Diaspora, Art and Empathy

Professor Jacqueline Lo

It is too early to anticipate the impact of the recent release of the Australia in the Asian Century White Paper. The 312 page document has been the subject of considerable public and academic attention. There has been praise for the document's emphasis on education to develop the country's 'Asian capabilities'. While the issue of how this reorientation is going to be funded remains unanswered, there are encouraging signs that the White Paper is already influencing the direction of education and cultural sectors.

One of the more limiting aspects of the White Paper is that it does not account for the ways in which Australia is, already, 'Asianised'. The economic rise of Asia, and especially of China and India has resulted in unprecedented changes to both the geo-political and economic landscape and thus necessitated a 'national blueprint for a time of national change' to rethink Australia's role and engagement with Asia. According to the Prime Minister at the launch of the commissioning of the paper in 2011, 'Australia has not been here before'. This assertion invoked a sense of déjà vu for many scholars of Australian history. The 'Asian century' has been both anticipated and dreaded from as early as the 1880s and contributed to the development of the so-called White Australia policy that continues to haunt Australia's profile in the region. The discourses of 'engagement' with a rising Asia and its corollary, the fear of Asian invasion, have played a critical role in the national imaginary.

For all the attention on Asia and Asians in the Henry report, there is a remarkable absence of discussion about the role of Asian Australians in the document. As Tim Soutphommasane notes, 'Some of us seem to believe that Asia is something out there, wholly apart from us. In fact there is already a lot of Asia in Australia. . . . That is because so much of our Asian-ness . . . is currently invisible. With one or two exceptions, Asian-Australians aren't in the room when it matters. Where are they represented in our ministerial cabinets, our corporate boardrooms and



our editorial offices? Will they be represented in such settings soon?'

Within such a landscape, what are the implications of rising Asia for cultural studies at large, and for Asian Australian Studies, specifically? What does it mean to be an Asian Australian in the face of so much polemic? The discourse of rising Asia is frequently conflated with rising China which produces specific challenges as well as opportunities for Australians of Chinese descent. John Young's story illustrates as well as problematises the politics and poetics of diaspora.

John Zerunge Young

John Young was born in Hong Kong in 1956, the youngest of a westernised Catholic family. His parents sent him to a Sydney boarding school in 1967 to remove him from the immediate consequences of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Aside from annual trips back to Hong Kong, Young has made Australia his home.

Young belongs to what might be considered the first wave of Chinese Australian artists that include Lindy Lee and William Yang – these Chinese Australians grew up and began their professional careers at a time when the White Australia policy was still in place and there was little cultural space for notions of diasporic or hybrid identities. Although the work of all three artists investigates, in different ways, their Chinese cultural heritage, this was not always the case: their early works are underscored by modernist and postmodernist Euro-American precepts.

Young's intellectual and artistic education is resolutely Western; he read the philosophy of science and aesthetics at the University of Sydney and studied sculpture and painting with European-trained artists at the Sydney College of the Arts. His formative years of art training was in European and American modernism, and he maintains a strong interest in European philosophy, especially the works



of Benjamin and Wittgenstein. Despite this, Young's work has been read through conventional diasporic frameworks, particularly in the 1990s when contemporary Asian art gained increasing currency in the international arts market. While the dominant multicultural paradigm operating at the time created new spaces for non-Anglo artists to present their works, the interpretation of the works tends to be subsumed under simplistic identity discourses of hybridity and fusion.

Young's work is consistently interpreted as a signifier of his Chinese-Australian identity. His 'Double Ground' series that began in 1995 developed his technique of painting over layered digital photographic prints on canvas to create a single plane of vision that is segmented and palimpsest. The images that he draws on come from diverse sources including gardening books, catalogues, landscapes, nude photography, and movie stills.

The Comprador's Mirror #3 (1998) is a large work composed of juxtaposed images of an ancient Roman relief, a female nude and aerial landscapes. According to Carolyn Barnes, by juxtaposing these diverse images on the same picture plane, the artist resists forming a singular narrative or core meaning. He did not want to be seen as simply an 'ethnic' artist charged with the weight of representing a social or cultural group. 'Rather, he saw the primary value of being positioned both within and outside the structures of western thought and culture as enabling him to meet the idea of difference head on'.

The double ground trope refers not only to the layering of images and the unstable plane of sight but also to the ways it speaks to different kinds of audiences – from the West and Asia. Yet despite some critical attempts to theorise the processual and intertextual aspects of the paintings, Young's work has largely been interpreted as representing the tensions between these separate cultures. The visual distinction between Asian and Western references in the works, as well as his



technique of merging painting with digital imaging technology are interpreted as signifiers of Young's own contested and hybrid cultural identity.

The orthodox multicultural paradigm operating at the time led to a tendency to over-emphasise the biographical and ethnic identification of Asian Australian artists as the primary means of elucidating the artworks. The institutionalisation of such practices within academia and the arts market has the unfortunate consequence of delimiting Asian Australian artworks as ethnographic testimonials of racial difference, thereby reinforcing the location of the works at the fringes of mainstream Australian culture.

In 1996 Young led a team of artists to establish Gallery 4a, Australia's first exhibition space for Asian Australian artists. 4a is the shorthand for Asian Australian Artists' Association. He became the Founding President of the association in 1997 when it formally launched its role of public advocacy for Asian Australian art. This was in the heyday of the so-called Asianisation of Australian arts, when the Australia Council for the Arts had a designated budget for developing relations with Asia, and local Asian Australian artists, theatre practitioners and writers were making some inroads into mainstream institutions. Young was heavily involved in the activities of 4a for the next few years but in early 1999, he resigned from the presidency after moving to Melbourne. He was starting to have doubts about the impact of the Asianisation push. He perceived a destructive cycle emerging that racialised artists fell into when trying to assert their identity and transcend stereotypes.

By the late 90s, multiculturalism as government policy was on the wane. The idea of the Asian Australian artist, while a factual reality, became increasingly problematic from the perspective of policy-makers and funding bodies. The decision to express cultural allegiance outside a performative Australianness was perceived as



lacking identification with the nation while encouraging in some factions, a kind of cultural cannibalisation or excessive production and consumption of ethnic and racial Otherness. 4a's commitment to the specificities of Asian Australian identity and in particular, its distinction from the fixed notion of Australianness often resulted in the delimiting of ways to find common ground with mainstream culture as well as overlooking the diversity within Asian Australian cultural practices.

The challenges faced by 4a and Young's unease with the prevailing discourses of diaspora and racialised positions offered by the hyphenated Asian/Chinese-Australian category reflects wider concerns in diaspora and critical race studies in Australia and in the USA. As someone who is thoroughly implicated in this period of Asian Australian politicisation, and who remains engaged with the project of Asian Australia, I do not wish to come across as disavowing the efforts to create and sustain organisations such as 4a, but it is equally important to critique foundational concepts and challenge their political efficacy in the face of changing social conditions.

The Challenge of Post-Race

The term post-race entered popular discourse when Barack Obama became the first African American President of the USA. Simplistic notions of post-race assume that race no longer matters: racism is 'over' with the instatement of a coloured man in the country's top job. For others, the term post-race is used with more subtlety as a political challenge and intellectual problematic. Post-race in this context signifies a turn from essentialist views about race as a biological 'fact' and the search to find a framework that offers political agency to critique new forms of racism informed by cultural differences rather than notions of race as biological heredity.



This form of neo-racism– what Etienne Balibar calls 'racism without races' – 'does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but "only" the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of lifestyles and traditions'. Neo-racism 'presents itself as having drawn the lessons from the conflict between racism and anti-racism' and argues that if you want to avoid racism, you must maintain cultural differences and, 'in accordance with the postulate that individuals are the exclusive heirs and bearers of a single culture', keep collectivities separate. As the increasing visibility of far-right anti-immigration and anti-Islam groups in the USA, Europe and to a lesser extent in Australia evidence, the social purchase of 'race' and the effects of 'racism' is still prevalent. For Young, the post-race challenge is to find ways of engaging critically with race-consciousness by working paradoxically with and against the conceptual tools that we have yet to replace.

Young's recent work is instructive in this respect. Rather than focusing on issues of racial or transcultural identity, his interest has turned instead to the question of how people act in cross-cultural situations. Globalisation has had a profound impact on the international arts market, opening new opportunities across national borders. There has been a surge of interest in contemporary Chinese art since the 1980s with the likes of Cai Guo-Qiang, Wenda Gu and Xu Bing becoming major figures in festival circuits. Although the international art world is now a diffuse network of institutions and circuits of collaboration, production and exchange, Young maintains that the work of these Chinese artists are still required to perform racialised roles and deal with Chinese issues in order to maintain currency. He also sees international curators adopting a deterritorialised approach to the works themselves, specialising in the thematic manipulation of artworks drawn from diverse locations with little attention to the historical contexts that support the artworks.



For Young, the speed of globalisation has exacerbated this sense of ethical indifference in the constant search for the next 'hot' commodity. He sees a role for art in linking the present to 'a world of forgotten stories, discarded objects, and memories [...] Making art not only means to recollect stories, but to reawaken an intrinsic ethical impulse in the present'. This shift to 'situate ethics and moral judgment within the context of crossing from one culture to another' began with his exhibition, Bonhoeffer in Harlem, staged at the St Matthew's Church in Berlin's Kulturforum.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer was a German Lutheran pastor and theologian who became known for his resistance to the Nazi dictatorship, and specifically to the genocide against the Jews. He was also involved in plans by members of the Abwehr (German Military Intelligence Office) to assassinate Adolf Hitler. He was arrested in April 1943 by the Gestapo and executed by hanging in Flossenbürg in April 1945, a mere twenty-three days before the Nazis surrendered.

Bonhoeffer received his doctorate in theology at the tender age of 21; he returned to the Berlin in 1929 to work on his habilitation thesis, which was conferred a year later. As he was considered too young to be ordained, Bonhoeffer went to the USA in 1930 for postgraduate study on a teaching fellowship at New York City's Union Theological Seminary. While the American seminary did not live up to his expectations, he was exposed to a very different way of life. He met Frank Fisher, a black fellow seminarian who introduced him to Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, where Bonhoeffer taught Sunday school and formed a lifelong love for African-American music. He heard Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. preach the Gospel of Social Justice and became aware of issues of discrimination and social inequity wrought not only by the authorities and mainstream society, but also of the Church's own ineffectiveness to improve the situation. It has been suggested this period abroad played a crucial role in his intellectual and spiritual development,



where Bonhoeffer 'turned from phraseology to reality'. The Harlem experienced made him a sensitive critic of American racism and deepened his resistance to German anti-Semitism. He returned to Berlin in 1931 with a clear conviction to fight against racist ideologies. He was ordained at St Matthew's Church on 15 November 1931.

There are many memorials to Bonhoeffer including a bronze torso by the Zion Church in Berlin and its replica in Breslau/Wroclaw, and a statue in Westminster Abbey. What distinguishes Young's artwork is that it is not a static memorial but an installation that stages a process of remembering with particular sensitivity to issues of race and dispossession. While most monuments commemorate Bonhoeffer's undoubted heroism and sacrifice, Young's installation explores his connections with the Harlem community, a community that understood all too well the trauma that an ideology of racial supremacy is capable of generating.

Young took inspiration from the stained glass from the Abbysinian Baptist Church in Harlem and translated it, firstly into an oil painting of swirling Afro-colours capturing the vivacity and joy of the church community that so inspired Bonhoeffer. The painting was then interpreted into a tapestry woven with Chinese silk in Nepal by Dolma Lob Sang, who comes from a family of Tibetans exiles. The tapestry hung as the centrepiece in St Matthew's, and in the words of Young, it was 'like listening to black gospel music'.

The series of chalk-drawings on blackboard paint-covered paper are a reference to the 1970s blackboard drawings of Joseph Beuys and Rudolf Steiner's blackboard lectures on social reform following the First World War. As a tool for teaching, the blackboard underscores the more didactic aspects of Young's recent





那惡·止面支鋒 3. eine Speiche im Rad des Staates 2 . 2. 1933





work. Written in German, English and Chinese, the works revisit his earlier concept of double ground and the effort and losses of crossing cultures, languages, and media. The visibly erased text in some of the works haunt and elude totalising epistemological capture – the chalky residue visible reminders of lives lost, stories untold and the nagging presence of pain and loss.

While appearing deceptively simple, the chalk drawings communicate the weight of history in three different languages: Chinese, German and English. The inscribed words 'Sanctorum Communio (Communion of Saints),' is a reference to the title of Bonhoeffer's thesis while the date 9 May 1930 denotes the date he arrives in New York. Also written in Chinese is the injunction 'Evil – oppose it directly'.

'Eine speiche im rad des Staats' is German for 'a spoke in the wheel of the state'. Bonhoeffer believed that in the face of an illegitimate State, the Church had a role to be a disruptive force: to jam a spoke in the wheel of that state. February 2nd 1933 denotes the date when Bonhoeffer, on his return to Berlin from the USA, spoke on radio against the rise of Nazism. The authorities abruptly terminated the broadcast. The erased writings resemble a palimpsestic struggle of religious and moral ideologies. The Chinese characters proclaim 'real concrete social action' and while the German, 'Schem Hamphoras' is a reference to the controversial anti-Jewish text Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi (Of the Unknowable Name and the Generations of Christ), by Martin Luther published in 1543. Also written in English is 'Sermon on the Mount', the collection of teachings by Jesus about morality found in the Gospel According to Matthew. There are also visible signs of another erased text in Chinese characters denoting 'responsible action, a highly risky action'. The overlay markings of a small hand-print – perhaps of a child – adds to the poignancy of the work.

The chalk-drawings are sometimes paired with digital inkjet prints from photographs, for example of Bonhoeffer in his prime. The combination of digital technology and chalk-drawings underscore the passing of time drawing attention to the ways by which memories are stored, mediated and re-presented. In Meditation, Finkelwalde refers to the location of the seminary that Bonhoeffer led from 1935-1937 for the Confessing Church, a church established is opposition to the Nazi-controlled German Evangelical Church. Written in Chinese is the phrase 'The test of the morality of a society is what it does for its children.'

The paired images that denote the final years of Bonhoeffer's life are stark yet poetic. In Prison, 8.4.1945 marks the date when Bonhoeffer was hanged in the concentration camp at Flossenbürg. 'Teure Gnade' means costly grace in German. Also written in German is 'Eine Drossel, die singt' (a thrush that sings). During his incarceration, Boenhoffer would sometimes hear a bird sing through the bars of his window. He wrote about this in a letter just before his death to his fiancée Maria von Wedemeyer. Also written in Chinese, 'action springs not from thought but from a readiness for responsibility'. The sheer simplicity and beauty of the inkject image of the thrush stands as a strong contrast to what we know happened in the camps.

Bonhoeffer in Harlem is an artistic tour de force. Young plays with various media and materialities so that glass becomes silk or canvas, paper becomes blackboard, and what is dark and forgotten comes to light once again. Working on Bonhoeffer's story also led Young to another cluster of lost stories of humanitarian action: this time about foreigners who stayed behind to assist the Chinese during what became known as the Nanjing Massacre. This led to the development of Safety Zone. This work comprised 60 blackboard drawings and digital images, 3 large paintings entitled Flower Market (Nanjing 1936), and 2 vertical oil on raw linen paintings entitled The Crippled Tree. The exhibition premiered at Anna Schwartz













Gallery in 2010 and was restaged at the University of Queensland Art Museum in 2011.

The Crippled Tree paintings are Young's highly personal reflections about this historic event. The chopped off limbs and vestiges of violence marking both surface and inner core of the tree recall some of the untold brutalities inflicted by the Japanese assailants. While undertaking research for this essay, I came across a number of photographic documents including John Magee's work (one of the members of the International Committee who photographed the brutalities of the Japanese soldiers in an effort to prove to the reality of the violence to the international community). One of the most horrific photos I came across was of a female corpse profaned by a large tree branch inserted into her vagina.

As in Bonhoeffer in Harlem, Young also uses a series of chalk-drawings on blackboard covered paper interspersed with inkjet prints from archival images for the Safety Zone panels. Most of these images focus on the atrocities.

As the Japanese marched closer to Nanjing in 1931, most foreigners left the city except for 15 American and Europeans who stayed behind and formed the International Committee to protect the Chinese. They set up a Safety Zone of some 3.85 square kilometres. At the height of the Nanjing invasion, the International Committee protected some 200,000 civilian Chinese. Among many individuals acknowledged in Young work are John Magee, mentioned earlier and Robert Wilson, the only surgeon left in the Nanjing Hospital. In this essay I focus on two other foreigners whose stories resonated with Young.

John Rabe was a businessman working for the German electronic and engineering company, Siemens. He was appointed leader of the International Committee

艾拉培戈生 land in sex an feld Du hast Das Herz eines Buddha 5-1-1949



largely because he was a member of the Nazi Party. This afforded him some negotiating capacity as the Germans were allies with the Japanese at the time as part of the Anti-Commintern Pact. When the Safety Zone was disestablished in 1938, Rabe was sent back to Berlin. After Hitler's reign however, he and his family encountered great hardship because of his Nazi association; he was first held by the Gestapo and then after the war, by the Soviet NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), and later by the British Army. He was forced to undergo an arduous de-Nazification process and loss his job at Siemens. He and his family lived in poverty to the point of starvation until the citizens of Nanjing heard about his situation. They sent money and later monthly food packages to help the family. Rabe died in 1950 in pitiful circumstances.

The date 13-12-1937 denotes the time when the worst atrocities began in Nanjing. In the next image, written in Chinese is 'This is a drawing for John Rabe'. 'Du hast das Herz einer Buddha' (You have the heart of a Buddha). Text under erasure denotes: 'You have saved thousands of poor people from danger and want' which is juxtaposed against Rabe's own writing 'Everyone thinks I am a hero and that can be very annoying. I can see nothing heroic about me or within me' (in Chinese) for Mr. Rabe.

The other person of note is Minnie Vautrin, an American who established the Ginling Girls College and saved hundreds from rape and worse fates. But even Vautrin could not prevent numerous incursion by the Japanese soldiers who came into the College and raped girls as young as 3, as well as their mothers and grandmothers. Vautrin was sent home along with other foreigners in 1938 when the Safety Zone was disestablished after the Japanese army claimed formal control of the city. Traumatised by the events she had witnessed and feeling responsible for the lives she could not protect, Minnie committed suicide by turning on the gas stove in her apartment in Indianapolis in 1940.

The inkjet portrait of girls from Ginling Girls College innocently playing in the Safety Zone compound. In the next image, with the caption of Ginling College, we find, once again, Bonhoeffer's quote used by Young in the Bonhoeffer in Harlem show, reproduced here in Chinese: "The test of the morality of a society is what it does for its children'. For me the words seem all the more chilling, when accompanied by the visual image of youth.

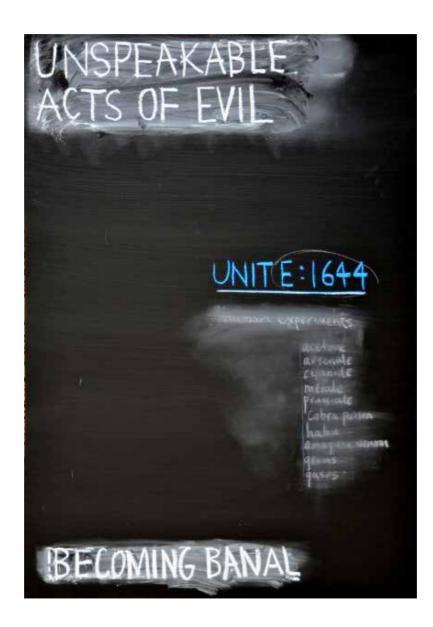
The only foreign doctor who stayed behind at the University of Nanking Hospital was Dr. Robert Wilson. This is the only full-face portrait of a Chinese subject in Young's panel, and thus, an important assertion of embodied Chinese agency and resistance to the violence at the time. The image with the caption, 'Unspeakable acts of Evil' also includes a reference to Unit Ei 1644, the Japanese unit that undertook biological and chemical experimentation on captive human subjects. The erased text denotes 'human experiments, acetone, arsenate, cyanide, nitrate, prussiate, cobra poison, habu, amagasa venom, germs, gases'. 'Unspeakable Acts of Evil, Becoming Banal' was mentioned many times in the witnesses' records at the Nanjing War Crimes Tribunal. This quote is attributed to George Ash more Fitch, the Director of International Committee who kept a diary and filmed some of the events during his time in Nanjing.

Pheng Cheah reminds us that 'The globe is not the world.'

Globe thinking focuses on geo-economic relationships informing, among other things, the thinking behind the Australia in the Asian Century White paper. World-thinking on the other hand, is about how humans relate to each other and their environment in time and space.







The globe [...is] the totality produced by processes of globalization, [...]a bounded object or entity in Mercatorian space. When we say 'map of the world,' we really mean 'map of the globe.' It is assumed that the spatial diffusion and extensiveness achieved through global media and markets give rise to a sense of belonging to a shared world, when one might argue that such developments lead instead to greater polarization and division of nations and regions. [...] By contrast, 'The world is a form of relating or being-with'.

Histories of war and trauma are powerful world-making forces. More specifically, war and trauma make powerful national memories. The memories of the Holocaust and the Nanjing massacre have been contested and deployed by the states of Germany, Israel, China and Japan at different times towards different (and sometimes similar) ends.

In contrast to these official memory projects, Young's work reimagines the events from a diasporic perspective, focusing on ordinary people who find themselves caught up in extraordinary circumstances that require moral decisions to be made and sustained. I believe that it is possible to argue for these works as instances of postmemory, following the work of Marianne Hirsch who defines postmemory as:

the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collec tive trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. Postmemory's connection to the past is thus not actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation.





What is striking about Young's work is that this postmemory was not bequeathed to him as a member of the German, American or Nanjing Chinese communities per se. Rather, his work demonstrates the ways in which the transnational memory of both Bonhoeffer and Nanjing has been memorialised from an inter-diasporic perspective. Young's memory-making is not conventionally post-memory in the sense of a memory that has been bequeathed to the artist. However, I assert that a convincing case can be made on the grounds of affective communication. Postmemory less about veracity – typified by debates about how many Chinese or Jews were actually murdered – but rather about the structures of feeling that the memory-making inspires, and the ways in which this memory-making echoes something of the ethics and history of the memory-maker.

I believe that while the transmission of pain, loss and displacement in the aforementioned works echoes something of Young's own history and desires, nonetheless that is not the primary objective of the works. These works are not concerned with the vertical pronoun – the 'I' but a search for mutuality and reciprocity with an 'Other'. As a creative act, the artworks bridge personal and collective memo ries, producing new narratives of social belonging, new affective capacities across diasporas and challenges us to rethink collective responsibility.

Young's memorial works are as acts of minor transnationalism that engage with the past with a political and ethical imperative that Tessa Morris Suzuki conceptualises as 'implication'.

'Implication' means the existence of a conscious connection to the past, but also the reality of being (in a legal sense) 'an accessory after the fact'. We who live in the present did not create the violence and hatred of the past. But the violence and hatred of the past, to some degree, created us. It formed the material world and the ideas with which we live, and will continue to do so unless we take active steps to unmake their consequences.



These are important lessons for Asian Australian Studies which has been founded on the discourse of racial wounding: of racism, discrimination and political marginalisation by mainstream culture and the state. John Young's work offers a way to grieve for this history from a position of alterity, not to reify a victim discourse or promote cultural chauvinism but rather to reimagine, reengage and co-exist with others with compassion and empathy.

This essay was first presented as a keynote address by Prof. Jacqueline Lo in August 2012 at the United States Study Centre, University of Sydney for the Pacific Triangles: Australia, China and the Reorientation of American Studies' Symposium.



Notes

See http://asiancentury.dpmc.gov.au/white-paper.

Julia Gillard, Speech to the Asialink and Asia Society Lunch, Melbourne.

28 September 2011 http://www.pm.gov.au/press-office/speech-asialink-and-asia-society-lunch-melbourne (downloaded 5/1/12).

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See http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/politics/australias-asianness-is-barely-visible

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Carolyn Barnes, 'Towards a Layered Imaginary' in John Young catalogue, Fishermans Bend, Vic: Craftsman House, 2005, p. 61.

Barnes, p. 60.

Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, Race, Nation, Class – Ambiguous Identities, London and NY: Verso, 1991, p. 21.

Balibar, p. 22.

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Young cited in Thomas J Berghuis, 'John Young: Situational Ethics,' Art & Australia, 48.3 (Autumn), 2011, p. 440.

Berghuis, p. 440.

St Matthew's Church today is still a predominantly 'White' monocultural congregation. At the opening of the installation, a black Harlem jazz singer, Jocelyn B. Smith and the Berlin Choir of Hard Knocks performed which made a strong contrast to its usual performance repertoire.

Quote from Bonhoeffer, Letters and Papers from Prison. The Enlarged Edition. NY: MacMillan, 1973, p. 275 and cited by Clifford J Green, Bonhoeffer: A Theology of Sociality. Wm B Eerdmans Publishing Michigan USA Revised Edition, 1999, pp. 105-6. See also David F Ford, The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology in the Twentieth Century, 1997, Blackwell.

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Pheng Cheah, 'World Literature as world-making Activity', Daedalus, Summer, 2008, p. 30. Marianne Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', Poetics Today, 29.1 (Spring), 2008, pp. 106-107.

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