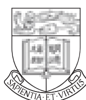
# China Abroad

## Travels, Subjects, Spaces

Edited by Elaine Yee Lin Ho and Julia Kuehn

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— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

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# 1

# China Abroad:

## Nation and Diaspora in a Chinese Frame

*Elaine Yee Lin Ho*

### I

As a project, *China Abroad* is situated within a contemporary scholarly and theoretical dialogue on nation and diaspora and the unstable relations between the two. It seeks to address a number of critical issues raised in this dialogue, and how these issues pertain to the different ways in which China and Chineseness have been imagined and represented in the last century. In so doing, it aims to offer an overview of the debate about Chineseness as it has emerged in different global locations. For more than two decades in the recent past, diaspora has been an important epistemological concept organizing literary and cultural studies. As it emerged, diaspora offered a timely critique to the nation as the structuring concept of individual and collective identities, and drew persuasive force as disillusionment with nationalism's sanctions of authoritarian rule and uses of violence became widespread. The nation as an oppressive construct against the liberatory movements of diaspora constituted a dominant—and binary—formulation that shaped recent literary and cultural studies. Often perceived as racially and culturally essentialist, the degenerate nation shows up by contrast the positive value of hybrid, multiple, and heterogeneous cultural formations that diaspora conjures.[1] Co-ordinated with this, diaspora assumes paradigmatic status in the study of globalization in the late twentieth century, its emphases on mobility, dispersal, and networks beyond national boundaries offering a requisite cultural model that complements the normative understanding of globalization as an economic phenomenon.

But even as diaspora territorializes literary and cultural studies, persistent arguments for the epistemological value of the nation are made and heard.

Paradoxically for some, the excesses of nationalism, which provide diasporic criticism with its rhetorical *casus belli* and justify its alternative claims, demonstrate precisely why the nation remains, and needs to remain, a mainframe of cultural analyses. In the light of the blood and soil politics in Eastern Europe after 1989, Tom Nairn, for instance, argues for the continued relevance of nationalism for most societies struggling to compete in "the developmental race . . . without being either colonized or annihilated" and the crucial role of *ethnos* in creating and fomenting the common bond of struggle (Nairn 66). What Stuart Hall, in another context, calls "the old, imperializing, hegemonizing, form of 'ethnicity'" (Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" from *Identity* 235) has, as aggressive Balkan nationalism shows, far from disappeared. The violence in Eastern Europe demands urgent critique of primordialized ethnic identity, and its co-ordination with a nationalistic compulsion that actualizes itself through systematic use of coercive force. To Nairn, the acknowledgement of the imperatives of nation and nationalism goes hand in hand with a serious reconceptualization of the nation as a secular and civic entity.

Nairn's study, however, does not really consider the nation as a cultural entity, an issue which the fatal conjunction of ethnicity and nationalism clearly brings to the fore. The democratic nationalism which Nairn champions can derive conceptual strength from referencing the work of Hall and Paul Gilroy (*There Ain't No Black*) on the different forms of self and collective cultural identification visible within contemporary Britain. To Hall, the multiple trajectories of the Afro-Caribbean diaspora bear witness to cultural identity as ongoing process, defined "not by essence and purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity" (Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" from *Identity* 235). Translating this modality of diasporic cultural identity to the nation, both Hall and Gilroy contest monoethnic and monocultural constructions of what it means to be British. In a later work, Gilroy (*The Black Atlantic*) supplements his study of difference and how to live in difference *within* the nation with a conceptual narrative of the "black Atlantic" as an open space of diasporic culture where essentialist meanings of race and consecrations of the nation as *patria* are continually destabilized in popular consciousness and everyday practices. Superseding the antagonistic relations of nation and diaspora, the work of Hall and Gilroy demonstrate how the two terms are mutually constitutive. This enables, in turn, critical re-examination of the totalizing propensity in which each term has been implicated. Diaspora fractures the hegemonic claims of the nation upon identity formation, and diasporic communities have contributed to the deterritorializing of the nation and problematized its traditional political and statist organization.

Hall and Gilroy have had seminal influence on studies of a number of African diasporas, but their theorizing can also develop trans-ethnic extension. One of the directions this volume takes is to rearticulate their theorizing of the mutual constitution of nation and diaspora within a Chinese frame. However, scholarly work on the Chinese diaspora in the last decade has also thrown up a number of critical questions that do not align with Hall and Gilroy's overall positive valuation of diaspora. They evince an acute awareness that diaspora is as much subject to critique as the nation, and that diasporic communities are sites where cultural nationalist and absolutist ethnic compulsions circulate. Often, in their ethno-national self-identifications, diasporic communities are responding, in one direction, to the centrifugal politics of a nation of origin and, in another, to the minoritizing strategies of the nation of settlement. Nationalistic or statist interventions into the cultural politics of diasporic communities are not necessarily superseded by new media technologies which facilitate virtual networks and what Arjun Appadurai (in *Modernity at Large*) has called "global ethnoscapes."

The "diasporized nation" and the "nation-in-diaspora": the shifting alignments between nation and diaspora these two expressions encode are manifest in how China and Chineseness have been conceived, negotiated, and deconstructed. Much scholarly work in the early 1990s focused on the heterogeneity and hybridity of Chinese diasporic identities and, explicitly or implicitly, on their liberatory value.[2] This is framed by literary-cultural theoretical discourses which placed a premium on the disseminatory, mobile and transgressive, and in the specific context of China, the reactions against the state-sanctioned violence that exploded in Tiananmen and its environs in 1989. Later work of the decade continues to explore the salient issues of diasporic transgressiveness, but what is also evident is increasing scholarly concern about the circulation of essentialistic conceptions of Chineseness through diasporic routes. As the images of Tiananmen recede, and China's global ascendancy appears more and more inexorable, enthusiasm and wariness are evident in equal measure about how Chineseness is generated, and how cultural conceptions of Chinese identities may align with the coming-to-prominence of China as a global political and economic force.

These issues have provoked intense and ongoing scholarly debates, some of which we will see in Section II of this introduction, and which the interested investigations of Chineseness in the chapters in this volume are all engaged with. All the chapters discuss the textuality of literary-cultural productions from perspectives opened up by the theorizing of China as nation and in diaspora. This textual attention enables the theorizing to become embedded in but also challenged from the experiences and representations of specific locations. In its three parts, this volume wishes to show that the concerns and

polemics about Chineseness and China are by no means incidental to the recent past but reach back to the earliest years of the twentieth century. The first part, "Translating China," contains studies of encounters between China and the West in the early twentieth century; the second, "China, Hong Kong, and Beyond," offers vantages on mid-twentieth-century Hong Kong as the transition between nation and diaspora; in the third part, studies of specific locations attend to the disseminatory semantics of Chineseness in different parts of the modern and contemporary world. In this respect, *China Abroad* is a project of historicization with two overlapping foci: first, to locate possible antecedents of recent scholarly-theoretical work on diasporic phenomena and their polemics and follow through such possibilities in literary-cultural productions; second, to trace some of the shifting contours in the genealogy of Chineseness as they are configured and reconfigured throughout the long twentieth century. Theoretical, locational, historical: these are the interconnections which characterize the chapters as they explore China and Chineseness so that what each chapter reveals of a specific temporal-spatial context can extend into others to elucidate the many dimensions of "China Abroad."

Some of the chapters focus on actual journeys from China, or between China and a foreign location, or an itinerary involving multiple points of departure and arrival. Travel, embodied and narrated, is also the practice whereby a prior self and collective identity become estranged from a familiar milieu or "home." This loss of territorial moorings can transpire as self and social alienation, express itself in existential dilemmas, and be symptomatized in psychological disturbances. In this destabilization that runs through a plethora of human activity and their discourses, travel develops symbolic extension as the outstanding trope of our contemporary condition. Not all, however, is lost, so to speak—many of the chapters also show how travel mobilizes epistemological engagements with other cultures and ways of life which double back as momentum for renewed individual and collective self-inquiry.

As the chapters demonstrate, travel as tropological discourse moves beyond actual journeys to the historical formation of the Chinese diaspora in the twentieth century and the formulations of China and Chineseness that are provoked by diasporic dispersal and relocation. The chapters in this volume address, from their different locational vantages, the persistence of an essentialistic Chinese identity predicated on centrifugal racial and cultural ideologies. They articulate the flows of these essentializing tendencies and how they gain incorporative power especially over subjects and groups most vulnerable to effects of estrangement, loss, and marginalization. In other words, essentializing forces, contrary to the fixity and stability they promulgate, travel; circulating in the diaspora, they are encountered and countered by subjects of Chinese ancestry. Travel, even as it describes the circulation of essentializing

Chinese ethnicity, encodes the counter-logic of resistance. The contestations with essentialism develop further profundity and global extension as ethnic Chinese subjects strategize against their minoritization in different nations of settlement. Their strategies put a premium on mobility, and draw upon the imagined, actual, or virtual transnationality of different generations. In my collaborator Julia Kuehn's introduction (Chapter 2), the epistemology of travel further unravels through two major analytical concepts, transnation and translation, deployed in the volume. Before that, in the next section of this chapter, I will discuss some of the most prominent theoretical discussions of the mutual constitution of "nation" and "diaspora" in a Chinese frame to have emerged in the last decade, while the third section will discuss several issues that pertain specifically to this volume's Hong Kong location.

## II

Beginning with Rey Chow's *Writing Diaspora* (1993), it is arguable that diaspora discourse has more often been associated with studies of the mobile forces which disseminate Chineseness in different global locations, and how they call into serious question the truth-value of an "authentic" Chinese identity that can be referenced against the bounded territorial entity and single nation state that is China. Aihwa Ong's 1997 edited collection of essays with Donald M. Nonini begins with a positive valuation of

> the mobility of diaspora Chinese, which manifests a wildness, danger, and unpredictability that challenges and undermines modern imperial regimes of truth and power. . . . [B]y means of strategies of transnational mobility, Chinese have eluded, taken tactical advantage of, temporized before, redefined, and overcome the disciplining of modern regimes of colonial empires, postcolonial nation-states, and international capitalism. These mobile practices have intersected with the impositions of modern regimes of truth and knowledge to take the form of a guerilla transnationalism. (Ong and Nonini 19)

It is evident from these introductory remarks that, as subjects and agents of global capitalism, diasporic Chinese are seen to fracture the parameters of identity imposed by the nation state or inherited tradition.

However, Ong's own essay—number five in the collection—appears much more circumspect about the disengagement of diaspora from the nation, and this is evident also in her later work. The essay, "Chinese Modernities: Narratives of Nation and of Capitalism," examines how "Chineseness" is split between fixity and fluidity, that is, between nationalist discourses that

produce "appropriate national subjects who are culturally homogenized, biopoliticized, and localized within the national territory" and "capitalist narratives of modernity . . . [which] celebrate subjects in diaspora and the ways their hybridity and flexibility suggest transnational solidarities" (Ong, "Chinese Modernities" 173). However, as she goes on to argue, this split cannot be readily mapped onto geopolitical divisions between the Chinese mainland and the Chinese diaspora. To illustrate this, she first observes how Chinese mainland officials are suspicious of the notion of "Greater China," which denotes the economic networks among China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, even as they appreciate the latter's economic utility as a source of foreign investment. Capitalistic and nationalistic interests generate contrary pressures on the mainland disposition towards the diaspora. These interests are realigned differently from the perspective of overseas Chinese in Asian states who utilize a discourse that claims continuity with Chinese culture so as to legitimize their capitalist narratives. From such a perspective, the nation is not so much a political and statist entity but culturalized. Ong's study shows very clearly how nation and diaspora as discourses are mutually implicated, despite realities of historical and territorial separation. What the late twentieth century witnessed, to Ong, is not the demise of the nation and its political organization, the state, but the resurgence of virulent ethno-nationalistic forces that flow through diasporic channels, and which authoritarian states capitalize on to extend their power and influence beyond geographical borders.

A second conceptual vantage in Ong's work is her critique of the process and project of culturalizing China which, in turn, facilitates the reaffiliation of diasporic Chineseness to the mainland and justification of political and economic collaboration. This critique is specifically directed at two recent phenomena: the first is that of "Cultural China" which emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s from efforts by Asian politicians to locate in culture the reasons for the economic success of the so-called "Four little dragons": Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. As reflected in the speeches of Lee Kuan Yew, "triumphalist capitalist narratives . . . draw symbolic power from claims that overseas Chinese have preserved 'Confucian' culture outside China and that it is the genius of Confucian values that accounts for their success in different areas of life" (Ong, "Chinese Modernities" 182). The second is the *huaren* website (Ong, "Cyberpublics") which purports to speak out for diasporic Chinese against their victimization by forces of prejudice and discrimination in different parts of the world and whose appeals to ethnic solidarity are often couched in essentialist and racialized terms.

While "Cultural China" began as an academic and philosophical discourse, and *huaren* is a populist forum, both phenomena can be identified with a Chinese national consciousness predicated on "an ideological sense

of racial and cultural exclusivity" (Ong, *Flexible Citizenship* 135). Ong contends "contemporary diasporan-Chinese chauvinism, while in tension with the claims of the Chinese nation-state, is also continuous with its racial consciousness" (*Flexible Citizenship* 56–57). In her critique of sinology's neo-Orientalist or self-orientalizing "static images of China" and its "essentializing notion of Chineseness," Ong links the culturalization of China specifically to the diasporic—or "Boston"[3]—Confucianism of Tu Wei-ming (Ong, "Flexible Citizenship" 134; see Tu, *The Living Tree*). She reiterates this argument when she associates Tu's Confucianist, culturalized Chineseness with "a nationalist imaginary that emphasizes essentialism, territoriality, and the fixity of the modern state" (Ong, *Flexible Citizenship* 55). In Ong's second vantage on the culturalization of China, Confucianism is the hegemonic sign of Chinese cultural tradition that traverses past and present, nation and diaspora, immobile and immobilizing.

Against this second vantage, Ong posits a third conceptual vantage captured in the terms "flexible citizenship" and "embedded citizenship." In the first term, she represents the contrary dynamic of "a modernist imaginary of entrepreneurial capitalism that celebrates hybridity, deterritorialization, and the mobility of state capitalism" (Ong, *Flexible Citizenship* 55). Ong associates "flexible citizenship" with a Chinese cosmopolitanism that "subvert[s] reigning notions of national self and Other in transnational relations" (Ong, "Flexible Citizenship" 135). The very term "citizenship" acknowledges the territorial delimitations—and the concomitant political, institutional, and statist parameters—that define individual identity. The term is nationally interested rather than nationalistic because the "nation" at stake is no longer just China or any other single nation state, and the paradigmatic inflection "flexible" emphasizes cross-national and cross-boundary movements in identity formation.

"Embedded citizenship" is, in significant ways, the contrary term to "flexible citizenship" even as they share a common denominator. Both terms contest the notion of an originary homeland and centrifugal cultural arrangement of the Chinese mainland and the Chinese diaspora. But, in enacting this turn away from China, "embedded citizenship" argues for studies of the specific histories and locationalized struggles which shape many diasporic subjects in their nations of settlement. Against the affluent capitalist subjects and "[p]rivileged émigrés who control the electronic network to shape diaspora politics [and] seek to subvert and bypass the sovereign power of nation-states," "embedded citizenship" urges renewed attention to the "localized conflicts" of people "situated outside electronic space" (Ong, "Cyberpublics" 94) for whom the kind of ethnic solidarity promoted, for example, in the *huaren* website, is not a source of encouragement. "A resurgent Chinese cyber-identity based on moral high ground may be welcome in Beijing

(though not always)," Ong writes, "but is not necessarily welcomed by ethnic Chinese minorities elsewhere" (Ong, "Cyberpublics" 98).

The mutual constitution of Chinese national and diasporic discourses, the culturalization of China, the locational struggle of ethnic Chinese subjects—these three related conceptual vantages link Ong's work to contemporary debates about cultural identity in one direction and China and Chineseness in another. They clearly inform all the chapters in this volume. By focusing on specific cultural struggles at different moments in the long twentieth century, the chapters show how these three concepts travel. Through detailed analyses of textual representations and narratives, each of the chapters explores a temporal-spatial nexus when the formation, or becoming, of the Chinese subject becomes visible. Just as China and Chineseness are subject to variation across time and space, what it means to be Chinese is, as the chapters show, often self-reflexive, critical, relational, and cross-culturally negotiated.

## III

In Aihwa Ong's critique of the work of Tu Wei-ming, we see a late-twentieth-century contest between essentializing discourses that develop nationalistic overtones on the one hand and, on the other, paradigms of subjectivity that constitute Chineseness in relational terms. Because this present volume is interested in historicizing and locationalizing discursive relations between nation and diaspora, I would like to discuss, in this section and the next, two earlier twentieth-century instances of this contemporary contest. Unlike Ong and Tu's contemporary contest, which begins in the diaspora and develops ambivalent relations with the Chinese mainland, the two earlier instances occurred inside China, but on the periphery, the first in the southern port of Xiamen (Amoy) and the second in what was then colonial Hong Kong. These two instances are significant because first, like Ong's critique, they are focalized by the problematic issue of Confucianism. Second, they both occurred on the border between China and the world and this geographical marginality captures vividly the cultural dilemma of moving between essential and flexible Chineseness, tradition and modernity. On the Chinese periphery, in transition, little known: these warrant discussion of the two instances in this present volume from Hong Kong in which one of the premises is locationalized study.

The first historical instance, which has been chronicled by Wang Gungwu (in "Lu Xun"), is the encounter in 1926–27 between Lu Xun and the Singaporean Chinese Lim Boon Keng, at the university in Xiamen. Then, as now, Confucianism was the ideological ground of struggle, and China's modernization and future, the horizon. In an illuminating difference, it is Lu Xun, the mainland Chinese subject, who seeks to break up what he sees as

Confucianism's traditional hegemony over Chinese education so as to open it to the "abroad," that is, to western learning, while Lim, the diasporic returnee subject, sees in Confucianism the indigenous cultural resource for modern reform. As Qingsheng Tong's chapter (Chapter 3) in this volume shows, the reception of western learning by Chinese intellectuals who traveled outside China, and their struggles with the literati on their return, can be traced to late Qing and early Republican times. By the time of Lu Xun's arrival in Xiamen, his anti-traditional views were already well established and well known in Chinese literary circles. Shuang Shen's chapter on the literary journals he wrote for, and which translated his work into English (Chapter 4), will offer insights on the national polemics of his leftist views and their connections with the cultural internationalism of his own time.

Xiamen University was established with overseas-Chinese capital by the Singaporean Chinese entrepreneur Tan Kah Kee, who invited Lim to become its first president. Lu Xun was employed as one of the luminaries in the new Institute of Sinology to be set up at the university. Shortly after his arrival, he was told that Lim was someone who advocated "'returning to the ancients' (*fugu*), [and] 'respect for Confucius' (*zun Kong*)" (Wang, "Lu Xun" 147). Unmoved by the natural beauty of the southern port, Lu Xun became impatient with what he perceived as the culture of orthodoxy at the university and its veneration of "'China's old books'" (148–49), which he had to read to prepare for his lectures. Within three weeks of arrival, he handed in his resignation. Wang's chapter summarizes a speech by Lim to the university commemorating Confucius' birthday, and another by Lu Xun a few days later which offered an opposite message that was "clearly directed against Lim" (153). Lim's speech rehearses the orthodox defense of Confucianism: its emphasis on the practical; the establishment of first principles on the basis of in-depth exploration of historical experiences; the centrality of filial piety in organizing relations of self, family, society, and country; and the value placed on the common people in "Confucian ideas about politics" (151). There is little doubt that Lim believed in the relevance of Confucianism to China's social reform and its modern future, and saw his task as university president to promote the study of the Confucian classics. In contrast, Lu Xun's speech was a generalized attack on the ulterior motives of those who advocated classical studies: "[t]hey wanted people to read the Classics so that they would become filial sons and obedient citizens," he said. Classical texts are not useless, he acknowledged, but the crucial message of his speech is that they must be read critically. At the same time, he urged his audience of students to read more western-language books, "to pay attention . . . to all kinds of knowledge [and in their everyday life to] matters that need a little correction, a little improvement" where they "could do something" (154).

Two significant issues can be extrapolated from the speeches. The first is that both men focused on what is practical and practicable in social reform, and the individual as reformist agent in everyday life. Second, where Lu Xun differed radically from Lim was in his appeal to multiple resources instead of a single Confucianist origin for reformist inspiration. In Wang Gungwu's summary comments, he describes as "tragic" (155) the fact that the two men saw each other as opponents, and that their opposition came to be focused on the revival of Confucian learning. While Lim was a life-long Confucian, he was also a dedicated modernizer, vigorously engaged in setting up engineering and medical schools at the university, employing many foreign and foreign-trained teachers, and offering courses on foreign languages. Wang lamented:

> [t]here seemed to have been no opportunity for a dialogue between two essentially modern men: Lu Xun, the native-born Chinese who grasped the critical importance of modernity from within; and Lim Boon Keng, the Western-educated and foreign-born Chinese who thought he needed the Confucian cloak of respectability to legitimize the extent he wanted China to be transformed by science and technology. (158–59)

There is a distinction between the belief in Confucianism as core Chinese values and the adoption of a Confucian cloak for other designs. And yet, both appear to be embodied in Lim and to constitute the diasporic subject in his ambivalent relation to Chineseness. As for Lu Xun, Confucianism is the cardinal sign of everything that is wrong with China and Chinese heritage. But despite his persistent challenge to this perceived traditional ideology, his own Chineseness, and that of the work he does, is not in doubt, certainly not to himself. In these arguments over Confucianism, we see how the mobile diasporic subject appears to be captured in an ambivalent Chineseness while the national Chinese subject seems culturally mobile and disruptive. This reversal is to become partly visible again in Ong's critique of the cultural essentialism and chauvinism which flow through the diaspora. As we look beyond individual subjects to what they and their arguments emblematize, relations are further complicated. In this little-known incident in peripheral China where nation and diaspora meet, what is played out is the contest, at once national and global, between a capitalist and technologized modernity and a socialist modernity.[4] Returning once more to the future, that is, to what we have seen of Ong's critique of Tu, the shifting identifications of national and diasporic subjects with "authentic" and western cultural discourses and with the contrary ideological constructions of modernity can already be traced in the Xiamen incident. What is absent, at least in Wang Gungwu's account, is statist or official intervention which the contemporary critique of "Cultural China" foregrounds. The complications of

such intervention we shall see in the next historical and locational instance: the cultural politics of New Confucianism in 1950s Hong Kong.

## IV

As far as I am aware, the full story of New Confucianism's emergence in 1950s Hong Kong has not been told, and the discussion here is a beginning rather than a complete narrative.[5] In my own chapter in this volume (Chapter 5), I hope to augment the discussion by exploring 1950s Hong Kong as the space of dialogue between culturalized China and a cultural internationalism through analyses of writing in different genres. Through a study of Hong Kong films from the 1960s, Wendy Gan's chapter (Chapter 6) further explores the issue of exile and relocation from the Chinese mainland, and the intra-ethnic rivalries between north and south transplanted to Hong Kong, and compares the 1960s with 1980s films on a further diasporic movement from Hong Kong to worldwide locations.

Through this section on New Confucianism and the two chapters (5 and 6), this volume offers a vantage on Hong Kong as a crucial historical and geographical transition between the Chinese mainland and the Chinese diaspora, a transition in which a modern Chinese cultural identity and its relations to tradition preoccupy many of the literati, intellectuals, and cultural workers who found themselves, willingly or unwillingly, in the British colony after the Chinese mainland turned Communist and the Nationalists retreated to Taiwan. Supplementing Ong's critiques of how the Confucian revival in the 1980s is co-opted by Asian nationalisms, this discussion of New Confucianism in 1950s Hong Kong shows an earlier, contrary movement rupturing Confucianism from the state. In this context, the latest revival appears as a double return of Confucianism to Asia and to state sponsorship.

Before Ong's "Chinese Modernities," Arif Dirlik had studied the genealogy of "Confucianism" as the cultural logic of Chinese capitalism in Asian states like Singapore, where the economy expanded rapidly in the 1980s and early 1990s. The phenomenon of Tu Wei-ming and "Cultural China" are seen by Dirlik as the latest manifestation of Confucian revivals that have been historically linked to the Chinese projects of modernization throughout the twentieth century. Dirlik's 1995 essay "Confucius in the Borderlands" refers to the Confucian revivals inside China in the first half of the century as reactions to those who advocate China's modernization through developing a capitalist economy. Confucianism was also manipulated by militarists and unscrupulous politicians during the turmoil of the period. From intellectuals who disputed modernization as wholesale westernization and sought reconciliation between "East" and "West," New Confucianism emerged as a form of "emotional

nostalgia" which transpires into "an ethicospiritual system of values . . . [that] called into question the positivism of scientistic modernization" (Dirlik, "Confucius" 234). As the latter became identified with the Communist state which after 1949 branded Confucianism as "feudal" and consigned it to the museum of history, New Confucianism took on critical importance in the diaspora. But this is not an issue that interests Dirlik.

Among those who contributed to formalizing New Confucianism are some of the most notable of Chinese intellectuals who went into exile after 1949. These include Tang Junyi, Zhang Junmai (Carsun Chang), Mou Zongsan, Xu Fuguan, the four signatories of the 1958 declaration "A Manifesto to the World on Chinese Culture."[6] In the English translation by the signatories, the declaration is entitled "A Manifesto for a Re-appraisal of Sinology and Reconstruction of Chinese Culture" (C. Chang), a much more explicit announcement of its reformist and cultural nationalist agenda.[7] Dirlik acknowledges that the Manifesto is "a major statement of New Confucianism" (Dirlik, "Confucius" 235) but, despite this, notes only in passing its publication in 1950s Hong Kong by the exiles from Communist China and pays no attention at all to the Manifesto's content and arguments.

There are good reasons why the Manifesto deserves far greater attention. Its publication by the exiled intellectuals in 1950s Hong Kong registers a seismic territorial shift: for the first time in its long history, Confucianism has become detached from its geographical homeland in the Chinese mainland. Cut loose from its territorial, state, and official bonds, Confucianism assumes protean shapes—as inherited tradition, system of values, cultural imaginary, reformist cause—in a discourse largely constituted by academic interlocutors. In my discussion in this introduction, the declaration as event co-ordinates three interrelated areas of analyses: first, a formal excursus to show how the textual reconstruction of Confucianism as national culture also contains a narrative of its "diasporization"; second, the exilic situation of the signatories and their ambivalent relations with the Chinese nation state; third, the publication of the declaration in the context of Hong Kong as colonial and Cold War entrepôt.

First of all, while the Manifesto does show essentializing tendencies, it also delineates how Confucianism, long identified as the ideology of dynastic rule, is re-presented as "authentic" cultural tradition in the diaspora.[8] Furthermore, the momentous departure from the mainland inaugurates a diasporic trajectory where Confucianism as "authentic" Chinese culture and civilization has to renegotiate its recognition and authority in the world beyond China. The two key terms in Carsun Chang's translated title, "Sinology" and "Chinese Culture," are soon revealed in the Manifesto as synonymous with the study of Confucianism and Confucian respectively. "[A] nation's culture,"

the Manifesto declares, "is the expression of its spiritual life" (C. Chang 465), and this expression is inscribed and codified in Confucianist teachings from their inception through various shifts in emphases in Chinese history. In the Manifesto, there is no obvious lament for a lost homeland that characterizes many exilic discourses; the "emotional nostalgia" which Dirlik notes has been harnessed to reorient Confucianism from an exclusively Chinese to a global discourse.

In order to effect this turn towards the here and now and what lies beyond, the Manifesto begins by looking at the past—at the first sustained contacts between Confucianism and European culture since the late seventeenth century and the asymmetrical relations that ensued.[9] In its historical review of Confucianism's encounter with the West, the Manifesto foregrounds the problems of mistranslation, which it attributes to different belief systems and traditions of scholarship. Such mistranslation is largely responsible for why Confucianism has been misrecognized by the West right from the beginning of the encounter. This misrecognition develops much more serious and material outcomes as European imperialism expands in China and as Chinese modernizers turn against their native tradition.[10] Embedded in the epistemological issues focalized by translation and mistranslation is the narrative of how Chinese culture and civilization accede to the position of a world culture and civilization. The past is a Chinese past in that it happened within dynastic and territorial borders, but, in this narrative, the past is also already globalized.

The experience of being misrecognized can develop a positive outcome in preparing Confucianism for its future in the world or what the Manifesto calls its "extension" (468). This includes taking "into consideration the ideals of other cultures" (468), and through this, to uncover its own shortcomings and rectify them. The present exilic condition takes its place in the movement of this globalizing Chinese culture. In exile, the possibility opens up for the explanation and theorizing of the historical asymmetry between China and the West and for new bearings in the world to be taken. Thus, in this momentous diasporic turn, exilic separation from the nation state becomes remodalized as the condition of possibility for a discourse of cross-cultural mobility.

In many ways, the declaration exemplifies the "double perspective" that Edward Said has observed of the exilic subject: "the exile exists in a median state, neither completely at one with the new setting nor fully disencumbered of the old. . . . Because the exile sees things both in terms of what has been left behind and what is actual here and now, there is a double perspective that never sees things in isolation" (Said 49, 60). For the signatories, this double perspective entails arguments for continuity with the past, despite physical exile, which, in turn, legitimize their identity as bearers of tradition in the

world and into the future. The Manifesto makes three strategic moves: first, the identification of Confucian Rationalism as "authentic" Chinese ethno-cultural tradition; second, the narrative of continuity which produces a seamless transition between inherited tradition and tradition-in-exile despite the actual experience of disjuncture; third, a palimpsestic rewriting of the past as a history of contact and conflict between the culturalized nation and the West so that the present issue of Chinese ethnicity develops extraterritorial and metanational significance. Co-ordinating and becoming embedded in these strategic moves, New Confucianism functions as what Raymond Williams in *Marxism and Literature* called the "actively residual," in a push to reclaim its stronghold over the discourse of Chinese cultural identity as nation is reterritorialized as diaspora.

In affirming moral self-realization as the cornerstone and also the constant aim of Confucian Rationalism, the Manifesto is building up to an argument for its contemporary relevance as a socio-political philosophy of both Chinese and global significance. The signatories argue that in cultural reconstruction lies national regeneration. "[I]t is erroneous," they state, "to think that [China's] culture contains neither the seeds of democracy nor such tendencies, or that it is hostile to science and technology" (C. Chang 469). This statement aligns Confucianism with the western origins of "democracy" and "science and technology," and entertains a vision of China's future in the development of democratic politics and scientific advancement. Furthermore, the declaration seeks to identify in Confucianism the emergence of the modern concept of citizenship, usually regarded as western in origin. Confucianists argue that the nation belongs to the people and government should be for their good. The reliance on monarchical integrity is insufficient for it means the people are put into passive positions and unable to achieve moral self-realization. The Manifesto affirms, instead, "political equality for all the citizens" through the drawing up of a "constitution . . . in accordance with the popular will, to be the basis of the exercise by the people of their political rights" (472). This implicitly acknowledges that Confucian Rationalism can remake itself as a modern philosophy of rule through utilizing the mechanism of constitution-making that is of western origin.

The authors assert their distance from contemporary politics: to "apprehend the true nature of Chinese culture and its historical changes in order to understand the significance of contemporary Chinese history, cultural and political, and China's future . . . the researcher must first put aside his subjective views of the political situation . . ." (459). Even more explicitly, they dissociate their democratic, Confucianist socio-political imaginary from both Communist and Taiwan Kuomintang regimes: "Nor can Communist dictatorship in the mainland . . . or Communist and Fascist influences of the

thought of many Kuomintang party members," they write, "be adduced as evidence of lack of popular aspiration for a democratic government" (475). This raises a crucial question: how is citizenship to be actualized in the absence of a nation state structure? On this question, it is symbolic and symptomatic of their exile situation that the declaration's authors remain noticeably silent. What is at stake in this issue, that is, how Chinese citizen-stakeholders emerge in their diasporic locations, is central to Ong's work as it is to the chapters in Part IV, "Chinese Cartographies in the World," of this present volume.

Beyond formalistic study, we can proceed to the second area of analysis: the diasporic relocation of a culturalized nation in its relations with the nation state. Separation from the Chinese mainland appears to open up an opportunity to transcend the split in the Chinese nation state between two competing regimes, and enable a "third way" cultural self-identification as both ethical and global subjects. In their continued opposition to Communist China, and their different degrees of proximity to Taiwan, the trajectories of the four signatories appear to embody this alternative in practice. The Manifesto was first drafted on the initiative of Tang Junyi, who had moved to Hong Kong after 1949.[11] Tang then consulted with Chang, who had been living in the United States since 1952 and never visited Taiwan in his lifetime. The third signatory, Mou Zongsan, was in Taiwan when he signed the Manifesto in 1958 but, two years later, also moved to Hong Kong.[12] Of the four, Xu Fuguan was the only one who lived in Taiwan and was the most politically active, but, because of his stringent criticism of the Kuomintang's record of rule on the mainland and Chiang Kai-shek himself, he was forced to surrender his membership of the Kuomintang in 1956. All four were academics and public intellectuals who wrote frequently for cultural journals and newspapers, and lectured and gave public addresses in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the West. The Manifesto, drafted in Hong Kong, was published simultaneously in the Hong Kong journal *Democratic Criticism* (<民主評論>), founded by Tang, and *Rebirth* (<再生>), the official newspaper of the China Democratic Socialist Party (民主社會黨) in Taiwan, which was proscribed by the Kuomintang.[13]

However, in the third area of analysis, we can see how Confucianism's political entanglements, diverted from the nation of origin, become differently re-embedded in diasporic relocation. New Confucianism's initial career in Hong Kong bears traces of a negotiated existence in the interstices of colonial rule and the geopolitics of the Asian Cold War. That it should be in colonial Hong Kong, under an imperial power whose aggression had contributed no little to the loss of the mainland to Confucianism, is not without an ironic historical logic of its own. In 1950s Hong Kong, Chinese nationalism of whatever political persuasion was prohibited from open expression, but both right-wing and left-wing publications and writers could find a space for

creative expression if they steered clear of explicit propagandizing.[14] As long as expressions of Chineseness remained within the cultural sector and posed no threat to social order, they were largely tolerated and able to circulate. This is consistent with the colonial government's long accommodation with "native" social and cultural practices ever since the "Proclamation to the inhabitants of Hong Kong 1841" that they "will be governed, pending Her Majesty's further pleasure, according to the laws, customs and usages of the Chinese . . . by the Elders of Villages, subject to the control of a British magistrate."[15] A century later, this has produced a situation described by Austin Coates in his memoir of the 1950s, when he served as a magistrate in one of the rural districts of Hong Kong: "Though I was a European, I was not employed to impose European concepts of justice and rights. I was a Chinese Magistrate, expected to deal with matters in a Chinese way . . ." (Coates 83). The colonial government's active accommodation with "native" tradition, though falling very far short of the indirect rule instituted in other parts of the British empire, helps to elide the failure of Hong Kong to gain progressive self-rule in an age of decolonization.[16]

The Manifesto's publication in Hong Kong also lends Chinese cultural authentication to the colony's strategic positioning as a free trade enclave on Cold War borders, the fluid space of human and cultural traffic.[17] The aestheticization of this quasi-official position is orchestrated in a poem by Edmund Blunden, resident poet and academic, in which Hong Kong harbor appears as "liberty-hall" where "from the greatest to least / Like a free lively family merrily all / Are arriving and off again, West or East. . . ."[18] This positioning works in complement with the accommodation of "native" tradition to defer decolonization as the historical logic unfolding in the rest of the British empire. Thus, even as Confucianism in exile seeks to disengage with the two competing Chinese state-sponsored nationalisms, it is realigned with the politics of its Hong Kong diasporic location—the imperatives of colonial rule within Hong Kong itself and the contest for power between the Cold War nations.

The situation of the Manifesto in 1950s Hong Kong does not follow the linear chronology of departure, exile, and relocation. Instead, what can be extrapolated conceptually is the circulation of nation and diaspora in each other which generates the "nation" and "national" in multiple forms. As we look globally and temporally beyond 1950s Hong Kong, China reemerges both as culturalized nation of origin and also territorialized as different diasporic sites, communities, and as discourses within separate non-Chinese national contexts. As it does so, Confucianism cannot adequately address or manage the kind of theoretical challenges, articulated by Rey Chow ("Foreword"), that Chinese ethnicity raises in global diasporic locations. This has not prevented

its return as nationalistic cultural imaginary and its being strategized as the fashionable ideology of diasporic Chinese capitalism. In non-Chinese states, as in British colonial Hong Kong of the 1950s, Chinese becomes inflected as ethnic and minoritized; in these states, it engages or is compelled into relation with different others, both majoritarian and minoritarian.

## V

In the ambivalent discursive spaces where nation and diaspora meet, even Confucianism, which is often perceived and received as the cardinal sign of Chineseness, becomes functionalized for different and opposed aims. In the debate between Lim Boon Keng and Lu Xun, it was the paradoxical sign of a valuable resource of modernization and an unregenerate traditionalism. In 1950s Hong Kong, Confucianism was Chineseness in exile, forcibly separated from its traditional homeland and enforced to seek an alternative existence in the world as a global philosophy. It was both Chinese and in dire need to confirm its Chineseness outside China-under-Communism. An exemplary case was made in 1950s Hong Kong that Confucianism's Chineseness, at least in its recent dynastic past, was inseparable from its liaison with non-Chinese others. And, following this historical narrative to its logical and organic extension, it was envisaged that Confucianism's future was therefore global and not just national. In these mobilities of Confucianism as sign of Chineseness, what is played out is the contests of positions in the discursive spaces of nation and diaspora, contests which accrue to different signs and emerge into specific historical contingencies. Sometimes, these contests develop to a level of coerciveness and a condition of emergency because of the intervention of state power. At other times, they are the substance of everyday life, enmeshed with the performances, conscious and unconscious, of self- and collective identity.

The emphasis on location and the locational as the enabling condition for rethinking and reimaginations of Chineseness is reiterated in the chapters in this volume. In the last part, "Chinese Cartographies in the World," the struggles with the cultural nation on the one hand and the national and cultural politics of the diasporic context on the other are studied in detail from a number of locational perspectives. Research and writing on these contests have been much more vigorous in the United States and Australasia than in other parts of the world where diasporic communities live and work. This is reflected in the spread of the chapters themselves which, together, orchestrate a collective dialogue on recurrent themes and concerns rather than offer comprehensive coverage. In these chapters, the "nation" is both China and the diasporic nation as cultural entity and political reality. One also sees how China as cultural tradition and imaginary develops ambivalent relations

with China as nation state in ways resonant of earlier historical moments. This resonance is disrupted equally frequently as Chinese ethnic subjects are shaped by and confront the very different forces on the ground of their nations of settlement.

In her chapter (Chapter 7), Weimin Tang deploys the Raymond Williams concept of the “actively residual” to discuss what happens to “Chineseness” in its challenge to the incorporative power of the American dream. Colleen Lye (Chapter 9) brilliantly illustrates how the imbrication of “Chinese” and “American” develops within a triadic relationship where “Japanese” is a constant historical and conceptual third point of reference. This she sees as generic to the literary discourses of both “Chinese American” and “Japanese American” writers. Kenneth Chan’s chapter (Chapter 8) introduces another complication in sexual desire which, for two Chinese American writers, contests and collaborates with inter-generational affiliations that are construed in exclusively Chinese ethnic terms in the diaspora.

Marie-Paule Ha’s study of colonial Indochina (Chapter 11) shows how “Chinese” emerges as an interstitial agential term between francophone colonialism and minoritization in a predominantly Vietnamese nation. Her chapter and that of David Parker (Chapter 13) on online communities of British-born Chinese youth argue strongly that, for ethnic Chinese in different non-Chinese political and national regimes, inherited traditions and cultural practices are not as important to identity formation as the functionalizing of particular ethnic connections in citizenship and other social aims. This contrasts with the essentializing Chinese tendency that Ong sees as dominant in the *huaren* website. In her chapter (Chapter 12), Tseen Khoo returns to the issue of the culturalization of Chineseness but, again from a perspective different from Ong’s. She narrates how Chineseness is concretized—literally—in the Chinatown and museum project in Queensland, Australia, a material achievement which is both an assertion against the nation state by an ethnic minority and also facilitated and enabled by the nation state.

It is significant, and by no means coincidental, that Parker’s and Khoo’s chapters deal with texts and discourses that draw attention to a more recent generation of ethnic Chinese subjects. Their chapters show that, as diasporic settlements transform into national ethnic communities, the de-centering of received and originary Chineseness happens as Chineseness is renegotiated in everyday intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic transactions in specific sites—family, website, street, committee meeting. From another, more planetary, perspective, Deborah L. Madsen discusses (Chapter 10) attitudes toward “waste,” its treatment and disposal as a recurrent theme in Chinese diasporic cultural production. The chapters in Part IV, “Chinese Cartographies in the World,” show how far Chineseness has been and can be transformed as it

travels from Confucianism to material culture and everyday life, and through the texts, subjects, and spaces in-between. But Confucianism is very far from being a lost cause, as Qingsheng Tong's chapter (Chapter 3), which refers to its recent vigorous resurgence in the Chinese mainland, shows. Looking at all the contributions to this volume and their insightful analyses of the many transmutations of Chineseness, it is tempting to speculate on whether and how Chineseness under the cardinal sign of Confucianism can develop the non-essentialistic, non-chauvinistic momentum on the mainland that we have seen in the critiques in the diaspora. In an Olympic year when the world's attention on China is intense, and China itself is keen to unveil its modernity as a finished project, this long-term speculation develops a special topical relevance.

# Notes

**Chapter 1**

1. Among the seminal texts that affirm diaspora as the common condition of late modern existence are Masao Miyoshi (1993), Benedict Anderson (1994), and James Clifford (1997).
2. I refer, for example, to Rey Chow (1993) and, in an Asian American context, Lisa Lowe (1996), especially Chapter 3, "Heterogeneity, Hybridity, Multiplicity: Asian American Differences."
3. See Robert C. Neville, *Boston Confucianism: Portable Tradition in the Late-Modern World* (2000), which has a preface by Tu, and a chapter on how Tu's Confucianism can be regarded as world philosophy.
4. In his essay on the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia, and specifically Indonesian Chinese, Pheng Cheah critiques how Indonesia's postcolonial national memory commonly represents the Chinese as neo-colonial capitalists who exploited the indigenous population for their own gains. This representation, together with their identification as Confucianist, has obscured the "indelible contributions of revolutionary Chinese cosmopolitanism to the native awakenings of Southeast Asia" ("Chinese Cosmopolitanism" 151).
5. Liu Shu-hsien wrote on a section of the Manifesto as the "third wave" in the "three waves" of neo-Confucian thought. He submits that the signatories "have made a serious attempt to work out a synthesis of the East and the West, though their guiding spirit remains Confucian . . ." (Liu, from Tu, *Confucian Traditions* 103). Liu's essay is in a volume edited by Tu Wei-ming (1996) about Confucianist capitalism in East Asia, but Liu does not really examine what is Confucianist about the Four Mini-Dragons. He simply assumes it to be so.
6. ＜為中國文化敬告世界人士宣言＞. See *Collected Works of Tang Junyi* ＜唐君毅全集＞. Vol. 4, Part 2. Taipei: Taiwan Student Bookstore, 1991.
7. Chang's translation does not follow exactly the Chinese original but does convey its outline and main issues.
8. The culturalization of China through reinterpreting Confucius is not a new phenomenon. Recently, Wang Hui has explored how in the Qing dynasty, China was redefined "as a ritual term rather than as a racial or a territorial country" (169) by Confucian scholars. However, as Wang also shows, this redefinition was closely connected with the legitimization of the Qing empire and the identity of the scholars as both its subjects and critics.

9. Section two of the Manifesto is headlined, “Why people from different parts of the world study Chinese learning and culture:「世界人士研究中國文化之三種動機與道路以及缺點」.
10. For a discussion of these issues, see Joseph Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*. Vol. 1. Chapter 9.
11. Xu Fuguan gives an account of how the declaration came into existence and his own role in *Materials on Xu Fuguan's Biography* ＜徐復觀傳記資料＞. In Hong Kong, Tang founded New Asia College for the study and promotion of Chinese culture, which later became one of the colleges of the Chinese University of Hong Kong when it was established in 1963. Tang became the head of the Philosophy Department of the University. See Mou Zongsan, Hsuyu, et al. *In Memory of Tang Junyi: A Collection* ＜唐君毅記念集＞.
12. Mou taught at the University of Hong Kong from 1960 to 1968, when he moved to New Asia College on the invitation of Tang.
13. The party, earlier known as the China Democratic League, was founded by Chang on the mainland in 1933. It continued to survive in Taiwan, in the absence of Chang and at times complicit with Kuomintang rule. See Roger B. Jeans, Jr. (1997). Also http://www.carsunchang.org.tw/. For a study of Confucianism in Taiwan, see Ambrose King (1996). King makes the point that from 1949 to the early 1980s, “the party-state of Taiwan saw itself as the custodian of Chinese culture [but] . . . [i]t is clear that Confucianism no longer serves as a state ideology intermeshed with political authority” (King 233). In this way, King dissociates Confucianism from “the interventionist stance of the party-state toward society [which] may resonate directly with traditional practice in imperial days” (235).
14. Recently, the historian Steve Tsang has shown how the British and the Kuomintang regime in Taiwan were forming a partnership all through the 1950s on the basis of their common interest as American allies in the Asian Cold War. This supplements the established view that it was the People's Republic on the mainland which monopolized the British and Hong Kong governments' strategic attention (Tsang, *Cold War's Odd Couple*).
15. “Convention between the United Kingdom and China respecting an extension of Hong Kong Territory signed at Peking, June 9, 1898.” London: HMSO.
16. On the anomaly of Hong Kong as colony in an age of decolonization, and the internal and external factors which enable this, see Louis, and Tsang, *Democracy Shelved* and *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, Part III.
17. For the British and American view on the strategic use of Hong Kong in the containment of Communist China in the Cold War, see Mark Chi-kwan (2004). For the impact of the establishment of the People's Republic and the Korean War on Hong Kong, see Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* 157–69. The Hong Kong Census reports recorded a rise in population from around 600,000 immediately after World War II in 1945 to 2.5 million in 1955, most of which was accounted for by refugee arrivals from the Chinese mainland.
18. These lines are from Blunden's poem “View from the University of Hong Kong,” written when he was chair professor of English at the University in the 1950s, and published in the collection, *A Hong Kong House* (1962). The poem, originally entitled “View from a Hong Kong Office,” is quasi-official in that it is one of five honorific items that introduce *Hong Kong Business Symposium* (1957), a collection of 190 short pieces on different aspects of the colonial economy whose authors

read like a roll-call of the (often inseparable) political and business elite. As a kind of marginal embellishment in a business publication, the poem's colonial-capitalist co-optation is all too visible. For a broader discussion of Blunden in Hong Kong and early postcolonial responses, see my article, "'Imagination's Commonwealth': Edmund Blunden's Hong Kong Dialogue" *PMLA* (January 2009, forthcoming).

**Chapter 2**

1. See also Aihwa Ong and Donald Nonini's collection, *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism* (1997), in which the editors acknowledge, both in the Introduction and the Afterword, an indebtedness to the concept of diaspora despite their choice of the word "transnationalism" for their title.
2. Tu Wei-ming may stress in his "Preface to the Stanford Edition" that "[r]ace may be a biological reality, but ethnicity, as experience and consciousness, is mediated by a complex of social and political factors and thus cannot be reduced to mere empirical facts" (1994: vi), but, arguably, Wang Gungwu's reduction of people to "the Chinese" and the "non-Chinese" in his contribution does not quite fulfill Tu's promise of a clear differentiation of terms throughout, particularly when Wang prefaces his discussion of being Chinese in a non-Chinese environment by clearly racial contemplations about "look[ing] different," "speaking differently," and being "regarded as Chinese by others" (1994: 128). See also Wang's full-length study *The Chinese Overseas* and "China in Transformation" (special issue), *Daedalus* 122:2 (1993), both of which see Chineseness in the context of culture or the nation state.
3. As such she is rather critical of the work of Tu Wei-ming in *The Living Tree* (1994), which, despite the metaphor of the tree, builds on the idea of roots (Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese* 44). Wang Gungwu's *The Chinese Overseas* would probably be found in the same category.
4. The inner quotation is taken from Rey Chow, "Introduction: On Chineseness as a Theoretical Problem" 24.
5. Dingwaney's introduction to the appropriately called collection *Between Languages and Cultures: Translation and the Cross-Cultural Text* at this point stresses that the translation zone is also the zone of *transculturation* (Dingwaney 8), returning to the term popularized in anglo-academia by Mary Louise Pratt. And Pratt refers in the more recent essay "The Traffic in Meaning" also to the "use of translation as a . . . metaphor for analyzing intercultural interactions" (Pratt 25).
6. I am aware of the problems associated with Harry Zohn's translation, from which I quote nevertheless. See the debate in specifically de Man's essay "'Conclusions': Walter Benjamin's 'The Task of the Translator,'" (in Paul de Man, *The Resistance to Theory*) which suggests that Zohn's translation ultimately fails in following Benjamin's quest to reveal the kinship of languages. However, for want of a better English translation, I can only point to the critical debate.
7. I cannot in this chapter go into the details of deconstructionist readings of Benjamin's essay, as in Derrida's "Des Tours de Babel" and *Dissemination*, or in de Man's "'Conclusions': Walter Benjamin's 'The Task of the Translator,'" both of which elaborate on the impossibility of translation. To terribly simplify their arguments, these critics see the main fault of translation in the very fact that the realm of pure language can never be fully represented, and remains only accessible in an outgrowth or a trace, in *différance*. See also specifically Chow's critique of de Man's reading in *Primitive Passions* (187–88) and my note 6 above.

8. Sturrock's examples are taken from Bronislaw Malinowski's anthropological study, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic,* of the Kiriwinian language of the Trobriand Islands; Talal Asad gives a comparable example in his study, referencing Ernest Gellner's work on the Berbers. As problematic as particularly Malinowski's examples might be considered because of the underlying stance of the anthropologist's (colonialist and racist) superiority, the idea of the usefulness of an interlinear translation remains. (Interlinear) translations, confirms Asad, show that "[a]ll good translation seeks to reproduce the structure of an alien discourse within the translator's own language" and that "pushing beyond the limits of one's habitual usages, this breaking down and reshaping of one's own language through the process of translation, is never an easy business" (Asad 156–57).

**Chapter 3**

1. For a brief survey of media coverage of Guo's mission in major British newspapers, see Owen Hong-hin Wong, *A New Profile in Sino-Western Diplomacy: The First Chinese Minister to Great Britain*, especially 116–24.
2. At the time of his departure for Britain, about seventeen years after the Second Opium War, the *Times* still found it worthwhile to mention this in a article introducing Guo to the British public: "He was attached to the staff of [Senggelinqin] at the time of the treacherous attack on the British gunboats in the Peiho in 1859, and is said to have strongly opposed that proceeding" (*Times*, January 2, 1877).
3. Guo Songtao; hereafter quoted parenthetically in the text as *Diaries*.
4. Due to, in no small measure, the delay of the publication of his diaries and therefore the unavailability of his personal records, serious scholarly interest in Guo started to emerge only quite recently, in the late 1980s, when China had already begun its reform program. Scholarly attention has been largely focused on Guo as a diplomat or a reformist rather than an intellectual. There are numerous biographical studies of Guo Songtao in Chinese, but I am not aware of any full-length biography of him in English. For a biographical sketch of Guo, see the entry on him in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, Ed. Arthur W. Hummel (1943). Frodsham's introduction to *The First Chinese Embassy to the West* provides useful information and analysis of Guo Songtao and his mission to Britain.
5. Li made this comment in support of his proposal that more schools of western languages be established, following the Tongwen Guan ("the school of combined learning") that had been founded a year earlier. See Teng and Fairbank 74–75.
6. Critical analysis of the literati and scholar-officials abounds in Guo's writing. For example, in 1875, two years before his departure for London, Guo wrote in a memorial: "during the past thirty years in dealing with foreigners, our officials both at Court and in the provinces, have imitated the attitude which developed after the Southern [Song] dynasty, considering it disgraceful to make peace treaties, but excellent to make war." Guo, "Memorial on Foreign Affairs Submitted on the Occasion of the Termination of His Leave of Absence" (1875), in Frodsham 91.
7. One wonders, however, what Ku might wish to say exactly by specifying the existence of a "middle class Liberalism" in China. It seems that those "liberals" he referred to, surely including Guo Songtao, were merely interested in western methods and ideas, rather than in the representation of the "middle class," which, of course, could not have existed in the Qing period. For a gently satirical but

vivid sketch of Ku, see W. Somerset Maugham's "The Philosopher" in *On a Chinese Screen* (1922).

8. He had to abandon this idea for fear of more attacks from the literati. See Hao and Wang xi, 187.
9. Between 1872 and 1875, the Qing government sent to Yale College 120 students aged from twelve to fifteen.
10. Guo himself admired the impartiality of the British legal system. On his way to Britain, he stopped over in Hong Kong, where he was shown the legal practice in the colony. He was deeply impressed by "the pains taken in order to investigate the circumstances of the case, their caution in arriving at a decision, and their respect for human life evinced in their passing sentence." See Frodsham lxi.
11. Just as Guo Songtao had been considered to be the most knowledgeable about the West and the ablest in handling foreign affairs two decades previously, with the publication of his translation of *Ethics and Evolution*, Yan was then accepted as China's leading man in the domain of western learning. In 1909, the Qing government decided to confer upon those educated abroad traditional Chinese academic titles based on the results of the imperial examinations, and Yan Fu was given the title of *jinshi*, the candidate who achieved the highest score in the imperial examinations. See Zhu 366.
12. See Wang Xingguo 174–75. Frodsham is inaccurate in claiming that Guo received such a posthumous honor: "[Li Hongzhang] paid him belated tribute by having his name inscribed in the Bureau of National History, much against the wishes of his enemies. This posthumous honour was the only reward [Guo] was to reap for a life-time of brave and faithful service to a country which, as he was well aware, was proceeding to its downfall with all the blind assurance of a sleep-walker" (Frodsham lxii).
13. See "Constitution and By-Laws of the Confucius Institutes (Draft)," March 17, 2008, http://www.ldbj.com/kongzixueyuan0.htm.
14. For an example of such celebrity, see "Animating the Chinese classics: Yu Dan, the super-girl of Chinese thought," the cover story of *Yazhou zhoukan (Asiaweek)* February 25–March 4, 2007.

**Chapter 4**

1. For recent studies of the US literary left in the 1930s, see Cary Nelson's *Repression and Recovery: Modern American Poetry and the Politics of Cultural Memory, 1910–1945* (1989); Paula Rabinowitz's *Labor and Desire: Women's Revolutionary Fiction in Depression American* (1991); James Murphy's *The Proletarian Moment: The Controversy over Leftism in Literature* (1991); Michael Denning's *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (1996); and Alan Wald's *Exiles from a Future Time: The Forging of the Mid-Twentieth-Century Literary Left* (2002).
2. See Margaret Beetham's article "Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre" (1990).
3. For a recent study of *Shen Bao*, see Barbara Mittler's book *A Newspaper for China?: Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's New Media, 1872–1912* (2004). Shang Wei's article "*Jin Ping Mei* and Late Ming Print Culture" (2003) contains a brief account of the origin of the modern Chinese-language periodical.
4. See Chapter 4 of my monograph, *Cosmopolitan Publics: Anglophone Print Culture in Semi-Colonial Shanghai* (2009).

5. Among the short stories and essays Snow chose to include in his anthology, Ro Shi's "Slave Mother" and Ting Ling's "Flood" had already been published in *China Forum* and the non-left magazine *People's Tribune*. Ba Jin's short story "Dog," Lu Xun's essay "A Little Incident," and Mao Dun's short story "Mud" had first been published in *Voice of China* and *China Today* before they were included in this short story collection. The translator of these three stories, T'ung Tso, was in fact the pseudonym of Snow and his Chinese collaborator Xiao Qian. When these three pieces were published in the magazines, they were followed by a brief explanatory note that they were "especially translated" for *China Today* or *Voice of China*. These details suggest that this collection was not a self-contained cultural production but was closely related to other anglophone publications of the same era, some of which were overtly political by nature. Before the publication of this anthology, Snow's article "Lu Shun, Master of Pai-hua," one of the earliest English-language studies of the author, had been published in the magazine *Asia* along with some translations of the short stories to be included in *Living China*. Other pieces from the collection, including Snow's wife Nym Wales's long essay on "The Modern Chinese Literary Movement," had also been published in the British magazine *Life and Letters Today*. Neither *Asia* nor *Life and Letters Today* was an underground party-affiliated magazine, unlike *China Forum* or *China Today*. Thus, one could argue that Snow's translations and collection brought Lu Xun and modern Chinese literature to a wider and more mainstream audience in the West.
6. See Chapter 1 of my monograph, *Cosmopolitan Publics*.
7. See Shu-mei Shih's book, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semi-Colonial China: 1917–1937* (2001).
8. See Jameson's article "Third World Literature and National Allegory." But in addition to Jameson's reading, interpretations of Lu Xun's works in the Chinese mainland also try to align him with one political establishment or another depending on time period.
9. Elsewhere I give a close reading of a series of translation debates that involved Lu Xun, a Harvard-trained literary scholar Liang Shiqiu, and a Communist activist and literary critic Qu Jiubai in the early 1930s. See Chapter 4 of my monograph.
10. See the biography of Agnes Smedley by Janice R. MacKinnon and Stephen R. MacKinnon (1998), 153.
11. See "CFRA Groups Organize, Conference Scheduled," *China Forum.* November 7, 1933, 17.
12. Lu Xun, *Collection of Lu Xun's Works*, Vol. 4, 460. The translation is mine.
13. In his 1985 book *Re-Encounters in China: Notes of a Journey in a Time Capsule*, Isaacs gives a short account of editing *China Forum* in Shanghai. He says that "doubts about Communist affairs elsewhere in the world, the merits of Stalin-Trotsky struggle in Russia, and perhaps most of all, the crushing events in Germany where Stalin's insistence upon regarding the Social Democrats, not the Nazis, as the main enemy, had opened Hitler's road to power" led him to diverge from the official line of the Comintern carefully guarded by the underground Communist Party in Shanghai that supported his magazine (30). His report on anti-Japanese resistance in the Shanghai battle in 1932 and published in *China Forum* differed from the official story and was "criticized" in a letter to the editor, which he dutifully published in the magazine. When he refused to publish a tribute to Stalin, "all support was abruptly withdrawn" (31). Isaacs then left Shanghai for Beijing, where

he worked on the short story collection titled *Straw Sandals* and a controversial history of the Chinese revolution that focused on the problematic intervention from Stalin and the Comintern in the 1920s. It was this book that further turned him into an outcast among his Communist comrades in China and abroad.

14. Him Mark Lai's manuscript "To Bring Forth a New China, to Build a Better America: The Chinese Left in America to the 1960s" contains the most detailed description that I can find of Chi Ch'ao-ting's background and activities as well as the magazine *China Today* (8–25). Chi was a student of Tsing Hua University in the early 1920s. He was a member of *Chaotao*, a "policy-making core group" within the left-leaning political organization *Weizhen Xuehui*. *Weizhen Xuehui* was founded by Chi's schoolmate, another leftist student by the name of Shi Huang. In 1924, Chi left China for the United States and was enrolled in the University of Chicago, where he organized and participated in various anti-imperialistic activities. He was the first Chinese member of the American Communist Party. Chi was married to Harriet Levine, an American from New York. In 1933, Chi founded Friends of the American People along with several American Communist Party members including Philip J. Jaffe, who was Chi's wife's cousin. In addition to publishing *China Today*, the group also organized many street demonstrations for anti-imperialist and anti-Fascist purposes. It often worked together with the American League against War and Fascism. *China Today* was published between 1933 and 1937, at which point it was replaced by another magazine, *Amerasia*.
15. See Him Mark Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China, to Build a Better America."
16. *The People's Tribune* (1931–41) published six short stories by Lu Xun translated into English by Lin Yi-chin. Although Lin Yi-chin's choice of titles suggests a personal preference for the more introspective pieces among Lu Xun's short stories such as "Old Friends at the Wine-Shop" ("Zai Jiulou Shang"), some representative pieces such as "The Tragedy of K'ung I-Chi" were also included.
17. With regard to both the background of this magazine, see MacKinnon and MacKinnon 168.

**Chapter 5**

1. There are two main sources of biographical information on Wong: his series of essays, "Bygone Travel Notes" about his early childhood, and the obituary, "In Memory of Dr. Wong Man," by J. M. Tan and Rose W. Y. Tan, *Eastern Horizon* III:1 (January 1964), 62–63.
2. Michael Herzfeld defines "structural nostalgia" as the ways in which the people of a nation represent a lost, Edenic past in order to legitimize present actions, and in so doing, constitute themselves as social and political agents.
3. Translation mine. See also the selections of poetry and fiction by Tay and his two collaborators, Huang Jici and Lu Weiluan, in Works Cited, and also the short summary article on Hong Kong literature by Tay: "Colonialism" (2000).
4. See Tay et al. Ed. *Chronology* and Tay, "Colonialism" for a list of titles of publications sponsored by either the United States or Communist China.
5. It was easy for someone to obtain a license to publish before World War II. All the person needed to do was register with the government, obtain a guarantee from someone of recognized social standing, and pay a three-thousand-dollar deposit. The situation remained similar after the war (Lu Weiluan 41). Historians have shown that the British position vis-à-vis the Chinese mainland, Taiwan,

and the United States from after World War II to the early 1960s was constantly shifting because of regional instability. But amid change, the continuation of colonial rule remained paramount to the British. For example, they tolerated Communist Chinese activities in Hong Kong when World War II ended because the Kuomintang Nationalists had plans to seize Hong Kong and attempted to get American backing (Louis). Later, in the 1950s, the British renewed relations with Kuomintang-ruled Taiwan because of the Cold War and the rebuilding of the Anglo-American alliance (Mark).

6. According to Tay, Huang, and Lu, some of the writers did not have a clear idea where the funding for the publication they were writing for came from.
7. For a discussion of Blunden's Hong Kong poems and activities and his students' response to him as poet and teacher, see my article, "'Imagination's Commonwealth': Edmund Blunden's Hong Kong Dialogue." *PMLA* (January 2009, forthcoming).
8. Zhao's discussion of Hong Kong literary culture also includes the transition from earlier writing that represents "Hong Kong as a part of China" (iv) to later work showing how "Hong Kong finds herself" (iv), critiques commercialism and urbanization, and the influence of mass culture. In this respect, it tries to avoid approaching Hong Kong literary culture from exclusively Chinese nationalistic perspectives. My main disagreement with Zhao here is focused on the first section on anglophone writing.
9. It could have been the editor who invented the headline or Wong himself, for he was a regular contributor to the magazine and clearly on friendly terms with its publisher.
10. Or it may not be that whimsical after all. Wong's plan about how to gather information on different national cultures sounds remarkably similar to the one proposed recently by Franco Moretti which argues for an institutionalized center for researching world literature that draws on specialist studies of nationalist literature.
11. Progressive anthologists sometimes tried to get round this. W. H. Auden did an anthology in the 1930s organized democratically in alphabetical order of poet's name.
12. The official start date of the Korean War is June 25, 1950.
13. See, for example, Ngũgĩ's essay "The Language of African Literature" in *Decolonizing the Mind* 4–33.
14. See "John Rodker, 1894–1955: Biographical Sketch," Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin, March 18, 2008, http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/research/fa/rodker.bio.html, and also Crozier.
15. The 1966 and 1977 editions of Auden's work reprint two versions of the poem where the main difference is in the final tercet.
16. For a history of cultural internationalism and its emergence in relation to socialist nationalist history and politics, see Forman. From a different, liberal vantage, Akira Iriye studies cultural internationalism as part of the history of non-governmental, cross-national relations since the late nineteenth century.

**Chapter 6**

1. Such films include the Lunar New Year films *Mad, Mad World* and its sequels to art-house fare such as Clara Law's *Autumn Moon*, Evans Yang's *To Liv(e)*, Stanley Kwan's *Full Moon in New York*, and Mabel Cheung's *An Autumn's Tale*.
2. For the actors and filmmakers who continued to work in Shanghai while it was under Japanese control, returning to the mainland was also impossible, as neither

Communists nor Nationalists would have viewed their Japanese links with sympathy.

3. The irony is that while Shanghai, from the vantage point of Hong Kong, was considered a source of "true" Chineseness, it was long considered as "the other China" and an "object of nationalist outcry and conservative attacks" (Fu, "Between Nationalism and Colonialism" 206).
4. Fu in his examination of a range of Hong Kong films from 1937–41 concurs with the former. Patriotism meant leaving Hong Kong for the "authenticity of China" ("Between Nationalism" 210).
5. Southeast Asia was also to become an important focus for right-wing Hong Kong films.
6. In Cantonese, the film is called *Nam Pak Wo*. In English, this would roughly mean the union of north and south.
7. Feng Jiau is the only woman of the three whose personal journey has little to do with reassessing Chineseness. Instead, hers is more to do with her renunciation of lesbianism.

**Chapter 7**

1. See, for instance, Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy 1850–1990* (1993); Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (1991); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (1998); and Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts* (1996).
2. This is reflected, for example, in the fierce debate over the "fake" and "authentic" Chinese and Asian American identity between the masculine pan–Asian American nationalists and feminist critics, or in some Chinese American literary critics' problematic othering of American-born Chinese American writers in opposition to diasporic Chinese writers. Cf. Frank Chin, "This Is Not an Autobiography" 110; "Come All Ye Asian American Writers of the Real and the Fake," in *The Big Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese American Literature* 1–92; Sheng-mei Ma, *Immigrant Subjectivities in Asian American and Asian Diaspora Literatures* (1998).
3. This includes such canonical classics of American literature as Cooper's *Leather-Stocking Tales*, Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, Melville's *Moby-Dick*, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. For a list of more mainstream American literature on the theme of mobility, see Sau-ling Cynthia Wong, *Reading Asian American Literature* 118–19; Janis Stout, *The Journey Narrative in American Literature* 3.
4. For Lacan's signifying formulas of the "metonymic structure" and "metaphorical structure," see Jacques Lacan, *Ecrits: A Selection* 155.

**Chapter 8**

1. An account of these immigration laws and their effect on the Chinese population is available in I. Chang 103–56.
2. For a reading of "male hysteria" in this novel, see Eng 179–93.
3. A good introduction to Lim's fictional work between 1967 and 1990 is the collection of short stories entitled *Life's Mysteries: The Best of Shirley Lim* (1985). She has also published two novels to date: *Joss and Gold* (2001) and, more recently,

*Sister Swing* (2006). Lim has further produced at least five volumes of poetry between 1980 and 1998.

4. Tracking a sampling of Lim's critical work, beginning from the late 1980s, reveals a vibrant voice weighing in on debates in Asian American literary and feminist studies, while remaining connected to the literatures of Malaysia and Singapore. Debates on the theorization, formation, and pedagogy of Asian American literature were of specific concern to Lim: Shirley Geok-lin Lim, "Reconstructing Asian American Poetry: A Case for Ethnopoetics" (1987); "Assaying the Gold: Or, Contesting the Ground of Asian American Literature" (1993); Shirley Geok-lin Lim, Ed., *Approaches to Teaching Kingston's* The Woman Warrior (1991); Shirley Geok-lin Lim and Amy Ling, Ed., *Reading the Literatures of Asian America* (1992). Lim has also consistently championed Asian and Asian American women's writing and addressed ethnic specificities in American and global feminisms: Shirley Geok-lin Lim, Mayumi Tsutakawa, and Margarita Donnelly, Ed., *The Forbidden Stitch: An Asian American Women's Anthology* (1989); Shirley Geok-lin Lim, "Japanese American Women's Life Stories: Maternality in Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter* and Joy Kogawa's *Obasan*" (1990); "Semiotics, Experience, and the Material Self: An Inquiry into the Subject of the Contemporary Asian Woman Writer" (1990); "Asian American Daughters Rewriting Asian Maternal Texts" (1991); "The Tradition of Chinese American Women's Life Stories: Thematics of Race and Gender in Jade Snow Wong's *Fifth Chinese Daughter* and Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*" (1992); "Feminist and Ethnic Literary Theories in Asian American Literature" (1993); "Hegemony and 'Anglo-American Feminism': Living in the Funny House" (1993); "Up against the National Canon: Women's War Memoirs from Malaysia and Singapore" (1993); "The Center Can(not) Hold: US Women's Studies and Global Feminism" (1998); and "Where in the World is Transnational Feminism" (2004).
5. Lim's book is one of the many "academic memoirs" written by women, a genre that has proliferated during the 1990s. See Nancy K. Miller 1997.
6. The subtitle "Memoirs of a Nyonya Feminist" is used in the Singapore/Malaysia edition published by Times Books International, while the US edition is entitled *Among the White Moon Faces: An Asian-American Memoir of Homelands* (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 1996). For the purposes of appealing to a local readership, the term "Nyonya" obviously has more resonance for Singaporeans and Malaysians. Of course, it is also tempting to read this marketing strategy of re-titling the memoir as revelatory of the different cultural politics of ethnic/gender identity formations that the diasporic Chinese American negotiates.
7. A brief but lucid account of the Peranakans is available in "Hybrids," Lynn Pan 1990. Chapter 8. For a glossy pictorial depiction of Peranakan culture, see Joo Ee Khoo 1996.
8. Hokkien is a major dialect group among the Chinese in Malaysia and Singapore.
9. A more literal translation of "*Kelangkia-kwei*" would be "an Indian-child devil," though Lim is probably referring to the derogatory expression's usage by the Chinese to denote, in a more broadly encompassing way, those who are racially or culturally "tainted."
10. The relations between Chinese and Malays have been tense, to say the least, during much of the colonial and postcolonial history of Malaysia and Singapore. Racial riots between the two groups erupted during the 1960s in both countries. The Malaysian government has been guilty of instituting an unfair affirmative action-

type policy on behalf of the Malay majority, also known as the *Bumiputra* (roughly translated as the "Princes of the Land"). This policy discriminates against the Chinese and Indian minorities, especially in terms of government employment, university education, financial aid, and political appointments. But to solely excoriate Malay racism and discrimination against the Chinese would also be an injustice, as the rich Chinese elite also have a part to play in manipulating and exploiting the economy to their advantage (not unlike the Indonesian Chinese), hence drawing the ire and resentment of the Malay majority.

11. Eurasians in Malaysia and Singapore are products of Asian and Caucasian intermarriage. They are often seen in a postcolonial context as more socially privileged because of their racial whitening.
12. This last issue surfaces in the second half of Lim's memoir, which my chapter does not address because of space and topical constraints.
13. *The City in Which I Love You* was the 1990 Lamont Poetry Selection of the Academy of American Poets, and the Poetry Society of America bestowed on *Books of My Nights* its William Carlos Williams Award.
14. For more critiques of an elitist cosmopolitanism, see the essays in Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins 1998.
15. *Ba* is the Chinese version of "Dad," constituting a more casual form of address than "Father."
16. The politics of language and speech patterns is a problematic well laid out by Chinese American authors Maxine Hong Kingston 1976 and Amy Tan 1996.
17. The language and metaphors here parallel those in Ephesians 5.23–25, though with subversive differences: "For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the savior of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it." The garment also has biblical precedence: one thinks of Joseph's garment in the Old Testament book of Genesis.
18. Basford discusses briefly the interracial dynamic of sexual desire between Donna and the poet in Lee's poem "Persimmons," which is part of his first collection of poetry *Rose*.
19. "The terror the butcher / scripts in the unhealed / air, the sorrow of his Shang / dynasty face, / African face with slit eyes. He is / my sister, this / beautiful Bedouin, this Shulamite, / keeper of sabbaths, diviner / of holy texts, this dark / dancer, this Jew, this Asian, this one / with the Cambodian face, Vietnamese face, this Chinese / I daily face, / this immigrant, / this man with my own face" (L. Lee, "The Cleaving," 1990: 86–87).

**Chapter 9**

1. This and subsequent reference to numerical counts of Asian American literature are based on texts listed in King-Kok Cheung and Stan Yogi's annotated bibliography which, though twenty years old now and therefore not inclusive of more contemporary developments, is still the most comprehensive to the date of its publication. (See Cheung and Yogi 1988).
2. For a discussion of the 1961 musical film adaptation of *The Flower Drum Song* that helped to initiate the critical reassessment of Lee's text, see Cheng 31–63. For the treatment of Winnifred Eaton/Onoto Watanna that pioneered her recovery, see A. Ling 21–55. For the conservation of patriarchal relations in *Eat a Bowl of Tea*, see Hsiao 1992.

3. For the potentially dehistoricizing and formally naïve aspects of the approach to Asian American literature as only an articulation of differences, see Jinqi Ling 3–23.
4. For an astute critique of “the fiction” of “Asian American literature,” see Koshy 1996.
5. In Michael Omi and Howard Winant, this limitation is due both to the dehistoricization of racism and to an investment in the political resilience of the racialized (see Lye, Introduction).
6. The term used by Gayatri Spivak in her sympathetic critique of the contradictory essentialism of the Indian subaltern studies group has been borrowed by Asian American crities to conserve field identity. See, for example, L. Lowe 82. For a similar move that describes “Asian American” as a “rubric we cannot not use . . . [that] should rehearse the catachrestic status of the formation,” see Koshy 342.
7. For Asian American identity as hybrid and heterogeneous, see L. Lowe 66–68. For Asian American racialization as a triangulated and interrelational process, but in terms of black racialization, see Claire Jean Kim 2001. For the original conceptualization of Asian American identity as a pan-ethnic construct, see Espiritu 1992.
8. For a reading of the abuse episode as an instance of the American-born Asian’s encounter with a racial shadow that reminds her of her “disowned Asian descent,” see S. Wong 1993, 92.
9. To 1988, roughly as many books (fiction and nonfiction) have been published by South Asian Americans (74) as by Japanese Americans (76), while Filipino Americans have produced more novels (35) than Japanese Americans (30) and almost as many prose works overall (including books, essays, and short stories) (274) as have Chinese Americans (295). Nevertheless, South Asian Americans are still “a part yet apart,” and Filipino (Americans) were long “forgotten” (see Shankar and Srikanth 1998; Campomanes 1995).
10. In the 1920s, there were two books published by Chinese Americans and three by Japanese Americans; in the 1930s, eight by Chinese Americans and ten by Japanese Americans; in the 1940s, nineteen by Chinese Americans and six by Japanese Americans; in the 1950s, seventeen by Chinese Americans and ten by Japanese Americans; in the 1960s, eighteen by Chinese Americans and eight by Japanese Americans; in the 1970s, seventeen by Chinese Americans and fourteen by Japanese Americans. Since the absolute numbers are low enough to be statistically inconclusive, such quantitative comparisons are intended only to be suggestive.
11. The exceptions here are Matsumoto’s *Beyond Prejudice: A Story of the Church and Japanese Americans* (1946), an account of the church’s social work with Japanese American internees, and Lin’s *Chinatown Family* (1948), a novel about an immigrant family in New York. In the introduction to a recent reissue of Lin’s novel, C. Lok Chua writes that, as the author of more than thirty-five books, Lin was “arguably the most distinguished Chinese American man of letters of the twentieth century”; nevertheless, “if one hesitates to call him Chinese American at all, it must be because he was such a quintessentially diasporic citizen of the world” (Chua xxii). That said, while Lin has received passing mention in Asian American literary history, if as an antithetical or ill-fitting figure, Matsumoto is recollected hardly at all.
12. “Ambassadors of goodwill” is Elaine Kim’s term for the earliest “Asian American” writers who “were not representative of the general population of Asian

Americans." In this category, she includes Lee Yan Phou, New Il-Han, Chiang Yee, Anna Chennault, Etsu Sugimoto, Park No-Young, Wu Tingfang, Huie Kin, as well as Lin Yutang (E. Kim 24–32).

13. For the original conceptualization of the Asian American as a third term that is neither identically American nor Asian, see Chin et al. xii–xxii. For an account of Nisei women's autobiography as portraying a split self "inaugurated by the recognition that what was unrepresentable was a fully realized Nisei subject," see Yamamoto 126.
14. It is no coincidence that for examples of texts that demonstrate how the "mutually reinforcing interaction between race and gender discourses endemic to certain feminist plot structures does not necessarily articulate antagonism to American ideology but can service national agendas," Leslie Bow turns to Jade Snow Wong's *Fifth Chinese Daughter* and Amy Tan's *Joy Luck Club* (Bow 31).
15. In a study of Japanese American women's literature, Traise Yamamoto makes the point that the female subjects of Japanese American literature are more likely to "identify and align themselves with, and not against, their mothers" (Yamamoto 197).

**Chapter 10**

1. By "Chinese" here, and throughout this chapter, I am referring to ethnic Chinese culture rather than the culture of the Chinese mainland. Although this primarily signifies Han ethnicity, I include under the rubric of "Chinese" those artists and fictional characters that self-identify as ethnic Chinese.
2. See Mulk Raj Anand, *Untouchable* (1935; rpt., 2003).
3. The figure of the self-identified Chinese diasporic writer who self-Orientalizes was established by Sau-ling Wong's foundational essay, "'Sugar Sisterhood': The Amy Tan Phenomenon."
4. Kristeva's psychoanalytic theory cannot explain the specifically Chinese context of these diasporic cultural productions; I contend that the rhetorical relations established between Chineseness and waste can be clarified with reference to the concept of Orientalism. For a very different use of the concept of "abjection" in an Asian American context see David Leiwei Li's introduction to his study, *Imagining the Nation: Asian American Literature and Cultural Consent* (1998).
5. This 24-carat gold toilet was in 3-D Gold Store, 21 Man Lok Street, Hunghom/Kowloon, Hong Kong, China. See also the CNN article, "Hong Kong Jeweler's Lav of Luxury," February 23, 2001: http://archives.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/asiapcf/east/02/23/hongkong.toilet/index.html. The shop has closed recently.

**Chapter 11**

1. For a discussion of the make-up of "imperial diaspora," see Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*.
2. See my "Assimilation and Identities in French Indochina."
3. During the French colonial era, Vietnam was divided into three administrative parts: the colony of Cochinchina in the south, the protectorates of Annam and Tonkin in the center and the north respectively. Cambodia and Laos were also given the status of protectorates.
4. For English language scholarly studies of the relation between Vietnam and China before the French colonial era, see Keith Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* and Alexander Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model*.

5. For detailed discussions of the structure of these *congrégations* and the roles they play for their members, see "Notice sur la situation des Chinois en Indochine" (1909); René Dubreuil, "De la condition des Chinois et de leur rôle économique en Indo-Chine" (1901); the doctoral dissertation of Ky Luong Nhi entitled "The Chinese in Vietnam. A Study of Vietnamese-Chinese Relations with Special Attention to the Period 1862–1961" (1963); Tsai Maw-Kuey, *Les Chinois au Sud-Vietnam* (1968); Alain G. Marsot, *The Chinese Community in Vietnam under the French* (1993); and William E. Willmott, *The Chinese in Cambodia* (1967) and *The Political Structure of the Chinese Community in Cambodia* (1970).
6. For an example of how the Chinese brought supplies to the French expeditionary forces, see Paul Doumer 36–39.
7. This same observation was also made by Joleaud-Barral, who notes that in the early years of the conquest French merchants in Tonkin charged very high prices for their goods as they believed that the European community would have to buy from them. Later they lost their business to the Chinese (94). For a discussion of the competition between Chinese and French retail business in Indochina, see Kham Vorapheth, *Commerce et colonization en Indochine 1860–1945*.
8. For a detailed account of the role of Chinese as farmers of alcohol, salt, and opium, see Dubreuil; Chantal Descours-Gatin, *Quand l'opium finançait la colonisation en Indochine: l'élaboration de la régie générale de l'opium, 1860 à 1914* (1992); and Philippe Le Failler, *Monopole et prohibition de l'opium en Indochine: le pilori des chimères* (2001).
9. For details, see Dubreuil 1910.
10. Unless stated otherwise, all translations are mine.
11. The same remark about the Chinese as the "indispensable middleman" in the colony is found in Métin and Boudet and Coulet 1929.
12. For example, in *The Economic Development of French Indo-China*, Charles Robequain divides the people of the colony into three categories in the following order: Europeans, Chinese, and natives. See in particular Chapter 1.
13. The status of the Chinese also changed according to the changing relations between France and China over the years. For details about the laws that governed the different aspects of the lives of the Chinese, see "Notice sur la situation des Chinois en Indochine"; Dubreuil; Métin; Ky; Tsai; Willmott 1967; Huang Tsen-ming 1954; and Melissa Cheung 2002.
14. The right of the Chinese to buy land in Cambodia was taken away from them by the colonial government in 1924. For details see Willmott. Under French rule, the Chinese were barred from exploiting mines and rubber plantation.
15. For details on Chinese taxation, see 華僑志: 越南, 華僑志編纂委員會[編] [*Hua qiao zhi:* Yuenan, Hua qiao zhi bian zuan wei yuan hui bian.]
16. According to Métin, the impossibility to make up the large tax revenues paid by the Chinese from other sources was one of the reasons why the colonial government did not want to pursue the option of turning the Chinese into "natives."
17. *Lit de camp* is a piece of Vietnamese furniture that serves both as a bed and a place to take one's meals.
18. For a discussion of the Chinese immigrants' marriages with local women, see Tsai and Dubreuil.
19. Both the circular of the prosecutor and Doumer's letter are available at the colonial archival center, Centre des Archives d'Outremer, in Aix-en-Provence, carton GGI 7770.

20. For a discussion of the work of the Société française d'émigration des femmes, see my "French Women and the Empire."
21. For a detailed discussion of the fates of the *métis* in Cambodia, see Gregor Muller, Chapter 5.
22. Literally "Minh-huong" means "Minh village." The word "Minh" alludes to the group's ancestors who lived under the Ming dynasty and fled to Vietnam in the seventeeth century, preferring exile to living under the "foreign" yoke of the Manchu. The term was subsequently used to refer to all descendants of Chinese and Vietnamese parents. For a discussion of the history of the term, see Woodside.
23. For a discussion of the condition of the Minh-huongs, see Dubreuil, Tsai, and Marsot, "Notice sur la situation des Chinois en Indochine," "De la condition des *Minh-huong*," .
24. For details on the Sino-Cambodian elite, see Willmott, and Muller.
25. Quoted in Pégard 240.
26. The concept of *habitus* is taken from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, see in particular *The Logic of Practice*. For an interesting application of the concept of *habitus* in a colonial context, see E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*.
27. For a description of the Hanoi theater house, see Eugène Brieux, in particular 37–8. For an excellent documentation on colonial architecture in Vietnam, see Arnauld Le Brusq's beautifully illustrated book, *Vietnam à travers l'architecture coloniale*.
28. For details on the social life of Hanoi and Haiphong, see Claude Bourrin.
29. Yet the effort did not always achieve the desired result in particular in the eyes of some of the metropolitan visitors, who tended to scoff at the colonials' pretentiousness. See for example Auguste François.
30. The French colonial civil servants received double the pay of their metropolitan counterparts and were entitled to six months of paid leave for every three-year term of service as well as other kinds of benefits. The theme of financial ruin brought on by the need to maintain a middle- or even upper-class lifestyle in the colony is frequently found in Indochinese colonial novels. For a discussion of the subject, see my "Portrait of the Young Woman as a *Coloniale*."
31. For detailed discussions of Chinese cultural activities in Cambodia and Vietnam, see Willmott 1970 and Tsai. For Chinese sources, see Zhou Shenggao and 華僑志: 越南 [*Hua qiao zhi: Yuenan*].
32. These figures are taken from Feng and Poncins.
33. For discussions of these ethnic groups in Indochina, see Pierre Brocheux, Michael Vann, Gerald Hickey, *Sons of the Mountains* and *Kingdom in the Morning Mist,* and Oscar Salemink.

**Chapter 12**

1. Relevant recent works that focus on the White Australia Policy and its ramifications for Australia's contemporary socio-political context include those of John Fitzgerald, James Jupp, and Laksiri Jayasuriya et al.
2. The biggest exception to this is the asylum offered to mainland Chinese students in 1989 by then Prime Minster Bob Hawke in the aftermath of the Tiananmen Square riots.
3. See Ien Ang 2001, Tseen Khoo 2003, Chapter 1.

4. The "Blainey Debate" arose from comments made by Australian historian Geoffrey Blainey that criticized the numbers of (Southeast) Asian migrants arriving in Australia. His argument was that these groups would erode Australia's social cohesion and the migrants would take "Australian jobs." These comments inflamed considerations about the desirability of Asians as immigrants and resulted in many public discussions. For a range of resources pertaining to this debate, search the *Making Multicultural Australia* site (http://multiculturalaustralia.edu.au).
5. See Tseen Khoo, Jen Tsen Kwok, and Chek Ling, "Chinese Voices"; also see Chek Ling's work.
6. A study that will hopefully rectify this is Jen Tsen Kwok's pending doctoral thesis (University of Queensland), titled "Chinese Australian Political Cultures and Subcultures in Multicultural Australia." The dissertation focuses in particular on Chinese Australian politicians and political candidates.
7. Bjelke-Petersen was state premier for nineteen years (1968–87) and notorious for his corrupt political tactics (as exposed by the [Tony] Fitzgerald Inquiry into his government). Hanson and her One Nation Party rose to power in the mid-1990s on a platform of highly controversial anti-Aboriginal and anti-Asian rhetoric, and policies such as "abolishing multiculturalism" (One Nation Federal Policy document [accessed February 24, 2007]: http://www.onenation.com.au/Policy%20document.htm). Considered a minor party that espoused extremist policies, it ceased to be a federal party in 2005.
8. ABS, *4102.0 — Australian Social Trends, 2004*
9. For example, see Kay J. Anderson 1991 and 1990.
10. See Raymond Evans 2004 and 1998.
11. This term was first coined by Australian historian Geoffrey Blainey (see Blainey, "Drawing up a Balance Sheet of Our History") and has since been embraced by conservative politicians and commentators alike when opposing "political correctness" and alternative histories.
12. The Queensland Chinese Forum is an association of local Chinese community groups in Brisbane. Being one of the longest surviving ethnic organizations in Queensland, it has a political profile with Queensland governments (state and local) and its fair share of leadership and managerial controversies.

**Chapter 13**

1. The survey was funded by a grant from the Economic and Social Research Council for the project "British Chinese Online Identities," (RES–000–22–1642). I acknowledge their support. I am extremely indebted to my co-researcher on the survey, Dr. Miri Song of the University of Kent at Canterbury, for securing the funding and working on the project.
2. From 1999 until July 2007, the site was accessible via http://www.britishbornchinese.org.uk and was known as the "British Born Chinese" site. The reason for the change to "British Chinese Online" was partly due to accessibility issues concerning the original domain name, but also resulted from a recognition that many young Chinese people in Britain had been born elsewhere, yet regarded themselves as British Chinese.

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