians without restraint and emotion. He has an explicit personal motive; he is determined to exact revenge for his brother's death on Bauer. But grievances with US policies or actions that might have motivated him are not presented at all.

9) *24*, Season 6, Episode 22.

In sharp contrast with Season 4, however, there are three major Arab or Arab American characters who are not terrorists: Nadia Yassir, a staff of the CTU; Walid al-Rezani, the director of the Islamic-American Alliance; and Hamri al-Assad, a former Islamic terrorist leader who has renounced terrorism and is willing to negotiate with the US government. Yassir, an American citizen and a top CTU agent is victimized as a spy due to her Middle Eastern background but dedicated to protecting the country from terrorist attacks despite a mistreatment. Walid was arrested and sent to an internment camp for Arab Americans yet while there works for the FBI as an informant. Al-Assad works with Bauer to track down Fayed and ends up sacrificing himself to save the president of the United States. Unlike Marwan and Fayed, he appears likable, handsome, and unthreatening. His motive for advocating or renouncing terrorism, however, is not provided in detail. In Season 6 unlike Season 4, viewers are exposed to a diversity of Arab or Arab-American characters: a foreign terrorist, a terrorist among them, Americans subjected to unfair treatment yet work for their country, and an Arab who saves the President at the cost of his life.

It is notable, however, that all these good Arabs and Arab Americans, along with bad guys, are not differentiated, let alone terrorists. The season does not show which country they are from or what form of Islam they are associated with. They are introduced merely as Muslims, Arabs, or Americans with Middle Eastern background. This lack of specificity with regard to identity is no less problematic than the emptiness of the political speech, because the Arab American community is as heterogeneous in their ethnicity,

religion, or politics as the Islamic countries. As Steven Salatia claims, Arab Americans are not in agreement about war in Iraq or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.¹⁰⁾

After the nuclear bomb is detonated in Valencia, President Wayne Palmer delivers a speech on TV about the nuclear attack:

Do we let our anger guide us down a dangerous path, or do we come together, continuing to show courage and strength in the face of our enemy? Now this horrible act of evil which has struck our great nation is the cowardly act of barbaric men.

The speech by Palmer makes a typical distinction used by both liberals and conservatives: the opposition between good and evil, civilization and barbarism. The boundary between the two is, however, blurred by the fact that Bauer's family members, his brother Graem and father Philip, are behind terrorist attacks, providing weapons to terrorists in the name of doing good for their country. Furthermore, Jack tortures his brother and his father kills his own son to keep his involvement in the terrorist attack secret—actions that are not at all representative of civilization. The parallel between the involvement of the Bauer family in Fayed's attacks in Season 6 and the real event, 9/11, is obvious, whether intended or not: Just as Graem and Philip are responsible for the death of numerous Americans, the US government is directly or indirectly responsible for the 9/11 events. As Douglas Kellner points out, "bin Laden and the radical Islamic forces associated with the Al Qaeda network were supported, funded, trained, and

¹⁰⁾ Salatia, 163.

armed by the CIA and several US administrations.”¹¹⁾ Fayed and his followers do not appear more barbaric than Graem and Phillip Bauer. The latter did what they thought was best for themselves in the name of their country. Clearly they are bad guys in *24* and just like terrorists; both have killed thousands of innocent Americans for a greater cause.¹²⁾

In Season Eight (2010) a peace treaty is at issue between the US and the IRK, the Islamic Republic of Kamistan, obviously a fictionalized Iran. President Omar Hassan of the IRK and President Allison Taylor of the US are negotiating to sign a peace treaty—the IRK will abandon its nuclear program and the US government lift the economic sanctions on the IRK and provide economic aid for the Islamic Republic. Kamistani terrorists, disappointed at Hassan’s willingness to concede the nation’s attempts at developing nuclear weapons, turn against him and finally assassinate him.

The appearance of terrorists is altered in Season 8. Unlike Marwan

11) Douglas Kellner, *From 9/11 to Terror War: The Dangers of the Bush Legacy* (Lanham, Md. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 30.

12) In Season Seven (2009) non-Arab or non-Muslim villains try to force an innocent Muslim man to help with their terrorist attack and take the blame for it. [24, Season 7, Episode 21] After an attack by a domestic terrorist group, a Pakistani Muslim tells his younger brother to stay home from work because he is fearful that his brother might be held responsible for what happened and be in danger by angry Americans paranoid of Muslim terrorism. His brother says he is safe because everyone thinks he is from Puerto Rico. The elder brother is coerced into delivering a canister containing a bioweapon to a subway by a group which attempts to disrupt the US government with a biological weapon. The episode critiques the mistreatment Muslim Americans had to endure after 9/11, which is evidenced by the fact that many of them changed their names and pretended that they were Hispanics. It also dismantles the distinction between the evil Muslims and good Americans.

or Fayed, they do not look threatening; most of them do not look like villains at all. Some of them even look handsome and likable, one wavering between his love for President Hassan's daughter and cause. Non-terrorist Kamistanis are portrayed in a positive light. Hassan sacrifices his life to save thousands of innocent Americans and ends up beheaded by terrorists. Despite all his limitations—his paternalism, his extra-marital affairs, and his harsh repression of dissidents in his country—he even ultimately looks heroic. His wife, Dalya Hassan, succeeding her husband as President of the IRK, shows she could grow with experience. A woman of grace, dignity and fortitude, she looks presidential, sometimes overshadowing President Taylor, especially when the latter tries to cover up what actually happened surrounding Hassan's assassination and coerces Dalya to sign a peace treaty by threatening to invade the IRK if she refuses to assent.

Two episodes, 11 and 16, are related to grievances of terrorists in Season 8. One involves a young Kamistani American named Marcos Al-Zacar. His father from the IRK married an American woman. After he, a professor of politics and Middle Eastern studies, was fired from a college due to his political views, he eventually committed suicide. Marcos, deeply affected by the death of his father, becomes a suicide bomber. He tells Bauer that "this country is arrogant, . . . keeping my people in dark ages."¹³⁾ His claim sounds a bit hollow and abstract as the cause for his act, but at least he has a personal motive, if misguided, to get involved in terrorism. In

13) 24, Season 8, Episode 11.

another episode, while torturing Hassan, Samir contends that Hassan by signing a peace treaty with the US, “capitulates to the West and subjugates our people, the puppet of the US.” In return, Hassan argues that the peace agreement is not surrender. “It’s an honorable peace,” he claims, “to strengthen our country.”¹⁴⁾ The cause for terrorism is presented in abstract terms lacking in a human story, sounding like clichés.

With each season the overall portrayal of Arabs and Muslims, as shown in Season 8, has been made in a way more complex than previous ones, but the root causes of their grievances are not presented in a compelling, moving fashion. It is true that a real-world terrorist speech made to the US does not address specific issues, appealing to human heart. As Tung Yin says, neither Al-Qaeda nor terrorists inspired by it have offered any explicit motives for their acts.¹⁵⁾ Provided with why they seek to inflict massive casualties, however, terrorists could be restored from stock villains into human beings. This will help understand what is actually happening in the Middle East and minimize human sufferings. Tactics and strategies terrorists adopt need to be separated from their motives.

3

The distinction between evil Arab or Muslim terrorists and good American Arabs in *24* reminds me of the opposition between good

14) *24*, Season 8, Episode 16.

15) Yin, “Jack Bauer Syndrome,” 294.

Indians and bad Indians in James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, which examine with sophistication racial issues in the US. Cooper does not advocate, especially in his nonfiction writings, for the rights of the indigenous people. For him, the American Indian is an issue to be comprehended in the context of American history. The American Indian life is a model of barbarism and accordingly is an index by which to measure how much American society has progressed. The sacrifice of the American Indian was in his view regrettable, but inevitable and irrevocable in the course of progress of civilization.¹⁶⁾

Despite his epic description of the westward movement of the US, however, Cooper persistently uncovers moral problems in the process of westward expansion and criticizes removing the indigenous and seizing their land as immoral. He expresses doubt as to whether a righteous civilization could be founded in the frontier with such a record of violence and injustice. Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* is a collection of works published throughout a period of roughly twenty

16) James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1983), 6-7; *The Prairie: A Tale* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985), 66. Cooper is criticized by some critics for tacitly justifying the process of the American conquest over the West. Richard Slotkin, for example, claims that Cooper "has never loved them as much as when he looks up their disappearance," and Orm Overland argues that while Cooper "mourns" over the destruction of nature and the slaughter of American Indians, he is still "not ready to face that this pernicious behavior is actually a crucial part to compose the foundation of American civilization." [Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization 1800-1890* (New York: Atheneum, 1985), 96; Orm Overland, *James Fenimore Cooper's The Prairie: The Making and Meaning of an American Classic* (New York: Humanities Press, 1973), 165] For detailed discussion of how Cooper faces the Indian problem, see Sangjun Jeong, "Cooper's Indians: *The Leatherstocking Tales*." *Studies of English Languages and Cultures* 7 (1999): 151-73.

years, from 1823 to 1841, in a social atmosphere Herman Melville later called “the metaphysics of Indian hating.”¹⁷⁾ From the first of the *Tales*, *The Pioneers* (1823), to the last, *The Deerslayer* (1841), Indians appear in these stories—only with a few exceptions—as savages. As Thomas Raynesford Lounsbury already indicated at the end of the nineteenth century, Indians are depicted mostly as sly, blood-hungry and cruel beings in Cooper’s novels.¹⁸⁾ Most of them are the Iroquois like Magua from *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) or Arrowhead from *The Pathfinder* (1840). Cooper, siding with the Delaware, despised and loathed the Iroquois. As Natty Bumppo says, there hardly exists a difference between the Iroquois and the devil.

While Cooper mostly depicts the Indians in a negative light, he also creates exceptional Indians such as Delaware’s Chingachgook, his son Uncas, and Pawnee’s Hard-Heart. They figure as brave, self-confident, wise, honest, righteous, and noble. With these heroic Indian characters Cooper raises a central issue with regards to the relationship between European settlers and the indigenous people. In *Pioneers*, Chingachgook is not portrayed merely as a mysterious and exotic decoration; he offers Indians’ perspective in the complex historical context. He criticizes the process whereby “the Europeans, or, to use a more significant term, the Christians” occupied the land of “the original owners” through violence and theft. The Europeans did not say, “Brother, sell us your land, and take this gold, this silver, these blankets, these rifles, or even this rum.” They usurped the land from

17) Herman Melville, *The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1984), Chapter 26.

18) Thomas Raynesford Lounsbury, *James Fenimore Cooper* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1884), 55.

the Indians “as a scalp is torn from an enemy,” and “they that did it looked not behind them, to see whether he lived or died.” Chingachgook rhetorically questions, “Do such men live in peace and fear the Great Spirit?”¹⁹⁾

Cooper’s Indians, heroes or villains, share Chingachgook’s rage. Pastor Grant, in *Pioneers*, attempts to persuade Chigachgook: “love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.”²⁰⁾ (139) But he fails to convince Chigachgook; only the settlers accept his teachings. His instruction witnesses rejection in *The Deerslayer* as well. As Hetty Hutter preaches to Indians, teaching Christian forgiveness towards enemies and offering of the other cheek, Rivenoak, the chief of the Huron, questions him as to why the white men themselves would not practice such teachings: “He [the pale-face] comes from beyond the rising sun, with this book in his hand, and he teaches the red man to read it, but why does he forget himself all it says?” Hetty, taken aback by the chief’s inquiry, is unable to answer him.²¹⁾ Rivenoak’s question is in fact directed towards all European Americans, to which they cannot provide an answer.

Interestingly, the history of Indians’ suffering is expressed most persuasively in Magua’s speech. Magua represents a typical cruel, barbarous Indian filled with bitterness, resentment, hatred, and animosity. Yet, his argument that his malice is derived from the white men’s

19) James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pioneers, or the Sources of the Susquehanna; A Descriptive Tale* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1980), 401.

20) *Ibid.*, 139.

21) James Fenimore Cooper, *The Deerslayer or, The First War-Path* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1987), 194.

abuses and greed is not challenged. He eloquently condemns white men's avarice and offers condolences for the loss of the Indians' glory.

The Spirit that made men colored them differently, . . . Some are blacker than the sluggish bear. These He said would be slaves; and He ordered them to work forever, like the beaver. You may hear them groan, when the south wind blows, louder than the lowing buffaloes, along the shores of the great salt lake, where the big canoes come and go with them in droves. Some He made with faces paler than the ermine of the forests: and these He ordered to be traders; dogs to their women, and wolves to their slaves. He gave this people the nature of the pigeon: wings that never tire; young, more plentiful than the leaves on the trees, and appetites to devour the earth. He gave them tongues like the false call of the wild-cat; hearts like rabbits; the cunning of the hog (but none of the fox), and arms longer than the legs of the moose. With his tongue, he stops the ears of the Indians; his heart teaches him to pay warriors to fight his battles; his cunning tells him how to get together the goods of the earth; and his arms inclose the land from the shores of the salt-water to the islands of the great lake. His gluttony makes him sick. God gave him enough, and yet he wants all. Such are the pale-faces.²²⁾

Magua's criticism is directed towards white men as a whole, including both English and French, who as conquerors are filled with greed and rely on tricks to satisfy their wants. Magua's speech echoes Chigachgook's thoughts but with greater fierceness. Although they are enemies, their views on white men are identical. And ultimately, the fate of Indians, whether good or evil, is not different. The fate of Chingachgook, Uncas, and Hard-Heart is equal to that of Magua and Mahtoree. Cooper dismantles the opposition between noble

22) James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, 300-01.

and evil Indians and highlights the price that Indians as a whole have to pay in the course of the progress of “civilization.”

4

The criticism of *Leatherstocking Tales* at the time of its publication focused on noble Indians, especially on Uncas. General Lewis Cass, an Indian expert and later the Minister of War in the Jackson Administration, commended Cooper as “an outstanding novelist” with “tastes and talents” to beautifully record “American nature, events, and customs.”²³⁾ Cass, however, maintained that there “had never existed in our forest” Indians like Cooper’s Uncas or Hard-Heart who had an “elated heart, innocent morality, subtle feeling, and unselfish affection.” American Indians were no more than “cruel and sly warriors and hunters” wandering in the wilderness.²⁴⁾ Historian Francis Parkman also praised Cooper’s work and admitted that his whole life as a historian was greatly influenced by Cooper. But he was unable to accept Cooper’s Indians. For Parkman, who considered the American Indian no better than a beast, fiendish Magua was a “real” Indian, but valiant and dignified Uncas was not real.²⁵⁾

23) Lewis Cass, Review of John D. Hunter’s “*Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes*,” *North American Review* 22 (January 1826), 67.

24) Lewis Cass, Review of William Rawle’s “*A Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder’s History of the Indian Nations*,” *North American Review* 26 (April 1828), 375-76.

25) Francis Parkman, “The Works of James Fenimore Cooper,” *North American Review* 74 (January 1852), in *Fenimore Cooper: The Critical Heritage*, eds. George Dekker and John P. McWilliams (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 252, 255. W. H. Gardiner, who appreciated Cooper’s novel, also

For the generation who took for granted Cooper's epic narrative of the American civilization and believed the westward expansion to be manifest destiny, the sympathy and sense of guilt toward the American Indians shown in the *Leatherstocking Tales* may have been hard to accept. From the vantage point of today, the fact that contemporary critics of Cooper did not criticize his message that injustice and violence were an essential part of the foundation of American civilization shows the firm grip that the dominant culture of Indian-hating had on American society. Cooper's critical voice, revealed at his most insightful moment in the *Tales*, is no insignificant achievement, although it conflicts with his own narrative of the westward advancement of American civilization and ultimately gets erased by the dominant ideology and collapses.²⁶⁾ It shows how a writer as a "nuisance" and critic of the age could be a witness of the era.²⁷⁾ His non-fiction writing does not show this critical spirit. Only in his novel does his mind struggle with its own self-contradictions and conflicts, uncovering inconvenient truth—probably because a novel is, as E.L. Doctorow

criticized the novelist for presenting "idealized and false" features of American Indians. He emphasized that there were never any Indian race or history with "such civilized warrior as Uncas." [W. H. Gardiner, *North American Review* 23 (July 1826), in Dekker and McWilliams, 11]

- 26) In *The Oak Openings* (1848), Cooper's last novel about the American Indian, the efforts of Pastor Grant in *Pioneers* and of Hetty in *Deerslayer* have finally come to fruition. Chief Scalping Peter changes from "a barbarian flaming with grudge and avenge" to a "mild and merciful" Christian, and thus justifies the westward conquest and Indian massacre by European settlers. [James Fenimore Cooper, *The Oak Openings or The Bee-Hunter* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896), 468-69.]
- 27) E. L. Doctorow, interview by Bill Moyers, in *A World of Ideas: Conversations with Thoughtful Men and Women About American Life Today and the Ideas Shaping Our Future*, ed. Bill Moyers (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 83.

claims, a most democratic genre with every possible and contradictory voice.²⁸⁾

What is intriguing about Cooper's novel is that both villains and heroes understand what's happening to them. Both Magua and Chingachook, the villain and noble savage, eloquently represent their destiny although they differ in how to deal with it. In contrast, in *24*, terrorists are not made to take the trouble to present their case—their grievance and motives—as compellingly and legitimately as possible. Likewise, the good Arab Americans who are positively portrayed do not delve into the root causes of terrorist threats and attacks and take pains to cope with them. Perhaps the prime time television show is not concerned with them. As a whole, the characters do not grow, do not develop. *24* is not as biased in portraying Arabs and Muslims as some critics maintain. More problematic than racial stereotyping in the show seems to be the lack of concern for the root causes of terrorists' grievances, which helps to dehumanize them completely.

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28) Doctorow claims he trusts fiction as a source of truth more than any other kind of writing because “it has no borders; everything is open, you have a limitless possibility of knowing the truth.” [Doctorow, interview by Larry McCaffery, in *Anything Can Happen: Interviews with Contemporary American Novelists*, eds. Tom LeClair and Larry McCaffery (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 105.]

Abstract

Representing the Other: *24* and *Leatherstocking Tales*

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This paper examines the popular television series *24* with emphasis on contradictory representations of Muslim terrorists in the show and on how a comparison with Cooper's work provides new insight into how the root causes of their grievances are portrayed. The paper then compares it with James Fenimore Cooper's representation of Native Americans in *Leatherstocking Tales*, one of the first attempts by an American writer to fairly deal with race relations in the United States. The distinction between evil Arab or Muslim terrorists and good American Arabs in *24* reminds me of good Indians and bad Indians in Cooper's work. Natty Bumppo is in fact the archetype of Jack Bauer. What is intriguing about Cooper's novel is that both villains and heroes understand what's happening to them. Both Magua and Chingachook, the villain and noble savage, eloquently represent their destiny although they differ in how to deal with it. In contrast, in *24*, terrorists are not made to take the trouble to present their case—their grievances and motives—as compellingly or legitimately as possible. Likewise, the good Arab Americans who are positively portrayed do not delve into the root causes of terrorist threats and attacks and take pains to cope with them. As a whole, the characters do not grow, do not develop. *24* is not as biased in portraying Arabs and Muslims as some critics point out. More problematic than racial stereotyping in the show seems to be the lack of concern for the root causes of terrorists' grievances, which helps to dehumanize them.

Key Words

Representation, Arab Americans, Islam, terrorism, *24*, *Leatherstocking Tales*, James Fenimore Cooper