

@HYDERABAD

16th AICCS

ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF CHINA STUDIES

印度全国中国研究会议

16 - 18 November 2023

MIRA SINHA-BHATTACHARJEA
Best Paper Award



SOCIAL DYNAMICS &
POLITICAL RESPONSES
IN CHINA



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ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF CHINA STUDIES (AICCS)

The **Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS)** has been organising the **All India Conference of China Studies (AICCS)** as a flagship event since 2006. Convened annually, usually in November-December, in partnership with an institution where research and teaching in China Studies is being carried out, it is meant to generate interest in and strengthen research on China Studies in India. In addition to a special theme each year, the conference also showcases a survey of recent scholarship in different aspects of China Studies, globally as well as in India.

PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF AICCS

As a pan-Indian outreach initiative, the previous editions of **AICCS** have been held in **Delhi** (2006 & 2009), **Jadavpur University** (2010), **Central University of Hyderabad** (2011), **Visva-Bharati University** (2012 & 2021), **IIM Kozhikode** (2013), **Banaras Hindu University** (2014), **Sikkim University** (2015), **University of Mumbai** (2016), **Goa University** (2017), **Christ (deemed-to-be-University)** (2018), **O.P. Jindal Global University** (2019), **IIT Madras** (2021) and **IIT Guwahati** (2022).

Mira Sinha-Bhattacharjea Award



Each year, the best paper presented by a young and emerging scholar is selected for the **Mira Sinha-Bhattacharjea Award**, instituted in the memory of one of the most eminent scholars of China Studies in India. The Award carries a prize of 25,000 INR and the selected paper is published by the ICS. The selection is made by a committee comprising senior China scholars, on the basis of originality of the topic, methodology, argument and presentation.

CONCEPT NOTE

Scholars have been watching and studying China across the world and across time, though the nature and reason of the interest may have changed as China moved through its long history. In the decades since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, numerous centres and institutes have emerged all over the world dedicated to the study of and research on China. India shares geographical boundaries and boasts of civilizational contacts with China, but scholars have faced many challenges and limitations in their efforts to study and understand their largest neighbour. Nonetheless, there has been significant growth in the field, as several generations of committed scholars have dedicated themselves to research on China from an interdisciplinary and multidimensional perspective. Furthermore, in the last few decades several universities and institutions have set up special China Studies centres as well as departments of Chinese language and culture.

While much remains to be done, two aspects need particular attention: First, teaching and research with ample policy making potential needs to be strengthened and secondly, the importance of the knowledge of Chinese language in carrying out research on China must be repeatedly underscored through result-oriented methods and programs. It is encouraging to note that in recent years there is an enhanced "desire to know" China framework which is leading knowledge creation on China in India. The presence of an India-specific context of reading China is a highly desirable additional dimension to knowledge-building on China. India's location as an Asian neighbour to China offers the potential to understand China beyond ethnocentric dichotomization, even as we draw from the existing body of knowledge compiled through thousands of years of civilizational interaction.

However, it is vital to analyse the gaps and challenges evident in the way China Studies has developed in India. The dilemmas facing scholars and teachers must be addressed, so that the new directions and spaces can be opened up for objective and serious research and investigation in the coming decades. It is necessary to adopt an integral approach to China Studies with the understanding that researchers can, and must, traverse disciplinary boundaries. The 16th AICCS, with cautious optimism, will build on the grounds covered in its decade and a half long journey. We will endeavour to highlight the new questions and choices facing the Indian scholarly community, explore ways to overcome the limitations and hopefully scale new heights.

Given this background, the 16th AICCS will have the following three components:

Part I: *China Studies: State of the Field*

- a. Global Trends in China Studies
- b. New Scholarship in China

This part will cover the areas of foreign policy and strategy, focusing on China and South Asia and India-China relations, with special focus on the diplomatic genre of writings.

Part II: *New Research on China in India*

In the last decade, the AICCS has witnessed a steady and significant increase in the number of enthusiastic young scholars, especially M.Phil./Ph.D. students, wishing to share their research. An extremely welcome trend, this would greatly intensify interactions amongst themselves as also with the senior scholars of China Studies who have set the benchmark for academic research and continue to do so through mentoring. As in recent years, it is in this section that new horizons of Indian scholarship on China would be displayed in all its diversity and originality.

Part III: *Special Theme: Social Dynamics and Political Responses in China*

Many countries across the globe are witnessing rapid transformation. Across the international and domestic spheres, this transformation has led to new socio-economic, cultural and political conditions. China too, is not untouched by these new forces. With rapid economic growth and development and dramatic technological changes, the aspirations of the Chinese people have changed from subsistence to affluence, which have altered the social, cultural and political interactions in the society. The uneven development and regional disparities have led to further divisions and chasms in Chinese society, generating different political and social responses from the people and the state alike. These contradictions were more profoundly felt during the Covid pandemic— particularly the Zero-Covid policy, resulting in severe logistical and policy challenges. The economic fallout, with rising graduate unemployment, youth disenchantment and ineffective pandemic management policies, especially in Covid hotspots, have seen protests in urban spaces and in elite universities across China. At the same time, China's international image was dented when its one-party governance model, often touted as efficient and responsive, was criticised both within and outside China for its failure to check the pandemic and for misadventures in governance.

On the other hand, amid the pandemic, the 20th Congress of Communist Party of China (CPC) marked a new political development. It indicated a departure from the old norms to new era politics under Xi Jinping, legalising continuation into the third term and beyond. This Congress was certainly no routine political event, and it can be seen in terms of a prelude to how China will be steering its own course and dealing with the outside world in the changing regional and global political landscape. The domestic challenges, particularly the demographic concerns and the economic slow-down, would test the new leadership under Xi Jinping and the CPC in the coming years.

The Conference has been organised into Special Lectures by prominent scholars/practitioners; Thematic Panels, comprising papers by individual scholars, and Special Panels, which were selected from the proposals submitted as well as specially invited panels.

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY, 15 NOVEMBER 2023

Arrival of Participants

DAY 1: THURSDAY, 16 NOVEMBER 2023

0900–0930 Hours: Registration for Conference Attendees

INAUGURAL SESSION

0930 – 1100 Hours

Chair



Jyotirmaya Sharma is Professor of Political Science and the Dean, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad. His recent publications include *Terrifying Vision: M.S. Golwalkar, the RSS and India* and *Cosmic Love and Human Apathy: Swami Vivekananda's Restatement of Religion*. He has also co-edited a volume with A. Raghuramaraju titled, *Grounding Morality: Freedom, Knowledge and the Plurality of Cultures* (2010). He has been a

fellow of the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study; Lichtenberg-Kolleg – The Göttingen Institute of Advanced Study, Germany, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi and the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla. The International House, Japan, awarded him the Asia Leadership Fellow Programme fellowship for 2008. Sharma also held senior editorial positions at *The Times of India* and *The Hindu* between 1998 and 2006, and continues to write columns for *Hindustan Times* and *Outlook*.

Welcome Remarks



Alka Acharya is Professor and Chairperson at the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and since August 2022, she has also assumed charge as Honorary Director of the ICS, an independent research institute in New Delhi. She has been teaching courses on Chinese Foreign Policy and Political Economy to the Masters and M.Phil. students and guiding doctoral research since 1993. From April 2012 to

March 2017, she was on deputation as full-time Director and Senior Fellow of the Institute of Chinese Studies. She is the joint editor of the book *Crossing a Bridge of Dreams: 50 years of India-China*, has contributed chapters to many books and journals. She was Editor of the quarterly journal *China Report* (New Delhi) from 2005-2013. She was nominated by the Indian government as a member of the India-China Eminent Persons Group (2006-2008) and member of the National

Security Advisory Board of the Government of India for two terms (2006-2008) and (2011-2012). She has authored a book *China & India: Politics of Incremental Engagement*, published in 2008. Her recent work is an edited volume titled *Boundaries and Borderlands: A Century after the 1914 Simla Convention* (Routledge, New York 2023). Her current research focuses on India-China-Russia Trilateral Cooperation.

Opening Address



Basuthkar Jagadeeshwar Rao, currently the Vice-chancellor at University of Hyderabad served as Senior Professor, Chair of Biology, Dean-Faculty, at the Indian Institute of Science Education and Research (IISER) Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh, and was associated with Biology Department at Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Mumbai for about 24 years and served as Senior Professor and Chair of the Biology programme before moving on to IISER-Tirupati in 2018. He is a National Science Talent Awardee (1st in AP, 16th

rank in India), received his PhD from Indian Institute of Science (Bengaluru) and worked as a Research Scientist at Yale University Medical school (USA) before joining TIFR, Mumbai. Prof. Rao is a Fellow of all three National Academies of India and a Sir JC Bose awardee from the Department of Science and Technology. He has made fundamental contributions in the areas of Genome Biology and Cellular regulations and adaptations where he published about 160 peer reviewed international publications with high citations and impact. His publications range from experimental to theoretical Biology to Chemistry and Physics. He has chaired and been a member of several National and International committees on various policy matters related to Science, Technology and Education. He has widely travelled and lectured across the globe and is a strong votary of knowledge-centric, concepts-oriented interactive modes of learning methods combined with a strong “do-it-yourself” critical thinking model. Prof. Rao has won many awards and recognitions. He has contributed significantly as the Chief-Editor of *Journal of Biosciences*, a flagship journal of Indian Academy of Sciences and Springer Nature, combined and has been instrumental in its high impact. He has been a DST-Inspire teacher, articulating the current excitements of basic Biology to undergraduate students across India. He perceives Biology as a complex manifestation of the physics-chemistry of a dynamically evolving system and emphasises the design principles in Biology. He has delivered numerous technical and public lectures for varied audiences. Reaching young minds has been his passion.

Special Remarks



M. Ghanashyam Krishna joined the faculty of the University of Hyderabad in April 2001. He received his Ph.D. from the Indian Institute of Science Bangalore, in the area of Instrumentation and Applied Physics. Prof. Krishna is currently Head, Centre for Advanced Studies in Electronics Science and Technology, School of Physics and Director, Institution of Eminence Programme at the University of Hyderabad.



Sujit Kumar Mishra is an economist, who has specialised in Development Economics for his doctoral thesis and Environmental and Natural Resource Economics for his post-doctoral research. Before joining the CSD team in 2006, he worked with The Energy and Resources Institute, New Delhi, as Associate Fellow. His research experience covers varied themes such as development induced displacement, the complex issues in the mining sector and the environment, and the development implications of climate change. He has published widely in national and international peer-reviewed journals on this topic. His book *Displacement, Impoverishment and Exclusion: Political Economy of Development in India* was co-published by Routledge with Aakar Books in 2020. Other areas of his research interests include interrogating the equity aspects of development - access to education, health, livelihoods along several axes of marginality - caste, tribes, gender and minorities. He is a skilled practitioner and a teacher of research methods with long experience designing and conducting the ICSSR research methodology workshops and courses for doctoral scholars at CSD. Dr. Mishra's research skills include impact assessment, economic analysis and statistics. He is an approved doctoral supervisor at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Hyderabad. Prof Mishra is also part of the Editorial Committee of the *Journal of Rural Development*. He is an active participant and a member of several national and international academic associations.



Rajat Kathuria is the Dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences and Professor of Economics at Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence. He is the former Director and Chief Executive of the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER). He worked with the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India during its Initial years. He is currently the Co-chair of the T20 Digital Task Force under India's G20 Presidency. Rajat has over 20 years of experience in teaching and 25 years of experience in economic policy, besides research interests on a range of issues relating to regulation and competition policy. He has worked with the World Bank, Washington DC as a Consultant and carried out research assignments for a number of international organisations, including ILO, UNCTAD, LIRNEasia, World Bank, and ADB. He has published in international and national journals, besides publishing in popular magazines and newspapers. He is a founder member of the Broadband Society for Universal Access and has served on the Boards of the Delhi Management Association and the Micro Finance Institutional Network of India. He is on several government and industry committees and has been on the research advisory council of the SBI. He has an undergraduate degree in Economics from St. Stephens College, a Master's degree from Delhi School of Economics, and a Ph.D. degree from the University of Maryland, College Park.



K.K.Kailash has been with the Department of Political Science, Hyderabad Central University since 2013. His research interests focus on political parties and elections, coalition politics and processes and issues of federalism in contemporary India. He has published in the *India Review*, *Asian Survey*, *Studies in Indian Politics*, *Contemporary South Asia and Economic and Political Weekly*. He coedited *Politics of Welfare* (2015) with Rajeswari Deshpande and Louise Tillin. He is a member of the Editorial Managing team of *Studies in Indian Politics* and is on the editorial board of *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*. Before coming to Hyderabad, he worked at Panjab University, Chandigarh and the Regional Institute of Education (NCERT), Bhopal.

Convener's Remarks



Sabaree Mitra is Professor of Chinese in Jawaharlal Nehru University and an Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. Her teaching and research have spanned the fields of contemporary Chinese literature and criticism, Chinese cultural history, gender issues, India-China cultural relations and regional interaction. Her publications include books and research articles: *Literature and Politics in 20th century China: Issues and Themes* (2005), *Chinese Women Writers and Gender Discourse: 1976-1996*, (2008), "From 'Popularization of Culture' to 'Popular Culture': Discourse & Praxis in China" (JSL, Spring 2008), and book chapters "Tagore and Bengal's Social Modernity: Bringing Women to the Cultural Mainstream" in Tan Chung et al (Ed.) *Tagore and China*, (Sage Publications, 2011), "Xi Jinping and the Politics of Culture", in Manoranjan Mohanty (Ed.), *China at a Turning Point: Perspectives after the 19th Party Congress* (Institute of Chinese Studies & Pentagon Press, 2019). Her latest book, an edited volume titled *China's May Fourth Movement: New Narratives and Perspectives*, was published by Routledge this year.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Campaign Governance in the People's Republic of China



Elizabeth J. Perry is Henry Rosovsky Professor of Government at Harvard University and Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan and is a former President of the Association for Asian Studies and former Director of Harvard's Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies. Her research focuses on the history of the Chinese revolution and its implications for contemporary Chinese politics. A fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a corresponding fellow of the British Academy, Professor Perry is the author or editor of more than 20 books including, most recently, *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China* (Harvard, 2011); *Anyuan: Mining China's Revolutionary Tradition* (California, 2012); *What is the*

Best Kind of History? (Zhejiang, 2015); *Beyond Regimes: China and India Compared* (Harvard, 2018); *Similar yet Different: Case Studies of China's Modern Christian Colleges* (Zhejiang, 2019); and *Ruling by Other Means: State-Mobilized Movements* (Cambridge, 2020). Her book, *Shanghai on Strike: The Politics of Chinese Labor* (Stanford, 1993) received the John King Fairbank Prize of the American Historical Association; her article, "Chinese Conceptions of 'Rights': From Mencius to Mao – and Now" (Perspectives on Politics, 2008) received the Heinz I. Eulau Prize of the American Political Science Association.

Co-Convenor's Vote of Thanks



Bhim Subba is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, and a visiting associate fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. He holds a Ph.D./M. Phil. from the University of Delhi and an M.A. from Jawaharlal Nehru University. Dr Subba is an Institute of Chinese Studies-Harvard-Yenching Institute China-India Doctoral Fellow; a Ford Student Fellow; and a recipient of the Confucius Institute Scholarship for Mandarin Language Training. His research interests are China studies (domestic politics and party leadership); comparative politics, and international affairs. His articles have appeared in journals, edited books, review blogs, and other online commentaries. Recently, Dr. Subba also co-guest edited two special issues of *China Report* on the Hundredth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China.

1100 – 1130 Hours: TEA/COFFEE BREAK



SPECIAL PANEL I

1130 – 1300 Hours

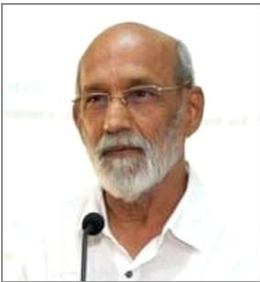
Rural-Urban Linkages: Emerging Trends in India and China

PANEL ABSTRACT

In the past few decades India and China have witnessed rapid economic development. This development has invariably impacted rural and urban linkages in terms of natural resources, the absorption of rural labour to cities, and land conversion as rural and urban spaces which are interlinked economically, socially and environmentally in both countries. This increased interdependence led to diversified economic opportunities for both rural and urban populace by

creating new forms of livelihoods. At the same time, these interlinkages seem to lead to new forms of poverty reduction strategies and economic development approaches. Nevertheless, this relationship between rural and urban failed to be a holistic development phenomenon across the spectrum of rural urban spaces in both societies. In this context the panel on “Rural Urban Linkages: Emerging Trends in India and China” discusses the challenges posed for sustainable rural urban linkages. in both India and China. The speakers will also explore the theoretical and conceptual contours such linkages in the context of development paradigms with some field and survey reports with policy studies to deliberate the complex interactions between the rural and urban transformation in India and China.

CHAIR



D. N. Reddy is a former Professor, School of Economics, University of Hyderabad. A noted agricultural and development economist, has also served as a Dean, School of School of Social Sciences University of Hyderabad. He was Visiting Professor at Institute of Human Development, New Delhi and Former SR Sankaran Chair at NIRD & PR, Hyderabad and ICSSR National Fellow at CSD, Hyderabad. His areas of research interest include labour economics, political economy of development, agricultural economics

focusing on agrarian distress, land relations, rural transformation, mobility, globalisation and its deep impacts on the local, especially in relation to the role of international agencies such as IMF, WTO etc. He has numerous publications to his credit and has supervised a large number of M.Phil. and Ph.D. dissertations in these areas.

SPEAKERS



Manoranjan Mohanty was a Professor of Political Science and Director, Developing Countries Research Centre at the University of Delhi, where he taught Comparative Politics, Chinese Politics and Research Methodology. Currently he is a Distinguished Professor at the Council for Social Development, New Delhi, where until recently he edited the CSD-Sage journal *Social Change*. He is a social scientist, China scholar and a peace and human rights activist with research interests in the study of the political economy of China, India

and global transformation. He is an Emeritus Fellow of the Institute of Chinese Studies, its founding member and former Chairperson. He is also the Emeritus Chairperson, Development Research Institute, Bhubaneswar, the research wing of *Gabeshana Chakra* of which he was the founder-president. He has had academic assignments in many institutions abroad including in California, Beijing, Moscow, Lagos, Copenhagen and Oxford. He has done extensive research on modern China and India including on the Chinese Revolution, the Political Economy of China, People's Movements in India and Poverty in Odisha. He has authored, among others, *The Political Philosophy of Mao Zedong* (1978, 2009, Hindi edition 1979, 2010); *Red and Green: Five Decades of the Maoist Movement in India* (2014 incorporating *Revolutionary Violence* published in 1977); *Contemporary Indian Political Theory* (2000); *Ideology Matters: China from Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping* (2016, Hindi edition 2021). His publication based on a thirty-year study of China's reforms with focus on Wuxi is *China's Transformation: The Success Story and the Success Trap* (Sage: 2018), Hindi edition *Cheen ka Kayapalat* (Sage Bhasha, 2020).

PAPER TITLE: Reconceptualizing Rural-Urban Linkages: Some Critical Issues

ABSTRACT

Covid-19 tragically exposed the enormous differences in the life conditions of people of the rural areas and those in cities in India and China as in many other parts of the world. Migration, health facilities, income and choices in various fields were some of the manifestations along with multiple social inequalities in each sphere. This experience raised fundamental questions about the prevailing path of development all over the world. Even though such issues had been raised in both countries from time to time during the past hundred years and more, the elites quickly resumed business as usual along their preferred path of capitalist modernisation in the post-Covid period. The New Urbanization programme in China and the Smart City programme in India along with many development policies for the rural sector and other macro-economic initiatives continued with fresh vigour as part of their Centennial goals through acceptances: urbanisation as inevitable historical trend; transition from agriculture to industry as a path to progress, and specialisation led by technology as a key to development. However, such policies with changing political landscape have led to new crises and questions. People's movements questioning these premises are acquiring greater support by the day not only in India and China but in many parts of the world. Instead of urbanisation, habitat is reconceptualised as a natural place of living on any part on the earth, with self-governing villages and towns of various sizes; organising systems of production and culture compatible with community and local environment. All forms of economy are equally respectable: agriculture, artisan work, industry- small, medium, large; services, transportation and all are not to be graded and degraded as high and low. They have to be compatible with norms of equality, environmental and cultural standards and the principle of self-governance. Services and labour must not be graded and valued on the basis of technology. The gradation and degradation of labour on the basis of assumed superiority of so-called mental labour over manual labour has been the product of class, caste and patriarchal and racist traditions. All knowledge systems must be valued. Rural wisdom, tribal knowledge and practice need appreciation. The colonial gradation of rural-urban in knowledge and culture realms need to be challenged. At the same time, the emerging perspective on Good Living on planet Earth after the remnants of colonial domination have disappeared and creative civilizational possibilities evolve. The Rural-Urban Linkage is to be relocated in this major historical frame.



Jajati Keshari Parida is currently an Associate Professor in the School of Economics, University of Hyderabad. Earlier, he had worked as an Assistant Professor, at the Department of Economic Studies, Central University Punjab, for seven years. He had also worked as a Deputy Director for two years at the National Institute of Labour Economics Research and Development, NITI Aayog, Government of India (for two years), and as an Assistant Professor (Ad Hoc), at the College of Vocational Studies, University of Delhi (for two years). He was awarded his Ph.D. (2013) from the Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC), Bangalore. His teaching areas include Econometrics and Microeconomics. His areas of research include Migration, Employment, Poverty and Human Development. He is a working group member of the “Norka Group, Fourteenth Five Year Plan (2022-27)”, State Planning Board, Government of Kerala, India. He is also a life member of the Indian Society of Labour Economics, the Indian Econometric Society and the Odisha Economic Association. He has authored several book chapters and articles in

reputed journals like the *World Development*, *Economic Change and Restructuring*, *Social Indicators Research*, *Migration and Development*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Indian Economic Review*, *Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, *Indian Journal of Human Development*, and *Millennial Asia*. He has also contributed to both the editorial and opinion pages of several national newspapers such as *The Hindu*, *Indian Express*, *Financial Express*, *Hindustan Times*, and *The Wire*. He has been bestowed the “L.K. Deshpande Young Labour Economist Award” (2022) by the Indian Society of Labour Economics, and the “Best Researcher Award (2019)” by the Central University of Punjab.

PAPER TITLE: Rural-Urban Migration and Changing Livelihood Uncertainties in India

ABSTRACT

The Indian economy had moved up on the income ladder and became a lower middle-income country in 2007-08 (World Bank, 2015). A sustained growth rate of GDP (above 5 percent per annum) since 2002-03 had brought about a structural transformation in India, in which both the share and number of people working in the agriculture and allied sectors started declining with a corresponding rise in non-farm sector jobs. As expected, rural to urban migration has increased in this process. In the context in which the capital intensity in the manufacturing sector is rising and newer forms of services are emerging due to globalisation and changing global production networks, a study on rural-urban migration and migrants’ employment patterns in urban India is important. Because, those who were being displaced due to growing mechanisation in agriculture are most of them either unskilled or low-skilled workers, landless and marginal farmers, or they belong to socially marginalised groups, including women. On the other hand, rising years of schooling in rural areas restrict many young folks (from the supply side) from participating in agriculture and allied sector (low-paid) jobs. While an increasing trend of skilled job seekers to urban locations would likely reduce the volume of informality in urban India, an increasing share of unskilled and low-skilled migration from rural to urban areas would, in contrast, boost the growth of the urban informal sector. The latter has implications for the growth of urban poverty, inequality, and poor quality of life in urban centres. Hence, the main objectives of this paper are to explore the changing skill composition of rural-urban migrants, their employment patterns, occupational mobility, and standard of living arrangements in urban India. This work will be based on a very long period of migration-specific survey data (1983, 1987-88, 1993, 1999-00, 2007-08 and 2020-21), collected by the National Sample Survey (NSS).



Ritu Agarwal is an Associate Professor at the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She holds a Ph.D. in Chinese studies from the University of Delhi. Her research areas are rural political economy, urbanisation, property rights, gender studies, and provincial politics. Her post-doctoral research has been focused on the provincial-level economic and social transformations in China. Her field research in Yunnan since the early 2000s and subsequent publications explored the agrarian changes in Yunnan province. She is currently engaged in questions of provincial development strategies, rural-urban linkages, and the regional integration model of Yunnan province. She has completed an ICSSR research project titled ‘Asian Connections and

Trans-Border Linkages in Yunnan Province, China'. She has recently worked as a co-researcher and co-author for the DAWN-sponsored research project on 'Gender in China's Soft Power Engagement in the Global South.' Dr. Ritu Agarwal is fluent in Mandarin Chinese and was trained at the Beijing Language and Culture University, Beijing. She was a visiting scholar at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing (2007), Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences (YASS), Kunming (2002 and 2005), Chinese University of Hong Kong (2012) Yunnan Minzu University (2015), and Yunnan University (2018). Her recent years of field research in Yunnan province covered Kunming, Chenggong, Dali, and Baoshan. Dr. Ritu Agarwal is also an Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

PAPER TITLE: Administrative Restructuring, Land Conversion and 'Flexible Livelihood' in Yunnan

ABSTRACT

Traditionally, land was the main source of livelihood for peasants in China. Fei Xiaotong has used the term *Xiangtu Zhongguo* (tied to the land) to show Chinese peasants' dependence on land. Rural commune system during Maoist period has addressed the structural inequalities based on landed property rights and ensured peasants' access to food security through pooling of land, labour and other agricultural tools. The Household Responsibility System during the 1980s has allocated land to the peasant households, thus encouraging them to make investment on the land to increase agricultural production. However, even after so many years of reforms, the rural-urban gap remained the persistent concern for political leadership in China. Various government initiatives ranging from "Building New Socialist Countryside" during Hu Jintao to "Rural Revitalization" under Xi Jinping regime indicate the need to bring new resources to the countryside which can bring agricultural modernization in China. In a drive to make agriculture profitable and attractive to farmers, the relation between land and the peasantry has once again gone through major changes. Local governments from provincial, county, township and village levels have tied up with financial companies to bring a new agrarian model in China. The vast amount of land was made available through administrative restructuring i.e., changing of township into town, county into district thus made the land transaction available for the urban infrastructure projects possible. The re-adjustment, conversion and merger of these administrative boundaries has redefined the notion of "rural" and "urban". Withering away from the peasant household farming model and the need for alternative livelihood strategies has once again made rural development the main political agenda. Maintaining food security and preservation of farmland has become a big challenge in a drive to speed up agricultural modernization to catch up with global production strategies. In the above context, the discussion will examine and elaborate the process of rural urbanisation, which has brought the idea of "territorial restructuring" of earlier administrative boundaries? What was the top-down urbanisation planning to demolish the rural county and change into an urban district. What were the new horizontal and vertical linkages established by the local leadership in setting up of Dounan Industrial Park in New Chenggong District? Secondly, how did the state increase its fiscal capacity by adjusting and creating new territorial boundaries by land conversion, transfer and land shareholding practices? Did it prevent large scale rural to urban migration and bring urban surroundings closer to farmers? Thirdly, how did the large scale agro-business companies create

new conditions of “flexible livelihood” in rural Yunnan? How do these companies mediate their access to farmland and capital in the long run?



Amrita Datta is an Assistant Professor of Development Studies at the Department of Liberal Arts, Indian Institute of Technology, Hyderabad. Amrita’s research interests are in the areas of migration and mobilities, agrarian change and rural development, women’s work, and gender and development. Amrita’s forthcoming book, *Migration and Development in India: The Bihar Experience* (Routledge), based on empirical research, studies out-migration from rural Bihar in the context of neoliberal economic development in India. Amrita has published in several edited volumes and journals such as the *Journal of Development Studies*, *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies*, *Children’s Geographies*, *Indian Journal of Labour Economics* and the *Economic and Political Weekly*. Amrita has a Ph.D. in Development Studies from the International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University Rotterdam, and an M.Phil. in the same subject from the University of Cambridge.

PAPER TITLE: Economic Development and Rural-Urban Linkages in India: Talking across Theory, Empirics and Policy

ABSTRACT

India’s development experience entails complex interactions between the rural and urban. In this context, the paper will first discuss the theoretical and conceptual contours of rural-urban linkages in the context of economic development. Second, based on diverse empirical studies, the paper will synthesise the evidence around rural-urban linkages in India, focusing on the linkages across space (with a particular focus on livelihoods, commuting and migration) and sectors (agriculture, industry, services). In doing so, the study hopes to contrast how theory and empirics may converge and/or diverge, and in turn, what implications this may have for policy.

1300 – 1400 Hours: LUNCH BREAK

THEMATIC PANEL I

1400 – 1515 Hours

Chinese Economy and its Socio-Political Ramifications

CHAIR



Rajat Kathuria, Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences; Professor of Economics, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence, Delhi-NCR.

SPEAKERS



Megha Shrivastava is a Dr. TMA Pai Fellow and doctoral scholar at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education, India. Her work focuses on China's ICT industry and its private sector enterprises.

PAPER TITLE: Examining the Political Economy of China's Private Sector Development During the Xi Jinping Era: Theoretical Discourse and Challenges

ABSTRACT

Since the implementation of the "Reform and Opening-up" policy in the late 1970s, China has developed its private sector through theoretical and practice-based innovations. In Chinese understanding, the developmental process of the private sector is essentially a response to the requirement of the path towards socialism. Thus, the theories of private sector development have been created in response to the inherent requirements of the initial stage of socialism. However, the trajectory of privatisation also depends on changes in political and ideological developments. Various studies focusing on China's private sector provide evidence that the government of China is rethinking its policies toward the private sector. Xi Jinping's leadership has brought nuanced approaches to shift the forward trajectory of growth of China's private sector development. This opens the opportunity to review the development of China's private sector within the realm of Marxist political economy. This paper attempts to locate the recent developments in China's private sector within the theoretical application of Marxism in the Chinese context. It attempts to do so by interrogating the stance of the party-state on the development of the private sector during the Xi Jinping era. The paper first outlines the Chinese understanding of the evolution of China's private sector during previous leadership as a successful application of Marxism in the Chinese context. It then understands how ideological and political changes during Xi's leadership made a characteristic shift in the relations between the state and private sector in China. The paper contributes to understanding the Chinese discourse on political economy and the innovative development of private sector theory.



Alka Verma is a doctoral scholar at the Centre for East Asian Studies (Chinese Studies Division), Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She has completed her Master's degree in International Relations and Area Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her interests include China's domestic politics, Foreign policy of China, and the Indo-Pacific region.

PAPER TITLE: The Paradox of Poverty Alleviation in China: A Case Study of Migrant Workers in Shanghai during the Covid-19 Pandemic

ABSTRACT

In the year 2020, while the world was struggling with the COVID-19 pandemic, China declared a 'complete victory' over poverty. China released a white paper claiming that over the past 40 years, it has lifted nearly 800 million people out of poverty, accounting for more than 75 percent of the global poverty reduction. In November 2011, the Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China issued a white paper titled "New Progress in Development-Oriented Poverty Reduction Program for Rural China" that delineates the plan to eradicate poverty in China. However, as understood from the title of the white paper, the focus of the program was on rural areas. The state encourages urban migration as one of the means to reduce poverty. This results in an increase in rural income from remittances but the overall condition of migrants sending these remittances remains poor. As such, rural poverty has shifted to urban centres. The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed this deep-rooted paradox of the poverty alleviation program of China. The urban poverty, not considered in the poverty alleviation discourse, becomes more apparent. It has brought the plight of migrant workers in urban centres to the fore. This paper will try to understand migration as a state instrument for poverty alleviation and economic growth in China. Further, it will explore the effects of COVID-19 in exacerbating the precarity of migrants, pushing them back into poverty. This will be demonstrated through the case study of Shanghai, China's one of the largest economic centres and migrant destinations, which went through a very strict lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic.

DISCUSSANTS:



Vijay Gudavarthy is Assistant Professor at the School of Economics, University of Hyderabad. He received his Ph.D. in Development Studies from the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague in 2004. He has been awarded the NFP for his Ph.D by the Netherlands Government. He is the recipient of the Sanjay Thakur Young Labour Economist Award for the best paper presented in the 50th Annual Conference of Indian Society of Labour Economics during 2008 held in Lucknow.

He has worked as a fellow at the Institute of Human Development, New Delhi and was a faculty at the National Academy of Legal Studies and Research (NALSAR) and Institute of Public Enterprises (IPE) before joining the University of Hyderabad in 2006-07. He has several publications in national and international journals and also chapters in books. He has also authored lessons for the reading materials on Labour and Environment for national and international educational institutions. He is the Honorary Secretary of the Centre for Social Concerns, an activist academic society and a member of Workers Solidarity Network (WSN). He has represented victims of pollution before the Appellate Authority in the Patancheru-Bollaram Pharmaceutical Industrial Pollution Case. He has been nominated by the Trade Unions of Hindalco Kollur Unit, to mediate a negotiation with the Hindalco Management involving the Telangana government in an industrial dispute. He has been the General Secretary of the University of Hyderabad Teachers' Association from 2019-21. His latest publication is 'Development through Informalization and Circulation of Labour; The Emerging

Anatomy of an Uncivil Society', in Aakash Singh Rathore (ed.)(2021): *B.R. Ambedkar; The Quest for Justice, Vol-3 Legal and Economic Justice*, Oxford University Press; New Delhi.



Reeja Nair is Assistant Professor at the Department of History, Deshbandhu College, University of Delhi. She holds a Ph.D. in China Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University, and a Bachelor's degree and a Master's degree in History from University of Delhi. Prior to joining Deshbandhu College, she was a Research Associate at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. Nair's research broadly centres on issues related to labour and urbanisation in post-

Mao China to present. She is particularly interested in understanding how workers navigate the city spaces in a rapidly urbanising China, and a comparative assessment of these issues in the Indian context. Her Ph.D. thesis is titled, 'Workers and Urban Spaces in Post-Socialist China: A Study of Community, Leisure and Resistance, 1994-2008' where she examines the role of leisure spaces and community ties in shaping worker protests in Shenzhen.

THEMATIC PANEL II

1530 – 1700 Hours

Chinese State: Political Representation and Social Responses

CHAIR



Manjari Katju is Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, India where she teaches courses on Indian and Comparative Politics. She is an alumna of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London from where she received her doctoral degree. Her research interests include religious nationalism in India, state institutions, electoral laws and democratisation. She has authored *Electoral Practice and the Election Commission of India: Politics, Institutions and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2023), *Hinduising Democracy: The Vishva Hindu Parishad in Contemporary India* (New Text, 2017) and *Vishva Hindu Parishad and Indian Politics* (Orient Longman, 2003). She recently contributed a chapter titled, 'Sanskaras, Sexuality and Street Activism: VHP Women at Work' in Amrita Basu and Tanika Sarkar, eds. *Women, Gender and Religious Nationalism* (2022, Cambridge University Press). Her other publications are, 'Institutional Initiatives Towards Expanding Democracy: The Election Commission of India and Electoral Mobilisation' (Contemporary South Asia, 2020) and 'Mass Politics and Institutional Restraint: Political Parties and the Election Commission of India' (Studies in Indian Politics, 2016).

SPEAKERS



Ahana Roy is Research Associate and Chief Operations Officer at the Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA). She is a postgraduate in Political Science with International Relations from Jadavpur University. Her areas of interest include non-traditional security studies with a focus on gender and sexuality studies, society, and culture in East Asia, specifically China.



Omkar Bhole is a Research Associate at Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA). He is a Chinese language student and completed M.A. in China Studies from Somaiya University, Mumbai. He has completed the HSK 4 level of Chinese language proficiency and worked as a Chinese language instructor. His research interests are China's foreign policy in Asia, China's economic transformation, India-China economic relations and China's domestic politics. He previously interned at Institute of Chinese Studies and What China Reads. He presented a paper at the 1st All India Conference of East Asian Studies.

PAPER TITLE: Women's Political Representation in China: Do They Hold Up Half the Sky Yet ?

ABSTRACT

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) saw a marginal increase in women participation compared to previous Congresses, with 619 women delegates out of 2,296 delegates in total. However, out of the 376 members elected in the 20th Central Committee (CC), 33 were women out of which only 11 could become full committee members. Furthermore, no woman made it to the Politburo, breaking away from a two-decade-old custom. This limited representation of women is not only witnessed in elite politics but also reflected in lower levels of administration. It indicates the clear bias towards women in China's political system which is firmly entrenched in Chinese society. Traditional and cultural gender norms continue to dictate the politics of the nation and subsequently affect policy-making and decision-making at all levels. Furthermore, Chinese top leaders until now have not shown any real interest in making dedicated efforts towards improving women's participation in politics which has also failed to create a favourable environment for women leaders to enter into top leadership. This suggests that despite advancements in the position of women in contemporary times, there is still a long path ahead before 'women in China hold up half the sky', as announced by Mao Zedong. This paper discusses the need for higher women's representation in politics as well as assesses evolving trends in women's representation in Chinese politics at different levels under the overarching theme of gender equality in China. It provides an overview of women's representation in China historically, both within the Party and in the government at the central and grassroots levels. It recognizes a few crucial factors that hinder or promote the political careers of Chinese women leaders. It also elaborates on the opportunities and limitations that women face in China's political system. It then analyses the structural barriers — institutional, societal, and cultural — to women's representation

in politics, despite the affirmative policies put in place by the Party for the upliftment of women's status in society. Finally, this paper explores the question of what the status of Chinese women in politics will look like in the post-20th Party Congress era.



Monika Kumari is a doctoral scholar at the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Relations in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She holds an M.A. in Politics with Specialisation in International Relations. Her primary focus lies in the realm of social sciences, with a particular interest in exploring the dynamics of social organisations in China. Monika's research delves into understanding the intricate workings of these organisations and their implications in the broader context of East Asian Studies.

PAPER TITLE: Social Organizations and State Control: The Case Study of Domestic Violence Network (DVN) in China

ABSTRACT

Domestic violence, often referred to as “wife-beating” is a serious issue in China. Historically inferior status ascribed to women, discriminating effects of economic reforms, withdrawal of state's protection of women's rights were some of the reasons that has led to continuing gender subordination in China. The Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women, hosted by China in Beijing in 1995, marked a pivotal movement in China's engagement with international women's movements. This event catalysed the growth of women's NGOs, including the establishment of the Beijing-based Network/ Research Centre for Combating Domestic Violence in China (DVN) in 2000. DVN operates at the intersection of gender advocacy and human rights, with a focus on research, gender training, and legal advocacy. Its primary objective has been to advocate for a domestic violence law in China, the result of which was the 2016 Domestic Violence Law. Despite its popularity and influence, DVN faced political constraints in engaging with the state. Consequently, it has strategically partnered with the All-China Women's Federation (ACWF), acting as a bridge between civil society and the government. This "embedded" approach has yielded substantial progress in advancing DVN's agenda. Under Hu Jintao's “Harmonious society,” the ACWF and other state agencies were more inclined to promote domestic violence prevention and intervention as a “harmony” project, emphasising domestic violence as a threat to family stability and social harmony rather than as a gender injustice issue or a violation of women's rights alone. This strategy, aligned with Chinese political discourse, aimed to garner broader government and societal support. State control over the social organisations, including the feminist and rights advocacy groups has grown in recent years, with the government enacting policies to regulate their activities and limit their influence. As DVN and similar organisations continue their gender and human rights advocacy, there is a looming concern that their autonomy may be further curtailed by the state. This paper employs a case study and qualitative research methodology to analyse the impact of social organisations like DVN on Chinese society and the mechanisms of state-control placed upon them. It delves into the intricate dynamics between civil society, government entities, and evolving state policies in the context of addressing domestic violence and women's rights in China.



Rakshit Kweera is a doctoral scholar at the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, India. He is working in the area of surveillance studies. As part of his doctoral thesis, he is looking into the discourses around CCTV surveillance in India. He focuses on the Hyderabad city surveillance project, where he looks into physical and digital surveillance. The present project is based on the Hyderabad police city surveillance project and how this project is engaging citizens in the fold. He seeks to explore the impact of new surveillance technologies on the citizenry. The author has presented his work in national and international conferences, the latest being organised by Surveillance and Society Network, the SSN conference held at Rotterdam in June 2022. He has also published his research papers in academic journals. Going ahead, he would like to study technology and politics, social media and surveillance in the Indian context.

PAPER TITLE: Deepening of Surveillance in China and India: A Comparative Study of Contact Tracing Applications During the Pandemic

ABSTRACT

The Covid-19 pandemic proved to be a watershed movement in the history of humankind. China, where the virus is supposed to have originated, deployed Quick Response Health Code as an essential feature of pandemic management. Available in popular apps such as WeChat and Alipay, the citizens are profiled into red, green, and yellow risk codes, with the red code restricting access to public places and provisions for immediate isolation. Response code built on sophisticated information infrastructure known as Internet Plus and Urban Grid Management System (*wanggehua guanli*), a net-based surveillance system. Reports are indicating that the government is revamping the response code feature and implementing it in other governance mechanisms even after the pandemic. On the other hand, India also experimented with contact tracing applications during the pandemic with the Aarogya Setu application launched by the central government. The application based on location data surveillance didn't have the intended impact, as the physical surveillance mode dominated India's pandemic management response. In this paper, I will be doing a comparative study of China's Quick Response Health Code and the Aarogya Setu application of India to discuss the penetration of surveillance in both countries. By comparative study of these two applications, I will chart the commonalities and differences in the administrative structures, institutions, digital infrastructures, civil society/citizens response, and future scope of these applications. This paper also aims to bring the non-western perspective of surveillance in two of the world's most populous countries with complex political and social structures.

DISCUSSANTS



Sneha Banerjee is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad. She completed her Ph.D. at the Centre for Comparative Politics and Political Theory, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She has been a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre de Sciences Humaines (CSH), New Delhi (2018-19) and was also a recipient of the Swiss Government

Excellence Scholarship at the postdoctoral level at the University of Zürich (2017-18). Her research has been published in national and international journals, edited volumes and as opinion pieces in the media. Her larger research interests are gender and law, politics of reproduction, and feminist International Relations.



Ritu Agarwal, Associate Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.



**INSTITUTE OF CHINESE STUDIES - HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE
PANEL DISCUSSION
1730 – 1830 Hours**

Expanding the Horizons of China Research in India

CHAIR



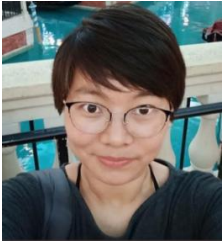
Alka Acharya, Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

REMARKS



Elizabeth J. Perry, Henry Rosovsky Professor of Government, Harvard University and Director, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

SPEAKERS



Tiasangla Longkumer is enrolled in the doctoral programme at the Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University. She is also a recipient of the ICS-HYI Doctoral Fellowship 2017. As part of the ICS-HYI Fellowship Program, she was a Visiting Fellow at the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Peking University Health Science Center's Institute of Medical Humanities, Fudan University's Department of Chinese History and Chinese Civilization and Central China Normal University's Institute of East-West Cultural Exchange. Her M.Phil. dissertation was on "Health Reforms in China and India." Her doctoral research titled, "American Foundations in Public Health: Ascension of Soft Power & Free Markets in China and India" focuses on three American foundations (Rockefeller, Ford and Gates) and their involvement in the transformation and transition of medicine in 20th century China and India.



Nishit Kumar is currently working as a Consultant with the Bilateral Vertical at the Centre for Contemporary China Studies, Ministry of External Affairs, GoI. In 2018, he was awarded the Institute of Chinese Studies-Harvard Yenching Institute (ICS-HYI) Doctoral Fellowship to conduct research at Peking University, Beijing and Harvard University, Boston, on "China and the Nobel Prize: Reception and Impact of the Literature Prize to Mo Yan." He was awarded the degree in 2022.



Saloni Sharma holds a Master of Arts in Chinese from Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Currently, she is pursuing her Ph.D. in this Centre on Chinese Ecological Thought. She has been awarded several scholarships and fellowships including the ICS-HYI Fellowship, Junior Research Fellowship (from the UGC), Young India Fellowship and the Erasmus Mundus Scholarship. Her research interests are China's environmental philosophies and governance.



Bhim Subba, Co-convener, 16th AICCS. He is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, and a Visiting Associate Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

CONCLUDING REMARKS



Ruohong Li is Associate Director at the Harvard-Yenching Institute (HYI), an independent foundation dedicated to advancing higher education in Asia in the humanities and social sciences, based at Harvard University. Dr. Li is responsible for the planning and operations of the HYI's fellowship programs and a number of outreach publications and advanced field development programs at Harvard and in Asia. She is also responsible for building and

strengthening long-term institutional ties with the HYI's 60 partner universities and research institutions in Asia. She got her BA from Fudan University, M. Phil. in Social Anthropology from the University of Oxford, and a Ph.D. from Harvard University. With interdisciplinary academic training, Dr. Li focuses her research on ethnic interaction in China's borderland and the history of Qing and Tibet relations.

DAY 2: FRIDAY, 17 NOVEMBER 2023

SPECIAL PANEL II

0930 – 1100 Hours

Surveillance and Control: How the Chinese Party-State Deploys Science & Technology in Tibet and Xinjiang

PANEL ABSTRACT

This panel presents four studies on how the Chinese Party-state has used science & technology – whether in terms of applications or of discourse – in different policy areas in its responses to social and political dynamics in Tibet and Xinjiang since 2008/2009. The deployment of science & technology for governance, security, control and surveillance in these regions has become a characteristic feature of the Chinese state's responses. In this context, empirically, the papers cover the use of science & technology tools in governance and control in Tibet, internal security budgets at prefecture levels in Tibet in post-2008 period, responses to the Covid-19 pandemic in Xinjiang and family planning in Xinjiang. By focusing on how the Chinese Party-state deploys science & technology in different policy domains, the studies seek to unravel key emerging patterns and tactics in the Chinese state's governance strategies in terms of long-term objectives and policy tools and the challenges and security threats that it perceives in Tibet and Xinjiang. The papers also reflect on larger debates on the emerging regime of China's policies in the post-2008/09 period, when riots in Tibetan areas and Xinjiang took place.

CHAIR



Jabin T. Jacob is Associate Professor at the Department of International Relations and Governance Studies, and Director of the Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies at Shiv Nadar University, Delhi National Capital Region. He is an Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Adjunct Research Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation, Visiting Faculty at the Naval War College, Goa and Non-Resident Fellow at the Centre for Social and Economic Progress, New Delhi. He was formerly Assistant Director at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi and Associate Editor of the journal, *China Report*. Jacob holds a Ph.D. in Chinese

Studies from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and has spent time as a student/ researcher / faculty in Taiwan, Singapore and France. His research interests include Chinese domestic politics, China in South Asia and the Indian Ocean region, Sino-Indian border areas, Indian and Chinese worldviews, and centre-province relations in China. Jacob's latest publications included two co-edited special issues for the *China Report* journal on the 100th anniversary of the Communist Party of China (February and August 2022) and co-edited volumes titled, *How China Engages South Asia: Themes, Partners and Tools* (2023) and *China's Search for 'National Rejuvenation': Domestic and Foreign Policies under Xi Jinping* (2020). Some of his work can be found at <https://indiandchina.com/>.

SPEAKERS



Apa Lhamo is a Research Fellow at the Centre for China Analysis and Strategy (CCAS). She completed her Ph.D. from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. Apa has an undergraduate degree in Political Science (Hons) from Miranda House College, Delhi University, and pursued her Master's degree and M.Phil. at JNU. Apa Lhamo had worked as Director at Empowering the Vision Project and at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, as Research Officer under their China Programme. At CCAS, she focuses on China's policies on Tibet and publishes regular reports, articles and commentaries. She has attended and presented at national and international conferences in India, Europe, the U.K., the U.S.A., Taiwan and Japan. She also completed a month-long training/internship programme at the European Parliament in Brussels, Belgium and Strasbourg, France, from May-June 2017.

PAPER TITLE: China's Social Stability and Security Dilemma in Tibet: State Securitization through Surveillance and Technology

ABSTRACT

More than six decades have passed since China colonised Tibet. Yet the Communist Party-led China still faces social stability and legitimacy dilemma in Tibet compelling various state-led investments for securitization discourses. The theory of Securitization ascribes that an issue/dilemma must be presented as an existential threat to state security to justify its political responses, which are presented to the public as threats to national security, hence requiring emergency actions in the hierarchy of political responses. China's securitization discourses in Tibet include the "problem" of social stability, security dilemma and the 'unaccepting' of its legitimacy in Tibet by the Tibetans, and their threat perception of "separatism" allegedly being pursued by the Tibetans under the leadership of the Dalai Lama. As such, China frames and responds to the political, social, cultural and religious "otherness" of Tibet relative to mainland China as a security threat to its nation-building project. To curtail this "national security threat", China invests intensively and employs various means of securitization measures including traditional and non-traditional methods. This paper will focus on non-traditional methods, particularly the use of science and technology to control and co-opt the Tibetans, maintain social stability and claim sovereignty over Tibet. Since the appointment of Chen Quanguo as the Party Secretary of Tibet in 2011, Tibet became a testing laboratory of technology and a digitised form of securitization. Technological use of big data systems, CCTV surveillance equipment and sophisticated facial recognition software in both rural

and urban setups have made Tibet an Orwellian state under occupation. This paper proposes to examine China's securitization in Tibet through the use of sophisticated science and technological software and equipment. Some vital questions this paper proposes to answer are: What are Xi Jinping and the Chinese party-state's strategies for governing Tibet? Have the use of sophisticated science and technology helped gain the cooperation and compliance of the Tibetans? This paper aims to identify, investigate and evaluate these policies using primary and secondary Tibetan, Chinese and English sources.



Devendra Kumar is an Associate Fellow at the Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence. Dr. Devendra holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, and his doctoral thesis examined domestic politics and China's approaches to the international order in the post-1978 period with particular focus on the political legitimacy of the Communist Party of China (CPC). His research interests include China and international order, political legitimacy of the Communist Party of China (CPC), territorial sovereignty questions in China's peripheries, and political economy with particular focus on western regions of China, and intellectuals and party ideology.

PAPER TITLE: Chinese State's Deployment of Technology for Security Responses in Tibet: A Study of Prefecture Level Budgets for Internal Security since 2008

ABSTRACT

This study examines the nature of internal security threat perceptions of the Chinese state in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) based on how much, on what and where it spends on science & technology in internal security-related tasks. Key agencies for managing internal security are the police, People's Armed Police (PAP), and the militias in addition to irregular personnel and private security companies. However, given the idea of security is defined broadly in the Chinese context, which also includes political (regime security), cultural, and ideological domains, particularly in TAR, it examines the patterns of expenditure in deploying technology and building digital infrastructure in UFWD, publicity and cultural work as well. The study examines the patterns of security budgets in TAR at prefecture level administrative units since 2008, when the region saw unrest and subsequently the state mobilised its capacity to deal with it. The study utilises web-based sources and policy documents and digital ethnographic methods to collect data and answer the following research questions. One, what kind of security threat does the Chinese state perceive in TAR? How does the nature of threat perception vary at prefectural level or sub-provincial level due to geographical, demographic, and economic factors at prefecture level? How do we understand the Chinese state's responses in TAR in terms of strategies and tactics, objectives, and effectiveness? The study maps the nature of security threats the Chinese state perceives and the deployment of science & technology to deal with threats as well as variations in threat perception at prefecture levels. By doing so, it departs from existing literature by attempting to understand variations in security threat perception at sub-provincial level in the province and consequently the way the state channels its resources and capacity.



Ayjaz Ahmad Wani is a Fellow in the Strategic Studies Programme at ORF. Based out of Mumbai, he tracks China's relations with Central Asia, Pakistan and the Uyghur Muslim minorities of China's Xinjiang province. In addition, Dr. Wani tracks India-Central Asia relations, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and connectivity projects in the region including Chabahar and International North-South Transport Corridor. He has an abiding interest in Kashmir affairs and is well-versed in the region's security dynamics including terrorism and radicalisation. Dr. Wani is a member of the Oxus Society for Central Asian Affairs and has written extensively in national newspapers like *The Hindu*, *Business Standard*, *Money Control*, *Firstpost* and others. He is widely published in international and national peer-reviewed journals. He has received fellowships from Xinjiang Social Science Academy in Urumqi, Xinjiang; and the University Grants Commission (UGC), New Delhi. Wani is also a EUCAIS fellow, who undertook a two-year programme titled, "The European Union and Central Asia in the International System."

PAPER TITLE: Family Planning Policies and Uyghur Women in Xinjiang in the 'New Era'

ABSTRACT

China's President Xi Jinping has used organs of the Communist Party of China's (CPC) to unleash a string of human rights violations, including high-tech surveillance of the minority Muslim community in the restive northwest province of Xinjiang. Women of Xinjiang have become a special target of Xi's policies to contain the Uyghurs' population growth and suppress the custodians of Uyghur culture. Though China abolished its one-child policy in 2016 with some provinces even announcing financial rewards to encourage people to have more children, in Xinjiang, forced sterilisation, abortions and forced implant of intrauterine devices in Uyghur women continue. The paper will investigate the development of policies of family planning in Xinjiang with a focus on the political narrative, including scientific logic, used by Beijing in the process.



Anand Parappadi Krishnan is a Fellow at the Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies (CHS), Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence, Delhi National Capital Region, and a Visiting Associate Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. His research interests are labour relations in China and India, labour and supply chains in the Global South, state-society relations, and labour's interface with urban questions in East and South Asia. Before joining CHS, he was a Visiting Faculty at the National Law School of India University, Bengaluru. He holds a Ph.D. in Chinese Studies, from Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He has also been a Non-Resident Fellow under the China-India Scholar Leaders Initiative of the India China Institute, The New School, New York City, and a Visiting Fellow at the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

PAPER TITLE: Another Layer in a Securitized Ecosystem: Mapping the Zero-Covid Policy in Xinjiang

ABSTRACT

The zero-Covid policy was the Chinese Communist Party-state's stringent top-down strategy to control the coronavirus pandemic. Even as the rest of the world moved on from the pandemic's disastrous effects and learnt to live with the virus, China – where the pandemic began with early signs towards the end of 2019 – continued with an obdurate policy that included harsh lock downs, forcing people to undergo mass testing at short intervals, and hard quarantine measures. Despite sporadic flexibility, the Party-state remained adamant about the policy until the exasperation of the people reached its limits with protests in urban areas in November 2022. The zero-Covid policy and the measures encompassed within it may be reflective of the avowed high organisational capacity of the Chinese Party-state. An additional mechanism from the Party-state's repertoire to ensure political and social control and cohesion through disciplining and obedience, the policy and its implementation became a full-fledged political campaign. Comparable to waging a war led from the front by the Communist Party, the policy's deployment in the Autonomous Regions – with ethnic minority populations controlled and surveilled by the Party-state anxious about stability – acquires greater meanings. In fact, it adds an extra layer to the already heavily securitized ecosystem and policy of 'stability maintenance' (*weiwen*). This paper attempts to map the zero-Covid policy and its implementation in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region. In doing so, the paper will analyse the mechanisms of pandemic control, quarantine and surveillance techniques.

1100 – 1130 Hours: TEA/COFFEE BREAK

THEMATIC PANEL III

Chinese State: Political Control and Popular Responses

1130 – 1300 Hours

CHAIR



Kham Khan Suan Hausing is Professor of Political Science at the University of Hyderabad, India. He taught at Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi for over eight years, and was a Fulbright-Nehru Postdoctoral Research Fellow from 2012-13 at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. His research interests include, among others, federalism, ethnic conflicts, nationalism and Indian politics with a particular focus on Northeast India.

SPEAKERS



Wriju Banerjee is pursuing his masters at the Department of Political Science in the University of Hyderabad. He has graduated with a degree in Political Science from University of Delhi. His focus is primarily on Chinese culture, with its emphasis on traditional Confucianism and its interpretation of Communism, and how it has affected CPC's decisions regarding its labour and rural policies.

PAPER TITLE: Tracing the Evolution of Rural and Labour Protests in Contemporary China

ABSTRACT

Although demonstrations have never been uncommon in the history of China, protests have evolved with changes in the political, economic, and social landscapes in which these demonstrations occur. Over the past few decades, China has witnessed a surge in social unrest which has occurred in the backdrop of massive economic growth. As the Chinese populace enjoys the fruits of economic prosperity, rising incomes and greater opportunities, urbanisation has simultaneously impoverished migrants from rural areas leading to inequality while stressing fault lines based on class divisions. These changes are also reflected in the composition of protests, as well as the claims made against the perceived transgressions and violation of rights. Social unrest also manifests in diverse forms and patterns of protests, from the highly visible and confrontational street protests to the more subtle and indirect forms of resistance. The state's responses to these new, emerging claims staked against it are also shaped by its perception of these protests' credibility. This paper seeks answers to questions concerning the evolving nature of protests in China. In what ways have labour and rural agitations changed in China? Do these changes correspond to changing dynamics of labour and employment markets spurred by economic reforms and an era of unprecedented growth? Most importantly, in what form or manner has the Chinese state attempted to resolve these conflicts in its bid to create a 'harmonious' society? In order to answer these questions, the paper examines the key factors that have contributed to the rise of protests in contemporary China, including social inequality, corruption, and the erosion of civil liberties, and adopts a qualitative research methodology, drawing on a range of primary and secondary sources, including news reports and academic literature.



Rituja Ghosh is an Academic Associate at the Kautilya School of Public Policy. Rituja completed her M.A. in International Relations from South Asian University, New Delhi. Her M.A. thesis was titled "Crossing the Himalayas: An Enquiry into the Social and Cultural Makeup of the Himalayas" with a focus on the silk route trade conducted through Ladakh. Rituja has also presented a paper titled, "Climate Change as a Threat to Human Security: A Case Study of the Sundarbans" organised by XIM University, Bhubaneswar. She also recently participated in the National Conference on Environmental Concerns in the Himalayan Region organised by the Government College of Jukhala and presented her paper titled, "Assessing the Loss of Traditional Life and Environmental Impact of China's Militarization of Ladakh." Rituja takes an avid interest in the changing contours of global politics and is interested in building a career in research and education.

PAPER TITLE: Sinicization in the People's Republic of China: An Analysis of Language Policies

ABSTRACT

China's rise in the present era has corresponded with certain watershed changes in its administrative and bureaucratic structures, which reflects China's re-orientation of its role in the world order. The construction of the modern Chinese state has occurred as a product of slow expansion and consolidation at the expense of smaller political units of various semi-nomadic and mobile people along China's borders. Throughout Chinese history, China's 'civilizational stature' was resisted by mobile and semi-nomadic people in the northern and western steppes - the Mongols, Khitans, Jurchens, Uyghurs, Tibetan nomads. China has faced challenges along its periphery throughout various phases of Chinese history. China's focus on its peripheral regions has historically been a quest for 'stability' and 'security'. The consequence of China's peripheral strategy has been the 'sinicization' or the imposition of standardised Mandarin on the ethnic minorities. The policy of following Mandarin Chinese as the medium of instruction in schools in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR) sparked widespread protests in 2020. It is important to note that Inner Mongolia has preserved the traditional Mongolian script unlike Mongolia which uses the Russian Cyrillic script. The changes that were introduced at the school level are similar to cultural policies pursued in Xinjiang in 2017 and Tibet in 2018. Restriction and repression of languages of ethnic minorities has seen a rise in an effort by the Chinese Communist Party to assimilate minority groups in the 'nation- state'. These attempts of cultural assimilation have accelerated under the leadership of Xi Jinping. The 2020 protests in Inner Mongolia must be seen in the larger context of Han dominance of other ethnic groups in China undertaken through a series of policies such as the repression of language which is central to the cultural expression of an ethnic group. This paper seeks to analyse the 'sinicization' tactics or Han ethnic supremacism employed in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR). The paper seeks to study the patterns of continuity and change in the cultural policies of ethnic repression followed in the peripheral parts of China such as Tibet, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia. The research methodology followed for the paper would be qualitative following a discourse analysis method studying the official statements of the Chinese Communist Party, speeches of public officials as well as policy documents related to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China.



Kriti Chopra is a doctoral scholar at Christ University and also works as a senior research affiliate at the Center for East Asian Studies there. She has been awarded the prestigious ICSSR fellowship for her work. Her doctoral research focuses on China's treatment of human rights issues in Inner Mongolia. She also has many publications in renowned journals. Recently she published a paper titled 'The Malacca Strait: Contest between China and India' in *The Roundtable: Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* (Taylor and Francis). Her areas of interest include migration in the East Asian region as well as human rights

and the rights of minorities. She completed her Bachelor's degree in Political Science from Calcutta University and her Master's degree from St. Joseph's University, Bangalore. She secured an internship with the Indian Council of World Affairs as a part of her Master's program and worked with the Ministry of External Affairs on Myanmar and India's economic relations.

PAPER TITLE: Zhonghua Minzu and Chinese Nationalism: A Case Study of Inner Mongolia

ABSTRACT

Liang Qichao coined the term "*Zhonghua minzu*" to refer to the Han in 1902, and it was only later that it was re-imagined as a nation with the Han at its centre. *Zhonghua Minzu* has expanded from a Han nation to include every ethnic group who has ever lived in the PRC's current territory. Minorities are included in *Zhonghua Minzu* because the Han brought advanced culture to their 'frontier' regions. The concept of a common identity has been codified and passed down in Chinese history as "*Zhonghua Minzu*." The broad term has been used in anti-Manchurian revolutions to signify the nation of Chinese people and was taken up by the CCP after the Communist Revolution. Through the years, the Communist regime has used this concept as the foundation stone for nation building propaganda and, by default, policies affecting minorities. The Chinese government has always sought to homogenise its whole territory and establish "one nation, one China". In order to reach this goal, rather than allowing ethnic minorities in the majoritarian Han nation to flourish and coexist, laws curtailing their ethnic practices have been enforced. The proposed paper aims to study the conception and evolution of the idea of *Zhonghua Minzu* through the contestations between nation building and ethnic identity paradigms in China. The rise of an indigenous ideology to advance and project a cumulative Chinese identity has occurred in the state of China. The 56 ethnic groups are recognised by the Chinese state. The conception of *Zhonghua Minzu* elucidates an overarching national identity over ethnic identity. The frontier regions have seen ethnic conflicts due to the policies of the government of the day. This study will undertake an assessment of the implications of these policies on the territory of Inner Mongolia. The implementation of the idea of *Zhonghua Minzu* has caused conflicts among the minorities in China. The Mongols in Inner Mongolia have agitated against the new laws rolled out by the government. These responses will be an important part of the framework as they provide an empirical picture of the interactions between national and ethnic identity. A predictive theoretical analysis will be provided to elaborate upon the identity politics within the paradigms of nationalism. The development of Chinese national identity will also be assessed under the lens of world IR to juxtapose the unique and similar characteristics of its evolution.

DISCUSSANTS:



Anand Parappadi Krishnan, Fellow, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence, Delhi NCR; Visiting Associate Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.



Reeja Nair, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Deshbandhu College, University of Delhi.

1300 – 1400 Hours: LUNCH BREAK

THEMATIC PANEL IV

China and the World: Cultural Interactions through History

1430 – 1600 Hours

CHAIR



Madhavi Thampi is an Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, and former editor of its journal *China Report*. She was an Associate Professor at the Department of East Asian Studies at Delhi University, where she taught Chinese History. Her publications include the monograph *Indians in China, 1800-1949* (2005). She has also co-authored (with Brij Tankha) *Narratives of Asia from India, Japan and China* (2005), as well as a book titled, *China and the Making of Bombay* (with Shalini Saksena, 2009). She edited the volume *India and China in the Colonial World* (2005). She recently coordinated a project to catalogue materials related to modern China in the National Archives of India and is working on the history of relations between India and China during World War II based on archival materials.

SPEAKERS



Archan Saha has completed his B.A. in Chinese Language and Culture from Cheena Bhavana, Visva-Bharati University in 2022, he is in his final year of the Master's degree programme in the same field at the same institution. He has been learning Chinese for more than five years, and has achieved several accolades, including the 2nd position in the Chinese Bridge Competition 2023 in the Indian Zone and the 1st position in the Xuanzang Speech Competition 2023. He is trained in Music, particularly in Rabindra Sangeet, and is a recipient of the National Scholarship (2020-21) in the field of Rabindra Sangeet. Besides being proficient in the Chinese language, he dreams of bridging the cultural gap between India and China through the medium of music. He envisions creating an exchange program that will allow musicians from both India and China to collaborate and create something that will represent the fusion of both diverse cultures.

PAPER TITLE: Indian Music: A New Tool in Reshaping the Dream of “Dragon and Elephant Dancing Together”

ABSTRACT

The relationship between India and China has been complex, characterised by cultural exchange, economic cooperation, and geopolitical tension. Indian music and movies have increasingly found an audience in China, facilitating a cross-cultural dialogue, enhancing mutual understanding, and fostering goodwill. This paper explores the historical context of India-China relations, the influence of Indian music and Bollywood movies in China, and speculates on the future of this unique relationship, shaped by the fusion of cultural exchanges and artistic diplomacy. The paper delves into the history of musical exchange between India and China, where Buddhist chants and hymns were brought to China by Indian monks. Both Chinese and Indian classical music share intriguing

parallels that underscore the universality of musical expressions. The paper highlights the challenges involved in reshaping India-China relations through Indian music and movies, such as political and regulatory barriers, language and localization challenges, and market competition and trends. However, the paper also emphasises the potential of Indian music to reshape the India-China relationship, as it can serve as a unique catalyst for fostering mutual understanding, strengthening people-to-people connections, generating economic opportunities, wielding soft power diplomacy, and addressing historical misunderstandings.



Sugandha Tandon is a doctoral scholar in Visual Studies, School of Arts and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her research lies in exploring the relationship between art and politics in Mao's period (1949-1976). She is also interested in the study of history propaganda in China, museum studies as cultural institutions, and the generation of knowledge systems around exhibitions. Sugandha received her Master's degree in the history of art and appreciation from Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. Her Master's dissertation was titled, 'Exploration of Chinese Discourse in Aesthetics and Politics,' which looked at the social and cultural history of the Mao period. She recently submitted her M.Phil. dissertation, titled 'Making of Chinese Political Propaganda Posters (1949-76)' and is now working on her Ph.D. proposal, which focuses on the Sino-Indian artistic exchange from 1930-1960.



Yamini Meena holds a Master's degree in East Asian Studies from the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi. She holds a Bachelor's degree in History (Hons.) from Maitreyi College, University of Delhi. Her research interests encompass the intersectionality of gender and religious discourse, the dynamics of popular culture, and the intricate exploration of East Asia's socio-religious developments. She has previously interned at the Institute of Chinese Studies and served as a gallery coordinator and research intern at the National Museum in New Delhi. Currently, she is working as a research intern with the Association of Asia Scholars.

PAPER TITLE: Sino-Japanese Art Exchanges in the 20th Century and their Implications on Chinese Avant-Garde

ABSTRACT

The relations between China and Japan are extensively articulated post the 1970s due to the Sino-Japanese Joint Declaration, which aimed at the normalisation of diplomatic relations between China and Japan. However, these two nations have a long history of cultural exchanges, from China's influence on Japan in the ancient era to Japan's influence on Chinese art in the modern period. This research builds on this emerging arena of scholarship by delving into a historical framework of cultural and artistic exchanges between China and Japan and its impact on Chinese Avant-Garde in the first decade of the twentieth century. Drawing on three case studies, this research examines the role of Japanese art and artists in shaping the development of modern art in

China. The first case study focuses on the impact of Japanese oil paintings on the Chinese art scene, particularly the National Fine Arts Exhibition of 1929. This exhibition marked the first official exhibition to present Japanese oil paintings in China and had a far-reaching impact on the Chinese and Japanese art scenes, including the often overlooked influence on the Chinese woodcut movement, which serves as the second case study. It focuses on the impact of Japanese printmaking circles such as the “Creative Print” and “New Print” on the Chinese woodcut movement. The third case is student exchange during the early 1930s, who on returning to China, injected intellectual vitality, thereby leading to a transformation in the Chinese art world. However, a deeper analysis reveals that this knowledge transmission through the exchange is not one-directional- from Japan to China but a multi- directional one. The framework of travelling theory by Edward Said and methodology of John Clark provides a useful lens for understanding this exchange as an interaction between two nations. By providing a more equitable and comprehensive analysis of the multifaceted interactions between China and Japan during the given epoch, the findings of this research demonstrate the significant role of Japanese art and artists in shaping the development of modern art in China. It further underscores the importance of investigating cultural exchanges within the broader scope of art history and cultural studies, to bring forth the historical frameworks that influence cross-cultural interactions, which further leads to the evolution of artistic trends.



Chhavi Raj is a doctoral scholar at the Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, School of Languages, Literature and Cultural Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He recently submitted his M.Phil. dissertation at CCSEAS, JNU, in December 2022. He graduated from the same centre in 2017 and earned his Master’s degree with first class grade. He has been awarded the Junior Research Fellowship in Chinese and has actively participated and presented papers at seminars and conferences.

PAPER TITLE: Cultural, Historical Trajectories of US-China Relations and the Role of Anson Burlingame

ABSTRACT

As far as U.S.-China relations are concerned, scores of scholars have given countless theories, arguments, policies, etc. Given its multifaceted character and temporal as well as spatial dynamism, it is well beyond the scope of a single study to capture all aspects of U.S.-China bilateral relations in its entirety. The scholarship on U.S.-China relations from a traditional perspective has focused primarily either on the U.S. or the Americans, describing the Chinese as a mere respondent to western initiatives. Such studies often adopted a ‘top-down approach’ highlighting the roles of politicians, government, and economy, diminishing the roles of individuals and their experiences through which both countries actively engaged themselves. These episodes can be used as a reference to unfold how the shared pasts of personality like Anson Burlingame (1820-1870), the U.S. ambassador to China, later representing China at various diplomatic missions, did play a significant role in the national development. This research paper tends to be different as it will make an attempt to analyse U.S.-China relations from the theme of shared historical experience highlighting individual roles that were conducive to bringing these two nations closer through

diplomacy, student and scholar exchange programmes, lectures, and other cultural events. It even played a crucial role in the policy formulations of the U.S. concerning China around that period. It will make an attempt to trace the causes and elements attributing to the cultural as well as political conflicts in the bilateral relationship.

DISCUSSANTS



Sujith Kumar Parayil is a Professor at the Department of History, University of Hyderabad. He specialises in Modern Indian History, focusing on Cultural and Visual History, and his teaching and research interests include Photography and History, Sensory Histories, Shoreline Culture of Kerala, Visuality and Subjectivity. Before joining the University of Hyderabad, he taught at the School of Social Sciences, MG University, Kottayam (2021-22), Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (2014-21), EFL University, Hyderabad (2010-14), and TISS Mumbai (2009-10). He was a Postdoctoral Fellow at CSSSC Kolkata (2008-09).



Anagha Ingole teaches at the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, India. She has a Ph.D. from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and has been a Fulbright- Nehru Postdoctoral Fellow at Columbia University, New York. Her research interests are Political theory, Politics of Caste and Religion and Global Intellectual History.

1600 – 1630 Hours: TEA/COFFEE BREAK

SPECIAL LECTURE

1630 – 1730 Hours

CHAIR



Patricia Uberoi is an Emeritus Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), Delhi. She served as the Chairperson of the Institute of Chinese Studies from 2015-2021. A sociologist by training, Dr. Uberoi has taught Sociology at the University of Delhi and the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and retired as a Professor of Social Change and Development at the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi. Her research interests centre on aspects of family, kinship, gender, popular culture and social policy with respect to both India and China. In addition to her monograph on themes of family, kinship and marriage through various genres of Indian popular (*Freedom and Destiny: Gender, Family and Popular*

Culture in India, 2006), she has edited *Family, Kinship and Marriage in India* (1993), *Social Reform, Sexuality and the State* (1996), *Tradition, Pluralism and Identity* (co-ed., 1999), *Anthropology in the East: Founders of Indian Sociology and Anthropology* (co-ed., 2007), *Marriage, Migration and Gender* (co-ed, 2008); *Rise of the Asian Giants: Dragon-Elephant Tango* (ed., 2008); and (with Kishan S. Rana), *India's North East states, the BCIM Forum and Regional Integration* (Institute of Chinese Studies, 2012). At the ICS, she has been closely associated for several years with the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar (BCIM) Forum for Regional Cooperation, a Track II dialogue focusing on development issues in the region stretching from Northeast India to Southwest China. She is also a Member of the Joint Study Group (India) for the BCIM Economic Corridor.

SPEAKER



Govind Kelkar is a feminist scholar, with a Ph.D. in the political economy of China. She is a Visiting Professor, Council for Social Development and Institute for Human Development, India. She is the Executive Director, GenDev Centre for Research and Innovation, India, and was a Senior Adviser, Landesa, Seattle, USA (May 2013-March 2020). In concurrent assignments, Kelkar was the International Research Coordinator of ENERGIA International, The Netherlands and Research Lead on Gender and Energy at Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai. She is a Distinguished Adjunct Faculty of Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, Thailand. Kelkar has the position of Honorary Professor in Institute of Ethnology, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, China, and Adjunct Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. She has authored 16 books and numerous scholarly publications. Her recent book is titled, *Witch Hunts: Culture, Patriarchy and Structural Transformation* (co-authored), Cambridge University Press, 2020.

PAPER TITLE: The Dilemma of Gender and Culture in China's Soft Power in the Global South

ABSTRACT

Soft power in the Chinese context is different from soft power as explained by Nye. China's definition of soft power (软实力, ruǎn shíli), however, emphasises the cultural dimension; it tends to combine traditional culture with ideology, history, morality, and economic governance. The Chinese concept of soft power sees fluid boundaries between hard power (硬实力, yìng shíli) and soft power, seeing them as symbiotic and mutually empowering. In China, soft power is associated with political stability and social cohesion. After discussing the distinctive characteristics of China's soft power, the paper raises major questions about factoring gender into China's soft power tools. Throughout the history of the People's Republic of China, the party and government leadership have repeatedly criticised lingering feudal ideas of patriarchal social relations and made policy corrections for women's social and economic empowerment with asset rights, freedom from familial control, and employment outside the home. Furthermore, the party-state leadership in many multilateral meetings (e.g., CEDAW, SDGs) has acknowledged the important role of women and made commitments to gender equality and women's rights. However, the concern for

women's rights and gender equality has not found any place in China's foreign policies or in the trade negotiations with countries in the Global South. Admittedly, China has achieved its soft power objective of creating a positive story of China's economic development, a socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics. Research shows that there is an appreciation of China's emergence as a global power with its own cultural and political specificities. Chinese soft power strategies have had significant impact by way of diplomatic support, investments, higher educational exchanges, and Confucius Institutes in many countries of Asia and Africa. Notwithstanding its soft power success, China's experience of socialist development suggests that it is unrealistic to expect that gender equality will automatically follow the establishment of a socialist system. China's experience further suggests that without a fundamental transformation of power relations within the family, women will be unable to free themselves from domestic confinement, and any attempt at building and narrating a 'good China story' is likely to remain inconclusive. The Confucian tenets of women's responsibility, 'family harmony', obedience, and care work as the major components of China's culture are likely to strengthen traditional patriarchal structures of women's inequality within China and with negotiating partner countries in the Global South. Further research is needed to see if these tenets were changed or replaced by including women's rights to resources and freedom from the traditional familial system of women's subordination and discrimination. This leads us to conclude that if there is not a fundamental change in perceptions and practices of gender hierarchies, there seems to be little hope of achieving gender equality and women's empowerment. This fundamental change lies in 1) a departure from considering women's equality as a subset of poverty reduction or economic prosperity and 2) creating an enabling environment with the policy and practice of gender equality as an embedded or explicit aspect of China's cultural and political system and trade negotiations. Of course, this also requires realising women's equality and dignity as well as freedom from masculine attitudes within the home and in governance structures. The future of a more powerful China with a 'good story' to tell the world lies in the increased agency of women, their unmediated (not mediated through the household and its head) rights to resources and political decision-making, freedom from violence, and control of their lives.

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

Future of India-China Economic Engagement

1800 – 1900 Hours

PANEL ABSTRACT

There has been a sharp deterioration in bilateral ties between India and China since May 2020, triggered by the amassing of Chinese troops along the borders, their efforts to change the status quo at multiple locations and the bloody clash in the Galwan Valley. The state of borders remains abnormal, and so does the overall relationship between the two countries. The Government of India has taken a series of steps to reduce dependencies on China, including prior approval requirement for foreign direct investment (FDI) from China, a ban on more than 300 internet applications operated by Chinese companies on national security grounds, scrutiny of Chinese

investments in the start-up space, introduction of a registration requirement for Chinese companies looking to participate in public procurement projects in India, promotion of domestic manufacturing through the Production Linked Incentive (PLI) scheme, and diversification of import sources. Despite these measures, India's import from China has continued to grow and the bilateral trade deficit crossed the US\$ 100 billion mark in 2022 (Chinese data), though investment flows from China have declined. Looking ahead, how does India manage its economic engagement with China? While any economic decoupling with the second largest economy and the largest trading nation of the world is neither feasible nor desirable, there is a growing view in India and many other countries, including the USA, Japan and the European Union, that excessive dependencies on China must be reduced through a process of 'derisking'. The panel will explore various questions, keeping in mind trends in the larger relationship with China, its proclivity to weaponise interdependence and the evolving geopolitical environment. Is it possible to develop a roadmap for reducing the unsustainable trade deficit with China and also bringing down over-reliance on imports from China in critical sectors like active pharmaceutical ingredients, electronics, telecom equipment, renewable energy hardware, chemicals, etc. in a phased manner? Given China's strong presence in global value chains, can the Government formulate clearly articulated policies on FDI from China in select sectors after examination of their potential impact on national security and the objective of '*Aatmanirbhar Bharat*'? What is the possibility of India becoming a significant beneficiary of the ongoing restructuring of the global value chains and the 'China Plus' strategy being followed by many companies? Should Indian companies be discouraged from participating in Chinese projects like 'Colombo Port City'? Overall, how does India balance economic, geopolitical and security considerations while forging a new paradigm of economic engagement with China, especially after the current border tensions are brought under control?

MODERATOR



Ashok K. Kantha was the Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi from April 2017 to July 2022. A career diplomat, Kantha was the Ambassador of India to China until January 2016. Prior to this, he was Secretary (East) at the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi with responsibility for about 65 countries in India's extended neighbourhood. His previous assignments include High Commissioner of India to Sri Lanka and Malaysia, the Consul General in Hong Kong, Deputy Chief of Mission in Kathmandu (Nepal), and Joint Secretary (East Asia) in the Ministry of External Affairs. Earlier, Kantha served in different capacities at Indian Missions in Singapore, China and the USA, and at headquarters in New Delhi. In his diplomatic career spanning over 38 years, Kantha specialised in Asian affairs, with a particular focus on China. Apart from three assignments in China, he served as Joint Secretary (East Asia) and Director (China) at the Ministry of External Affairs for periods of four years each, closely involved in the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy in respect of China and East Asia. He has an advanced certificate in Chinese language from the National University of Singapore. Kantha joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1977.

PANELISTS



Sanjay Chadha is a former Additional Secretary of the Department of Commerce. He handled India's international trade with China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the USA, Canada and Mexico. He also held the charge of CMD MMTC and CMD PEC. He presently advises Uber Technologies as head of their Public Policy for India & South Asia. He has worked in various capacities for over three decades on the Indian Railways both in the field units and at the apex level. He has also worked as a Director in the Ministry of Power from 2003 to 2008, where he had the charge of Hydro-Power Policies and Promotion and Development of Hydro Power. In addition, he held the charge of the investment promotion cell which promotes private sector investment in power generation and handles all the IPP projects. He played a pivotal role in the revival of the erstwhile Dabhol Power Project. He has co-authored, with Dr Bibek Debroy, a book titled, *Indian Railways: The Weaving of a National Tapestry*.



Santosh Pai has been offering legal services to clients in the India-China corridor since 2010. His areas of interest include Chinese investments in India, India-China comparative law and policy, cross-cultural negotiations and board governance. He holds a B.A., LL.B. (Hons.) degree from NLSIU, Bangalore, LL.M. (Chinese law) from Tsinghua University, Beijing and an MBA from Vlerick University, Belgium (Peking University campus). His manuscript titled, "Practical Guide on Investing in India for Chinese investors" has been translated into Chinese and published by China Law Press. Santosh is currently a partner at Link Legal, an Indian law firm. He is a member of CII's Core Group on China, teaches two courses on India-China business at IIM Shillong and volunteers at NGOs in his free time.



Manoj Kewalramani is Fellow-China Studies and the Chairperson of the Indo-Pacific Studies Programme at the Takshashila Institution. He is also a Senior Associate (Non-resident), Freeman Chair in China Studies, with the Center for Strategic and International Studies. His research interests range from Chinese politics, foreign policy and approaches to new technologies for addressing questions of how India can work with like-minded partners to deal with the challenges presented by China's rise. Manoj is the author of *Smokeless War: China's Quest for Geopolitical Dominance*, which discusses China's political, diplomatic, economic and narrative responses to the COVID-19 pandemic. His work has been featured in several media publications, including CNN, Al Jazeera, *Nikkei Asia*, *The Times of India*, *Hindustan Times*, and *The Diplomat*. In August 2022, he testified as an expert witness before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission on China's zero-COVID policy. Manoj publishes a daily newsletter translating and analysing discourse from the *People's Daily*, the Chinese Communist Party's flagship newspaper, and a weekly newsletter, *Eye on China*, which tracks China from the perspective of Indian interests. Prior to joining Takshashila, he spent over a decade working as a journalist in India and China, where he helped set up digital newsrooms and train young journalists.

SPECIAL PANEL III

0930 – 1100 Hours

**As the World Ages: Learnings from the East Asian Economies for
Care of Older Persons**

PANEL ABSTRACT

Many Asian societies have already transitioned demographically, while many others are still undergoing the process of transition. Among those that have transitioned are the East Asian economies of Japan, South Korea, China and Hong Kong, while other South Asian and Southeast Asian societies are still in the process of transitioning and will age rapidly in the next two decades. There are regional variations within countries, for instance a large municipality like Shanghai of 23 million accounts for 34 percent of the total population in Shanghai aged 60 years and above as against the national average of 19 percent. Similarly in India, the state of Kerala has already transitioned to an ageing society with those above 60 years old accounting for 16.5 percent against the national average of 10.3 percent. Many of the societies in Asia have aged or will age before they become rich, which is distinct from the demographic transition that occurred in Europe and North America. Much of the concern of an ageing population at the policy level focuses on the economic implications of the demographic dividend and the concern of a decreasing working population. The significance of having care systems in place for an older population who have passed their active productive age gets dismissed in the larger policy debate. This panel brings together experts who have been researching health and social care systems for the older population in the Asian context in a comparative perspective. Two of the panelists here have been part of a consortium researching ageing and integration of health services in the Asia Pacific context, across nine economies – India, Sri Lanka, China, Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. All the economies have mixed financing and provisioning in health services. There is varying degree of fragmentation of services across these economies with multiple actors and agencies providing services – government and non-government. The higher income economies have less fragmentation than the lower to middle-income economies. Most East Asian economies have comprehensive welfare provisioning (from cradle to grave) that includes public health insurance, mixed provisioning of health services, education, unemployment benefits, pensions, and support for older persons. The low middle-income countries in South and Southeast Asian economies have targeted public health insurance for the poor, weak public provisioning of health services, limited pension schemes and a few interventions of support and care of older persons. The diversity of socio-political contexts is reflected in the scope and depth of welfare interventions. The panelists will reflect on some of the contexts within which health and social care systems for older persons have emerged in these economies.

CHAIR



Madhurima Nundy is a Fellow, Health and Human Development, Centre for Social and Economic Progress, New Delhi and an Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), Delhi. She holds a Ph.D. in Public Health from the Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her areas of interest include researching health systems, health policies, commercialisation of healthcare and inequalities in health. She also uses comparative frameworks to study health systems. She has several publications and has been a regular contributor to policy analysis in the area of public health in China and India. Among other experiences, she was Assistant Director and Fellow at the ICS, Delhi (2012-21); Senior Programme Coordinator at the Public Health Resource Network, New Delhi (2009-12); Technical Consultant with the National Commission on Macroeconomics and Health (2004-05) and a Research Associate at the Institute of Social Studies Trust (1999-2001).

SPEAKERS



Kavita Sivaramakrishnan is a public health historian of South Asia with a focus on the politics of health, medicine and science in the global South. Her early research focused on the politics of 'indigenous' Ayurvedic medicine and its reconfiguring in a late colonial context in North India through claims and representations based on language and religion. She has also worked on social histories of epidemics and the role played by experts and scientific evidence,

including the plague and its national and regional politics in South Asia. Her most recent research is on the global politics of ageing, and her latest publication is titled, *As the World Ages: Rethinking a Demographic Crisis* (Harvard University Press, 2018). She is currently engaged in a new book project on the history of consumption and disease risks in South Asia. She is also collaborating with David Jones (Harvard University) and writing a monograph on heart disease in India and the making of new networks of medical expertise that has been supported by an NEH grant; and works with Jennifer Manly on a research project on cultures of ageing and cognitive decline in India and South Africa (based on a PSSN grant from the Center for Science and Society at Columbia University). Prior to joining the Mailman School faculty, Kavita was a David Bell Research Fellow at the Center for Population Studies and Development Studies at Harvard University and also was awarded the Balzan Fellowship for her work on social inequalities and health by University College London. Her training in history at Trinity College, Cambridge University and the Jawaharlal Nehru University and experience in archival work, policy debates and public health practice in the global South brings together a rich interdisciplinary perspective anchored in rigorous historical method.

PAPER TITLE: Ageing, Care and Cognition in South Asia and South-East Asia in Times of Crisis: Networks of Coping and Resilience Before and During COVID Crises

ABSTRACT

This talk will examine the case of Hong Kong, Singapore and South Indian migrants. Coping with stress and challenges in care and 'resilience' as capacity of individuals to survive in the face of stress and shocks, has not received much research attention in the context of cognition and

dementia. I will focus on the individual and also inquire about societal factors such as social support and other infrastructure embedded in changing family ties and community, and then will focus on the individual and also inquire about societal factor such as social support and other infrastructure embedded in changing family ties and community and then will focus on migrants and migration effects. The aim is to understand better—frailty, cognition and dementia— by looking at sociological, ethnographic and historical sources, that aims to understand what can be termed as resilience and immunity, what are supports and safety nets, and also their absence and greater susceptibility among urban elders and their families.



Alex Jingwei He is Associate Professor at the Division of Public Policy of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST). He also serves as the Acting Director of HKUST Institute for Public Policy. Dr. He specialises in health policy and governance, and social welfare reforms in East Asia. He has published extensively in leading international journals. In 2022, he was ranked among the top 2% of the most cited policy scientists in the world. Dr. He is the associate editor of *Policy and Society* (SSCI top journal in public administration) and *Journal of Asian Public Policy* (SSCI Q1).

PAPER TITLE: Elderly Care Policy in Hong Kong through the Lens of Policy Design

ABSTRACT

Against the backdrop of rapid ageing populations, there is an increasing recognition of the need to de-fragmentize elderly care services, not only to provide more coordinated care for the growing elderly population but also to contain the rapid cost inflation in the medical sector. Hong Kong and Singapore, two high-income 'tiger economies' in Asia, are also among the world's 'super ageing' societies. Various policy efforts in integrating elderly care services in these two societies are very illustrative of the common challenges of population ageing and offer the rest of Asia useful lessons for social policy learning.



Rama V. Baru is Professor at the Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and an Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India. She is also an Honorary Professor at the India Studies Centre, Central China Normal University, Wuhan, China. Her major areas of research interest include commercialisation of health services, infectious diseases, comparative health systems and health inequalities. She is the author of four books: *Private Health Care in India: Social Characteristics and Trends* (1998); *School Health Services in India: The Social and Economic Contexts* (2008); and *Medical Insurance Schemes for the Poor: Who Benefits* (2015). Her most recent publications by Routledge is a book (with Madhurima Nundy) titled *Commercialisation of Medical Care in China: Changing Landscapes* (2020), and another co-edited volume (with Anuj Kapilashrami) titled *Global Health Governance and Commercialisation in India: Actors, Institutions and the Dialectics of Global and Local* (2018). She has contributed to many edited volumes and peer-reviewed journals. She is currently a member of the Ethics Committee at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), the

Technical Appraisal Committee for Health Technology Assessment, the Department of Health Research, the Ministry of Health, the Government of India and the Scientific Advisory Group, Indian Council of Medical Research, New Delhi.

PAPER TITLE: Public-Private Mix in Health Services for Older People in a Comparative Perspective

ABSTRACT

Research studies on South Asia, Southeast Asia and East Asia reveals that in societies including India, Mainland China, Japan, Hong Kong SAR, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Sri Lanka, there is a public-private mix in health services and social care for older persons across these countries. There is considerable fragmentation within and across public and private health and social care services. This was exemplified by the involvement of multiple actors and agencies that include the public, for-profit, and non-profit sectors in providing preventive, promotive, curative, rehabilitative, home-based and long-term care for older persons. Countries that have already transitioned to an ageing society have attempted co-ordination and in some instances integration of services for older persons across sectors. Countries that are still transitioning have to proactively begin thinking of the role of public and private mix along the lines of co-ordination as a step towards integration for continuity in care. There are lessons to be learnt from other countries in the East and South East Asian region that have experimented and innovated along these lines.

1100 – 1130 Hours: TEA/COFFEE BREAK

THEMATIC PANEL V

1130 – 1300 Hours

Party, State and Party Politics

CHAIR



Sreemati Chakrabarti was formerly a Professor of Chinese Studies at the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi. She has also been Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Delhi; Head of the Department of East Asian Studies for three terms and Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies (2009-2012). She is currently the Chairperson and an Honorary Fellow of the Institute of Chinese Studies. She was a Visiting Faculty at Central China Normal University, Wuhan, China in 2018. She has a Master's degree in Regional Studies- East Asia from Harvard University and holds a Doctorate in Political Science from Columbia University. She has authored three books: *China and the Naxalites*, *Mao, China's Intellectuals and the Cultural Revolution* and a National Book Trust volume titled, *China*. She has also edited *Higher Education in China: Select Perspectives* and co-edited *Taiwan Today*. In addition, she has published several

articles in journals, magazines and newspapers and contributed chapters to books. She regularly featured on the popular television channels and other electronic media on China and East Asia related issues. In 2010, she was conferred the “China-India Friendship Award” by Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao.

SPEAKERS



Ekta Singh is an Assistant Professor in Public Policy and Governance at Dr. B. R. Ambedkar University Delhi. Prior to joining AUD, Dr. Singh taught at TISS, Hyderabad Campus in the School of Public Policy and Governance. Dr. Singh’s doctoral research looks at the interface between welfare and neoliberalism in post-liberalization India through the lens of governance reforms in PDS. Her research interests primarily encompass the political economy of development, politics of welfare, comparative social policy, and state and governance issues. She is currently interested in critically analysing the interface between technology and governance.

PAPER TITLE: Grid Management and the Chinese Surveillance State

ABSTRACT

The long-term impact of covid-19 crisis that brought the entire world to a standstill is still being debated and yet to unfold. Undoubtedly, most countries irrespective of the regime type were stretched beyond their capacities and adopted harsh policies to contain the virus. Most of the recent research has attributed the different national responses to differential ‘state capacity’ and have criticised ‘Regime type’ as a differentiator to assess crisis governance given the mixed track record of different regimes in effectively handling the challenges posed by Covid-19. The article argues how Regime type remains a crucial variable shaping and mediating state capacity and role of political leadership by interrogating how the interaction between state capacity and regime type played out in China’s handling of covid-19. From information control to grid governance to use of digital infrastructure, China utilised multiple dimensions of its high state capacity all made possible within a single party authoritarian structure and the overall context of dynamic state-society relations. The article analyses China’s grid management as an important tool of the Chinese Communist Party to construct a technologically sophisticated surveillance state. In critically analysing the role of grid-management in containing the pandemic, the article seeks to unravel the role of such surveillance technologies in governing mobility and maintaining social control by bolstering state capacity.



Raj Gupta is a doctoral scholar from the Centre for Chinese and South-East Asian Studies, JNU, New Delhi. He was awarded a 1-year scholarship by the Ministry of Human Resource Development to pursue Advanced Chinese at Beijing Language and Culture University (BLCU) in 2019-2020 and was awarded JRF in Chinese by the UGC in 2019. His research interests include Chinese domestic politics and the workings of the Communist Party of China. He has published works on China's CBDC and the Chinese portrayal of the Galwan incident in VIF, ICS and C3S.

PAPER TITLE: Historical Resolutions as an Institution in the CPC: Understanding the Third Historical Resolution

ABSTRACT

Since its inception in 1921, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has adopted three Historical Resolutions so far. While their contents are marked by the distinctness of the eras they were adopted in, commonalities also exist in the resolutions and in the intent behind their adoption. The first Historical Resolution closely followed the Yan'an Rectification where "erroneous ideas", "left errors" and "right errors" in politics, military, organisation, and ideology were analysed and corrected in the party under the leadership of Mao Zedong, bringing consistency in understanding basic issues of the Chinese revolution within the party. The second Resolution assessed the "grave blunder" of the Cultural Revolution drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong erroneous "leftist" and "rightist" viewpoints existing at that time. The party then moved away from the hallmarks of the Mao era such as class struggle and personality cult towards the cause of reform and opening-up in accordance with new realities and development requirements. The third Historical Resolution was adopted at the historic juncture when the party has completed 100 years, achieved its first centennial goal, and is charting a course to achieve the second centennial goal in an international situation that is becoming increasingly complex for China. Unlike the first two Resolutions that attempt to resolve "certain questions", the third one focuses more on achievements and historical experiences. This paper attempts to ascertain and analyse the institutional value of the Historical Resolutions in the CPC. It will first delve into understanding the defining characteristics of these historical resolutions which include building consensus, adopting unified thinking, and consolidating the position of the party leader. It then seeks to explore and explain that all the Historical Resolutions carry an external dimension, which appears to be the strongest in the Third Historical Resolution with its strong emphasis on the "New Era" that can be seen as China's response to external complexities. In essence, this paper underscores the role of Historical Resolutions as CPC's strong commitment to addressing evolving challenges and attaining its objectives.



Shaan Kashyap is a doctoral scholar engaged in writing social history of historical research and production of historical knowledge with reference to Odisha at Ravenshaw University, Cuttack. Before that he submitted his M.Phil. dissertation on global history of History textbook controversies at Zakir Hussain Centre for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Delhi. He holds an M.A. in Modern History from Centre for Historical Studies, JNU

PAPER TITLE: Mao's China and the First School Textbook Controversy in Contemporary India, circa 1949-1959

ABSTRACT

The global histories on Maoism have hardly investigated the existence of the ideology in school textbooks. Setting aside a few examples like Timothy Cheek that offer a comparison on World

History textbooks, there are no studies in Textbook and Curriculum Studies that have captured and contextualised Maoism as a trope of world history, or political ideology in school textbooks. Investigations on Mao Zedong (1893-1976) and Maoism are usually restricted to textbook controversies, and commentaries that follow periodic textbook revisions by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). CCP's Central Committee Party History and Literature Research Institute publication *Brief History of the Communist Party of China* has occasionally come under the scholarly scrutiny. Moreover, these discussions are usually confined to significant campaigns of Mao era, including, Anti-rightist campaign (1957), The Great Leap Forward (1958-62) and The Cultural Revolution (1966-1977). Addressing the lacuna of not engaging with school textbook contents as far as Maoism is concerned, this paper attends to a lesser-known history of first textbook controversy in contemporary India, which squarely associates itself to Maoism. In the Indian state of Kerala, Communist Party of India (CPI) formed the first-ever democratically elected Communist government in 1958. CPI's radical socio-economic policies led to an anti-Communist backlash called *Vimochana Samaram*, especially after the Communists set out to withdraw existing school textbooks and replaced them with new ones. This development set off a national controversy with the deep involvement of the Jawaharlal Nehru-led Union Government. The figure of Mao Zedong and myriad representations of Maoism is central to this textbook controversy. The controversy has not been recorded in the larger political history of the nation so far because of its brief life, since the CPI government was constitutionally dismissed by the Government of India within a year of its election. These developments lead us to certain key questions. How was Maoism represented in Kerala school textbooks much before it became a tour de force in Europe following French radicals? What were the responses of different stakeholders in India on representations of Maoism in school textbooks, viz. Union Government, Ministry of Education, Central Bureau of Textbook Research, Kerala School Managers' Association, Catholic Congress Local Committee, and different Parents' Association? Using the tools of Microhistory and rich archives of the Ministry of Education, CPI, and contemporary sources such as English and Malayali newspapers, this paper will investigate the rise and decline of Maoism in school textbooks, and how it led to the making of the first textbook controversy in contemporary India.

DISCUSSANTS

Bhim Subba, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad.

Anand Parappadi Krishnan, Fellow, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence, Delhi NCR; Visiting Associate Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

1300 – 1400 Hours: LUNCH BREAK

THEMATIC PANEL VI

1400 – 1500 Hours

China's Strategic Policy and Internal Discourse

CHAIR



S. Shaji is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad. Before joining the department, he was an Assistant Professor with Centre for Multi-Disciplinary Development Research (CMDR), an ICSSR Institute at Dharwad, Karnataka. He has also been a consultant to UNICEF and the Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), Hyderabad. Dr. Shaji was Guest Professor at the Institute of Political and Social Studies, University of Wurzburg, Germany (April-June, 2012 and November-December 2014). He was a US Foreign Policy Fellow at SUSI Programme at Bard College New York, US in June-August 2013. Dr. Shaji was Deputy Coordinator, Centre for Advanced Studies (CAS), Department of Political Science and the Academic Coordinator of Study in India Programme (SIP), University of Hyderabad. As part of his assignment at SIP, he designed, conducted, and customised courses on Contemporary India for participants from the Universities in the United States and Nordic countries. His research interest lies in International Relations and Public Policy. Within this domain he works and publishes on specific themes such as India's relations with developing states, especially from the Afro-Asian region, Technology Transfer, Foreign Policy of Developing States and Urban Water Governance and Regulation. He teaches courses such as 'India in World Affairs', 'Foreign Policies of Emerging Powers' and 'Government and Politics of South Asia' to post-graduate students at the Department of Political Science. Dr. Shaji has completed research projects with the support of grants from organisations like ICSSR and UGC, New Delhi and is currently part of an International Project at University of Hyderabad on Internationalisation and Virtual Exchange: Borderless between EU and Asian Countries, Erasmus+ CBHE, funded by European Union as well as a project, sanctioned by ICSSR, New Delhi on Energy Cooperation between India and Africa.

SPEAKERS



Aastha Binzani is a doctoral scholar at the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. She holds a Bachelor's degree in History from Women's Christian College (Chennai) and a Master's degree in Political Science from the University of Hyderabad. She was a recipient of the Ministry of Education (Taiwan) Huayu Enrichment Scholarship (2022-2023). Her current research focuses on China's rise and its implications for international rules and norms for the governance of the 'Global Commons', especially in the domain of 'Outer Space'. Her research particularly looks at China's capabilities, interests, and objectives as determinants of its approach to international norm-making and rule-setting in outer space.

PAPER TITLE: China's Approach to the Global Commons: A Critical Analysis of China's Outer Space Policy

ABSTRACT

Given the critical role played by space science and technology to life on earth, especially in terms of economic and security interests of nation-states, China's growing capabilities and long-term plans in 'Outer Space' have attracted increasing international attention. China's emergence as a major space actor has set off a new space race not just in terms of capabilities but also in the arena of international rule-making and norm-setting. With the U.S. – China rivalry spilling over into outer space, the arena has emerged as a yet another frontier of global geopolitics. In the 21st century, domination of Outer Space is being regarded as one of the contributing factors for achieving global domination and Great Power status akin to the importance accorded to domination of the Seas in history. China's rising economic, technological, and military capabilities have impinged upon the use of Global Commons, leading to several complex issues and problems of norms, rules, and institutions to deal with them. Outer space is one of the domains wherein China has enhanced its technological capabilities in the last few decades. China's rise on the global stage has witnessed the arena of outer space being accorded a central place in its grand strategy, with the country declaring its goal of 'building itself into a Space Power (White paper on China's space activities, 2016). Given the absence of an adequate governance mechanism in the domain, the country's rising activities and interests have been accompanied by concerns and attempts in rule-making/norm-setting. This paper examines China's approach to Outer Space as a 'Global Commons.' It particularly focuses on rule-making/ norm-setting in the domain. The paper, therefore, traces the Chinese domestic debates and China's approaches to outer space since the early 1990s to the present. It looks at China's capabilities, interests, and objectives in outer space and contextualises them within larger debates and approaches to China's approach to Global Commons and grand strategy of a rising power. In this context, it provides an in-depth analysis of China's negotiating positions and debates on international norms and regimes in outer space. The paper will use document and discourse analysis methods and will use government reports, newspaper articles, books, and journal articles. By doing so, the paper attempts to contribute to debates on China's approaches to the international order and Global Commons.



Akshat Mayne is a doctoral scholar in Japanese Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, and a Research Assistant at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. He holds a Master's degree in East Asian Studies, with a specialisation in Japanese Studies, from the University of Delhi. His research interests encompass Japan's place in the East Asia, Japanese domestic politics, security and foreign policy in the Post-War Era, and the emerging dynamics between various players in the region, especially Japan and Taiwan. He is also interested in the historical interactions, and political and cultural exchanges between Japan and other East Asian states.

PAPER TITLE: A Resurgent Rising Sun? Japan in Chinese Socio-Political Discourse

ABSTRACT

In a region as dynamic as East Asia, the relations between states are often dictated by a combination of aspects, apart from established international frameworks. Amongst these, the role of historical memory and how it is perceived and perpetuated gains prominence. When placed in this context, the relations between Japan and China today can be viewed in a more comprehensive manner. Japanese imperialist advances in China in the early 20th Century, up until Japan's defeat in 1945, left their bilateral relations deeply damaged. The relations between Japan and the People's Republic of China were normalised only in 1972, yet in how true a sense can one actually describe it as a holistic reconciliation? For purposes of domestic political mobilisation, the Communist Party of China has often utilised Japan's imperialist past and its aggression against China, despite the normalisation of relations, and the so-called reconciliation between the two states. The same has been done through a decidedly negative and antagonistically hyperbolic representation of Japan through the formulation of "sites of memory" such as memorials and museums. In such a milieu, social memory is bound to become intertwined, and could slowly be replaced by a significantly altered, if not a completely manufactured, memory. Employing the theoretical framework of memory politics, this paper seeks to navigate the dynamics of Japan's representation in Chinese socio-political discourse and how it has influenced the course of bilateral relations between the two East Asian states in the last several decades.

DISCUSSANTS



V. Anand is currently working as an Assistant Professor (Senior Scale) at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education where he teaches subjects related to the theoretical and technological dimensions of geopolitics, among others, at the Masters level. He is also the Coordinator of the China Study Centre and the North East Studies Centre at the Department. He was briefly associated with the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru and the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi, where he conducted research on China's space programme. He has published a monograph, several book chapters, research articles in peer-reviewed journals as well as commentaries in various forums. He has also presented papers at numerous national and international conferences within and outside India. He has more than a decade of learning, teaching and research experience in the fields of geopolitics, international relations, China studies and strategic studies. Prior to that, he was an engineer in the defence production industry in the public sector.



Amrita Jash is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education. She is the Ph.D. Co-ordinator at the Department as well as the Co-coordinator of the Centre for Indo-Pacific Studies, MAHE. She is also the Features Editor for Asian Affairs and Security Studies at Science, Technology and Security Forum under Manipal Advanced Research Group (MARG), MAHE.

SPECIAL PANEL IV 1500 – 1615 Hours

State of China Studies in India: Scholarship on India-China Relations

Panel Abstract

The AICCS have a practice of organising panel discussions to explore 'The state of the field', in which, typically, the panelists provide a critical analysis and appraisal of recent scholarship pertaining to a particular theme. This panel discussion will deal with China's Foreign Policy and India-China Relations, categorising the different approaches, perspectives and dominant arguments. Prashant Singh will make an assessment of recent writings on the PRC's foreign policy and international relations. Rajiv Ranjan will focus on the literature devoted to China-South Asia and regional dynamics and Madhura Balasubramaniam would look at recent writings on India-China relations, with a special focus on the "diplomatic" genre.

CHAIR



Rityusha Mani Tiwary teaches at the Department of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi and is currently an Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. She has been the Assistant Editor of *China Report: A Journal of East Asian Studies*, the flagship journal of the Institute, since 2016. She holds a Ph.D. in Chinese Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The current focus of her research includes unpacking the interplay of leadership, power and hegemony in East Asia and China's role in shaping regionalism in the twin domain of political economy and foreign policy. She likes to employ critical theory-comparativist lenses to study China and India in the areas of nationalism, borders, gender and culture. She was the recipient of the Visiting Program for Young Sinologists in 2017, awarded by the Ministry of Culture, People's Republic of China and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing. She was earlier awarded the International Visitor Leadership Program by the Department of State, USA, in 2016 and Pavate Fellowship at the Politics and International Studies Department, University of Cambridge, UK, in 2013. She was a Visiting Scholar at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai, in 2012 and a Visiting Researcher at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, in 2009.

SPEAKERS



Rajiv Ranjan is an Assistant Professor in Chinese Studies at the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi, and an Adjunct Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. He is trained in Chinese language and previously taught international politics at Shanghai University, China. He has co-authored *Jindai Dongfang Guojia de Biange*《近代东方国家的变》 Jinan University Press, China,

2020, and also co-edited *China and South Asia: Changing Regional Dynamics, Development and Power Play* published by Routledge in 2021.

PAPER TITLE: China, South Asia and Regional Dynamics



Prashant Kumar Singh is a Research Fellow and Centre Coordinator of the East Asia Centre at the Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA). He obtained his M.Phil. and Ph.D. at the Centre for East Asian Studies (CEAS), School of International Studies (SIS) in Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. His research interests are strategic and domestic affairs of China, state and society in Taiwan, and India's engagement with East Asia. He is a recipient of the prestigious CCS Grant for Foreign Scholars (2016) by National Central Library (Taiwan), Taiwan Fellowship (2014) and National Huayu Enrichment Scholarship, Taiwan (2011-12). His book, *Xi Jinping's 'Chinese Dream': China's Renewed Foreign and Security Policy*, has been published by Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London in 2022.

PAPER TITLE: Chinese Foreign Policy and International Relations



Madhura Balasubramaniam is a doctoral scholar at IIT Madras, exploring histories of state-making at the India-Tibetan borderlands. She has an M.A. in Development Studies from IIT Madras. As Project Associate at IIT Madras, she worked on Tibetan refugee rehabilitation in India with a specific focus on land tenure. Her research interests include state-making, bureaucracy and Tibetan refugee rehabilitation. However, her true interests lie in photo documenting fieldwork puppies and ecstatically examining government files. Her recent article titled 'Disciplining Statelessness: Fragmentary Outcomes of the Tibetan Rehabilitation Policy', was co-authored with Dr. Sonika Gupta.

PAPER TITLE: Recent Writings on India-China Relations: Writings by Policy Practitioners

1615 – 1645 Hours: TEA/COFFEE BREAK

VALEDICTORY SESSION

1645 – 1800 Hours

CHAIR



Syed Akbaruddin joined the Kautilya School of Public Policy in June, 2021, following a distinguished diplomatic career spanning more than three decades. Entering the Indian Foreign Service in 1985, he retired in April 2020, upon completion of his tenure as the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations. He was the Official Spokesperson of India's Ministry of External Affairs from 2012 to 2015. He is among the few Indian diplomats who has the distinction of also serving as an international civil-servant in a United Nations entity. From 2006 to 2011, he worked at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna. He was the Head of the External Relations and Policy Coordination Unit and later also the Special Assistant to the Director-General of the IAEA. He has also served as the Consul General of India, Jeddah in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from 2000 to 2004. Having served as Counsellor at the Indian High Commission in Islamabad (1998-2000), he is well versed in key issues between India and Pakistan. Also, he has worked at the Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations as First Secretary (1995-98). He was a member of the UN's apex body, the Advisory Committee on Administrative & Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) during 1997-98. Since his retirement he has written and spoken extensively on global public policy issues. He has a Master's Degree in International Relations from the Australian National University.

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS

Rising to the China Challenge



Gautam Bambawale is an Adjunct Fellow at Institute of Chinese Studies. He was a member of the Indian Foreign Service from 1984 to 2018. He was India's Ambassador to Bhutan, Pakistan and China. Bambawale was stationed in Washington DC from 2004-07 during the Indo-US nuclear deal which transformed ties between the two countries. He has been India's first Consul General in Guangzhou (China) from 2007-09. He was Director of the Indian Cultural Centre, Berlin from 1994-98. Ambassador Bambawale worked in the Prime Minister's Office from 2002-2004. At the Ministry of External Affairs, he was Joint Secretary for East Asia from 2009-2014. Bambawale has dealt with China for 15 of his 34-year diplomatic career. Ambassador Bambawale is currently Distinguished Professor, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Symbiosis International University, Pune.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE



Sabaree Mitra, Convener, 16th AICCS; Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

VOTE OF THANKS



Anudeep Gujjeti, Research Associate, Council for Social Development-Hyderabad; Doctoral Candidate, Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad; Young Leader, Pacific Forum, Honolulu.

WELCOMING DELEGATES TO THE 17th AICCS



Amrita Jash, Assistant Professor, Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education (MAHE).

APPRECIATION & LOOKING AHEAD



Rityusha Mani Tiwary, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

ORGANISERS & FUNDING PARTNERS



The **Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS)**, New Delhi is an institution engaged in and committed to interdisciplinary research on China. Apart from the annual All India Conference of China Studies (AICCS), the Institute undertakes various collaborative research programs and multilateral initiatives with prominent institutions in India and abroad, and brings together leading and upcoming scholars through multiple fora. Among its many legacies, it has been conducting the iconic Wednesday Seminar for over 50 years and publishes the *China Report*, a peer-reviewed quarterly journal on China and East Asia, currently in its 59th year of publication.



The **University of Hyderabad (UoH)**, a premier institution of postgraduate teaching and research in the country, was established by an Act of Parliament (Act No. 39 of 1974) on 2nd October 1974 as a Central University, wholly funded by the University Grants Commission, is a Unitary University situated at Gachibowli, Hyderabad. The “objects of the University” as envisaged in the Act are: “to disseminate and advance knowledge by providing instructional and research facilities in such branches of learning as it may deem fit and by the example of its corporate life, and, in particular, to make special provisions for integrated courses in humanities and science in the educational programs of the University and to take appropriate measures for promoting interdisciplinary studies and research in the University.” Established in 1979, the Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, is one of the leading departments in the country with its distinguished faculty and contribution to academic research, social and public policy in India and abroad.



The **Institution of Eminence (IoE)** status, accorded to the University of Hyderabad (UoH) in September 2019, is a recognition of UoH’s standing, ability and potential to move into the league of the world’s best institutions. The university views IoE as a good opportunity in its history to leverage its existing reputation, practices and services to catapult itself into the best and highest leagues globally. The IoE tagline ‘national needs, global standards’ is to be geared towards academic, financial and administrative support for all its stakeholders, faculty, students and non-teaching staff. The University, through IoE, seeks to enable and facilitate improved services, facilities, quality of research opportunities, visibility, collaborations, innovative programmes and courses, nationally and internationally. It’s mission is to enable capacity-building in the marginalised sections of the society by offering skill development, academic and research programmes aimed at social equity and justice; to use the IoE status as a vehicle to enhance international visibility by offering opportunities to students, academics and researchers across the globe to become a part of the University fraternity and encourage collaborative participation in the academic and research activities of the University; create an ecosystem of innovation, entrepreneurship and translational research among the students and faculty members through start-ups and public-private

partnerships; to fund research projects, outreach activities, capacity-building measures in order to emerge as a truly world-class multi-disciplinary University that figures in the World's 500 Best Universities in the next few years.



The Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies under the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence (SNIOE) is a research centre focussed on the economy, borders and identities, the environment and regional geopolitics of the wider

Himalayan region including the Hindu Kush and the Karakoram. While there are scholars of the Himalayas and small centres and research groups focused on the region, there is a need for institutionalised efforts at the national level that brings together a wide variety of disciplinary and sectoral approaches to the study of what is one of the world's most environmentally sensitive and politically fraught regions and one that simultaneously has a significant influence on the economic livelihoods of hundreds of millions of people. At the same time, it is difficult to ignore the role of geopolitics in this region.

Therefore, even as the Centre pushes for an approach to studying the Himalayas that crosses both national and disciplinary boundaries as well as engenders a three-way conversation between central and local governments, academia and the people who live in the region, it also remains sharply aware of and is attuned to geopolitics and the policy imperatives that surround it.

The Centre reflects SNIOE's global outlook and ambitions, focusing on engaging researchers with niche or specialised interest in the wider Himalayas, and identifying and creating a network of scholars in the field, both in India and externally, to support its work. This critical mass of scholars of and from the region will redress the longstanding neglect or asymmetrical representation of the Himalayas and beyond, in knowledge, discourse and policy interventions. It also aims to develop and utilise strong links with the policy community and government agencies in a mutually supportive exercise.

The Centre also signifies a leadership role for the SNIOE, as it attempts to fill gaps in both academic and policy spaces. This leadership role is in keeping with the University's identity and goals of promoting innovation, creativity and interdisciplinary engagement in the field of Indian education. The Centre also offers the SNIOE's own faculty and students opportunities to collaborate with counterparts from across the wider Himalayan region as well as those working on the region from elsewhere in the world.



Council for Social Development was founded by Dr. Durgabai Deshmukh in Delhi in 1962. She was a well-known social worker with strong acumen for institution building. CSD was set up as a think tank to keep a focus on the social aspects of development planning and to initiate policy-oriented research during the early years of Independence. The Southern Regional Centre in Hyderabad was established in 1967.

CSD engages in policy-oriented research with special focus on social aspects of development planning and concern for social justice and equity that continues to guide the work of CSD Hyderabad. The current President of CSD is the distinguished former diplomat Prof. Muchkund Dubey. Prof. Shanta Sinha is the Chairperson of the Managing Committee, a Retired Professor of Political Science, University of Hyderabad and Raman Magsaysay Awardee for her distinguished

work on elimination of Child Labour. The other members of the Committee include eminent academicians and social scientists and representatives of our main sponsors ICSSR and Government of Telangana. Prof. Sujit Kumar Mishra is currently the head of the institute as Regional Director (In-charge). The major thrust of research at CSD is to encourage comparative studies of different cultures, examination of diverse impacts of policy, and appreciation of diversity in understanding the relationship between the state and people.

INSTITUTE OF
Chinese
STUDIES, DELHI
ESTABLISHED IN 1969
中国研究院
德里
成立于 1969 年



A Dunhuang (Mogao Cave 103) mural depicting, Chinese Scholar and Buddhist monk, **XUANZANG**, (玄奘 Hsüan-tsang, Sanskrit *Mokshadeva*), returning back to China from India in 643 CE. He spent fourteen years in India (629–643 CE.), visiting Buddhist monasteries across India. He spent six years at **Nalanda Mahavihara** (University), studying Buddhist Doctrine, Sanskrit and Siddham Script.

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