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# Political Discourse & US Strategic Narrative in Zeb-un-Nissa Hamidullah's *Sixty Days in America*

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Abstract

*This research paper is a narratological analysis of the strategic construction of the worldview involving America in Zeb-un-Nissa Hamidullah's travelogue, Sixty Days in America (1956).It studies the political discourse in the historical contextualisation of political implications of her travelogue which allowed Hamidullah to create a world view. It subjects Hamidullah's travelogue to a narratological political discourse analysis which I a new method of analysis. It triangulates its methods of political discourse analysis with the strategies developed in contextualist-rhetorical studies. The narratological analysis, thus, focuses on the political orientation of her personal narrative and her construction of narrative situations which employ political discourse strategies to embed her ideology. The study finds narratological evidence to prove that Hamidullah presented America as a hegemonic world leader that has replaced UK. The paper identifies several narrative techniques which can be used to analyse narratives of the hegemonised third world people living under imperialist pressures.*

**Key Words**: National narrative, Hegemonic narratives, Political discourse, world making, US Imperialism

This paper answers to the growing need to extend the horizons of political discourse analysis to include narratives which seems to be the choice strategy for creating world views in contemporary media outlets. So, political autobiographies, as of American Presidents, have become means of 'selling the self' and must accord with public expectations. Character assassination and personal-attack advertising mainly depend on narratives as do political weblogs and tweets. History of political censorship of such autobiographical accounts as *The Gulag Archipelago*(1958-and 1968) by the Russian novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn testifies to the political powers of autobiographical narratives. Travelogues are a form of autobiographical narrative that particularly inscribes political outlooks since they narrativise the shift from one politico-cultural world to another. Travel narratives are especially significant as political discourse. In *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*(2006), Debbie Lisle stresses that "... travel writing has the potential to re-imagine the world in ways that do not simply regurgitate the status quo or repeat a nostalgic longing for Empire" (p. xi). Musgrove, similarly, stresses that it is "virtually impossible to consider travel writing outside the frame of postcolonialism" (quoted in Lisle, p. 32).The genre thus inscribesa "vision of global politics" (Lisle 2006, p. xi).

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## Interface of Political Discourse Analysis and Rhetorical Narratology

This research paper attempts to create an interface of narratological and ideological dimensions of the travel experience presented in Zeb-un-Nissa Hamidullah's travelogue, *Sixty Days in America* (1956). It contextualises Hamidullah's travel narrative in political history in which America and Pakistan enjoyed a relation. The focus of this study is on the narrative strategies employed consciously or unconsciously to endorse America's national narratives. Scholars have realised the great potential of narrative stratagems in constructing discursive hegemonic positions as has been done by Montessori (2014) who points out that "Hegemonic positions can be found in texts by analysing constructions of (alternative) imaginaries of social life. Such constructions are often built around a narrative structure that functions to establish a text-intrinsic logic"(p. 171).

Kaal & Elfrinkhof (2014) indicate with their selection of papers in *From text to political positions: Text analysis across discipline*, narratives can help in unfolding and legitimatising a particular worldview. This extends the thesis orientation of Edward Said's Orientalism which created a definitive interface between colonial narratives and political discourse. An important contribution to the field was made by Patrick Hoganwhose *Understanding Nationalism: On Narrative, Cognitive Science, and Identity* (2009) pointed out the importance of analysing political narratives to show that "nationalism is crucially linked with storytelling" (p. 168). He underscored that "nationalism cannot be understood in separation from narrative" (ibid)and that narratives can have important consequences for socio-political actions by 'emplotting' nationalist ideas because "The development, organization, and specification of nationalist thought and action are bound up with narrative structure" (p. 168). Hogan specifically used the rhetorical approach and laid down that "the crucial thing is not the individual intent with which a given action is performed. Rather, the crucial thing is the effect of the action (p. 66). This was echoed by Wiesner, Haapala, &Palonen, (2017) in *Debates, rhetoric and political action: Practices of textual interpretation and analysis* when they wrote "Things are not by nature political or apolitical, but they must be marked, read and interpreted as such …" (p. 2).

Following the narratological paradigm of political discourse analysis, this paper studies how a travel narrative was written with the aim of establishing US role in international politics vis-à-vis Pakistan. Subjecting Hamidullah's travel narratives to narratological analysis, this paper establishes her political motivations and offers a 'narrative turn' to the techniques used political discourse analysis. In this way, it endorses Lisle's view that "... we are all dealing with the legacy of Empire, whether in popular stories of travel or in policy documents on Third World debt" (p. 2).

Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) treat narratives as imaginaries which are semiotic constructs for practical argumentation. They recommend a study of narratives "in

relation to the arguments in which they are usually embedded" (p. 1). Narrative analysis has long focused on the strategic utility of narratives. Narratives are now commonly accepted as especially inscribed "to create, to make meaning, to maintain, toresist, to change, to prove, to falsify, to argue, or to control something or someone "Patterson (2002: 2, qtd in Montessori 2014:p. 173). Thus, as Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) stress: "The study of narratives, explanations orimaginaries is pointless unless we see them as embedded within practical arguments, as feeding into and influencing processes of decision-making, briefly, as premises in arguments foraction" (3).

However, despite their stress on the arguments embedded in narratives, Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) ignore the narrative methods of analysis. The general trend in political discourse analysis has long been to ignore narratology's contributions to understanding of politically discursive strategies. Although narrative is a term regularly used in political discussions, narrative as a story with a plot, characters and embedded theme is mostly ignored. In *Political discourse in transition in Europe: 1989-1991* (1997), Chilton devotes a section to Construction of Nation And State, but does not go beyond pointing out that "the historical narrative of political groups is an important way of constructing these groups or these enunciative positions as legitimate" (p. 207). He barely mentions "the fairy-tale narrative structure of propaganda" (p. 58), but goes no further to explore such terms as grand narratives, strategic narratives, etc. In his later contribution, *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice* (2004), he focused on political discourses "driven by text" but investigated only the "presumed knowledge" necessary to understand the textual discourse. In comparing speeches by Bin Laden and George Bush, his long discussion of the use of the word 'Hubal', for which he used two elaborate tables, is limited to discussing "presumed assertions and speech acts" in bin Laden and not Bush (pp. 176-54).

Fairclough has an uncontested place in discourse studies. Despite much space devoted to political discourse strategies (3–7, 9–10, 29–30, 123, 172, 242), Fairclough, & Fairclough (2012), in *Political discourse analysis: A method for advanced students*, use the words explanation and narrative together, consider narrative explanation to be a strategy in political discourse, but do not resort to narratological studies of such discourses. Similar gap is entertained by Ruth Wodak (1989) in *Language, Power and Ideology Studies in Political Discourse Critical Theory*, where language studies dominate the discussions and narratology's relation with power and ideology that is the central question in postcolonial literary theory is completely ignored. Political concerns with censorship, secrecy, and concealment studies in Roberts (2006) and Schroter (2013) suffer from similar neglect of politically motivated narratives so that they ignore hegemonic checks on the publication of political narratives like autobiographies.

A diligent researcher encounters a similar problem is in the area of history. While historical records are notoriously inaccurate as politically rigged discourse, studies of history outside the realm of narratology fail to address the real issues. For example, in *Shaping history: narratives of political change*, Molly Andrews (2007) focuses on autobiographical stories people tell and contextualises them in their political frameworks without pointing out that this is what narratology has been doing since Wayne Booth and Phelan. However, she accepts that stories of people's lives obliquely communicate something of their worldview. Yet, she does not relate them to landmark studies in postcolonial frameworks developed by Edward Said, Anna De Fina, Ranjit Guha, Gauri Vishwanathan, and others. The fact is that Imperialism, Colonialism, Postcolonialism are terms that are taken together and not apart.

Studies of US Imperialism maintain their ancestries in postcolonial contexts and often highlight the distance travelled from colonial politics to issues emanating from American hegemonic, imperialist policies. This has been successfully achieved by Pease in *US Imperialism: Global Dominance without Colonies* (Pease 2005, p. 203-220), and in *Politics of Postcolonialism Empire*, *Nation and Resistance* (2011) by RuminaSethi. In fact Sethi stresses the need for theories about anti-globalisation movements against. Her work consistently uses such terms "politics of postcolonialism" "postcoloniality," in the context of social change and activism. She points out how "… postcolonial studies in the postcolonial studies in the US has evinced a ground-shift from fixing models of cultural distinctiveness to showing interest in syncretism, ambivalence and globality" (p. 106). This idea is central to America's national narrative and is the principal concern of the current paper.

Not all writers on political discourse disregard narratology. Many use the central techniques of narratological analysis, as does Molly Andrews (2007, p. 2) when she asks: why some stories get selected and others ignored, what do people aim to achieve by telling stories in the way they do and to some people and not others, why do people interpret events in one way and not in another, how do people perceive themselves as in relation to political events, or how they engage in the struggle to shape their political environment, what primary forces they identify as shaping their lives and which group or groups they feel that they belong to. All these questions converge on his central concern "how, if at all, does this contribute to our understanding of the political universe?" and his conclusion to this question is: "Facts do not speak for themselves. We choose certain facts, and hope that they will speak for us, through us" (p. 2). In concluding her discussion, she quotes Tim Keegan's comment in *Facing the Storm*(1988): "'in thenarratives of ordinary people's lives, we begin to see some of the majorforces of history at work, large social forces that are arguably the realkey to understanding the past'" (205). History as political circumstance for autobiographical narratives is thus her central concern.

The selection of papers by Kaal, Maks & Elfrinkhof (2014), in their *From text to political positions: Text analysis across disciplines* puts major focus on narrative and occupies much printed space. Thus Jared J. Wesley's The qualitative analysis of political documents (pp. 135-59) considers narrative analysis to be "the third major form of qualitative document analysis" and emphasises that "Unlike rhetorical analysts (who examine the delivery of the message) or discourse analysts (whose focus is on the ideas behind the message), narrative analysts investigate the content, origins, evolution, and impact of the message as a "story" about political life" (p. 138). He rightfully includes "(un)official histories, myths, legends, folk tales, or personal accounts about the author or (members of) her political community" as forms of narratives discourse, which "… frequently tie the past to the present and future, speak of political transformations, and identify specific heroes, villains, and plotlines" p. 138). Wellesley also indicates that narrative analysts' primary concern is not "the factual accuracy of the stories" but rather"the ways in which these stories serve as interpretive lenses through which the authors represent themselves and others" (p. 139). Similarly concern dominates VeronikaKoller's Introduction to the section From text to political positions via discourse analysis (pp. 163-68) where she elaborates how "Discourse producers in the political domain recognise the importance of linking argument to emotions when they employ narratives or storylines" (164).

Nicolina Montesano Montessori's The potential of narrative strategies in the discursive construction of hegemonic positions and social change (pp. 171-188) Montessori highlights the importance of narrative studies for political discourse by stressing that "narratives may serve as an encompassing strategy which can be instrumental in transforming or dismantling existing projects and which, simultaneously, contain a series of microstrategies" (p. 179). She discusses narrative analysis as a "significant strategy in the analysis of discursive constructions of hegemonic political positions" and emphasises that "Narrative is a powerful tool in the construction of hegemony through its potential to formulate and disseminate new imaginaries as well as through its potential to achieve consensus for the political project it envisions" (p. 188-89). She also highlights cultural contexts of political discourse in pointing out that "narrative affordances are culture dependent and therefore require adapted analytic approaches tailored to the context in which they function" (p. 188-89).

Barbara Johnstone (2001) shows similar proclivity for narrative analysis in Discourse analysis and narrative (pp. 635–649). In talking about the uses of narrative she highlights how increasing attention is being paid to "the political effects of narrative" and how storytelling is being studied "as a resource for dominating others, for expressing solidarity, for resistance and conflict" (p. 644). She considers narratives as a resource for the creation of both society and self and concludes that narratives are a way of constructing 'events' and giving them meaning" (p. 644).

## Rhetorical Narratology and Hegemonic Politics

Narratology works on the principle that identity is the way personal values are enacted in life. In a hegemonised society, personal values are often influenced by the way the sway of hegemony affects the stream of ideas passing through consciousness. Postcolonial narratology has amply established the link between hegemonised selfhood and narrativisation of experience by showing that for colonised people the conceptualisation of who and what they are is related to how they fit into the world dominated by colonisers.

Autobiographical narratives bring divergent aspects of the self together into a unifying and purpose-giving whole. Rhetorical narratology starts with the premise that all narratives aim at influencing audience response and so authorial identities are intended, planned, and performed for the audience being targeted. It also contends that narratives of the same experience or event differ in different situations. These issues of identity construction and subalternity have been studied by rhetorical narratology in other media like film, music, and painting and non-literary fields of law, medicine, and even journalism (Phelan & Rabinowitz, *Companion* 2). Practical aspects of narratology have evolved tools of textual analysis to reveal social and ideological implications of narrative. First-person life narratives as "a historically situated practice of self-representation" (Smith and Watson 14) require taking into account the socio-political and cultural circumstances as part of the determining factors for autobiography. Analysis of colonial texts has successfully shown how narrative presentation of reality can be distorted by politico-economic, cultural, racist, or authorial prejudices. Many academic attempts on autobiographical accounts have been made proving the link. Mills' *Discourses of Difference* studies colonial women's travelogues to identify not only gendered differences but also the dynamics of power between the colonial and the colonised. Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* (2000 [1992]) treats travel texts in relation with colonial ideological practices. Burton's *At the Heart of the Empir*e studies three Indian travellers' accounts to show how their encounters with colonial elite shaped their responses to colonial politics.

The most significant aspect of such travel narratives is the negotiation of identity in response to political pressures of the colonial metropolis. In "Narrative Ways of World making", David Herman (2009) highlights the processes of 'deletion and supplementation' in that "I may tailor my recounting of my own life experiences to adjust for differences among groups of interlocutors" (p. 79). Applied to colonial constraints on narratives of colonised people, this confirms Pratt's view that: "Autoethnographic texts are not ... "authentic" or autochthonous forms of self-representation ... Rather autoethnography involves partial collaboration with and

appropriation of the idioms of the conqueror" (7). This establishes the view that rhetoric of narratives and autobiographical memories are responsible for the creation of colonial identities and even colonial worlds. Smith and Watson call it "The Politics of Remembering" and point out how autobiographical memory changes stories and their ideological messages when they write: "...remembering has a political dimension" (*Reading Autobiography*, 18) and is affected by "particular sites and in particular circumstances ... which are charged politically" (ibid 24). Brockmeier and Carbaugh support this by stressing that "Remembering is contextualised by the socio-cultural circumstances; thus, autobiographical narratives reveal the ethical preferences of the society in which they emerge" (76-77). The resultant unreliability of autobiographical narratives requires interpretive narrative analysts to develop narratological strategies to arrive at their conclusions. This research paper employs an elaborate toolkit for such an analysis which can be utilised for political discourse analyses of autobiographical texts.

In Fanon's model, the culture of the coloniser becomes the standard. The autobiographical text bears marks of colonial education system (Viswanathan 135, 141). Postcolonial studies treat the teaching of English language and literature as a hegemonic practice "to persuade the subject population about the desirability of its own subjection" (Viswanathan 141). These influences are identifiable in narrative strategies of hegemonised travellers writing in English, and narrating themselves as at home in the imperial metropolis. Autobiographical identity is determined by socio-political relations and subordination resulting in a negotiation of identity. This offers great possibilities for narratological analysis and their narratives become, in David Herman's words: "a target of interpretation and [...] a means for making sense of experience ..." (85).

## Historical context of Hamidullah's travel narrative

Hamidullah's travel narrative was written in a specific historical context. The end of colonialism coincided with the rise of global powers and polarisation of world politics. Colonialism gave way to neo-imperialism in the context of the Great Game so that narratives of British colonial policies transformed into American foreign policy paradigms in which Pakistan was to play an important role. In the aftermath of World War II, the world saw the rise of the US as an empire. This ascendency was accompanied by America's national narratives which were enshrined in its policy documents.

Political discourse studies recognise the use of narratives for propagating hegemonic ideologies. In "The potential of narrative strategies in the discursive construction of hegemonic positions and social change", Montessori (2014) points out that "True hegemony requires a discourse that constitutes power over social reality by establishing its own 'common sense' (p. 171). This is evident in the way US

hegemonic ideology became integrated into third world policy documents. US strategic documents endorsed these views as national strategic narrative. Of these, the 'X Article', formally titled 'The Sources of Soviet Conduct' (1947), was published in *Foreign Affairs* magazine in July 1947. It was written by a State Department official, George F. Kennan, who melodramatically signed himself as Mr. X. Though mainly concerned with Russia's strategic narratives derived from Communist views of history, the document spelled out the world view that the US was to create in the next decades. Keenan wrote:

> "… the United States can create among the peoples ofthe world generallythe impression of a country which knows what it wants, which iscoping successfully with the problems of its internal life and with*the responsibilities of a World Power, and which has a spiritual vitality capable of holding its own among the major ideological currents of the time*" (p. 581, emphasis added).

The sequel to this narrative, The Y Article, titled *A National Strategic Narrative*, was produced after the breakup of Russia by two US Army officials working under General Mike Mullen. The narratological importance of these documents cannot be underestimated since they both weave stories of foreign affairs in which US and plays an important role. In her Preface to *A National Strategic Narrative*, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Director of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State (2009-2011), pointed out: "We need a story with a beginning, middle, and projected happy ending" (p. 2). She pointed how once the U.S. president was called "'the leader of the free world', a phrase that encapsulated U.S. power and the structure of the global order for decades" (ibid). She explained the evolution of American national narrative since the X Article: "the strategic narrative of the Cold War was that the United States was the leader of the free world against the communist world; that we would invest in containing the Soviet Union and limiting its expansion while building a dynamic economy and as just, and prosperous a society as possible" (ibid, bold in the original). She echoed the writers of the document who had written: "America's national story has always see-sawed between exceptionalism and universalism. We think that we are an exceptional nation ..." (p. 4). They explained US strategic narrative in these words: "We do not want to be the sole superpower that billions of people around the world have learned to hate from fear of our military might. We seek instead to be the nation other nations listen to, rely on and emulate out of respect and admiration" (p. 4).These principles of US strategic narrative were integrated into its various discourses which were then absorbed into the national narratives of friendly countries like Pakistan whose political narratives considered US as their best defence against any offensive.

US strategic narrative envisions a world in which the hegemony of the empire is naturally required. It is part of the 'order of things' and any challenge to its existence would result in chaos. Supported with cold war technologies of communication, the

US inscribed this idea into the cultural, political, and even religious theories of third world countries. Its national narratives evidenced American might in the atomic bomb, landing on the moon, and the ideology of *maverickism* popularised as an American trait through sports and Hollywood.

Zeb-un-Nissa Hamidullah (1921-2000) was the first Muslim woman journalist and columnist in English before Pakistan's creation in 1947. Through Miss Fatima Jinnah, she got an exclusive interview with Muhammad Ali Jinnah. As editor, publisher and political commentator, she pioneered feminism in Pakistani literature in English. She was also the first woman to go abroad with press delegations, and founder of the first social glossy magazine in South Asia, the Mirror, of which she was editor-publisher. Zeb-un-Nissa Hamidullah travelled to the US on a trip funded by the US govt.as part of 'World Leaders Program'. Her husband managed to accompany her to America by availing a business opportunity.

**Rhetorical Narratology of Hamidullah's Travel text**

Hamidullah's travel through US included an 8000 miles long drive through the US. She narrated her experiences during her travel which were columnnised in *The Times of Karachi*(p. 14). Written hastily, after long hours of drive, the articles purportedly represented "the cursory glance of a tourist, rather than the serious eye of a student" (*Sixty Days* 14). Yet, Hamidullah managed to inscribe American national narrative in her columns. Her rhetoric employs superlatives to underscore US greatness.

The title suggests that the book contains the author's experiences during her sixty-day trip in America. However, it is rather a geo-historical description of American cities, particularly the ones she visited during her 8000-mile long drive through the country (p. 161). Describing the wonders of the empire and eliding personal narratives of people is an important narrative strategy of hegemonised people.

America's national narratives of her time are most transparently woven into the Preface. Of the 7-page Preface,which was written later for the book publication, Hamidullah devotes 5.5 pages to historicise American greatness (pp. 9-13).She underscored the idea with such phrases as 'great land', 'great citadel of freedom and democracy', and 'mightiest democracy' (p. 9 – 16).She describes that, since it was a visit sponsored by US government, her gratitude necessitates that she avoid taking "advantage of this hospitality to search for the proverbial skeletons that are to be found, the wide world over, in every cupboard ..." (p. 14). She endorses American national narrative because it is for her "the great citadel of freedom and democracy *that it so proudly professes to be*" (14, italics added), and even helps her fully *understand its ideology* (40, italics added).

Hamidullah takes a historicist view to prove America's greatness noting Samuel Johnson's mistake in calling Americans "a race of convicts" (p. 9) and Winston Churchill acknowledging the United States as "more worthy of trust and honour than any government of men or associations of nations" (p. 9). She describes US achievements as proof of the progress of all mankind so that seeing New York "… is to realise how far man has advanced and how great are his inventions" (p. 170).

Hamidullah allots the US the role of the big brother: "Americans … do care about their fellow beings and are acutely aware of their *obligations to the less fortunate portions of the world*" (p. 10, italics added). She captures American narratives in the 1950s: "a rich a powerful country *fearfully concerned* with the cause of 'Freedom' in the world and *handing out dollars by the fistfuls* to ensure that democracy develop ..." (p. 9, emphasis added). Here Hamidullah endorses the most significant aspects of the X Article. In Sources of Soviet Conduct,Mr. X had concluded by referring to Providence which:

> "by providing the American people with this implacable challenge, has madetheir entire security as a nation dependent on their pulling themselves together and accepting *the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history plainly intended them to bear*" (p. 582, emphasis added)

Hamidullah's assertion that America is committed that democracy should "develop and have full sway in a free, capitalistic society" counters Z. A. Bhutto (1969) who had asertedin his *Myth of Independence*: "Domination has been justified as the survival of the fittest; it has been given the name of the White Man's Burden; it has been glorified by theories of *the exclusive responsibilities of the Master Race*. Today that ancient struggle is epitomized in the creed of democracy against dictatorship" (p. 9, italics added). Mandela (1990) had expressed a similar opinion in *The Struggle is My Life*: "American capital has been sunk into Africa not for the purpose of raising the material standards of its people but in order to exploit them as well as the natural wealth of their continent. This is imperialism in the true sense of the word" (p. 76).Hamidullah's assertion brings home to her Pakistani readers an American view of the US. This view recommends a political stance and becomes significant in the light of the assertion by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) that narratives, must be studied "as embedded within practical arguments, as feeding into and influencing processes of decision-making, briefly, as premises in arguments for action" (p. 3).

Hamidullah underscores that America's greatness lies in having become "one of the most widely respected peoples in the whole wide world" (p. 9). Contextualising the fact in the 1950s, American policies and attitudes were increasingly being questioned, she explains for her readers that due to its blazing success, the US suffers from world's jealousy resulting in its being disliked all over the world, so that "... the world

... becomes more and more antagonised ..." (p. 12). She then explains how Americans "receive ... only a begrudging acceptance of even their most spectacular achievements and a magnified criticism of every minor fault or failing" which tends to "... turn many Americans more bellicose..." (p. 12).

The travel narrative itself is sketchy and episodic and has the peculiarity of eliding human relations when narrating the experience of the empire. All references to her feelings and thoughts narrate her as alone. She also does not even introduce the readers to her husband travelling beside her. She hardly ever narrativises meeting other Pakistanis on the same 'World Leaders Program' (p. 40). In contrast, an American couple, with whom they had an appointment for dinner, are narrated in detail (p. 80-82), but how they got the appointment since they met them for the first time, and if any Pakistanis were their mutual friends, is not told. She and her husband spent their weekend with Mr. And Mrs.SaeedAkhtar of the Pakistani Embassy, but there is no narration of the full day they travelled with them only a long description of the places to visit in and around Washington (pp. 46-48). She even tells the reader "One hundred and thirty-seven weddings had been solemnised" in the underground ballroom at the Caverns of Luray (p. 47). Histories of the places, with elaborate information of their geographical lay outs, and the exact amount spent on them continue till the end. So, the travelogues reads more like a textbook, or travel guide brochure, rather than a narrative of *Sixty Days in America*. Hamidullah uses the 8000-mile long road trip as an opportunity to give her readers not only her experiences in America, but a textbook course in American geography, history of cities, and social studies. The narration of travel experience itself is reduced to waking up to hit the road and finding a motel at night. The text is filled with such details of cities visited as their history, industry, sight to see. Many of the details she gives could have little interest for the readers in Pakistan, as that Hagerstown has "the largest pipe organ factory in the world and there are numerous Civil War battlefields in the vicinity" (p. 76) and Cumberland is "a shipping point for vast quantities of high-grade bituminous coal" (p. 77).

The travel narrative maintains the first person singular throughout, with occasional use of 'we' which in some cases includes other passengers also. She brings in her husband in chapter 2 (p. 23). The travel to the imperial heartland affects a diminishing of human relations even to the extent of reducing her husband – who drove her through the US – to a nonentity.Hamidullah's continuous use of 'I' establishes her personal self as the 'tourist' engrossed in the imperial 'wonder', an all absorbing world in which she loses all human relations and the only defining relation is with the spectacle of the empire. Her descriptions of important places, expressions of her feelings at those spots, and her narration of memorable experience always show her to be alone. The husband is absent even in the narrative of Niagara Falls which she describes as "the most treasured ... honey-moon resort" (p. 149). The same is narrated

for the visit to Times Square where "I walked along the fantastic area last night ..." (p. 179). The spectacle of the Empire subsumes narratives of anything else.

Hamidullah uses the narrative technique of describing America as the fairyland by using intertextuality. She often borrows her vocabulary from the fairy tales so that it seems that her journey was actually to a land of fantasy and miracles, a sort of magical place, a materialisation of mankind's utopian ambitions. As in a fairy-tale narrative, her journey starts in the night – "A long, long night that never seems to end" (p. 19) – and ends with the daylight breaking (p. 21) as she enters the air space of New York (pp. 20-21). She describes New York as "modern miracle of a city" (p. 175) suggesting that it is a land like the fairyland. This technique is used again in the description of the Empire State Building where "For most of the time I've been here its top has been hidden in the clouds ..." (p. 176). When there, she finds out that the sky ... seems obscured and one forgets that the sky is blue in the day or the stars shine in the night, for the buildings are so tall that they shut it out of sight" (p. 176). The experience of Time Square also is narrated with similar figures of speech as "fantastic area" (p. 179) and "Night in Time Square, New York, is like night nowhere else on earth" (p. 178), while Vegas is "incredible, fascinating" (p. 101) where "pretty faces abound" (p. 99) as in paradise, and where "neon signs twinkle so brightly that it's as bright as day" (p. 99). She also tries to sensationalise the underground railways as "the inferno below" (p. 174).

To impress her readers, Hamidullah gives exact or exaggerated numbers of the facilities enjoyed by Americans: "Hundreds and hundreds of [cars] are to be seen anywhere and everywhere ..." (p. 49); "Almost every American owns a car; what's more he or she changes this car every single year, sometimes twice a year" (p. 50). In her description of the Super Market, her repeated use of "you can buy" (p. 65) asserts what Pakistanis do not have in Pakistan. This continues into her descriptions of items "[t]hey're there by the dozens and of every variety" (p. 66), followed by a rhetorical reiteration of "want" which goes pattering like "Want butter, want bread, want cheese, want jam, want potatoes, want onions, carrots, want cauliflower? Just go ahead and take your choice, they're all there" (p. 66). Hamidullah here expresses a childish surprise and enthusiasm in everything she sees in the American supermarket. This reflects the glee of underprivileged people in the Imperial land of opulence.

When thinking of buying a used car, she devotes the whole of Chapter VIII to an analysis of the American car market, even giving the schedule of release of next year's models (p. 50-51). This is factualised by noting the exact figure of 902,000 cars produced in 1956. Another strategy used is of emphasising speed of vehicles as a national characteristic: "... they seemed in a terrible hurry and ... it was essential that you rush along, too" (p. 45). This has the rhetorical effect of establishing Americans as determined, practical, energetic, and always busy, always working. Her hyperbole reaches its zenith in telling that Americans never washed their cars (p. 52)but rather

changed them: "... they're always changing them and replacing them with a newer, more shiny model so why should they bother, anyway?" (p. 53).
Hamidullah also uses the strategy of making important all kinds of imperial knowledge. Noting the money spent on imperial projects is an important way of impressing readers. Hamidullah carefully notes the figures, not just in a travel guide manner of giving information, but with the specific purpose of impressing the reader with America's wealth. Thus, she notes that she had seen "the $ 4,500,000 Opera House (p. 118), $100,000 projector at the California Academy of Sciences theatre.

Acculturation and hybridity follow globalisation. Hamidullah also elides the issue of halaal food. With American cheap fast food, kosher becomes meaningless. Her hamburger is 'delicious'. She explains for her reader what a hamburger is but avoids bringing in the issue of *halal*. Even the meetings with Pakistani families and eating with them does not bring up the issue.

Hamidullah's narrative does not include details of racial prejudice. Montessori (2014) highlights how "Hegemonic positions can be found in texts by analysing constructions of (alternative) imaginaries of social life" (171). This is best exemplified in the way Hamidullah de-narrativises the racial question in America, replacing it with "constructions of (alternative) imaginaries of social life". Employment prejudice against blacks finds little space in her narrative. She wraps up her descriptions of Chinatown and Harlem in less than two lines because "we sailed along past Chinatown, past Harlem where the largest population of Negroes concentrated in any locality in the United States is found ..." (p. 184). In her drive through St. Louis, she "found the old section of the city rather shabby and desolate" but does not relate it the poverty of the black population there or the tortured history of racism in the state/s. She seems unaware of the fact that the Ku Klux Klan was legitimised particularly in St. Louis as citizens councils. White resistance to desegregation during the 1950s is also absent in her panoramic view of the US. Hamidullah also elides all references to black socio-political movements going on at that time. She narrates 'discovering' racial discriminationas not a personal observation: "... the fact that *a certain amount of discrimination does exist* was brought home to me by the report in a daily newspaper ..." (p. 142, emphasis added). In this, again, Hamidullah inscribes the polity laid down in the wherein it was stressed: "… exhibitions of indecision, disunity and internal disintegration within this country have an exhilarating effect on the whole Communist movement" (p. 581), which, then, had its propaganda effect on other nations of the world: "new groups of foreign supporters climb on to what they can only view as the band wagon of international politics" (p. 582). Any evidence, therefore, of any stratification, facts, or classes could have a detrimental effect on US role in its war against Russian strategic narratives. The article thus stressed: "The issue of Soviet-American relations is in essence atest of the over-all worth of *the United States as a nation among nations*" (p. 582, emphasis added). Hamidullah's narrative, thus, endorses America's strategic narrative in its historical context.

The couple drove 3,700 miles to Los Angeles for a TV interview at CBS which was to be watched by nine million people (p. 110). Hamidullah does not narrate the TV interview or tell how TV worked. Rather she narrates how she spent the afternoon visiting studios and movie sets (pp. 111-112), especially of the movie "The King and I". Hollywood, being considered the hub of American cultural life, interests her more than her own experience of the TV interview. She thus uses the technique of emphasising all that aggrandises the Empire and impresses the reader with Imperial greatness.

Hamidullah also uses the narrative technique of making important some public figure as representative of Imperial values. Her chapter on Pakistani begums ends with the description of the house of Mrs Perle Mesta, famous as hostess of lavish parties "... about whom the famous play and film 'Call Me Madame' was written" and for whose luxurious house and antiques from the period of Louis XIV Hamidullah is all praises: "Even the walls are from France ..." (p. 70). Along with praising her luxury life, Hamidullah reminds the readers "If you recall she was in Pakistan for a day last year..." (ibid). Thus, Hamidullah makes it important for her readers to know an icon of Imperial society. A similar strategy is used to narrate her meetings with actors like Henry Fonda (p. 106) and Hollywood director Jean Negulesco(p. 107) who told her that his film had been a great success in Pakistan (p. 107). In naming these people, Hamidullah assumes that her readers know them all (p. 108). Hamidullah even discusses General Motors executives by reminding the reader: "both of whom, you might recall, visited Karachi recently" (p. 146).

Hamidullah is not unaware of the darker side of American life. The question of the nationality of Indian Muslims who had come to America fifty years ago and could not get American nationality is given a twist in that they could not be Pakistanis (p. 126). She devotes two chapters to the problems but concludes that Pakistani government had been unable to help their identity problem after the creation of Pakistan (pp. 131-132). She discusses how they were deprived of many ofthe right to own property in America as were Japanese and Chinese citizens (p. 125). Policies of the American government which had deprived them are never discussed and Hamidullah adds that American citizens had helped them retain these properties by getting the properties of these Indian Muslims transferred to their names till they won the right to own them in their names and the Americans most honestly returned their properties to them. The narrative suggests American people's honesty rather than the bias in American government's policies.

Hamidullah, also points out some faults of the American people by setting up a high ideal as their norm. Thus while she looks up to them for these ideal qualities, she blamesa small group of the American people as not coming up to those ideals. In this way, she endorses the American ideology of exceptionalism and creates need for the

general public to come up to the ideals. The ideal American is "the happy devil-may-care type" and New Yorkers do not meet that ideal. New York is no place for the weak or the aged, for living is a fight for survival, competition is fierce and the struggle for existence never-ending" (p. 171). Parents are negligent and children "grow up callous and indifferent ..." (p. ibid). Businessmen have 'commercialized' this also by selling presents for Mother's Day and Father's Day celebrations.

Hamidullah's criticism is mostly generalisations and over-simplifications for which a counter narrative is also never far. Right after criticising commercialisation of life in New York, she says: "But, in case you take my statements too generally, let me hasten to explain that there are many families where love and affection between parents and their children are real and lasting" (pp. 171-172). Hamidullah poses as more American in thought and feeling than the Americans themselves. She points out the dullness of the 'Fourth of July' when she was "more than a trifle disappointed" because there was nowhere "apparent that sense of joyous patriotism one would expect from citizens of so wonderful a country as America undoubtedly is" (p. 182).

Towards the end of her journey she starts summing up her impressions of America and its people. She writes: "Yes, there's no doubt about it, the people of America are a warm and friendly people" (p. 162) and that she wanted to write her columns "the American way" (p. 175). This is also reflected in her use of American English as short forms throughout the narrative as if that was the standard way of writing a column-travelogue. In the last chapter of the book, her prose becomes so poetic that it every one of the paragraphs starts with reiterated phrases like "Thanks for the memory" which read like chants (p. 189-92).

The narrative ends with her plane leaving America and she thanks America for the lasting memories, which are all of 'things' and 'places'. The first to come is "streamlined roads", followed by "high-ways, broad and smooth"; "gay colour of the cars" (p. 189); "luxurious lights ... streamlined sofas"; "cities more busy and more bustling than any cities I have ever seen before" (p. 190); "dishwashers and freezers" (p. 191). She thanks America for: "the memory of hotels"; "the memory of beautiful buildings" and of "factories famous and huge and flourishing, and motor car plants" (p. 191) as if that was all she had experienced in America.

Her memories of Americans read like a Hollywood movie script. Americans are "all of them young, all of them pretty with lips a vivid red and skin a golden hue" (p. 189). The fairy world discourse is emphasised by stating "I've but to close my eyes to see them once again rushing along ..." (ibid). She suggests the magical unreality of her experience by implying that people in the cars looked like dolls. This is suggested by expressing that they looked "so small in their big, big, cars". They were, as it were, "all colourful, all smiling, all cheerful", like the 'serving girls' (p. 190). As if she were describing a scenes from a Hollywood movie, she describes that not only that they all

were young, they all sat in their cars “two by two ... a man and his girl friend beside him, cuddled up close as can be, rushing along, racing along, on the highway” (p. 189-90). She also emphasises the long, wide roads so that everything about America is finally judged to be grand, and ‘imperial’.

These memories inscribe the national narrative US wanted in the mid 50’s to be entertained by the world. In narrating this view, therefore, Hamidullah confirms her subaltern status.In final analysis, her travel narrative highlights the importance of a recommendation by Fairclough&Fairclough (2012) that “The study of narratives, explanations orimaginaries is pointless unless we see them as embedded within practical arguments, as feedinginto and influencing processes of decision-making, briefly, as premises in arguments foraction" (p. 3).

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