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

## 20. **Daniel F. VUKOVICH**, "Hong Kong's China and China's Hong Kong: Politics Trapped in the Post-Colonial Enclave"

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

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

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

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

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

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