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# Siting Postcoloniality: Colloquium and Workshop

## Abstracts

### 1. Elleke BOEHMER, "Postcolonialism *avant la lettre*"

Mulk Raj Anand, Solomon Plaatje, Raja Rajo, Una Marson—colonised or native writers writing against or aslant colonialism in the age of empire, and in hope of a post-colonial future, have often been called postcolonial *avant-la-lettre*, despite the evident anachronism of the term. With the rise of investigations in global modernism, world forms of modernity and 19<sup>th</sup> century inter-imperialism, the need for further the investigation and 'siting' of pre-1950s postcolonialism has become ever more pressing. Pursuing the conference aim of reassessing some of the central premises of postcolonial thought, and in particular in this case how it configures writing resistance, the paper will explore the radical condition of postcoloniality under the sign of pre-independence, and consider in particular the conjuncture of nationalism, hybridity and recalcitrance with which the writers mapped a postcolonial episteme. Do their contributions, reinvestigated, provide ways of navigating a path to a postcolonial future that may not yet have come to light from other postcolonial sources?

### 2. Pheng CHEAH, "World Heritage Preservation and the Unworlding of the Subaltern World"

An important strand of postcolonial theory is concerned with the giving of phenomenality to oppressed groups who are denied access to resources by the postcolonial nation-state. For example, some members of the Subaltern Studies collective have argued that non-Western cultural practices, folk beliefs and religious rituals constitute heterotemporalities that can resist the violence of global capitalist accumulation. Through an examination of Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide*, a novel that attempts to make the larger world aware of the ongoing plight of subalterns in the Indian Sundarbans, this paper argues that because subaltern space has been so thoroughly penetrated by global capitalist calculations and technologies, the survival

of subaltern heterotemporality requires negotiating with an inhuman force that frustrates both the time of capitalist modernity and the smaller case teleological time of heterotemporality.

### 3. **Stephen Yiu-Wai CHU**, “Between Postcolonialities: Hong Kong’s Postcolonial Self-writing Reconsidered”

Hong Kong people have been witnessing heated debates on their identities over the past decade. The reversion to China in 1997 was expected to bring a new sense of belonging to a nation and/or possible hybridization of the local, the global and the national to Hong Kong. Hong Kong’s identity crisis, however, is enduring despite these anticipations. The so-called “new Hong Kong” identity engineered by the government was more of a hindrance than a help. This essay endeavours to explore the elusiveness of the Hong Kong identity from the perspective of postcolonial theories. In the light of Vivek Chibber’s recent challenge of Dipesh Chakrabarty’s account of postcoloniality and the artifice of History, this paper re-examines the issue by reflecting on Gayatri Spivak’s famous question “Can the subaltern speak?” As contended by Chibber, the non-Western world must be conceptualized, to the contrary of the arguments of subaltern studies, through the same analytical framework used to understand developments in the West. This paper argues that the formation of postcolonial Hong Kong identity “between colonizers” - to borrow the words of Rey Chow - has been caught in the paradox between two postcolonialities. As a postcolonial anomaly, Hong Kong would need to imagine a future in this particular context.

### 4. **DAI Jinhua**, “Postcolonial Theory in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”

The paper makes the following arguments concerning postcolonialism today:

First, postcolonialism naturally arose in the aftermath of World War II, with global decolonization, but without a doubt the Cold War in the second half of the 20th century provides its latent yet deep historical context. In other words, the postcolonial discussion about transformations and continuities in both formerly colonized countries and the global colonial system took place within the framework of emerging, modern nation-states. But the naming and prominence of the Third

World within the Soviet-US bipolarity was a distinctive “wrinkle” in its discourses. It has been over half a century since decolonization and world politics have changed repeatedly. We are now thoroughly immersed in the post-Cold War era. Thus, any discussion of postcolonialism must recalibrate its historical and present parameters.

Second, postcolonialism, as one of the important post-war theories, has its *de facto* staging site in North America and its main center in culture. One of its fundamental, previously self-evident premises is what we might call “neocolonialism”, a continuation of the colonial system as found in the global economic “division of labor” and its regionally based “functions”. The spectacular rise of financial capitalism has strengthened and written a new page of that reality. Therefore, the East-West divide is also the North-South opposition. The discourses of decolonization, anti-colonialism and postcolonialism in those countries positioned as newly emergent relative to Europe and the U.S. (the less developed/Third World/Non-West/Asia-Africa-Latin America) have always contained various subject/object positionalities. Connected with its indigenous social fabric, postcolonial discourse not only manifests at times as a predicament of the subject and an inversion or even confusion of self-other, but also lends itself to prominent and entangled political practice. Nonetheless, after the Cold War, when the globalization of capitalism has become the distinct and even the only reality, we must not only redefine the functional role of the “nation-state”. Post-colonial theory’s analysis of cultural politics must necessarily expose the undertones of current political culture.

Finally, “the rise of China”, or China’s role, has become a prominent worldwide topic in the twenty-first century. While the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank seems to be opening cracks in the global financial landscape, and while China’s OBOR (“One Belt One Road”) strategy hopes to re-arrange the structure of the world, and while the free-spending, world-swarving Chinese consumers/tourists have become an irritating/gratifying force in the global economy, Chinese society is faced with the reality of the evacuation of the subject and the absence and confusion of value. Within China, or revolving around China, will colonialism, postcolonialism and neocolonialism again become important

theoretical weapons? Or are they metamorphosing into convenient descriptive rhetoric in the evasion of the new reality?

**5. Toral J. GAJARAWALA, "The Encounter: Global Indigeneity and the Subaltern"**

Does postcolonial studies have a theory of indigeneity? Taking my cue from the May 2011 special issue of the journal *Interventions*, "Between Subalternity and Indigeneity", this paper will consider the nascent dialogue between postcolonial concepts, theories and aporias of indigeneity alongside its more canonical formulations from the fields of indigenous studies and anthropology. How, for example, might the writings of Frantz Fanon, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Aime Cesaire contribute to the complexity of the indigenous problematic? And how might more recent work by Ajay Skaria, Amita Baviskar, and Kumkum Sangari on the tribal in Indian society contribute to a dialogue on "global indigeneity" as Mary Louise Pratt envisions it? It is particularly at this historical juncture that a sustained reflection on the construction of the category of "the indigenous" has become crucial, a moment in which we witness a range of particularist ethno-nativisms on the basis of tribe, caste, language and so forth, alongside globalized universalist indigenous peoples movements. For one point of intersection we might begin with Pratt's theorization of "encounter" as the central term in a lexicon of indigeneity. In Native American studies, the "encounter", as Pratt says, has come to indicate the moment of being of the indigenous subject, who is "on the receiving end of an encounter he did not seek". In the contemporary Indian context, the "encounter" also indicates the range of extrajudicial killings, entrapments, and false captures of the state, particularly in its battle against the Maoists, many of whom are tribals or adivasis ("original inhabitants", "first peoples") if not political activists working on their behalf. The term "encounter" thus stages the potential linguistic, but also ideological, overlaps between the indigenous of the Americas and the subaltern of the Indian subcontinent. This paper will suggest further avenues for collaboration.

**6. Nicholas HARRISON, "Colonial education and the postcolonial teacher"**

The CFP for *Siting Postcoloniality* launches off from Edward Said's *Orientalism* and summarizes succinctly the central assumptions of postcolonial studies, including

assumptions about education's history of complicity with colonialism. Reference is made to the historical conception of colonized peoples who 'needed to be educated and civilized and brought into Western modernity' and also to cultures 'never subjected to the educational projects of the colonial civilizing mission'. Both phrases echo the negative assessments of education to be found in Said's work, whether in his autobiographical recollections of the 'cruel, impersonal, and authoritarian Englishmen' among his 'variously comic and/or maimed teachers', or in *Orientalism's* vision of contemporary universities' work (at least in the sphere of 'Oriental studies') as a regressive 'system of reproduction' of clichés and racialized hierarchy.

It often seems that for postcolonial critics who, like Said, are drawn to heroic models of the public intellectual and of political intervention, the day to day work of education remains contaminated by its association with colonialism. Through Said's work and that of Mouloud Feraoun, a francophone writer who taught literature in French schools in colonial Algeria, my paper will re-examine the apparent alignment of colonial education with other aspects of colonialism. It will also examine the significance of this sense of historical contamination for teachers today, especially teachers of literature. Feraoun remained in Algeria and continued to work as a teacher and educationalist throughout the war of independence. His stance placed his life at risk from both Algerian nationalists and the French/*colon* Right, and he was assassinated by the (pro-colonial) OAS on the eve of Algerian independence. If his commitment to education was, in its way, heroic, it was a paradoxical heroism, which at moments he found painfully compromising.

Within the predominant paradigms of postcolonial studies, which – understandably – have relied heavily on an opposition between the colonial and the anti-colonial, a story such as Feraoun's is easy to overlook, and his place in the colonial education system hard to understand. I want to argue that it may offer important lessons to academics 'rethinking the aims and stakes of postcolonial studies', if they, like Feraoun, continue to valorize literature as an object of study.

#### 7. **Caroline S. HAU**, "Multiple Colonialism and its Philippine Legacies"

The Philippine experience of multiple colonialism—often jokingly rendered as “350 years in the [Spanish] convent and 50 years in [American] Hollywood”—complicates

the idea of the "colonized native" conceived in dualistic terms as object of colonial policy and discourse and subject of national history. This paper looks at how National Artist Nick Joaquin, one of the most influential writers in the Philippines in the twentieth century, has dealt with the fraught legacies of two historical junctures--the transition from Spanish to American colonial eras, and the transition from American to post-colonial eras--in his classic novel *The Woman Who Had Two Navels* (1961). Joaquin has courted controversy for arguing in favor of Spain's role in nurturing a class of "ilustrado" (enlightened) patriots who would go on to play a vanguard role alongside municipal elites and the urban middle sector in the Philippine independence movement and revolution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Joaquin highlights the fact that ilustrados saw themselves as bearers of enlightenment and members of a transcontinental intellectual and activist network working toward political projects ranging from incorporation into to separation from Spain. Late Spanish colonial Philippines' insertion into a global economic system underpinned by what we now call "Anglo-Pacific" trade, in which British, Americans, and ethnic Chinese were key players in colonial (and port) cities, arguably played a crucial role in the emergence of the new social and critical forces exemplified not only by the ilustrado, but also by the municipal elites and urban middle sector. Joaquin offers a stringent critique of American colonialism, arguing that it substantially shaped the (mis)fortunes of the post-colonial Philippine nation-state, not least in terms of the narrowing of the country's intellectual, cultural, political, and economic horizons into a classic (neo)colony, and in terms of the consolidation through "democratic" elections of a Filipino oligarchy that remained economically tied to the United States while also seeking ways to expand the space for its own freedom of action. Neither the "special relationship" with America during the Cold War era (a bilateral security alliance that helped jumpstart some of the developmental state projects in the region, notably Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan) nor the nationalist Filipino elite's capture of the commanding heights of the economy and polity has served the Philippines well. Instead, the Filipino elite would bear the brunt of the blame for the political impasse of the democratic system that tipped into economic crisis in the 1970s, and the failed attempt at creating a developmental state during the Marcos era that ended in economic crisis and the so-

called "People Power Revolution" in the 1980s. The Philippines has come to serve not only as a typecase of the anti-developmental state, the messy-democratic Other that Lee Kuan Yew and Thai politicians invoke to justify their own authoritarian rule, but has also provided the keywords "People Power" and "crony capitalism" that served as the intellectual ballast for American attempts to restructuring the East Asian region by criticizing if not dismantling the East Asian developmental state in the 1980s and 1990s. Joaquin's novel is a meditation on political and artistic possibilities that were opened up and foreclosed by multiple colonialism, among them the nationalist (and later Asianist) network in which Hong Kong (and Yokohama) served as a crucial base for Filipino border-crossing activism from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, and the emergence of the regionalized and globalized "overseas Filipino" and "Filipino foreigner" (foreign-born Filipinos) as emblematic figures of the failure of elite-led developmentalism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

8. **Otto HEIM**, "*From Unincorporated Territory: Craig Santos Perez's resiting of postcoloniality in America's Pacific Century*"

In this paper I will aim to show how Chamorro poet Craig Santos Perez's ongoing project *From Unincorporated Territory*—a project that fits Marjorie Perloff's characterization, in *Unoriginal Genius*, of a public-oriented experimental poetics as "poetry by other means"—contests and resituates Guam's condition as the oldest Western colony in the Pacific in the context of twenty-first-century postcoloniality. If the twentieth century was an era of decolonization, what Michael Lujan Bevacqua refers to as Guam's "banal coloniality" today (its militarization as natural and near invisible as its appearance as a mere dot on the map) exemplifies the limits of this process and the persistence and renewal of colonial hegemony since the end of the Cold War in the alliance of militarized state power and transnational capital. We witness this renewal in the recent resurgence of Pacific Rim discourse, which critics declared defunct twenty years ago but which has gained traction again in response to China's rise as a global power and in the wake of the global financial crisis and the winding down of the US wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, in the expansion of international frameworks of economic and military collaboration like APEC, RIMPAC



and a revamped (US led) Trans-Pacific Partnership, that aim, in the words of former US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, to “accelerate the arrival of the Participation Age, where every individual, regardless of gender and other characteristics, is a contributing and valued member of the global marketplace”. Contrary to earlier analyses, Pacific Rim discourse remains both hegemonic and othering: hegemonic in the way it “rationalizes and gives optimistic coloring to [...] the de-Westernization or cultural diversification of capitalism”, as Alexander Woodside has noted, and othering in the way it continues to exclude the participation of Pacific Island states and to commodify and instrumentalize dependent island territories, such as Guam, in support of its power.

While Guam’s annual celebration on “Liberation Day” of its re-occupation by the US after the defeat of Japan at the end of WW2 demonstrates what Vicente Diaz describes as “the simultaneity of oppression and liberation that constitutes colonial discourse,” the apparent “banality” of its condition confronts us with the reality of colonialism as it may have been experienced when it was largely unquestioned, so pervasively embedded in everyday life as to be taken for granted and ambivalently inflecting multiple layers of life in the societies it affected. Guam then reminds us that postcoloniality must be sought within (the present of) coloniality, i.e. in the form of a hegemonic engagement, rather than in the pursuit of a (better) future. Postcoloniality in this sense represents the political as struggle today, both the struggle of indigenous populations within and against the colonial state and the struggle to articulate indigenous causes and concerns with broadly decolonizing agendas elsewhere. Above all, this involves reclaiming the strategic value of histories erased in the forward-looking, “de-spatialized [and] purely temporal” (as Chris Connery has called it) vision of capital.

Craig Santos Perez’s open-ended long poem, *From Unincorporated Territory*, which has been published in three installments so far (2008, 2010, 2014), is committed to such a postcolonial hegemonic engagement in the way it uses the operations of mapping to challenge the cartography underpinning a Mahanian vision of the (American) Pacific and to rearticulate it as a space of remembrance sustained by speech and action, recalling both Hannah Arendt’s definition of the political and an Oceanic vision of a connected “sea of islands”. In a deliberately unoriginal form of

composition that avoids nostalgic recourse to a precolonial state, Perez's poetry plots extracts from colonial archives, oral history, personal memory, and contemporary colonial and anti-colonial discourses in a way that cuts through layers of cartographic obliteration to tap the resources of Guam's inscription in the colonial imaginary, reaching back to the *isolario* and its representation of a world of islands, incongruous, overlapping, and multilingual.

#### 9. **Elaine Yee Lin HO**, "Locating Anglophone Writing in Sinophone Hong Kong"

While there is no shortage of touristic or exoticizing fiction set in Hong Kong, English-language creative writing that attends to Hong Kong as place – its people, history, culture - remains largely invisible to a global readership. "Invisibility" is the point of departure toward locating anglophone literary writing in Hong Kong from the 20th to the 21st centuries. The paper will also reference other academically established starting points such as literary postcolonialism and world anglophone literature.

Following through the logic of these beginnings leads, in turn, to the related issue of the "impossibility" of anglophone Hong Kong literature. This paper is grounded in a consistent point of reference to recent debates in Chinese about how (and how not) to tell the story of Hong Kong as colony and postcolony in order to articulate a framework for the description and explanation of the languages and narratives of anglophone Hong Kong literature. Through discussion of selected texts, this paper is an inquiry into the forms of languaging that enable anglophone Hong Kong literature's legibility as both local and global.

#### 10. **Agnes Shuk-mei KU**, "Post-Colonial Cultural Trends in Hong Kong – Imagining the Local, the National, and the Global"

In Hong Kong, on 1 July 1997, the handover simultaneously signified a break from colonial rule and marked the historic beginning of national reunification. In theory, there can be a few different cultural strategies vis-à-vis colonialism.

They range from a simple return to pre-colonial heritage (nativism) or a revival of nationalism which seeks to uproot anything colonial, to a more complicated process of reordering and restructuring different old and new ideological elements for a re-negotiated identity amidst changing times. In Hong Kong, the SAR government has

mobilized its cultural apparatus in the task of imagining a distinctive political community with a common purpose under the grandiose principle of “one country two systems.” What we find is an attempt to evolve a cultural consciousness in society through mixed appeals to localism, nationalism and globalism.

11. **Wendy LARSON**, “The Chinese Gorky, Permanent Revolution, and the Postcolonial”

Scholars such as Benita Parry, Neil Lazarus, Arif Dirlik, and Aijaz Ahmad have accused postcolonial studies of playing with texts and rejecting materialist understandings of historical processes that could lead to fruitful political engagement. They have particularly identified the postcolonial “trinity” of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak as more loyal to French theory than to political engagement. In some ways it is hardly fair to single out postcolonial studies in this regard, since cultural studies at large began as a way of thinking through the social and political relevance of literature, and also has struggled in this role. Nonetheless, questions of how to approach the postcolonial once colonialism as a political system has been largely dismantled, and of how to sustain a postcolonial theoretical approach *within literary studies* after this point have been widely debated, often with extension into cultural imperialism, globalization, and the diaspora. Is such work, Graham Huggan asks, better left to the social sciences, which are well equipped to handle the historical, social, and economic conditions of postcolonialism and to suggest policy solutions, than to literary scholars?

In this paper, I will compare the situation of the postcolonial today to that of “permanent revolution” 不断革命 in 1950s China, after the Chinese Communist Party was victorious in driving the Nationalists out of mainland China and was in the process of establishing a government under the banner of communism. Permanent revolution was invoked in its preliminary conceptual forms as a concept by Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin. Under Mao—who explicitly advocated permanent revolution in a speech on January 28, 1958—it increasingly became a state of mind associated with “correct thinking/knowledge” 正确思想.

In literary theory and practice, the development of a proper subjectivity was an area in which the work of Maxim Gorky (1868-1936) became especially relevant. Admired and translated by literary and political leaders such as Lu Xun 鲁迅, Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白, Feng Xuefeng 冯雪峰, and others, Gorky's ideas lay at the heart of the important 1935-36 debate between future literary commissar Zhou Yang 周扬 and writer/theorist Hu Feng 胡风, which centered on typicality. As Qiu Yunhua 邱运华 argues, it is crucial to recognize that the debate is what transformed Gorky—formerly a multi-faceted writer/theorist whose ideas spanned the literary logics of different periods, including theories of individual expression, pure literature, the spirit of the era—into a revolutionary tool to be used to move literature “in front of rather than behind reality,” as Zhou Yang put it. By the 1950s, under the selective filtering and interpretation of Gorky's fiction and theory, the Russian writer came to exemplify and embody the traits of the permanent revolutionary in the literary field. The creation of the Chinese Gorky, and the role of this translated figure in developing ways to be permanently revolutionary through textual work, may provide clues that can help reconcile the thorny relationship between textual work and political engagement in postcolonial literary studies. Literary scholars are trained to focus on textual analysis; some also put a high value on the social and political relevancy of literature, which has become a central aspect of cultural studies. How can they continue to evolve a field that pays attention to the way in which literature as an aesthetic form works to influence minds, societies, and histories, while simultaneously refusing to position literature “in front of rather than behind reality?” Can the post-colonial avoid the pitfalls that trapped the Chinese late 1950s discourse of the post/permanent-revolutionary, which turned into a punitive and imaginary projection of correct knowledge?

12. **Pei-yin LIN**, “The Slippage between Empires: The Production of the Colonized Subject in Taiwan (1920-1945)”

Taiwan makes an interesting case in postcolonial studies not only because of its multilayered colonial trajectory but also because of the intricate relationship between the colonial powers. After Japan's surrender in 1945, Taiwan fell into

another “colonial” power – the nationalist party’s rule, which is considered the “re-colonial” period by many scholars. Although the lifting of martial law in 1987 ushered in the so-called “postcolonial period”, the legitimacy of Hoklo-centric Taiwanese cultural nationalism was challenged by aboriginal movements in Taiwan. As a result of the various forms and shifts of colonial power, Taiwan’s subjectivity is never a fixed entity, but an ongoing process of (re-)construction. Writers have constantly striven to find answers to Fanon’s ontological question: “In reality, who am I?”.

Focusing on Taiwan’s cultural resistance under Japanese rule, this paper examines the changing practices of identity formation of Taiwanese intellectuals. It will first analyse the Taiwanese Cultural Association’s enlightenment agendas and its turning left during the assimilation period. It will then examine how Taiwanese authors responded to Japan’s intense imperialisation during the wartime (1937-1945). Through a number of case studies, this paper argues that Taiwanese subjectivity is repeatedly hinged between the two competing, though not necessarily incompatible, forces – Japan’s colonial modernity and China’s Han culture. The bifurcated identity, in which “Taiwaneseness” is constructed on either the Han ethnicity or the Japanised modernity, points to a proto-nationalist vision of Taiwan. Although it is insufficient to lead to total decolonisation, it offers colonized Taiwanese elites pragmatic eclecticism in their position-takings.

### 13. **Liang-ya LIOU, “Taiwan’s Postcoloniality and Postwar Memories of Japan”**

The student-led Sunflower Movement and textbook wars in spring 2014 have brought to the fore the issue of Taiwan’s postcoloniality. The college students’ claim of “saving [Taiwan as] our own nation-state by ourselves” from economic and political integration or annexation by China is juxtaposed with the Kuomintang (or KMT) government’s rewriting of the textbooks to reinstate Chinese consciousness through whitewashing its rule and reemphasizing Japanese colonial rule as oppressive and vicious. Amidst huge controversy, the textbook rewriting not only stirs up widespread worries about the KMT’s alliance with China to pave way for unification at the expense of Taiwan, but harks back to the harsh “De-Japanize and Re-sinicize” policy the KMT adopted immediately after it took over Taiwan in 1945

following Japan's surrender. Generally seen as signifying re-colonization, the "De-Japanize and Re-sinicize" policy was partly responsible for the February 28, 1947 Incident, consolidated Chinese consciousness until the lifting of martial law in 1987, and began to meet resistance from Taiwanese cultural nationalism from the early 1980s on. This paper will deal with the relationship between Taiwan's postcoloniality and the development of postwar memories of Japan in Taiwanese fiction, with a special focus on recent novels set in the Japanese Period. I seek to answer the following questions: What was the complicated cultural politics involved in imposing the "De-Japanize and Re-sinicize" policy on Taiwanese and Aborigines? Why did postwar Taiwan, unlike Korea and other places formerly colonized by Japan, manifest ambivalence toward the Japanese rule despite or because of the KMT's anti-Japan and Japan-bashing stance from 1945 to 1987? How and why do memories of Japan become part of the basis for Taiwanese Identity? How is Japanese colonial legacy deployed in re-conceptualizing Taiwan's postcoloniality in relation to transnational flows starting from the seventeenth century? By delving into the way tension and negotiation with Japanese colonialism are important to the issue of what constitutes Taiwan's postcoloniality in Taiwanese fiction, I want to show how the case of Taiwan's postcoloniality may shed a different light on global and East Asian postcolonial discourse.

Keywords: Taiwan's postcoloniality, postwar memories of Japan, the "De-Japanize and Re-sinicize" policy, Taiwanese fiction.

#### 14. **Kwai-cheung LO**, "From Manchukuo to Hong Kong: Postcolonizing Asian Colonial Experiences"

Postcolonial theory is often charged of being disconnected from the historical phenomenon and the real practices in different colonial situations. But it can be productive to offer some epistemological reflexivity on the discursive formation and hegemonic state-building in relation to the colonial legacy of East Asia. At the end of World War I, Woodrow Wilson's notion of national self-determination, the emergence of anti-imperialist nationalisms, and the wider influences of socialist ideas have complicated the imperialist moves and generated a new kind of imperialism, which came to embrace (not entirely as a smoke-screen) anti-colonial

ideologies, emphasize cultural/racial similarities, encourage economic investments (while exploiting the regions), and promote the modernization of institutions and identities. In a way, domination and exploitation coexist with modernization and economic development. The Japanese puppet-state, Manchukuo, in northeast China was precisely a product of this “post-colonial” imperialism. The British Empire has also faced competitive pressures from other imperialists, but it only transformed Hong Kong to an “ideal state” of new imperialism after WWII as a response to the Cold War. The Japanese discourse of anti-Western pan-Asianism and rhetoric of the equality of Asians did create some impacts while Japan occupied Hong Kong in the 1940s, constituting some extensive consequences for British policies in Hong Kong during the post-war period. In this paper, the colonial histories of Manchukuo and Hong Kong would be examined and the post-colonial approach to such Asian experiences would be articulated to seek different understandings of the traditional forms of colonial exploitation.

#### 15. **Tai-lok LUI, “Decolonization? What Decolonization?”**

This paper is an attempt to examine the gaps between China’s notion of ‘One Country Two systems’ and Hong Kong people’s expectation of living in a special administrative region (SAR) after returning to China. It is argued that these gaps are becoming more apparent when the balance of power between China and Hong Kong has shifted towards the former’s favour. The post-colonial situation of Hong Kong is very different from what it was once anticipated during the Sino-British Negotiations over Hong Kong’s political future and the extended processes of drafting the Basic Law. While Hong Kong is able to retain its free-market capitalist economy, it soon finds itself increasingly being shaped by the flows of capital (from investments in business and property to IPO activity) from the Mainland. At the same time, though the SAR is probably the most autonomous local administrative unit within China, people in the SAR see it differently. Clash between Hong Kong and Beijing over constitutional changes is probably the most obvious example of political difference between the central government and its SAR. And then, there are tensions and conflicts arising from regional integration, with inbound tourism from the Mainland being a source of growing uneasiness shared by people of different social

background. Some suggest that Hong Kong has never seriously gone through a decolonization process, nor has it developed a new sense of autonomy. Thus, it is not quite prepared for the harsh reality of the need to encounter a new colonizer. But is it just a question of incomplete decolonization? Or rather it is a matter inherent in the political compromise made in the 1980s. Hong Kong and its people do not seem to have really thought over how to live under a central government after the return to China.

**16. Ankhi MUKHERJEE, "Slums and the Postcolonial Uncanny"**

Postcoloniality is, at best, a futurity and an ideality, and postcolonial theory is increasingly confronted with the logic of its limits in the face of the asymmetries of power and resources in the postcolonial, global world, the inseparability of neocolonialism from unlimited capitalism and neoliberalism, and the escalation of violence - global, internecine, ethnic, communal, or gender-based - in erstwhile colonies. My paper will engage with critiques of postcolonial studies related to the resurgence of the idea of humanitarianism in world Anglophone literary studies (especially in the fields of human rights scholarship, ecocriticism, and urban studies), which insist upon the visibility, legibility and the transitive affectivity of human rights through embodied and kinaesthetic - not abstractly philosophical or narrowly polemical - critique. Focusing on fiction, cinema, and photography on the Mumbai slum, it will look for the relevance and applicability of two key characteristics of postcolonial theory - its dialectical synthesis of race and class and its rhetoric of pathos - in the context of "visible but unseen" urban poverty in erstwhile colonies.

**17. Laikwan PANG, "De-Sovietization and the Modernity Project: PRC's Development of the National Form in the late 1950s"**

Along the "permanent revolution" logic, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) considered the exportation of revolution one of its main duties since the 1920s, directly intervening the fates of many countries. When the PRC was first established, the young state also saw the Soviet Union as its teacher on all fronts. As the Sino-Soviet relation gradually deteriorated in the 1950s, by the end of the decade the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) decided to bade farewell to its "Big



Communist Brother,” and its citizens were ordered to develop China’s own national form (*minzu fengge* 民族風格), in order to demonstrate a socialism with a Chinese characteristic. Many interesting experimentations took place in the domestic cultural forms, such as Chinese ink-brush painting, traditional regional operas, and folk music, to prove that traditional Chinese culture and history mattered to socialism in terms of both form and content. Other western-based cultural forms, like cinema, ballet, spoken drama, and symphonic music, also struggled to plant distinctively Chinese elements to show that the Chinese arts are no longer under the spell of the reactionary Russian influences. By examining the development of the national form in the PRC in the late 1950s, this paper aspires to map the geo-political position of the PRC in reference to the Soviet Union, other socialist states, and PRC’s own minority cultures, also demonstrating how difficult it was to draw connections between its traditional culture and its contemporary one under socialist ideology.

**18. Shu-mei SHIH, “Empires of the Sinophone”**

This paper will consider how Sinophone literature from different parts of the world can serve as interventions to major theoretical and disciplinary issues in the humanities today in our new age of empires.

**19. Joseph SLAUGHTER, “Forum Shopping: World Literature, Global Modernism, and the Postcolonial”**

“World Literature” and “Global Modernism” (along with “Transnational American Studies”) have emerged in the past decade as the dominant paradigms for collecting, reading, and teaching the world and its literatures. In its contemporary manifestation, World Literature is an industry, a commercial venture run primarily from the North American academy; Global Modernism too is an enterprise of the US academy, despite the fact that it sees modernism(s) everywhere. Postcolonial studies, in its heyday, made similarly sweeping globalist gestures, claiming two-thirds of the planet’s population within its purview. Nonetheless, postcolonialism sought to provide an organizing rubric for the (literary) existence and common experiences of the Third World that offered resistance to the prevailing paradigms of literary studies in Europe and the U.S., unlike the two currently dominant rubrics

which largely serve the interests of globalization and global capital. In many ways both World Literature and Global Modernism pick up the old colonial burden of taking modernity to the ends of the earth, of using the world to test the limits of Euromodernity. Indeed, both projects repeat the procedures by which the “non-modern” world was brought into modernity—through modernization and mondialisation. Postcolonialism organized under one term multiple geographical sites and the disparate impulses and methods of resistance to cultural, economic, and political imperialism; in so doing, it often flattened socio-historical differences among distinct colonialisms, taking a few locations (India and parts of Africa, primarily) as the paradigms of postcolonial experience. In this paper, I want to think about how postcolonial studies—under that, or another, name—might revitalize its critical practices, by paying attention to places and (new) forms of domination often left out of consideration, in order to challenge today’s reigning literary paradigms and to resist today’s imperialisms.

20. **Daniel F. VUKOVICH**, “Hong Kong’s China and China’s Hong Kong: Politics Trapped in the Post-Colonial Enclave”

The production of knowledge is a crucial dimension of colonial rule and also one that does not simply go away once the old regime does. To de-colonize requires ‘unlearning the inherent and dominating mode’ of knowledge production, just as one was supposed to overthrow the old political-economic regime. Theoretically at any rate, no newly liberated state and society took this further than the PRC, especially under Mao. But in the event, the knowledge problem -- what the cultural revolution was supposed to solve, what de-colonization was to initiate -- turns out to be powerfully resilient.

The case of the Hong Kong-China relationship could not be more germane in this regard. 1997 does not mark re-colonization as some claim, let alone the impending death of the city or its mere reduction to ‘just another Chinese city.’ What it does show is the clash of two “political cultures” that were deeply impacted by Western (and Japanese) colonialism/imperialism: Hong Kong, with its profound sense of exceptionalism and Occidentalized faith in laissez-faire and anti-communism, and China itself with its own powerful lineages of Sino-centrism and nationalism as well

as its strident economism (the growth-is-good mantra). None of this has been unlearned, despite the growing economic inter-dependence of the city to its putative state (itself in ecological if not political crisis).

This 'culture clash' can be seen daily in Hong Kong. Of particular note is the rise of the 'city-state cultural autonomy movement,' and its intellectual inspiration in the writings of Chin Wan. Strongly nativist-xenophobic and anti-communist but also imbued with anti-colonial, liberatory rhetoric the autonomy movement certainly seems "democratic" and reminiscent of classical national-liberation struggles. It resonates with the pan-democratic opposition in general. This can be contrasted with the "anti-imperialist" or nationalist rhetoric of some mainland commentary, the "love Hong Kong, love China" slogan (and electoral requirement) that emanates from Beijing, and even the more 'establishment' Hong Kong views.

What this conflict about national integration shows us is the belated and ill-fitting nature of current theory – and of actual 'political cultures' on the ground -- to talk about politics "after" imperialism. Talk of "after" or "beyond" post-colonialism is premature; our received theories stem from the imperialist past and are still dominant even if they also fail to work. Proceduralist, yet anti-state definitions of 'democracy' emanating from Hong Kong's opposition fit a global trend, a degradation, not a repetition of social democratic liberalism. These are counterpoised to the mainland's strikingly *empty* yet authoritarian insistence on belonging to the nation-state. A vapid imagined community that – in terms of winning hearts and minds -- seems doomed to fail as much as China's soft power efforts abroad. In the face of undeniable economic integration what we have, then, is an impasse at the political level, as well as at a conceptual level. This impasse confirms the importance of the past (the roots of colonial liberalism and anti-imperialism) but also the faint powers of (current) anti-colonial political theory. Given that economic integration, then, it may again be time for Chinese Marxism and the analysis of capitalism as against (natural) rights and freedoms.

21. **Jini Kim WATSON**, "Good Dictator, Bad Dictator: Rethinking Postcolonial Studies in the Asia/Pacific"

Postcolonial critique has often foregrounded transnational approaches as a means “of undermining the territorialized authority of the postcolonial nation-state”. That is, an emphasis on diaspora and transnationalism offers a corrective to the bounded tyrannies of the nation-state. Yet transnational cultural processes in themselves, of course, have no necessary liberatory value. We only have to think of the transnationalization of contemporary neoliberal cultures, or the sharing of ideologies of racial exclusion of the late 19th and early 20th centuries between South Africa, the southern United States and White Australia. This paper casts a transnational eye toward another decidedly illiberal phenomenon that is often regarded as precisely a problem of too much nation: postcolonial dictatorship. In this paper, I analyze the writings and long tenures of Park Chung Hee, President of South Korea from 1961 until 1979, and Ferdinand Marcos, Philippine President from 1965 to 1986. Both leaders consolidated their political power with U.S. anti-communist support; both countries benefited from Japanese investment; both sent troops to Vietnam War in exchange for U.S. aid; and both declared martial law in 1972 within weeks of each other (with Park waiting to see the U.S. reaction to Marcos’ declaration). In examining their writings on nation building—especially Park’s concept of “Yusin” (“revitalization”) and Marcos’ “New Society”—I attend to the ways these authoritarian political cultures, while distinct, are deeply structured by colonial legacies, the U.S. neocolonial Pacific presence, as well as inter-referentiality to other regional states. The larger goal of this research is to consider how postcolonial studies can be reformulated to address the Asia/Pacific as a space of uneven and competing neocolonial hegemonies and counter-hegemonies. In particular, how might we think beyond the “good dictator”/ “bad dictator” binary that retrospectively renders the authoritarian capitalist development of South Korea (as well as Taiwan, Singapore and now China) as “successful” and the regimes of the Philippines (along with much of the developing world) as simply oppressive and “failed.” Instead, might we view the Cold War Pacific as a regional autocratic system in which a transnational logic informs the dictatorships of both Park and Marcos, albeit with different results? Given the plurality of colonial powers in the Pacific region, how does this approach

nuance postcolonial analyses that have usually examined postcolonial states in vertical relation to their colonial rulers?

**22. Robert J C YOUNG, "The Nomos of Postcoloniality"**

The paper will take the form of an enquiry into the nature and form of postcoloniality, posing the question of whether there can be postcoloniality as such. While many arguments may be made to suggest not, I will suggest that one possibility would be that postcoloniality represents the new form of the nomos of the earth, the previous form, according to Carl Schmitt, having ended in 1919.