

***Fifth All India Conference of China Studies***  
**December 15-16, 2012**  
**Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan**  
**PROGRAMME**

**Day One: December 15, 2012**

**(Inaugural Session and Sessions One & Two will be held in Lipika Auditorium)**

Registration: 9:00 a.m. -9:30 a.m.

Inaugural Session: 9:30 a.m. -10:45a.m.

Chair: Prof. Sushanta Dattagupta, Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati

Welcome Remarks: Dr. Avijit Banerjee, Conference Co-convenor, Head, Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

Greetings: Prof. Alka Acharya, Director, ICS

Greetings: Prof. Artatrana Nayak, Principal, Bhasa-Bhavana

Introductory Remarks: Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty, Chairperson, ICS

Keynote Address: Prof. Madhavi Thampi, Honorary Fellow, ICS, *Reinterpreting History* (Special Theme of the Conference)

Presidential Remarks: Prof. Sushanta Dattagupta, Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati

Vote of thanks: Prof. Sabaree Mitra, Conference Convenor & Honorary Fellow, ICS

Tea: 10:45 a.m.-11:15 a.m.

**Session One: *Emerging Trends in China Studies: Foreign Policy & International Relations***

**11: 15 a.m.-12:15 p.m.**

Chair: Prof. Alka Acharya, Director, ICS

**Speakers:**

***Dr. P. A. Mathew, "Diaspora and soft power: Contextualizing India and China in the Globalizing World"***

The competitive and almost simultaneous rise of both India and China has been one of the fundamental changes characterising the geopolitical reality of the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Emergence of both these countries over the course of past few decades has created new sets of relationships at various levels and influenced their ability to pursue strategic interests.

Joseph Nye Jr pioneered the use of the term soft power and made the persuasive argument that power in international relations is not simply the sum of a nation's economic and military power but also soft power. Soft power uses attraction rather than coercion in order to shape the preferences and opinions of others and with advent of globalisation and increased use of information technology it has increased in importance. The main sources of soft power are culture, political values and foreign policies that are seen as legitimate and having moral authority.

Diasporas are emerging as important partners in the soft power equation between different countries. Soft power gets manifested itself through films, television programmes, popular music, fashion and design, food etc promoting nation in the global arena and also leading to power diffusion. This contribution of diaspora's goes beyond notion of diaspora's being significant economic contributors to origin countries. Diasporas are also increasing playing key role in countries branding strategy and they

represent one of the nation brands most influential and important stake holder groups. Indian and Chinese diaspora's are emerging as important constituencies in promoting their respective nations in the globalizing space. As both countries face the challenge of positioning itself in changing global power matrix this paper is an attempt to see the role of diaspora's in promoting soft power through its various manifestations. It looks into the similarities and differences in their approach and how in the context of increasing knowledge intensity in nation building how the respective Diasporas contributed to that.

***Prof. D. S. Rajan, "Cultural Roots of China's Current Territorial Assertiveness in the Modern Era"***

Are China's past cultural roots an influential factor shaping the international behaviour of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the modern era ? This question is being paid attention by world research scholars as they make efforts to understand the reasons for the PRC's current territorial assertiveness. One such specialist is Dr Henry Kissinger who in his book " On China" ( Allen Lane, Penguin Group, London 2011) finds that a modern Chinese leader like Mao could 'initiate major national undertakings by invoking strategic principles from millennium old events'. The case in point is his assessment of Chinese and Western exceptionalisms as streams representing different philosophical and military traditions. As he explains, Chinese exceptionalism is 'subtle, indirect and cultural without a need to spread their traditional values to other countries'. In contrast, Western exceptionalism involves 'decisive clash of forces' and is missionary with an obligation to spread Western values to other parts of the world. Kissinger brings out a significant historic Chinese trait - "China judges all other states at various levels of tributaries, on the basis of approximation to Chinese cultural and political forms". It can therefore be said that past cultural aspects influence the mindset of the rulers in China even today, providing a lesson to other nations now diplomatically engaging a rapidly rising and asserting China.

Kissinger especially traces a link between the Chinese Wei Qi chess ('Go' in Japan), and China's current strategic thinking. This should be of great interest to the strategic community outside China. Wei Qi, as Kissinger correctly perceives, is a complicated game based on relative gains to be made for long range encirclement; the winner is not immediately obvious and the Wei Qi player aims to impose no checkmate on the opponent, instead offers a series of stalemates. Kissinger tells that the work 'Art of War' written by the Chinese Strategist Sun Zu contains Wei Qi concepts, laying stress on 'indirect attack' and 'psychological combat', based on the premise that "ultimate excellence lies not in winning every battle but in defeating the enemy without ever fighting". Notable is his opinion that Mao and other leaders in China applied Wei Qi concepts in dealing with conflicts with the US and the Soviet Union, along with their prescription of a goal for the PRC - 'prevention of strategic encirclement' of China. Interestingly fears on the prospects of US 'encirclement' continued to occupy the minds of Chinese strategists even today.

It cannot be denied that for countries having border disputes with China, cultural roots can only be one of the determinants of China's thinking, and that there are other basic broader factors like Beijing's threat perceptions to be looked into. Even then, the importance of gaining a knowledge on cultural roots on the part of nations holding border negotiations with China cannot be underestimated; this approach will be

followed in my paper to be presented at the Fifth All India Conference of China Studies (Santiniketan, December 15-16, 2012).

**Mr. M. V. Rappai, “India - China Relations - Need for a Comprehensive Database”**

India and China are two large nations, rather civilizations, sharing a long land border in Asia. From time immemorial these two nations have interacted in various ways. After the independence of India and the liberation of China in 1947 and 1949 respectively, these nations had a complex relationship.

Off late this relationship became much more important and divergent, for India, China has become its most important trade partner, despite a disputed and hitherto unsettled border.

As a preliminary step to study this relationship a project has been initiated with the help of Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS). One of the main aim is to establish a comprehensive database on this relationship.

Proposed Database: The plan includes collection of all relevant materials including copies of archival material available; collection of all relevant doctoral theses produced/published in major Indian universities; obtaining material/copies from relevant state/district archives and possible tie ups with the archives of some leading newspapers of India. The plan also includes collecting all relevant material available in Chinese language, including in the archives of P R China and Taiwan and UK.

**Session Two: Emerging Trends in China Studies: Regional Order & Multilateral Cooperation**

12:15 p.m.-:1:15 p.m.

Chair: Dr. Jabin T. Jacob, Assistant Director, ICS

Speakers:

**Dr. Sonu Trivedi, “Dynamics of India-China Engagement in Myanmar”**

The new democratic regime in Myanmar is just born and it is taking its baby-steps. In this stage, it has to face a number of teething troubles. It still has a long way to go from infancy to adolescence. It is hoped that as it moves forward in its growth and maturity, these problems would be overpowered by the emergence of a more open and matured democracy in future. Under this background, the Paper focuses on the dynamics of political change in Myanmar and its implications for its two immediate neighbours—India and China. The changing power dynamics with the entry of Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi in mainstream politics and growing rapprochement with the west affecting India-China engagement in Myanmar will be the main highlight of the Paper.

China’s role in Myanmar is critical as its second-largest trading partner (Thailand ranks at the top while India stands at fourth) and biggest source of foreign investment. The armed forces of Myanmar depend largely on Chinese largesse. Furthermore, the support of China has been crucial in diplomatic fora such as the United Nations Security Council. Increasing Chinese access to Myanmar’s energy resources is a matter of concern for India because of its strategic implications. Due to growing Sino-Myanmarese energy ties, China is investing heavily in developing ports in Myanmar, gaining greater access to the Indian Ocean. With sanctions long blocking

Western investments, China has emerged as Myanmar's biggest ally, investing in infrastructure, hydropower dams and twin oil-and-gas pipelines to help feed southern China's growing energy needs.

However, in the wake of the recent transformation in Myanmar, the Chinese support for the regime seems to be a challenging opportunity, particularly, vis-à-vis its growing proximity with the West and its closeness with India. Nevertheless, India, should welcome this development as a greater western involvement will lead to a significant curtailment of Chinese inroads into the region. With the opening up of its 'western front', Myanmar's dependence on the Chinese Big Brother is certainly going to come down. The suspension of the \$3.6 billion dam project at Myitstone, the biggest of seven planned by China Power Investment in Myanmar has left the leadership in China stunned. This has raised alarms in Beijing which everyone thinks is the greatest external threat to reforms. Its main fear is that a democratic Myanmar will become a pro-US Myanmar. Chinese officials and media have expressed concern over Washington's renewed interest in slowly democratising Myanmar. But, however, President Thein Sein in his recent visit to China has reaffirmed that Myanmar's transition to democracy will not change the country's traditional friendship with China. The two countries have agreed to continue to strengthen communication and coordination to accelerate the formulation of mid-term and long-term goals of bilateral exchanges in politics, economy, trade, culture, security and other areas to steadily push forward comprehensive cooperation.

India on the other hand, has been considered as a land of opportunity by the new reformist regime in Myanmar. It has been characterised as a benign force both by the military and democratic icon Aung San Suu Kyi. This makes New Delhi a useful third party, given the suspicions that exist in Myanmar regarding the role of China and the suspicions China has about the West. However, India is not enough to balance China's presence in Myanmar. But it will now have to push more vigorously to expand its economic interests in Myanmar before the West starts making its presence felt. India's economic involvement in Myanmar, largely through public sector, has not been up to the mark with complaints about implementation delays and quality controls. This gap, however, must be filled by the Indian private sector who wants to move in as opportunities expand in this hermit kingdom. India can also think about building rail-road connectivity through Myanmar to Southeast Asia. It can talk about reviving old rail and road links from Assam to Vietnam. Investment in agriculture, industry, banking sector, education, health, transport and communication is urgently required by India, besides its existing share in pearls and pulses, timber, oil and natural gas projects.

Though, India-China interest overlaps in Myanmar there has not been any direct confrontation or a threat to national interest of both the countries. Strategically, India believes that a strengthened tie with Myanmar is the key to contain China's expansion into South Asia and into Indian Ocean region. India has sought cooperation from Myanmar in its counter insurgency operations in the north-east along their border and held several joint military operations. The country is also important for India's "Look East Policy" which includes closer links with South East Asia, including trade routes.

China and India have a competing security and economic interests in Myanmar. Ever since the elections in November 2010, Chinese officials have strengthened their

hand with a deep confidence of gaining much more from the new regime. This has been reaffirmed by the reformist President Thein Sein's second visit to China in two years. In this regard, India needs to deepen and broaden its relationship in Myanmar looking beyond the rhetoric of a simple counterpoint to China for influence and access. It is in this context that recent developments in Myanmar and regime transition are a matter of concern for both India and China.

***Dr. Imankalyan Lahiri, "Emerging China and the Changing Regional Order: India's perception on China's Rise"***

In the age of globalization it is important to identify some new areas to pursue a research on China Politics. As far as India is concerned, in terms of geo-politics, India faces an assertive China to the north, a China allied Pakistan to the West and China influenced Myanmar to the east. Importantly enough it is now important for us to review China's rise particularly when there is a political change in Myanmar. From the Indian perspectives it is important to analyze China's domestic and International politics from a new perspective in the age of globalization when the importance of the concept of regionalism is rising since China's Foreign Relations are never free from the effects of regional politics. Apart from the economic engagement, other areas where Indian scholars may concentrate to pursue research on China Politics are on China's Modernization, China's engagement with Myanmar, border issues and border claims, on possibility of establishing favorable neighborhood, strategies affecting bi-lateral relations, energy security, China's engagement in the Indian Ocean, economic engagement etc. The aim of the paper is to identify some probable areas of research on Chinese Foreign Policy from an Indian perspective in the years to come. The paper will try to answer certain questions like: are there any possibilities that the two nations come together and become partners leading Asia together? How both the nations will deal with the Myanmar factor? Would India-China relations end up in bloody rivalry or co-operation? What would be the role of United States in the region to maintain the balance? Etc. The paper will also seek to answer how the co-operation and competition between both India and China will influence Asia in the current years.

***Ms. Rityusha Mani Tiwari, "China in East Asian Regionalism: A Creative Perspective on Power Structuration"***

The economic rise of East Asia has generated a lot of interest in the past few decades. The speculations surrounding the resultant increase in political stakes in the region have run abound. The graph of East Asian regional integration experienced sharp highs and lows corresponding with the rise of the Newly Industrialised Countries of Asia in the early 1990s, the subsequent 'Asian financial crisis' in the year 1997-98 and ultimately a resurgence of East Asia in the twenty first century. Further, there has been the phenomenal rise of China, often described in the existing literature as the 'emergent world hegemon'. Alternately, the role of China in the region can also be seen as an active participation in the regional integration processes. This contribution and engagement transcends the contours of political economy and involves geostrategic and security considerations as well. The process of East Asian regionalism itself has been influenced by the presence of many actors in the region. With 'the coming age of regionalism' being hailed as the 'metaphor of our time' the moment is opportune to focus on East Asian regionalism where politico-economic developments have accumulated power at the regional level, strengthening multi-polarity at the

global level.

The focus of present research article is reposes in seven triggers of enquiries. One of the primary concerns is to define **what holds East Asian Regionalism together?** Is it mutual interdependence, shared identity, both or none? Second, is a leader visible in East Asian Regionalism? Third, what is China's capability in East Asia? Specifically in terms of strategic importance, military capability economy, cultural affinity, young population or is there some different variable? Fourth, who are the other actors in the region? Fifth, what is China's position vis-à-vis these other actors in the region with reference to strategy/ military, economy, identity building/ image within the region or any other significant parameter? Sixth, based on third and fifth enquiries' outcome, what is China's role in East Asia? Is it a leader? Or it is not a leader but significantly close? Or, it is not a leader, a partner? Finally, how does China view itself in the region? Is there a mismatch between popular perception and reality? What/who creates this perception and why?

**Lunch: 1:15 p.m.-2:15 p.m.**

**(Lunch and subsequent Sessions of Day One will be held in Cheena Bhavana)**

**Session Three: *Emerging Trends in China Studies: Internal Politics, Economic Development & Regional Disparity***

**2:15 p.m.-3:30 p.m**

**Chair: Prof. D. S. Rajan,**

**Speakers:**

***Dr. C. R. Pramod, "Role of Second-tier Cities in the Socio-Political and Economic Transformations in the PRC"***

Unprecedented makeover in contemporary PRC does have multifaceted dimensions of prosperity, inequality, institutionalized leadership transition, and everyday life struggles involved in its processes. The political significance is with respect to the integral link between the aspects of societal legitimacy of the party-state for the reforms initiated in China. Hence the internal logic by which these domestic modification had been commenced and advanced need to be documented for an understanding on the path traversed as well as to be acquainted with the future course of Chinese party-state and its relations with the society. The spatial dimensions of state-society relations in China are well documented in the recent past. Currently these changes are extensively scrutinized through the aspects of centre-province or local or grass root studies. Again the dichotomy between the coastal and the interior, rural and urban dominates the current scholarly understanding on China. This paper is an attempt to provide an alternative perspective to the aforesaid analysis. Any study on the sub-province and semi-urban level changes focusing on the role of the party-state in overseeing such great transformations is increasingly observed with inquisitiveness. The narrow focus on the economic dimensions of such locale could be because of its limited objective of expanding the market to the interiors. This paper is meant as a preliminary observation highlighting the significance of such a locale i.e., second-tier cities for the social, political and economic transformations in China.

**Prof. Chandrasekhar Rao, “SEZ: A Boon or Ban”**

In the present globalization era, each country is trying its best to maximize economic growth. Establishing Special Economic Zones is one such step to expedite industrial growth and also seen as an incentive to attract Foreign Direct Investment. Land being a major component in establishing SEZ and its acquisition by government as well as private parties became a source of contention for the people who holds it and lost in the process, forcibly or otherwise.

The element of displacement, nonpayment of compensation or alternative space and social dislocation are the major issues the paper, try to examine at a broad way in China and India.

**Dr. G. Venkatraman, “Social Governance: Hu Jintao’s Contribution to Chinese Government and Politics”**

One of the most important terms to have captured the attention of China watchers in the recent times has been the increasing focus on social governance in China. Social governance has got wide coverage ever since President Hu Jintao came to power. In a few days time from now the fifth generation of leadership is going to assume the mantle of leadership in China. The time is perhaps ripe to take a look at the contributions of the fourth generation leadership under the stewardship of Hu Jintao. Focus on social governance in China was discussed among academics and policymakers in the form of the three rural problems (*sannong wenti*), growing urban-rural disparities in the second half of nineties. However, under the Hu-Wen leadership topmost priority has been given to address these issues at a policymaking level and all said and done have significantly impacted policy discourse in China. Policy measures like building of the new socialist countryside, scientific development, and harmonious society are all offshoots of the predominant emphasis of Hu-Wen administration on social governance. Ever since President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao have assumed the mantle of leadership they have consistently made efforts to steer the policy making and governance from one which puts premium on uninhibited economic growth (*cuguang*) to one which would grapple with the various social issues that Chinese society has been afflicted with by adopting a policy of putting ‘people first’ (*yiren weiben*). The proposed paper would look into the various circumstances under which Hu-Wen came to power and discuss the factors which influenced a significant transformation from economic to social governance. The paper would also discuss issues related to the building of the new socialist countryside and discuss few scholarly works that have examined the implementation of the measures related to building a new socialist countryside and building a harmonious society.

**Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty, “The 18th CPC Congress and Development Discourse in Contemporary China”**

During the recent years there has been a serious debate in China on the unfolding path of development. Deng Xiaoping’s focus on achieving high rate of economic growth was pursued vigorously by Jiang Zemin. During the decade of Hu Jintao’s leadership of the CPC the effort was made to reorient the growth process towards social equity and environmental sustainability while persisting with a reasonably high growth performance. Handling of five imbalances- between economic and social development, rural and urban, inland and coastal, economy and ecology and domestic and

international- was announced as the Party's guiding policy in 2003'. On that basis Hu Jintao formulated the 'scientific outlook on development' meaning 'comprehensive, balanced and coordinated development'. This formulation was inscribed into the amended CPC Constitution adopted at the 18<sup>th</sup> Congress on 14 November 2012. But during the year leading to the Congress much criticism was voiced in China accusing the Hu Jintao leadership of not continuing reforms adequately to maintain the tempo of high rate of growth.' China's new leadership headed by Xi Jinping faces a challenging task of reconciling the elite demand for high growth and the common people's aspirations for a just society and good environment.

The paper points out the serious dimensions of this debate in the light of growing inequality, regional disparity, rural distress, urban unemployment and high level corruption in addition to serious degradation of environment persisting in China. This is evident in increasing number of 'mass incidents'. The author argues that the development discourse in contemporary China reflects a global moment of civilisational movement to alter the course of human development that has evolved during the last three hundred years of industrial revolution led by the Western capitalist countries. The development discourse in China echoes the same kind of issues raised by people's movements in India and in other parts of the world.

**Tea: 3:30 p.m.-3:50 p.m.**

#### ***Sessions Four & Five are Parallel Sessions***

##### **Session Four: Emerging Trends in China Studies: History, Philosophy & Religion**

**3:50 p.m.-5:00 p.m.**

**Chair: Prof. Sabujkali Sen**

**Speakers:**

***Dr. Sanjib Kr. Das*, "Evolution and Declination of Buddhism in China: A Brief Account"**

In the present age, Buddhism, the so-called teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha, is proclaimed in several names, such as Indian Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, Western Buddhism, Japanese Buddhism, Gentry Buddhism (a type of Buddhism that became popular among educated Chinese that stressed learning and philosophy), Ch'an School of Buddhism (better known in the West by its Japanese name, Zen) and so on. It means wherever Buddhism arrives, it is given a new name by its native follower. Doesn't look a matter of wonder? Does any other dharma get such nickname?

Anyhow, after the Mahāparinirvāna of the Master, His teachings spread in two main directions from India, southward (Theravada tradition) and eastward into China, Korea, Japan, Tibet and Vietnam (Mahayana tradition).

Opinion differs among the traditional accounts, European historians and the general scholars on the issue when and how the first Buddhist missions in China began and how the declination took place. Effort has been made on the basis of different sources to focus on the various opinions related to the topic.

***Col. Virendra Sahai Verma*, "The Times of Rin Chen Zangpo and Atisha and their Role in Second Diffusion of Buddhism in Western Tibet"**



Tantrik form of Buddhism was for the first time introduced in Tibet in the time of King Trisong Deten (763-804 AD) by Guru Padmasambhava. The monastery of Samye was built by him in 766 AD. However, the foreign religion was restricted to noble families including of King and ignored by the followers of Bon, the animist religion. While Buddhism was declining, King Tsenpo Khore of Ngari ( western Tibet) sent 21 boys to Kashmir to learn Buddhist doctrines. One out of them was Rin Chen Zangpo (958-1055) who has been credited with translating Prajnaparamitra (Tantrik) from Sanskrit to Tibetan which contains foundation of Mahayana teachings and many other texts. He is certainly widely known in Tibet as one of the greatest builders of temples and sacred edifices in Ngari, Lahoul and Spiti, Kinnaur and Ladakh . Some of the monasteries built by him are still vibrant even after a millennium. 'In Ladakh, Spiti, Lahoul, Purang, along the valley of Satluj, there is not a small ancient temple that tradition does not connect to great Lotsava.' The monasteries were built along the caravan routes and populated centres where the great civilizations prospered. The monasteries like Alchi and Tabo are not only rich in frescoes, stuccos, or wooden sculptures but also in Tibetan art.

The contemporary of Lotsava was Atisha Dipankarajana (980-1054 AD) great Mahayana pandit whom King Yeshe Odd invited from Vikramshila University and also contributed in revival of Buddhism. Pandit Atisha is credited to building Tholing monastery in 1042 AD. Tholing Monastery has remained for centuries a center of Buddhist influence in Western Tibet. As is known now there was no dearth of treatises translated from Chinese, from language of GILGIT( Brunja), and from UIGUR, but it was the language and style of Lotsava Rin Chen Zangpo and Atisha which people had not possessed earlier. The great role that these two masters had in revival of Buddhism in Western Tibet and then to central Tibet and adjoining regions of India famously called Indian Tibet is widely recognized by historians and chronicles. The genealogies of dynasties which emerged were Maryul ( Ladakh region), Guge ( valley of Satluj with Tholing in centre) and Puran ( Kailash/Mansarovar )

The author would show and explain the Tibetan art by slides of the great monasteries in Spiti and Ladakh attributed to Lotsava Rin Chen Zangpo which he has visited. He would also show slides of Tholing and other monasteries in western Tibet taken by other travelers.

***Prof. Jayeeta Ganguly, “Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism: Their Relevance in Modern Chinese Society”***

China is home of one of the earliest civilizations of the world and has played a significant role in the history of its religious ideas and developments. Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism constitute the three main religions of China. Buddhism first entered China about the first century BCE. According to a tradition which arose at the End of the second century, the Emperor Ming Ti of China (Later Han Dynasty) by reason of a dream in AD 61 sent a mission to India to fetch to his own country Buddhist preachers , classics and objects of worship. Actually knowledge of Buddhism had already reached China much early by way of northern India and eastern Turkestan . So it was the later Buddhism of northern India from which the Mahayana doctrine developed, that spread in China

The two Buddhist monks, Kasyapa Matanga and Dhermaraksa brought with them scriptures of the Mahayana Vinaya, and devoted the rest of their lives in translating these texts. When Buddhism first went to China there was no specialized school of any kind , but gradually the Chinese Buddhists became acquainted with the different schools of Buddhism and the various practices associated with them. As the Buddhist faith spread in China, its subdivisions also spread throughout the country.

It is rightly remarked that it is a conspicuous anomaly for the Chinese to be capable of combining three religions within itself . After Buddhism entered china , It had to inevitably come into contact with the two indigenous religions namely Confucianism and Taoism . Confucianism being the state religion may more aptly be termed as a moral system or way of life based on the ethical teachings of Confucius. Taoism is the name given to a tradition of Chinese thought that has been standing in opposition to Confucianism, although both have much in common. When Buddhism came into contact with them, it was unable to gain the ascendancy it had one in the southern countries and in Tibet. Here Buddhism had stronger organization to encounter and therefore adopted a more modest attitude towards them. The laity borrowed from it various motives and conceptions at their discretions which could be combined with their own indigenous religion, but they are not governed by genuine Buddhism, however closely they may be outwardly joined to it.

***Dr. Avijit Banerjee, An Account of the Indian Scholars in China during Tang Dynasty***

Buddhism entered China in the last years of the Western Han dynasty and after its development in the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasty, it reached a peak during the Tang dynasty. The Tang dynasty is considered by many people to be the golden age of Chinese civilization. Its emperors presided over one of the greatest periods of Chinese art, culture and diplomacy. Under the Tangs, China dominated the Far East in a generally amicable and peaceful way; Silk Road trade flourished; Christianity was introduced to China; and Buddhism become so well entrenched that the reproduction of Buddhist texts led to the invention of block printing and calendars.

The Tang emperors were known for their openness to new ideas about art, religion, philosophy and music that were brought in by foreigners who flowed into China along the Silk Road trade routes. Unlike most Chinese dynasties which tried to cut off their

empire from influences from the outside world, the Tang ruling families tolerated outsiders and members of variety of religious sects. The Tang Dynasty with its capital at Chang'an (present-day Xi'an) is regarded as the height of the Chinese imperial era. Tang Dynasty emperors adopted liberal policies that enabled China's feudal society to prosper. Before the middle of Tang dynasty the foreign Buddhist monks and priests who came to China were mostly from South Asia and Western Regions. This kind of condition certainly was the inevitable result of frequent political, economic and cultural exchange between China and India along with various Western Regions countries. During the Tang dynasty 13 foreign nationality Buddhist monks came to China from middle India (中天竺), east India (东天竺) and worked in coordination with 11 chancellors, 32 internal government officials along with scholars of 修文馆 (Xiuwen Museum) took part in the translation work of Buddhist Sutras .

### **Session Five: Emerging Trends in China Studies: History & Culture**

3:50 p.m.-5:00 p.m.

Chair: Prof. Madhavi Thampi, Honorary Fellow, ICS

Speakers:

***Prof. Artatrana Nayak, "State and Polity in Ancient China"***

***Prof. Kamal Sheel, "Boxer China in Travel Narratives of Thakur Gadadhar Singh and Mahendu Lal Garg"***

The present paper looks primarily at the Indian travel writings to explore inter-cultural encounters and the construction of knowledge on China at the beginning of the twentieth century. For this purpose, this study takes up the writings of two Indian travellers to China, namely Thakur Gadadhar Singh (1869-1920) and Mahendu Lal Garg (1870-1942). Both the writers were part of the native regiments under the British Army which was dispatched to China during 1899- 1900 to join the Joint Foreign Expeditionary Force to fight the Boxer rebels. Among the earliest travelogues in Hindi language, Thakur Gadadhar Singh's Chin mein terah maas [Thirteen Months in China] published in 1901 and Mahendu Lal Garg's Chin Darpan [Chinese Mirror] published in 1903 are most noteworthy. Unlike mostly derisive and contemptuous description of Boxer China in foreign works, these writings highlight cultural and civilizational affinities between India and China.

***Ms. Nirmola Sharma, "Indian Associations in Wartime China"***

In my paper I would attempt to analyse the many associations of immigrant Indians that had existed in China during the time of World War II. Primarily formed with the aim of engaging in anti- British activities these associations also acted as platforms to protect the interests of the Indian community in China to the point that every place in China which had a sizeable Indian community also had associations of Indians. Though China had been a favourite destination with Indian revolutionaries, I would like to argue that the trend of forming groups and associations among the Indians had reached its peak during wartime China due to increased political activity among the Indian population. My paper would try to find out the nature of the various Indian associations in China? Who were the members of these associations? Was patriotism the sole basis of affiliations to such organisations or if factors such as religion, caste, language, native regions also mattered? How popular these associations were among

the Indian community? Did they try to connect with the Chinese or the occupying Japanese forces? What were the activities of these associations? What happened to these associations?

**Prof. S. K. Pathak, “Relationship between the State and Religions in the PRC and the SRI”**

After the establishment of the PRC (Peoples’ Republic of China) led by monolithic the CPC (Communist Party of China) the persons engaged in religions affairs had been regarded as parasitical burden to the labour-based socialization of the country in an awakening of Asia. A fresh culture set-up was formulated through cultural Revolutions with vigour and enthusiasm. No way down voice-was allowed during the period of ‘China Reconstruction’.

Again, the need of Freedom of Religions was firstly granted by the Municipality of Beijing and that was extended with a historical pronouncement to restore ‘Liberalization’. Bands of religiously engaged persons got an entrance in religions centres with request occupations determinable by the state authorities.

Also, the SRI (Sovereign Republic of India) after being partitioned by the outgoing British Government of India in three separate blocks, declared a unique Constitution of India (Portioned as Bharat) in beginning of the fifth decade of the last century historically. ‘Secularism’ in respect to the multi-ethnic peoples of was sanctioned in observance of multiple religious practices subject the maintenance of law and order.

China and India may be regarded as twins in the culture-growth of Asia with historical progress and development in multiple dimensions. The latest approach regarding relationship between the state and religions in separate lines becomes strikingly important in our century of the ‘Growing Asian Advancement’. The paper attempts to observe the issue.

**Special Lecture (Lipika Auditorium)**

**5:15 p.m. -6:15 p.m.**

**Chair: Prof. Subrata Chakrabarti**

**Speaker: Prof Tan Chung, “Himalayasphere and the Creation of Indian & Chinese Civilization States”**

**Day Two: December 16, 2012**

**(All Sessions of Day Two will be held in Cheena Bhavana)**

**Tea: 09:00 a.m.-9:30 a.m.**

***Sessions Six & Seven are Parallel Sessions***

**Session Six: Emerging Trends in China Studies: Social Development & Human Rights**

**9:30 a.m.-10:45 a.m.**

**Chair: Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty, Chairperson & Honorary Fellow, ICS**

**Speakers:**

***Mr. Kamal Dutta, “Migrant Peasant-Workers and China’s New Challenge”***

Integration of China’s migrant peasant-workers [nong-min gongren] into the main work force has been the biggest challenge to the state policy makers. China has been facing an unprecedented exodus of human work force from rural to urban [about 150 million], particularly to the east coast by the natural force of ‘push and pull’ in search of ‘El-dorado’. The policy makers while redefining Chinese state in developmentalist term realized the imperatives of integrating the huge migrant peasant-worker into the modernization project, played a significant role to facilitate the rise of a migrant labor regime marked by cheap labor, wage inequality. manual work, poor work/living condition, poor health/education facility and more importantly non-registration to urban hukou system. According to the information by the National Bureau of Statistics, the average monthly income for migrant workers in 2010 was 1,600 yuan, one thousand yuan lower the national urban average of 2,687 yuan. Moreover, migrant workers are made to work very long hours (11 hours a day average, 26 days a month). Seventy-six percent of migrant workers, surveyed in 2009, did not get overtime payments on national holidays, and more than half were owed wages in arrears. Migrant workers do not have the same legal status as the locals; many employers do not provide them with the same benefits they offer to local workers. Many a reformatory measures have been adopted by the central as well as local authorities for them. However rising inequality between migrant and urban hukou worker, popular labor discontent have put the authority to rethinking on the migrant worker management.

The paper shall make an attempt to examine the issue of integration of migrant workers, state treatment, rising labor discontentment in the context China’s transitional economy and growing aspiration for democracy.

***Mr. P. K. Anand, “Illegal Land Acquisition and Forced Evictions in China: Wukan in Perspective”***

This paper would seek to analyse the rising conflicts over Land in China and the responses of the state in addressing them, in terms of institutional framework of compensations and the laws governing acquisitions of land. The study would also place in proper context, the struggle in Wukan and try to understand the larger dynamics of such conflicts, along with its impact on both the Government and Party. In this process, an attempt would also be made to look into the larger issue of accountability and democratization, as claimed by the leadership, in the countryside.

The issue of Land acquires importance in a country like China, whose Socialist system and social transformation was very much associated with the question of Land. Ownership, Tenancy Rights and Class formation were well marked out in the Land Reforms policy in the era of Mao Zedong. Since the era of Deng Xiaoping, China has been practicing a Dual-Track approach in Land policy. While the Urban Land remains under the state, its use has been under Private Hands, wherein the ‘Use Rights’ are traded commercially. In rural areas, the land belongs to the Collectives-who form the basis of Life in the Chinese countryside-and it is used for agriculture and other related occupations.

However, post-1978, the drive for economic growth and opening up of the economy

has also led to conflicts and unrest in the country. Over the past few years, the illegal acquisition of land-especially rural land-has become a serious issue, creating great unrest in China. Since 2005, there has been a steady increase in such seizures. 40-50 million peasants in the country have been dispossessed of their land. Very often, the local governments and provincial party officials have been involved in these seizures, to hand over land to Real Estate firms and Private Developers. Proper compensation for such acquisitions has been largely absent. Even in cases, when such compensation has been paid, the amount is often meagre. There have been more than 180,000 mass incidents in the country, recorded by authorities every year. Out of these mass incidents of protest, more than 60% are related to Land Conflicts.

It is in this context that the incident in Wukan, in Guangdong province, acquires prominence. The siege of over 20,000 villagers in the village and forcing out of the entire local government and party officials forced the central leadership to turn their attention to their genuine demands and concede them. This was perhaps, the first occasion that the government heeded to the rising voices and therefore, Wukan presents a unique case.

***Dr. Rajen Singh Laishram, “Reflections on Corruption in China”***

The menace of corruption in the People’s Republic of China, as in many transition economies and developing societies appears to have pervaded the party, state, bureaucracy and society. In a country, which professedly adheres to a brand of ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics,’ there are indicative erosions in the ‘rule of the party and people’ and being supplanted by venality, greed and the ‘rule of the purse.’ Corruption in China is estimated to deplete eight per cent of the GNP or 13-16 per cent of China’s GDP and strains the country in building a ‘harmonious society.’

This Essay attempts to explore how socialist China grapples with corruption, its linkages with the political culture and economic system, remedial measures and how it reins the inherent corruptibility of human nature that have academic merit and of policy relevance in combating corruption for a country like India. Whether corruption with the Chinese characteristics is ‘collective corruption’ or ‘contagion,’ perpetuated by peculiar *guanxi* networks and embedded with Confucian tradition and authoritarian polity and disproportionate representation of former politburo members’ spouses in the apex congress? Anti-corruption regimes in the legal, institutional structures and in cadre recruitment, including death penalty proves to be no circumventing factor and have failed to deter the ‘bourgeoisie behaviour’ in contemporary China. The subordination of all institutions and authority to the Communist Party of China engenders absence of civil society organisations to combat corruption in China. How two transitional economies –China and India, undergoing reforms and opening up can learn from each other’s strategies to combat corruption is another focus.

**Session Seven: *Emerging Trends in China Studies: Economic & Social Development***

**9:30 a.m.-10:45 a.m.**

**Chair: Prof. Aparajita Mukherjee**

**Speakers:**

**Ms. Shachee Agnihotri, “One Child Policy and Women in China”**

The recent termination of seven months pregnancy in the northern province of China, Shaanxi has rekindled the debate on China’s population policy [*One Child Policy*]. Targeting the high fertility rate which was about six children per woman in 1950s, the One Child Policy was initiated in China in 1979 to control the rapidly mounting population & to achieve a prosperous economy. As women are gifted with the reproduction capacity, the population policies effect them directly rather than men. And thus the rights, health and condition of women in society should be considered an important part of debates related to population policies. Basically the success of a population policy is evaluated on the parameter of fertility-rate and its contribution to the economy, but its effects on women are often left unaccounted. This paper is an attempt in this direction. The paper follows the objective of estimating the population policy of China with a women-centric approach rather than economy-centric assessment.

As this paper have two broad themes: *population policy & its effects on women*, it follows two theories for its theoretical-framework. A country implements population policy to control its population as uncontrolled population is the biggest threat to the development of a country. The *Malthusian theory of population* describes the nature of population growth and its after-effects. Thus with the help of Malthusian theory, this paper would evaluate the growth-trend of the population of China and further derives the need of a population policy for China. For the second and core element of paper- effects of population policy on women- *feminism* would provide a base. According to feminist theory, women have a secondary status in society where they are seen as an instrument of reproduction and men control the sexuality and reproduction capacity of women. Within this framework, this paper peeps into the several impacts of population policy on the women of Chinese society that how this ‘secondary status of women’ is nurtured by the population policies of China and is government taking any steps regarding the welfare of Chinese women.

Thus, this paper deals with the One Child Policy and its after-effects on women in China. The paper tends to look into the population policy of China with gender perspective. In course of having gendered analysis, first of all the paper evaluates the historical development of population policy in China. Further this paper enquires the tools of population policy in China such as contraceptive methods, abortions and governmental incentives & punishments and so on. Although population policy effects all aspect of a nation, its direct & strong effects can be seen on women in terms of reproductive health, social-burden & son preference, female-infanticide, gender-discrimination, physical and psychological pressure on women, induced abortions, sex-imbalance, social crimes against women and so on. In the conclusive section, the paper talks about the emerging trends in population policies at international scenario and governmental efforts for the wellbeing of women in China. The paper also presents the ethical and moral approach regarding the implementation of population policy which would lead towards the assurance of sentiments of women followed by their health care and social security.

***Prof. Sreemati Chakrabarti, “Higher Education Institutions in China: ‘Academic Capitalism’?”***

The process of integration of college and university into the new economy has been called academic capitalism by a group of scholars. For them this helps explain the new relationship between higher education institutions and society. This theory does not see the university being corporatized or subverted by external actors. The theory of academic capitalism sees groups of actors - faculty, students, administrators and academic professionals as using a variety of state resources to create new circuits of knowledge that link higher education institutions to the new economy. Theory of academic capitalism moves beyond thinking of the student as consumer to considering the institution as marketer. Colleges and universities advertise education as a commodity or service; they compete vigorously to market their institutions. As consumers students choose frequently private universities which will bring them better returns on their investments in the form of tuition fees as they select subjects linked to the market - business studies, information technology, communications, media studies and so forth. .

In this paper we assess how the so-called academic capitalism manifests itself in China. It is being seen that increasing public demand for access to higher education and the need for a more highly educated work force clash with sharp financial constraints, changing political environments, entrenched incentive systems, and normal organizational resistance to change. How these dilemmas are resolved in the current era will do much to define the shape of higher education in China and the developing world as well.

***Prof. Sib Ranjan Misra, “FDI in India and China - A Comparative Perspective: Some Issues and Concerns”***

China’s ‘ FDI saga ‘ has been a textbook replay of what institutional economists tend to call “adaptive efficiency” on the part of its political regime. . China made courageous but careful choices in difficult circumstances . This signals radical departures from the belief system China had for decades. Willing to learn as they went along , their” adaptability” was manifest in a wide range of issues in their choice of FDI as “the catalytic transformational agent” in managing foreign penetration . There is no denying the fact that this helped in a way catapult the country to a major player in global trade , in reviving a dormant indigenous entrepreneurial class , in facilitating the country’s integration with the global economy. In fact ,all these are being pursued without any obsessive hangover about foreign domination or a fear that their country’s national interest or sovereignty will be jeopardised. China has really demonstrated the absurdity of conventional arguments against foreign investments In truth, they have the conviction that it does not make any sense to nurse a kind of vague apprehension that FDI would affect our security and sovereignty.

Since China has strong domestic private sectors, FDI would have played a different kind of role as it was allowed to do. India possesses some of the basic perquisites for the development of a market -oriented economy, So, its approach to FDI may be different.

The experience of India and China with regard to FDI have acquired great relevance.



Wide apart in their political beliefs, cultural backgrounds and institutional traditions , the two countries are virtual laboratories for planning and executing strategies that they think appropriate for grappling with the challenges of openness. FDI has been a critical but sensitive component to their strategies. For China , FDI flow has brought about an economic miracle. The kind of policy regime that China constructed and followed facilitated the infusion of a massive flow of FDI which , essentially acted as the major catalytic agent and in the ultimate analysis, has won worldwide acclaim. For al practical purposes, India were to shed its inhibitions about foreign direct investment and follow on the footsteps of China Then India would be able to realize its full potentials. In a dynamic global economy, we cannot afford to have an investment regime with certain preset do's and don'ts.

China has a distinct preference for FDI in technology-intensive and employment oriented industries. Interestingly, China has also FDI to play its positive role in the rural sector for the development of TVE s and also in the restructuring of SOEs in the second half of reform decade it is true to say that China has rightly recognized that in a globally interdependent world, FDI shifts across the world in response comparative advantages. These advantages vary and shift from time to time and from one country to another .A country must have the agility and flexibility to work with FDI. In our economy where public and private sectors coexist and have grown satisfactorily for long, we should shun any kind of misunderstanding about FDI. It is to learn from Chinese experience to allow different economic agents to exploit and develop the potentials that we possess. In fact unfortunately, we in India are perfecting the art of blunting whatever instruments of change we possess.

**Tea: 10:45 a.m.-11:15 a.m.**

### **Session Eight: Emerging Scholars**

**11:15 a.m. -1:00 p.m.**

**Chair: Prof. Alka Acharya, Director, ICS**

**Speakers:**

**Mr. Tilak Jha, “Deciphering the Tibetan Dilemma: Media Perspectives (1947-65) with Special Reference to 1962 India-China War”**

Five decades after India and China fought over the border dispute, the root cause behind the clashes - Tibet - has remained a dilemma for India, China, and Tibetans indeed. And despite 50 years of segregation of Tibet from India and the rest of the world, and relentless propaganda by China's state controlled media pushing its own agenda both inside and outside Tibet; and still the Tibetan land has erupted time and again against China's policies in Tibet. Not to forget that communist China's control of Tibet, unlike the historic limitation during Yuan and Qing era rule there, is now backed by better rail and road connectivity, effective administrative control and fast economic development.

China's Tibet problem strikes at the very core of its quest for attaining sovereignty and national integrity. By holding Tibet physically since October 1950, China did attain its strategic-military objective but it continues to fail to address the Tibetan social, political and cultural unrest.

For India its age old religious-cultural ties with Tibet, privileges it enjoyed there during the British rule and Tibet's historic role as a de facto buffer zone even when it was part of the Chinese empire mandated serious concerns and sympathies due to Chinese action in Tibet and especially post Tibetan uprising in March 1959.

Tibetans themselves have been a desperate lot, first trying to behave independently by sending good-will missions in 1950, then reluctantly agreeing to the 17 Point Agreement but ultimately continuing to struggle both within and without Tibet against an opponent that appears set to emerge as world's foremost economic and military power.

The objective of this paper is to explore the various debates in Chinese and Indian print media of 1950s and 60s that first fuelled peace (*Hindi Chini, Bhai Bhai*), then the war in 1962 and since then continues to feed distrust most of the time. Apart from Tibet and border dispute, the paper will focus on that era's print media's coverage of the following factors that also influenced India-China dynamics: Indian and Chinese leaders, Afro-Asian factor, NAM and the US and the USSR. The other themes and sub-themes the paper will deal with are:

1. The concept of modern nation state and Panchsheel.
2. Political opportunity framework and the Tibetan struggle.
3. Tibetan autonomy, the Middle Kingdom and communist China.
4. Information and trust rhetoric inside Tibet.
5. Major media debates post 1962 India-China clashes.

This paper holds significance in the context that though the media does not determine the political process or response per se, it certainly creates a major push or a pull factor. In case of communist China, media has historically been used as a strategic tool to spread propaganda, monopolise information and shape the public rhetoric. The paper will end with a brief discussion of the contemporary media debates about Tibet, 1962 and India-China relations.

#### **Mr. Panu Pazo, "Energy Strategy in Post Mao China: Securing Oil Resources"**

China's strategy for securing oil followed two different trajectories. The first can be traced to a period when China was self reliant in its oil resources and sought foreign technological assistance which required it to allow foreign companies bid its offshore drilling rights. The second trajectory was followed when its domestic resources were insufficient to meet the growing demands of the economy and therefore forced China to import oil from other nations.

In this presentation an attempt is made to analyze China's strategies to secure its oil resources from within the country as well as from foreign sources. The first part will give an overview of China growing energy consumption and its energy basket. The second section will discuss the strategies and methods that the country adopted in the past three decades to secure its oil resources. The various methods will be briefly touched upon that will give an overview of the management of energy sector. The third section will be an overall assessment of the trends, prospects and challenges that lies ahead for the regime.

**Ms. Saheli Chattaraj, “Coming Out of the Shadows: Power, Factionalism and Communist Youth League”**

As the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP) next generation of leaders has come to the forefront, there arise several debates regarding China’s future leadership. An analysis of the Central Committee (CC) membership of the previous Politburo Standing Committee (PSC) since the leadership transition during the Seventeenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 2007 reveals that the Chinese Communist Youth League (CYL) (a factional group within the CCP) affiliated members have increased substantially. This accounts for a significant trend unlike the previous CC membership.

So far, the prominent members in China’s top leadership were mostly affiliated to the Shanghai Gang (a group associated with former General Secretary Jiang Zemin), the Qinghua Clique (graduates from Qinghua University), and the ‘*Princelings*’ (children of former high ranking officials). But between the sixteenth and the seventeenth Party Congress this statistics witnessed a complete change. The Shanghai Gang and the Qinghua Clique affiliated membership had a massive decline. Especially since the leadership transition in the seventeenth Party Congress the remarkable and steady enlargement of the CYL members who took important seats of power at both the centre and regional levels marked a significant achievement in the new era.

The Chinese CYL is the official youth wing of the CCP, the formation of which dates back to as early as 1920. However, it only came to the limelight with leaders like Hu Yaobang and recently Hu Jintao. The CYL’s structure and organisation is similar to the CCP organisation. On the other hand the ‘*Princelings*’ do not comprise of a very cohesive group and are just an informal faction. There exists intense power struggle between the CYL and the ‘*Princelings*’ which is both guided by power and lobbying or ‘*guanxi*’.

In this context, this paper would investigate to what extent CYL has consolidated its power base within the organs of CCP, what are the constraints that prevent CYL from competing effectively against the ‘*Princelings*’. It also analyses the extent to which the CYL draws its support through CCP organizational ladder and succession. The paper also analyses whether CYL members due to their uniformity in organizational pattern with CCP have an advantageous position compared to ‘*Princelings*’?

The paper would refer to Chinese primary sources such as the China Youth Daily reports, Government Documents of the PRC, research work by Chinese scholars, the works of Li Cheng - Brookings Institution, Bo Zhiyue, Willy Wo-lap Lam, Lowell Dittmer, Junfei Wu and Alice Miller.

**Ms. Mousumi Dasgupta, “Sino-Indian Engagement in the African Theater: the Factor of African Perception”**

International Relations in the post Cold War era has evolved around a number of futuristic projections. Among such projections, the altered character of polarity and its resultant implications thereafter became the centerpiece of debating. Polarity is

determined by the number of states (regarded as poles) who possess the capacity to inflict unacceptable levels of destruction on others. End of the cold war had brought to the fore countries which exhibited reasonable capability to emerge as significant players in international relations. Many analysts believe that China is unquestionably one such pole of power, while India is making good progress in becoming one in future.

One cannot deny that among the bracket of potential superpowers, China and India were the most talked about nations. Most of the discussion and resultant projection about the path these countries would respectively traverse in due course assumed an unmistakable angle of comparison. The rationale for it being so can be deduced from a number of factors. Similarity in terms of sharing a near common experience of western domination, impediments faced by both the countries respectively during the tumultuous years of nation building brought them closer in terms of comparison. What put them apart were factors such as diametrically opposite political systems which resulted in a basic difference of stance during the heydays of Cold War etc. Moreover, by the end of the Cold War China and India had already put to their bilateral histories a number of differences. Hence, pursuing a comparative study between the two countries not only became an engaging exercise but a fascinating one too. An issue of global significance therefore has invariably been subjected to the standard query of a possible/probable Sino-Indian take. On the other hand, their respective spheres of engagement and influence in and over an area therefore stirred interest. It so happened in certain cases that their pathways of wielding greater influence often crossed and collided in a certain area which made comparative studies all the more pertinent and necessary.

The present paper wishes to focus on the African theater of Sino Indian engagement. Africa happens to be one of the most engaging theaters where both China and India have been busily involved in outwitting the other to achieve the goal of leaving a bigger and a deeper imprint. In order to accomplish the task of leaving a greater imprint both India and China have engaged themselves vigorously with the African countries. Relations between India and the African countries on the one hand and China and the African countries on the other have been determined as we all know by a number of factors like: historical ties, economic complementarities, demands of achieving energy security, bidding to give some kind of leadership to the third world countries of the world stereotyped by some of the African nations etc. While analyzing various facets of Sino-Indian engagement in the African theater, one would quite naturally be led to conclude that China Africa relations are better placed than that of the Indo-African primarily because of China's relative power position when compared to India. Sino Indian rivalry over the African pie has stirred many a scholars lately owing to Africa's enviable natural bounty and the prospects it offers as a new market. To my understanding Sino Indian engagement in Africa is explored from the perspective of the emergent player. Some of the standard enquiries happen to be: who would be able to ensure the access to Africa's natural resources (mainly energy resources)? Or who amongst India and China would be able to ensure African support by being the constant partner providing developmental assistance through investments in infrastructure sector? It is not my submission that such standard enquiries are impertinent or hackneyed since Sino Indian engagement in Africa is continually evolving. A better and holistic understanding of Sino Indian engagement in the African theater would require some critical treatment of the African perspective too. The study becomes satisfactorily complete when the African perspectives/notions are

studied in details. The moment I underline the significance of studying the African perspective towards the role played / will be played by India and China, it naturally leads one to question ‘whose perspective?’ This paper would try and analyze the perspective of the governing elites of Africa towards Sino Indian role in the continent, since it is not possible within the bounds of one paper to present the perspective of all the recognizable sections of the African society whose perspective ought to be studied.

The question which the present paper proposes to raise is: *how do the African elite view India and China’s role in their continent?* The present paper would limit itself to the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century as its ambit of study. So far as drawing resources are concerned, the paper would critically examine the statements/speeches/press releases etc. made by the African ministers and statesmen in various bilateral platforms, regional bodies, and international forums. Effort will be made to record views of a wide spectrum of elite opinion, and not necessarily limited to those who represented the state. The paper would explain the rationale of selecting the African theater and move on to explore how China and India have engaged the continent, critically mediated through the diverse African perspectives. The paper wishes to capture the complex interaction between national capacity of the Chinese and Indian states and elite perception of the host continent towards this engagement. This study is broadly situated within the structural parameters of my ongoing doctoral research that seeks to compare power projections between China and India across a number of issue areas.

**Ms. Veena Ramachandran, “Critical Examination of the Stability Discourse in China”**

This paper tries to explore the stability/harmony as a concept and locates it in the dominant political discourse of China. The paper tries to critically analyse the stability discourse and tries to trace it in the Confucian ideal of “Great Harmony”. As the stability discourse proposes status quo domestically, this paper tries to investigate its role in the Chinese articulation of Harmonious World. Hence this is an effort to examine whether there are any wider repercussions of the stability discourse in China’s engagement with the world. Finally the paper will explore the conceptual and policy implications of the China’s concept of harmony/ stability in its quest for a stable domestic order and the linkages of this quest to Chinese foreign policy.

The concept of harmony is one of the most cherished values of Chinese politics. It provides the conceptual framework for an understanding of China’s national goals as well as strategies to achieve these goals both at the national and global levels. The idea of “preserving stability” is embedded in traditional Chinese political culture and can be traced back to the Confucian ideal of “Great Harmony”. Stability is a part of the larger conceptual understanding of “Great Harmony” and hence preserving stability is the prerequisite for the creation of “Great Harmony”. Peter Sandby-Thomas argues, “Since the Tiananmen Square incident, domestically the stability discourse has been used to assure the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party and to delegitimise the challenging elements within the Chinese political System”.

Hence, the paper intends to critically examine the stability discourse in China and to explore its domestic and foreign policy linkages.

**Lunch: 1:00 p.m.-2:00 p.m.**

## Session Nine: Emerging Trends in China Studies: Literature & Culture

2:00 a.m. -3:15 p.m.

Chair: Prof. Huang I-shu, Emeritus Fellow, ICS

Speakers:

**Ms. Barnali Chanda, “‘The Strange and the Fantastic’ in the narrative tradition in Indian and Chinese literatures during the 7th -11th century”**

Buddhism, as a religion was able to determine the cultural, socio-political, religious and literary relationship between India and its neighbouring countries, especially China. The Chinese mainstream literary tradition hardly had any space for supernatural accounts in it and has always focused on the accounts which contain historical values. But after the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., Buddhism facilitated the growth of the Chinese supernatural literary tradition and it gradually turned out to be one of the most powerful expressions of popular literature. The advent of Buddhism in the first century helped in popularizing the ‘strange tales’ which already existed in China before the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Subsequently the Buddhist tales which migrated from India also were ‘sinified’ over the centuries and found its permanent place in the supernatural narrative accounts like 志怪 zhiguai (strange tales) or 傳奇 chuanqi (fantastic or strange tales). Although the tales of supernatural grew as a subversive tradition, we find that the scholars, in order to incorporate these strange accounts into the Chinese mainstream court literature, documented them in the form of a history of the other world.

In the Tang dynasty (618 CE - 907 CE) 傳奇 chuánqí or fantastic tales created a deep impression on the evolution of Chinese fiction (虛構) xūgòu. 7<sup>th</sup> century Tang dynasty had seen a very different narrative awareness which will keep on showing its various faces during late Tang, Song (960 CE -1217 CE), Ming (1368 CE- 1644 CE) and Qing (1644 CE - 1911 CE) dynasties.

The paper will be concentrating on the reception of the Buddhist supernatural elements in Chinese literary tradition. These supernatural elements traversed to China via Buddhist tales. We will particularly focus on the reception of such elements in the fantastic and supernatural tales of chuanqi 傳奇 and will discuss tales which had received an indirect or direct influence from the Buddhist literary treasures in China and India.

Medieval India also had seen the rise of narrative awareness which found its expression in the *Kathasaritsagara* by Somadevabhata. I will choose a few stories from both Chinese and Indian narrative traditions and will try to discuss the circulation of the common motifs and themes in them. We will discuss the stories as parallels, not necessarily as creating influence on each other but as an expression of a special narrative awareness in both Indian and Chinese narrative tradition using the common resource of Buddhist literature and ideas.

**Prof. Aditi Jha, “Contemporary Chinese Literature and Lu Xun”**

In the newly emerged liberal literary atmosphere in the post-cultural revolution period, contemporary Chinese writers though initially tossed in the dilemma of what to write and how to write however, new trends and genre of writing started coming out from those who faced and survived the political turmoil of the past. One of the prominent literary trends of this period was exposure literature, initiated by mainly those writers who had been purged and barred from writing for nearly two decades. With renewed

interest they came up with their genre of critical realistic perspective. A number of such literary pieces have drawn inspiration from Lu Xun's short stories known particularly for critical expose of traditional Chinese society.

An attempt in this paper will be made to examine some of the works belonging to exposure literature and explore the extent of Lu Xun spirit in their writing.

***Mr. Atreya Bhatta, "An Observation on the Revolutionary Trends in Chinese Literary Thoughts in the 1920s"***

In the late 1920s several political incidents and subsequently their repressions increased the revolutionary sentiments amongst many Chinese intellectuals. A complete study of all these episodes is a complex issue, but several issues merit particular attention. In this period one can witness great revolutionary fervour amongst many Chinese authors. Many debates took place in which these authors aired their views. Many argued the need to bring forth optimistic revolutionary spirits in literature. In these debates and discussions new ideas about what types of literature was best suited to the then revolutionary conditions of China came out. It is not clear whether these ideas influenced the literary works of the time but it can necessarily be argued that these authors attempted to bring about a necessary creative space in literature. Starting from the immediate aftermath of the May 30<sup>th</sup> Incident of 1925 this paper is an attempt to investigate the intellectual activities that followed in the immediate aftermath of this incident and particularly the shock which many of the intellectuals received when some of their numbers were killed along with the dissenting workers. These incidents arguably influenced the sense of commitment of many of the Chinese intellectuals towards revolution. Many of the standpoints adopted during the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement were criticized and the pressing need to adopt new theoretical ideas were stressed. These debates continued. In this paper an attempt will be made to analyse the arguments of few of these authors and state their relevance to the then conditions of China. In particular an attempt will be made to analyse the significance of these incidents in Chinese literary and cultural history, one of whose undeniable facts lies in the way the intellectuals 'sense of commitment to the revolution changed and the importance of cultural activities in revolution was given a new dimension.

***Prof. Sabaree Mitra, "Contextualizing Lu Xun in the CPC Discourse on Culture: From the Left League to Yan'an Talks to Cultural Reform"***

It is well-known that through the 1920s Lu Xun, one of the four pillars of modern Chinese literature, went through an evolution in his views on literature. After the Left League of Writers was established in 1930, Lu Xun (and his associates) continued to maintain an independent non-doctrinaire attitude towards Marxism, literature and party organization, and, on certain issues of literary criticism, took positions completely different from that of the Communist Party of China. Yet, Lu Xun has been held in high esteem by Mao Zedong, who considered him the symbol/representative of Chinese socialist literature; to the extent that Lu Xun was enshrined in the "Talks on Literature and Art" delivered by Mao Zedong in Yan'an in 1942. Lu Xun remained celebrated through the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and part of 1980s. As the reform regime consolidated power, contrary to logical expectation perhaps, it became clear that Lu Xun no longer enjoyed the iconic status in the official discourse on culture. In fact through the 1990s into the new century the efforts at cultural reform were not

focused and certainly lacked theoretical clarity; it has been felt that Hu Jintao's speech and subsequent document on Cultural Reform added to the haze of confusion. In view of such contradictory developments, this paper will try to contextualize Lu Xun by exploring the reasons and compulsions of the CPC in the manner in which it has tried to conceptualize its policy on culture.

**Concluding Session: *Institutional Research & Future Plans***

**3:15 p.m.-4:00 p.m.**

**Chair: Prof. Sreemati Chakrabarti**

**Valedictory Address: Prof. Alka Acharya**

**Greetings & Invitation to the Sixth Conference: Dr. G. Venkatraman**

**Vote of thanks: Dr. Avijit Banerjee**

**Tea: 4:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.**