

DISNEY DISCOURSE

Producing The Magic Kingdom

EDITED BY

ERIC SMOODIN



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Cultural Contagion:
On Disney's Health Education Films for
Latin America

Lisa Cartwright and Brian Goldfarb

Between 1941 and 1943, Walt Disney, his wife, and a group of Disney Studio animators made three highly publicized trips to Latin America under the auspices of the US government. On the basis of material collected during these trips, the Disney Studio produced nearly two dozen films in Spanish, Portuguese, and English versions, a majority of which (fifteen, to be exact) are educational shorts produced for Latin American audiences on the subject of health and sanitation. In an essay in this volume, Julianne Burton-Carvajal focuses on three popular films in the travelogue genre that were also produced out of this tour: *South of the Border With Disney* (1942), *Saludos Amigos* (1943), and *The Three Caballeros* (1945). Burton-Carvajal argues that this trilogy constitutes "a totalizing account of [Disney's] cross-cultural journey."¹ Essentially travel films, these works successfully shift from didactic documentary to a more complex narrative style—a progression in which, in Burton-Carvajal's words, "personality assumes precedence over geography and literal depictions of place give way to more mythic geographies animated by imagination and desire."² As Burton-Carvajal shows, the mythic geographies constructed in Disney's trilogy are largely (neo)colonialist fantasies of conquest and spectacle; desire is chiefly that of Disney and his patrons for the land, fauna, and female bodies that comprise the phantasmatic Latin American culture they have created on film.

South of the Border's narrator explains that the studio's Latin American tour was conducted to "gather a store of material" on Latin America. However, focusing exclusively on forms of popular culture, including dance, music, tourist sites, and above all on "natural" beauty, the trilogy seems to indicate that the tour completely bypassed "material gathering" in such areas as Latin American

culture, labor, industry, or health care. However, these issues are at the core of Disney's fifteen health care films. If the trilogy Burton-Carvajal analyzes functions as a document of Disney's "cross-cultural journey," we would argue that the health education films document a different, and equally important, facet of Disney's involvement in US-Latin American affairs: his role as pedagogue. Not, as Burton-Carvajal claims, mere "by-products" of this journey, the Disney educationals were part of a joint effort by Disney studios and the US government to, in the words of a studio report, "[reach] the fundamentals of social science free from religious or political influence."³

Produced for Latin American audiences in response to the US government's interest in educating about personal and household diet, grooming, and sanitation, these films fix intently on the private bodies and domestic lives of the subjects so strikingly absent in the trilogy Burton-Carvajal analyzes. However, far from giving voice to Latin American subjectivities, these films constitute a different set of colonialist imaginings and desires.

Characterized as imately lazy and/or ignorant, the Latin American subjects and families created in the animated health shorts are held individually responsible for their own states of disease and poverty. The most personal aspects of bodily care, from eating to coughing to defecating, become the subject of a repetitive and paternalistic discourse. The pedagogical strategy used in these films is to didactically associate illness and poverty with particular bodily "customs," and health and prosperity with Western scientific standards of hygiene.

If *The Three Caballeros* is an articulation of Disney's (and the US's) erotic desire for its own spectacularized image of Latin America, the fifteen health films are attempts to control and regulate the bodies and lives of Latin American workers and peasants at the most intimate level. (Disney would not get so intimate with US audiences until a bit later in the decade, with, for example, his 1947 production for women viewers, *Story of Menstruation*, made under contract with the Kimberly-Clark Corporation.) The health films for Latin America mark a broader cultural fascination and revulsion toward Latin America cultures. The specter of disease and contagion portrayed so menacingly in these films was, for US audiences, emblematic of a more generalized danger posed by contact with foreign, and particularly "primitive," cultures—an anxiety heightened by the increasing US contact with South America and the Caribbean through corporate expansion by companies like United Fruit and Goodyear Tire Company, Roosevelt's strategic reassertion of the Good Neighbor policy (a program originally outlined in 1933, the year of *Flying Down to Rio*'s release), and the global crisis in markets and alliances brought on by the war. This anxiety expressed itself, in part, through a national public health discourse that repeatedly collapsed together the agendas of

personal defense against disease and national defense against invasion. The health films' obsessive attention to bodily habits reflects a broader obsession with the threat of "contamination" of the national body with Latin American cultures through the colonialist "cross-cultural" agendas of government and corporate programs.

The program of "cultural exchange" promoted by Roosevelt in his advocacy of a "hemispheric partnership" saw its cultural expression not only through government-sponsored venues such as *South of the Border With Disney*, but earlier, in Hollywood productions like *Rio's Road to Hell* (1932) or *Only Angels Have Wings* (1939). It is important to note that, by the twenties, film already was being used by US corporations in Latin America. In the words of video producer Joel Katz, film was the "pen" used by US corporations to promote to US audiences their takeover of Latin American land, natural resources, and labor. In his documentary *Corporation With a Movie Camera*, Katz notes that United Fruit used the same footage to produce films for three distinct sets of viewers. *About Bananas*, *Banana Land*, and *The Banana Industry* were respectively aimed at educational, public, and industrial audiences. Clearly, Disney's tour was a part of a larger shift involving many uses of cinema to serve corporate and government interests. In order to understand the Disney films in this colonialist matrix, it is necessary to situate them in the broader context of corporate and government agendas in Latin America.

The Intersection of Cultural Production, Corporate Expansion, and Government Interests

Two figures were chiefly responsible for the selection of Disney as cultural emissary to Latin America: Nelson A. Rockefeller and John Hay Whitney. A brief account of their careers should illustrate the degree to which corporate interests, government agendas, and cultural production intersected to support US presence in Latin America at the start of World War II.

As head of the foreign department of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and with major business interests in Latin American-based corporations such as the Creole Petroleum Company, Rockefeller was deeply invested in the fate of Latin American-United States relations. He was also well known for his work on Latin American public health initiatives through the Rockefeller Foundation, and cultural affairs were closely linked to his corporate activities. Indeed, the value of culture did not escape him: Rockefeller's first trip to Latin America (in 1935) was to visit a Venezuelan museum of art,⁴ and throughout subsequent travels, he invested in art and artifact, amassing a valuable collection on the basis of which he

seum of Primitive Art (a collection of indigenous art from the Americas, Africa, Oceania, and Early Asia and Europe).⁵

Not just a corporate businessman and art collector, Rockefeller also had close personal connections high up in the US government. The degree of his pull there is evident from the following: disturbed by Nazi presence in Argentina witnessed during a 1939 business trip there, Rockefeller wrote to then-president Franklin Delano Roosevelt to express his "deep concern over Nazi influence and penetration" in Latin America. Interestingly, Rockefeller posits both public relations and public health and welfare intervention as measures to eradicate Nazi presence: he recommends that FDR institute a US program in cooperation with "nations of the Western Hemisphere . . . to achieve better relations among those nations and to help raise their standards of living."⁶

The president followed Rockefeller's advice within a year. He invited him to head a new federal Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), where he could carry out the initiatives described in a letter. Rockefeller accepted the position—after divesting his interests in Creole Petroleum. He also resigned from a position that constituted a different kind of conflict of interest, this one in the area of art and culture: He gave up his post as president of the board of directors of the New York Museum of Modern Art.

Rockefeller's position at MOMA was filled immediately by his close associate John Hay Whitney, whom Rockefeller would shortly hire to direct his new federal office's Motion Picture Section. Whitney facilitated a contract between the office of the CIAA and the MOMA Film Library through which the latter would act as institutional intermediary for film producers who contracted with the government, as well as processing, dubbing, and editing documentary and non-theatrical productions for Latin American audiences.⁷ Though objections apparently were raised regarding the spending of museum funds on government projects and Whitney's and Rockefeller's continued financial interests in the museum, they were met with circular and contradictory (but apparently accepted) rationales.⁸ The intersection of corporate, government, and cultural interests in Rockefeller's office alone indicates the degree to which empire-building takes place through a dense network of overlapping and seemingly contradictory affiliations and agendas. The involvement of Disney in this matrix is similarly rife with contradiction and overdetermination. Through Rockefeller's office, entertainment, newsreel, industrial, and educational films were all part of a multivalent strategy in which communications and corporate interests figured centrally.

Communications Media in the CIAA Agenda

In the US project of establishing familiar, "neighborly" relations with Latin American countries, communications media played an absolutely

critical role. This was most evident in the case of telephone and telegraph communications. By the early forties, Germany had ownership and/or control over telephone systems in northern Argentina, Ecuador, Uruguay, Paraguay, southern Chile, and Mexico. The US government saw Nazi ownership of Latin American communications systems as a direct threat to defense efforts. In 1941, the office of the CIAA conducted an extensive study of inter-American communications facilities, producing a proposal that sheds light on the Good Neighbor policy.

In the words of FDR, the US was interested in not only "divesting enemy nationals of their present financial control of communications systems," but also "improving such facilities for the use of the governments of all the American republics."⁹ Initiating US-based inter-American communications systems was not a new idea: to monitor its far-ranging locations, United Fruit set up a US-Central American radio communications system that, in 1913, became its subsidiary, the Tropical Radio and Telegraph Company. The CIAA had in mind a similarly US-centered model. Its "Recommendations of Policy and Program of Action" suggests not only the transfer of Latin American telephone and telegraph network ownerships from Axis to "hemispheric" corporate interests, but US administration and censorship of the region's Transradio Consortium.¹⁰ FDR explicitly outlined a plan for the US Board of Economic Warfare's administration of a "corporation or corporations" to administer communications in conjunction with State, War, and Navy Departments communications programs. In short, an "inter-American" system would be US-centered; "hemispheric" control was a euphemism for US control.

The cinema was another component of the CIAA's communications-based strategies. In a report of the office, Whitney argues that "moving pictures constitute one of the best mediums to foster understanding and more friendly relations between peoples."¹¹ In keeping with this view, the CIAA facilitated—and, in some cases, literally subsidized—the export of US industry films (both entertainment and educational); film personalities (like Disney, Orson Welles, and Claudette Colbert);¹² and film equipment (the office provided the Mexican national film industry with needed production equipment, gratis).¹³ Evidence of the desire to establish "more friendly relations" (and a more secure export market) extended to the CIAA's allotment of forty thousand dollars to Darryl F. Zanuck for the reshooting of portions of his *Down Argentine Way* that were offensive to Argentinian viewers.¹⁴ In taking up Disney as a chief cultural emissary, not only did the CIAA want to help secure Latin American markets for US exports (including films) in place of the closed European markets (although they certainly did foster this goal);¹⁵ they wanted primarily to cultivate a "safe" and welcoming environment for US corporate and governmental presence. This agenda entailed the cultivation of the US as cultural authority in Latin America—a project that

to be particularly well suited to both animation and the pedagogical address of educational media.

The CIAA saw in Disney the perfect foil in this project of engendering US authority. For Whitney, Disney's role as producer of benign children's entertainment placed him outside the range of suspicion of involvement in governmental matters. Rockefeller's office sent Disney and his entourage to Brazil, Argentina, and other countries with the idea that his presence would win over everyone from the general public to the highest public officials. A CIAA staff member affirms the choice: "The cultural and scientific big names alike have accepted [Disney] and we had the right thought that he was the one representative we might send who above all others was outside the range of criticism." As evidence, he notes the enthusiastic response of the Rio public to Disney and to *Fantasia*—a screening of which, he explains, was the first occasion on which the "president of Brazil" (probably meaning the premier, dictator Getulio Vargas) made an appearance in a public movie theater.¹⁶ The significance of this staff member's perceptions cannot be underestimated in light of Brazil's previous rejection of US alliance, and Vargas's previous enthusiasm for Nazi powers.¹⁷

Implicit in the CIAA's marketing of Disney was the idea that Latin Americans generally were particularly susceptible to animation's mode of address—an address that, during this period in the US, increasingly was directed at audiences of children. As Eric Smoodin has shown, Disney's US-government-funded shorts promoting new income tax laws directed at working-class citizens during this period were regarded by some audiences as patronizing and paternalistic.¹⁸ This same paternalistic agenda marked the CIAA's interest in Disney films. It is no coincidence that, in Rockefeller's Museum of Primitive Art, contemporary Latin American art was presented with art of early Europe and Asia—as if Latin American art reflected a "less evolved" stage of cultural development. Imperialism's scientific scales of human development and human evolution conveniently collapse into one convenient term, primitivism. Thus the CIAA selected what increasingly was being regarded as a children's medium, animation, for its paternalistic endeavor. Articulating this belief in Latin American audiences' naive regard for US authority, a CIAA staff member insisted that, in addition to Disney animation, footage of US overseas defense efforts also should be shown to the Brazilian public, for "no exaggeration [of US military power] would surpass the hopes and expectations of these people and no exaggeration will be banned or even cut" by Brazilian theaters. Perhaps more than Uncle Sam, Disney wanted the benevolent and protective paternal figure that the US wanted Latin America to embrace in a familial display of "hemispheric unity." While the entertainment film was regarded as an important part of winning

the attention of popular audiences, newsreels and educationals were a more overt means of controlling and conforming political views, as well as individual and community cultural practices, across Latin American cultures.

Disney and the Corporate Agenda

The participation of Disney in the CIAA project does not necessarily imply that he actively supported its agendas. Disney, and the film industry in general, also stood to benefit directly from a presence in Latin America at exactly this point in time. As Smoodin has shown, with the start of the war and resultant shifts in the global market, Europe and Mexico effectively closed their doors to Hollywood film distribution and exhibition.¹⁹ To the studios, Latin America held potential new markets, as well as potential new studio sites—locations that would, it was presumed, bring more lax regulations and cheaper labor. At the time that Disney toured Latin America, his own studio was in the midst of a labor dispute.

The chance to tour Latin America provided Disney with an opportunity not only to escape the heat of this conflict, but to contemplate escape from US labor laws.

While Disney himself did not set up a corporate outpost in South America in the forties, he did gain a new audience for future marketing ventures that would include film exhibition, comic book distribution, and television broadcasting. However, in a trend that has escalated throughout the century, many other corporations had already established themselves in South America by the early decades of the century. United Fruit was incorporated in 1899 in Central America, earning the nickname "the Octopus" through its rapid takeover of sites in South America and the Caribbean. Disney's public health films provided for multinationals a source of cultural indoctrination and regulation of the workers they hired. As companies like United Fruit set up plants, they also instituted communications, sanitation, and other public services for the entire communities of residents they imported. Disney's public health and education films were, in part, attempts to provide models for domestic life for the local workers these companies hired, to be administered as "teaching aids" by managers, many of whom could not speak Spanish or Portuguese well enough to communicate with their employees.²¹

In order to understand this pedagogical agenda, it is necessary to consider to which audiences specific Disney films addressed themselves. While *The Three Caballeros* and its companion films were shown in Latin America as well as in the US, *South of the Border* especially directs a pedagogical address to US viewers. The film relays data on aspects of culture that would be well known to local cultures (about local flora, for

example). The narrator's stated desire to accumulate "color" to take home to Hollywood suggests that, whether Disney and the CIAA intended it or not, this film, at least, is addressed primarily to US viewers as potential "students" (or tourists) of Latin American countries.²² Rockefeller stated repeatedly that Disney's three-reel record of his popular tour should "have a special appeal in the other American Republics," in which "in the persons of 'Donald, José, and Pancho, the United States, Brazil, and Mexico were pals, none more equal than the others.' He attributes the film's success in part to Disney's attention to cultural specificity ("no *chinas poblanas* dancing flamenco or gauchos doing thumbas").²⁴

While the entertainment films may have successfully addressed a different American audiences with respect, they simultaneously addressed a different audience with different interests. Rockefeller's agenda of fostering respect for, and knowledge about, Latin American cultures among the US public was a critical part of his agenda of acquiring resources in Latin America for US consumption.²⁵ "Training" in the cultures of Latin America was requisite to the work of "exported" corporate supervisors and their families.

While the Disney travelogue/entertainment films for Latin America may have had multiple uses, there is no ambiguity about the didactic address of the Disney health films. These fifteen shorts were aimed directly at Latin American workers and peasants. In the Disney Studio survey for the CIAA on the subject of literacy in Latin America (cited in note 3), the film is recommended as a pedagogical tool, specifically for the teaching of "social science." The document proposes the production of twenty las films on the astonishingly general theme of "Man." In *Lectura para las Americas*, a series whose intended audience and mode of address is made evident in its very title, it is clear that "social science" is a euphemism for personal hygiene, and "man" a euphemism for the individual physical body. The series uses drill phrases on health, diet, and hygiene to replace the typical Dick-and-Jane rhetoric of the US reader. *La historia de José* (1944) phonetically breaks down the phrase *José es un joven sano* (José is a healthy boy); this is followed by *José come bien* (José Eats Well). *La storia de Ramon* (1944), in which Ramon drinks contaminated water, is followed by *Ramon esta enferma* (Ramon is Sick), in which Ramon purifies his drinking water by boiling it. In these films, minimal animation and repetitive, didactic voice-overs function to drill viewers not only in reading, but in the "proper" measures of bodily care.

In *Cleanliness Brings Health* (1944), a somewhat more complex animation whose explicit agenda is health education, a male voice-over introduces viewers to two households, designated "the careless family and the clean family." Johnny, the child of the careless family, writes in pain

inside his family's broken-down house. The narrator takes the viewer through a sequence of events through which dysentery passes throughout Johnny's household. Sick to his stomach, Johnny goes to the cornfield to defecate. "The cornfield was where everybody went," explains the narrator. "It was the custom. But it was a very bad custom." We then follow Johnny's father as he works with his hands in the contaminated soil, eats a meal without washing the soil from his hands, and subsequently suffers from dysentery. The "clean" family, we are told, uses an outhouse, covers its food with mosquito netting, and cooks on a fire that is raised above the ground to keep it away from contamination.

Cleanliness Brings Health promotes the idea that health is a matter of "custom," and is readily available to anyone who is not lazy. Health is presented as the reward of sheer labor and proper use of the environment. Illness is represented as the product of a bad life-style choice.

While films like *Cleanliness Brings Health* suggest that the US was eager to share knowledge about sanitation and hygiene, they avoid the main issue surrounding dysentery and other intestinal diseases: that is, the fact that the very methods of industrial and community development practiced by corporations since the turn of the century have instituted major crises in public health that previously had not existed—crises such as the displacement of communities, the creation of highly concentrated living situations without the establishment of adequate infrastructure, and the resultant taxing and polluting of water supplies. As in nineteenth-century England and the US, the creation of the company town in many cases fostered close living conditions without the institution of proper water supplies, sewage, and ventilation, causing contamination of local water supplies and the spread of disease.

By following intestinal dysentery as it works its way through a single family unit, *Cleanliness Brings Health* elides the most critical environmental condition through which dysentery has continued to be endemic in rural areas of Latin America: lack of management of water resources and sewage. Even in the past twenty-five years, one in fourteen deaths in Latin America can be attributed to waterborne intestinal infections such as dysentery. Disney promotes health as a merit system (health rewards labor, illness is punishment for laziness) in regions where, in fact, US development was primarily responsible for placing the health of communities in crisis.²⁶

Water contamination is the subject of *Water: Friend or Enemy* (1943). But here water itself is anthropomorphized as the public enemy responsible for disease transmission. Serving as narrator, a drop of water declares ambiguously that "Man has forced me to these murders." As in *Cleanliness Brings Health*, responsibility for clean water is placed with the individual. Starting with an image of well water imprinted with a skull and crossbones,

the film instructs in methods of sealing a well and housing a spring for home use.

Sanamiento del ambiente (1945) (*Environmental Health*) shifts the locus of health concern from the single family unit to the larger community. Opening with a pan of a clean and prosperous urban area, the film's narrative takes us back through its history to show how prosperity is linked to the institution of sanitary measures like sewage and water systems. Here, as in *Cleanliness Brings Health*, disease transmission is associated with individual negligence. The intestinal infection of one resident who lives by a stream at the edge of town is passed to the entire community through the water supply, a stream which the resident uses for sewage. Here community labor, rather than public facilities, combats disease: neighbors help the resident to build a proper outhouse.

While *Sanamiento del ambiente* does invoke civic responsibility for health concerns, it fails to address corporate culpability for urban sewage and sanitation needs, not to mention the political and governmental mechanisms through which these systems are constructed. Through animation, centralized refuse disposal, fresh water systems, and sewage lines virtually construct themselves. Animation stands in as the image of industry, which is itself strikingly absent from the urban center portrayed in the film. As in *Cleanliness Brings Health*, economic prosperity comes about in this town through "healthy living" itself. The factor of US corporate development, implied through the work of the animator, is at once present and absent, allowing for the ruse of an autonomous community unaffected by corporate growth.

Repeated throughout Disney's fifteen CIAA health films is the idea that contagion is caused by individual negligence. In *La enfermedad se propaga* (1944) (*How Disease is Transmitted*), Juan infects his whole community when he defecates in his fields; Tomás infects his whole family by coughing without covering his mouth; smallpox is transmitted by careless contact. Ultimately, the message of these films as a whole is that poverty and sickness are brought on by "custom" or life-style (a cultural choice), and not through corporate or governmental policies regarding environment, economy, and politics. This point is driven home most dramatically in *The Winged Scourge* (1943), the most lavish of Disney's CIAA health educationals.

Although grouped with the productions that were addressed unambiguously to Latin American audiences, it is likely that *The Winged Scourge* was produced for US audiences. Unlike the other rural-based films, in which ownership of property is never addressed, this film identifies a character as owner of the vast farm he surveys from the porch rocker of his large, Colonial-style farmhouse. Breaking with the conventions of the simply drawn and didactic health educationals, *The Winged Scourge*

uses more detailed animation, stars popular Disney characters (the seven dwarves), and employs a sound track that is much more reminiscent of a newsreel. A dramatic musical score opens the film as an urgent male voice-over identifies as "Public Enemy Number 1" the anopheles mosquito ("alias malaria mosquito"), an insect that is described as a bloodthirsty female vampire, "thief and killer." A map of the world shows the hot spots of malaria, a set of areas that includes the southern border states of the US, as well as areas throughout Latin America. This map shot, though brief, is significant, because it suggests an important cultural subtext of the film: that transmission of disease occurs across national borders from south to north, from tropics to temperate zones, from "careless" and poor to clean and prosperous households. If Latin American audiences are not the primary target of this film, the Latin American is nonetheless the absent embodiment of disease in the film's general xenophobic discourse on protection from invasion by disease.

The film's contagion narrative begins with the image of a prosperous farm. Anopheles, having fed on a malaria-ridden victim, sinks her stinger into the farm's owner. This cuts to a dismal rendering of the whole estate in a shambles, ruined because its owner was unable to work and protect his land, all because he didn't protect himself against the vampire mosquito. "Multiply this man's tragedy by numbers of cases," the narrator warns, "and we have millions of dollars lost." The voice-over abruptly switches into the direct-address discourse of national defense. Over a shot of a movie theater, he calls out to the audience for volunteers to "help us combat this evil." The seven dwarves step forward from their seats to conduct an antimosquito campaign.

Once again, the thesis is that personal negligence leads to disease, and poverty is punishment for poor personal hygiene. But here, in this film made for US audiences, the fear of contagion that is a subtext in the Latin American films is made overt. "*Defense Against Invasion*," to quote from the title of another Disney health film produced for US audiences during the same year, is the recommended mode of protection against the transnational "infection" incumbent on cultural and economic relations with Latin America. In the "mythic geography" constructed by the Disney Studio in its health care films, individual Latin American bodies, as well as Latin American geography, are viewed as vectors of contagion that threaten to invade US borders through a proximity that is geographical, cultural, and physical. But what is completely disavowed in this xenophobic narrative is the role of US empire-building in the development of the very conditions that foster disease transmission.

If the Disney entertainment/travelogue films supported by the CIAA are animated by a colonialist desire that fixes itself on potential objects of conquest (*Women and Flowers*, for example, to borrow from the title

of a recent documentary on the Colombian flower industry), the Disney/CIAA public health films for Latin American audiences are animated by an opposite desire to contain Latin American bodily processes within bodies and national borders. These educational films deny the responsibility of US corporations for the spread of disease within Latin American communities, while protecting against the perceived threat of flow of these same diseases (through rivers, insects, or travel) across the border. In the Disney/CIAA production *Defense Against Invasion*, four boys waiting for vaccinations at the doctor's office are told that the body is like a city. While the defenseless body is overwhelmed by germs, a vaccinated body provides munitions to counter invasion. The health films for Latin America were, in a sense, a cultural "vaccine" qualified with the stamp of social science, ostensibly protecting Latin Americans against contagion while effectively protecting the US public from knowledge of the role of US corporations in Latin American "development."

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5. For an interesting reading of Rockefeller's art collection, see Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Is the Post in Postcolonial the Post in Postmodern?" *Critical Inquiry* 17 (Winter 1991) pp. 336-357.
 6. Citations taken from an anonymous biographical sketch, bound file, Rockefeller Archives Center.
 7. Progress report on the office of the CIAA Motion Picture Section, Nelson A. Rockefeller, RAC Family Collection, Washington, D.C., Series, RG 4, Box 7, Motion Picture Folder, Alstock-Rockefeller letter and attached report, report p. 1.
 8. Anonymous addendum to Alstock-Rockefeller letter and attached report.
 9. Memo, FDR to vice president, RAC, Family Collection, Washington, D.C., Series, RG 4, Box 4, Communication Study 1942 Folder.
 10. "Recommendations of Policy and Program of Action Adopted by the Inter-Departmental Committee," January 30, 1942, RAC, Family Collection, Washington, D.C. Series, RG 4, Box 4, Communications Study 1942 Folder.
 11. English translation of Whitney/Alstock report on Mexican industry meeting, RAC, Family Collection, Washington, D.C. Series, RG 4, Box 7, Motion Picture Division Folder.
 12. See Eric Smoodin, *Animating Culture: Hollywood Cartoons From the Sound Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993), p. 145.
 13. See the Whitney/Alstock report.
 14. Charles Higham, *The Films of Orson Welles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 85, as cited in Augusto, p. 359.
 15. On this point, see Smoodin, *Animating Culture*, p. 137.
 16. Alstock-Rockefeller letter and report, letter page 1.
 17. Augusto, "Hollywood Looks at Brazil," p. 358.
 18. On animation's increasing mode of address to children during this period, see Smoodin, *Animating Culture*, pp. 178-183.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.
 21. These films also reassured potential managers, as well as consumers in the US, that an attempt was being made to institute in Latin American corporate locations the supposedly more sanitary conditions found in the workplace at home. The decontamination of hands, bodies, and homes of the individuals featured in Disney's health shorts assured US consumers that attempts were being made to keep the produce and products they consumed free of contamination. The irony of this fear is apparent when one considers the deplorable sanitation conditions during this period in, for example, the US meat-packing industry.
 22. This view is supported by Burton-Carvajal's idea that the trilogy is, primarily, a document of Disney's journey, as well as an expression of Disney (and US) cultural imaginings and desires.
 23. Alstock-Rockefeller letter, attached report, 1.
 24. Carl J. Mora, *Mexican Cinema: Reflections of a Society, 1896-1988* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 73-4.
 25. See Alonso Alguilar, *Pan-Americanism From Monroe to the Present* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968), p. 70, as cited in Augusto, p. 358.
26. Palmer, *Donata D'Amico*
- ## II. Cultural Contagion: On Disney's Health Education Films for Latin America
1. Julianne Burton-Carvajal, "Surprise Package': Looking Southward with Disney," in this volume.
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. "A Survey Conducted for the CIAA by the Walt Disney Studio on the Subject of Literacy," Rockefeller Archives Center, Washington, D.C., Series, RG 4, Box 7, Motion Picture Division Folder.
 4. Noted in Sergio Augusto, "Hollywood Looks at Brazil: From Carmen Miranda to Moonraker," *Brazilian Cinema*, Randal Johnson and Robert Stam, eds., (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), p. 358.

26. Didactic films which explain socially induced environmental hazards which accompany poverty as if resulting from individual ignorance were common within the US. Industrial safety shorts directed at factory workers frame carelessness and ignorance as the cause of industrial accidents.

12. Images of Empire: Tokyo Disneyland and Japanese Cultural Imperialism

I would like to thank my research assistant Laura Dowd, who compiled extremely useful bibliographies on Disneyland and the Disney corporation for me.

1. For how Japanese and German intellectuals come to terms with the issue of war responsibility and guilt, see Ernestine Schlant and J. Thomas Rimer, eds., *Legacies and Ambiguities: Postwar Fiction and Culture in West Germany and Japan* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).
2. Immanuel Wallerstein, *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 197.
3. Slavoj Žižek, *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), p. 156.
4. Žižek, *Looking Awry*, pp. 156–157.
5. Arjun Appadurai, "Disjunction and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Public Culture*, 2.2, pp. 4–5.
6. For a perceptive discussion of this book and the related issue of Japan-bashing in general, see Masao Miyoshi, *Off Center: Power and Culture Relations between Japan and the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).
7. Nemoto Yuiji, *Tema paku jidai no torai: Miyoku anu chiki sozo no nyu bijinesu* (Tokyo: Daianondo sha, 1990), pp. 2–7.
8. David M. Johnson, "Disney World as Structure and Symbol: Re-Creation of the American Experience," *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 15, No. 1 (Summer 1981), p. 162.
9. Susan Willis, *A Primer for Daily Life* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 57.
10. Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, Rodney Livingstone, trans. (London: Verso, 1984).
11. Johnson, "Disney World as Structure and Symbol," p. 159.
12. Gavan McCormack, "Capitalism Triumphphant? The Evidence from 'Number One' (Japan)," *Monthly Review*, vol. 42, No. 1 (May 1990), p. 6.
13. For instance, Japanese cinema in the 1970s was still obsessed with the dichotomy between country and city, and male protagonists typically escaping from a native, patriarchal community (cf. *Warning up for the Festival (Matsuri no jumbi)*, Kuroki Kazuo, 1975, and *Bitter Sweet (Kaerazaru hibi)*, Fujita Toshiya, 1978). In the 1980s, however, this opposition seemed to disappear from Japanese cinema. Even when a story takes place in a small provincial city, what is emphasized is not the contrast between Tokyo and the provinces but the permeation of Tokyo culture into almost every corner of the Japanese archipelago.
14. The Comprehensive Resort Region Provision Law of 1987 triggered a boom in the leisure industry (McCormack, p. 9), and Tokyo Disneyland has become a model for many resort projects. However, a simple imitation of Tokyo Disneyland—the idea

of the theme park, Disney management style, etc.—in other areas of Japan probably would not work because the success of Tokyo Disneyland is inseparable from the 1980s' transformation of Tokyo into a postmodern city.

15. Of course, it is questionable whether such notions as "original" and "authentic" have any meaning in relation to Disneyland. If we want to be more accurate, we have to say the "original simulacrum" and the "authentic simulation of America," which are, however, mere oxymora. See Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, "The Postmodern and Mass Images in Japan," *Public Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 8–25.
 16. In 1983, the opening year of Tokyo Disneyland, nine percent of the visitors were from neighboring Asian countries. Terry Trucco, "How Disneyland beat all the odds in Japan," *Advertising Age* (September 6, 1984), p. 16.
 17. Stephen F. Mills, "Disney and the Promotions of Synthetic Worlds," *American Studies International*, vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (October 1990), p. 73.
 18. Margaret Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," in Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), pp. 3–4.
 19. Michael Sorkin, "See You in Disneyland," in *Variations on a Theme Park*, p. 216.
 20. Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 251.
 21. Haraway, *Primate Visions*, p. 254.
 22. Kato Shuichi, *Hybrid Culture: Japan's Small Hope (Zasshu bunka: Nihon no chitsana kibō)*, (Tokyo: Kodansha bunko, 1974). In the essay titled "Hybridity of Japanese Culture," which was originally published in 1955, Kato convincingly shows not only that those purists who advocate a return to Japanese tradition are entrenched in Western material culture, but also that a conceptual framework in which the discourse on pure Japanese tradition is discussed is itself already a "translation culture" (*honyaku bunka*) borrowed from the West. However, he does not elaborate on the impossibility of the second form of purification, complete Westernization of Japan. Does this reluctance to explicate why absolute Westernization of Japan is impossible have something to do with Kato's attempt to create a new binary opposition between the absolute purity of Western—specifically, English and French—culture and the absolute hybridity of Japanese culture? By insisting on the existence of this binary opposition, doesn't Kato in the end reassert the uniqueness of Japanese culture which he tries to deconstruct?
 23. Donna J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991).
 24. Maruyama Masao, *Nihon no shiso* (Tokyo: Iwanami shinsho, 1961).
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1. Charles Eckert, "The Carole Lombard in Macy's Window," *Quarterly Review of Film Studies*, vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter 1978), pp. 1–22.
 2. For an excellent bibliography of much of this work, see Lynn Spigel and Denise Mann, "Women and Consumer Culture: A Selective Bibliography," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, vol. 11, No. 1 (1989), pp. 85–105.
 3. Cecil Muncie, *Disneyana: Walt Disney Collectibles* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1974), pp. 85–105.