15th ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF CHINA STUDIES (AICCS)

SPECIAL THEME: Connected Geographies and Cultural Interfaces

VIRTUAL MODE

17-19 November 2022

Organised by
INSTITUTE OF CHINESE STUDIES, NEW DELHI & INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY GUWAHATI

in cooperation with
GAUHATI UNIVERSITY & OMEO KUMAR DAS INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT

in partnership with
INDIA OFFICE, KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concept Note</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstracts</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisers</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONCEPT NOTE

China has been the centre of scholarly attention for long, though the nature and reason of the interest may have changed as China moved through its long history. In the last century alone, the reasons for observing and studying China have changed as it witnessed transformational change both in the way it was perceived by others and the way it viewed itself. It is well-known that in the decades since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, some countries of the West have had several Centres and Institutes dedicated to the study and research of China. India, on the other hand, has had many limitations in its efforts to study China, in spite of the fact that India and China have shared a civilizational interaction for centuries. Yet, progress made since the turn of the twenty-first century has been extremely encouraging, with two new generations of China scholars coming to maturity and producing works on a wide range of themes. Moreover, many of these scholars have achieved commendable competence in Chinese language, enabling them to use primary source materials that are much more readily available compared to a few decades back.

Subsequently, some of the existing areas of research have been strengthened, but more importantly, new areas of interest and importance have been identified and ventured into. The body of research emerging out of our centers of China Studies have two points of departure compared to the past; first, it is becoming more and more interdisciplinary, and secondly, it is taking ample advantage of the abundant primary source material and language competence available today. While much discussion is taking place all over the world on the trajectory of China’s development, an important aspect of the research on China today is that more and more archival material is becoming accessible resulting in questioning of well-established formulations on the strength of theoretical and methodological rigor. No less important are the propelling forces that have shaped discourse and debates on China, namely Marxist thought, the Chinese nationalist movement, civilizational discourse, the evolution of the Communist Party of China (CPC), political accountability, and social stratification and cultural diversity and so on.

Given this background, the 15th 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 include areas such as foreign policy and strategy, economic development, domestic politics and challenges of governance, dynamics of society and culture, environmental concerns, food and energy security, and so on.

Part II: New Research on China in India

In the last decade, 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 enhance interactions as much between themselves as 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: Connected Geographies and Cultural Interfaces**

North-eastern part of India is regarded by scholars as a strategic link between South, South East and East Asia, sharing common geographical features and development objectives. From the ancient period, interaction in this region has had the civilizational framework at its foundation. Part of the once-thriving southern silk route, this region is often conceptualized as a cultural region, characterized by ethnic affinities and historical interaction between different communities, Himalayan ecologies, shared level of relative deprivation, and so on. Guwahati, the location for the 15th AICCS, is an important city of this region; on one hand, as a prominent center of historical and modern relevance, it has witnessed rich people-to-people interactions in the realms of culture, and on the other, it represents the aspirations and anxieties of enormous geo-strategic significance of the area as perceived through the lens of contemporary geo-political considerations. Therefore, the theme of *Connected Geographies and Cultural Interfaces*, which reflects all these scholarly concerns, will be the Special Theme this year.

The Conference has been arranged into Thematic Panels, composed of the selected abstracts/papers of individual scholars (through Call for Papers), and Special Panels, composed of selected panel proposals (through Call for Papers), as well as invited panels.
PROGRAMME

DAY 1: THURSDAY, 17 NOVEMBER 2022

INAUGURAL SESSION
0930 – 1100 Hours

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

Remarks: Adrian Haack, Director, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, New Delhi.

Opening Remarks: T. G. Sitharam, Director, Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati.

Convener’s Remarks: Sabaree Mitra, Convener, 15th AICCS; Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Remarks: Sukanya Sharma, Head of Department, Department of Humanities & Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati.

Keynote Address: Prasenjit Duara, Oscar L. Tang Professor of East Asian Studies and Director, Global Asia Initiative, History Department, Duke University, North Carolina.

China and Southeast Asia: A Contemporary History

Vote of Thanks: Pahi Saikia, Co-Convener, 15th AICCS; Associate Professor of Political Science, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati.

1100 – 1115 Hours: BREAK

SPECIAL PANEL I: State of China Studies in India
1115 – 1300 Hours

Chair: Manoranjan Mohanty, Emeritus Fellow and former Chairperson, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Distinguished Professor, Council of Social Development, New Delhi; former Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi.
**Speakers:**

G. Venkat Raman, Professor, Humanities & Social Sciences Area, Indian Institute of Management Indore; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

*The Challenges of Studying China: Making a Case for Cautious Optimism*

Usha Chandran, Assistant Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Raj Gupta, Doctoral Candidate, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

*Relevance of Chinese Language in China Studies in India*

Aravind Yelery, Senior Research Fellow, Peking University, Beijing/Shenzhen; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

*Reassessment of Methods and Tools of Research in Area Studies: Exploring the Inflection Points of Accessibility and Efficacy of Technological Tools*

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

*The State of China Studies in India: Of Methodological and Disciplinary Boundaries*

1300 – 1400 Hours: BREAK

THEMATIC PANEL I: Northeast India & Trans-Himalayan Connections: Culture & Trade

1400 – 1530 Hours

Chair: Patricia Uberoi, Emeritus Fellow and former Chairperson, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Speakers:

Mayongam Muinao, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Political Science, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

*Re-inventing the North East India Trans-Himalaya Trading Route in the Height of Indo-China Relation: Challenges and Prospects*

Mathew Thongminlal, Doctoral Candidate, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
Cultural and Trade Route Linkage between China-Myanmar-India: A Study of Frontier/Cross Border Tribe Jingpo-Kachin-Singpho

Jigme Yeshe Lama, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta, Kolkata.

(Dis)Connections, Residues and Tibetan Buddhism in the Eastern Himalayas

Discussant: Samir Kumar Das, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta, Kolkata; former Vice-Chancellor, University of North Bengal, Siliguri.

1530 – 1545 Hours: BREAK

SPECIAL LECTURE I
1545 – 1645 Hours

Chair: Kamal Sheel, Professor (Retired) of Chinese, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Speaker: Madhavi Thampi, Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi and former Associate Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi.

World War II: The Crucible of Modern Sino-Indian Relations?

DAY 2: FRIDAY, 18 NOVEMBER 2022

SPECIAL PANEL II: Institutional Interfaces & Informal Histories in the Himalayan Contact Zone
1100 – 1245 Hours

Chair: Mahendra P. Lama, Professor, Centre for South Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; former Vice-Chancellor, Sikkim University, Gangtok.

Speakers:

Swati Chawla, Associate Professor of History, Jindal School of Liberal Arts and Humanities, O.P Jindal Global University, Sonipat.
**The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology and Sikkim’s Resistance to Merger with India**

Aniket Alam, Associate Professor, Human Sciences Research Group, Centre for Exact Humanities, IIIT-Hyderabad.

**Oral History of Border Making in the Western Himalayas in the 20th Century**

Sanjukta Datta, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Ashoka University, Sonipat.

**Across the Himalayas: Magadha’s Buddhist Networks (c. 5–15th centuries CE)**

Sayantani Mukherjee, Assistant Professor, Department of History and Ashoka Centre for China Studies, Ashoka University, Sonipat.

**An Expert in the Field: Native Surveyors and the Cartographic Creation of Tibet, 1860-1904**

Swargajyoti Gohain, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Ashoka University, Sonipat.

**Institutional Networks and the Forging of Indian Himalayan Solidarity**

1245 – 1400 Hours: BREAK

---

**THEMATIC PANEL II: Northeast India & China: Cultural & Educational Interfaces**

1400 – 1530 Hours

Chair: Avijit Banerjee, Professor, Cheena Bhavana, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Speakers:

Daveirou Lanamai, Assistant Professor (Chinese), Department of Foreign Languages, Tezpur University.

Influence of Chinese Vloggers in Northeast India: A Study on the Vlogs of Li Ziqi and Dianxi Xiaoge

Ningshen Zingjarwon, M.Phil, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
Tracing Folk Ideas and Worldview in Folktales: A Comparative Analysis of Some Chinese Ethnic Minorities and the Meiteis of Manipur

Shyamkumar Ningthoujam, Guest Faculty, Department of Foreign Languages, Manipur University, Imphal.

Chinese Language Education in India's Northeast Region: Opportunities and Challenges

Discussant: M. Sadananda Singh, Assistant Professor, Department of Manipuri, DM College of Arts, Dhanamanjuri University, Imphal; former Visiting Fellow, University of Missouri.

1530 – 1545 Hours: BREAK

THEMATIC PANEL III: China, India & Southeast Asia: Policies & Perspectives
1545 – 1715 Hours

Chair: Ashok K. Kantha, Honorary Fellow and former Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; former Ambassador of India to China.

Speakers:

Dickey Lama, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Women's College, Calcutta, Kolkata.

Tianxia and Kyaukpyu: Spheres of Influence and Connection between China and Myanmar

Shruti Dey, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Politics & International Studies, School of Social Sciences & International Studies, Pondicherry University.

China's Rise and the Hedging Strategies of India and Vietnam in Perspective

Swagata Saha, Doctoral Candidate, School of International Studies, Symbiosis International (Deemed) University, Pune.

Sukalpa Chakrabarti, Deputy Director and Associate Professor (IR & Public Policy), School of International Studies, Symbiosis International (Deemed) University, Pune.

The 'Pauk-Phaw' Factor in India's Act East Policy
**Discussant:** Manorama Sharma, Professor (Retd.), Department of History, North-Eastern Hill University (NEHU), Shillong; Academic Adviser, Assam Institute of Mass Communication and Media Research, Guwahati.

1715 – 1800 Hours: BREAK

**SPECIAL LECTURE II**

1800 – 1900 Hours

**Chair:** Rashmi Doraiswamy, Professor, MMAJ Academy of International Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi and Recipient of the National Best Film Critic Award (1994).

**Speaker:** Lu Xiaoning, Reader in Modern Chinese Culture and Language, SOAS China Institute, SOAS University of London.

*Mobile Attraction: Travelling Film Projectionists and Rural Cinema Exhibition in Mao’s China*

---

**DAY 3: SATURDAY, 19 NOVEMBER 2022**

**SPECIAL PANEL III: Geopolitics of Transborder Waters**

1000 – 1130 Hours

**Chair:** Nimmi Kurian, Professor, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

**Speakers:**

Ruth Gamble, Senior Lecturer, History, Department of Archaeology and History, La Trobe University, Victoria.

*China’s Yarlung Tsangpo Challenge: Balancing Green Power, Biodiversity Protection, Geopolitics, and Indigenous Rights*

Douglas Hill, Associate Professor, School of Geography-Te Iho Whenua, University of Otago, Dunedin.

*Contesting the Imagined Geographies of the Yarlung Tsangpo-Brahmaputra Basin*

Shahab E. Khan, Fulbright Research Scholar, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Delaware; Executive Director, Bangladesh Center for Indo-Pacific Affairs, Jahangirnagar University, Dhaka.
Geopolitical Overlay of the Hydropolitics: Rethinking Transboundary Water Relations in the Context of Bangladesh, India, and China

Discussant: Mirza Zulfiqur Rehman, Programme Coordinator and Research Associate, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, New Delhi and Visiting Research Associate, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

1130 – 1145 Hours: BREAK

THEMATIC PANEL IV: China’s External Relations: Trade & Foreign Aid
1145 – 1315 Hours

Chair: Biswajit Dhar, Professor, Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Speakers:

Sharmistha Hazra, Doctoral Candidate (Politics and International Relations), School of Liberal Studies, Pandit Deendayal Energy University, Gandhinagar.

China’s Strategic Presence in Three East African Ports: Implications for Indo-Pacific Security in the Western Indian Ocean

Jasveer Singh, Doctoral Candidate (Diplomacy and Disarmament Division), Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Decoding China’s Foreign Aid Policy: The Case of Pacific Island Countries

Khanindra Ch. Das, Assistant Professor (Economics), Birla Institute of Management Technology, Greater Noida.

Growth of Cereals Trade between India and China: What it means for Food Security?

Discussants:

Panu Pazo, Assistant Professor and Head of Department, Department of Political Science, Sikkim Government College, Namchi.
Deepak Kumar Bhaskar, Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Department of Political Science, Nagaland University, Lumami HQRS.

1315 – 1430 Hours: BREAK

THEMATIC PANEL V: Chinese Discourse & Praxis
1430 – 1600 Hours

Chair: Akhil Ranjan Dutta, Professor, Department of Political Science, Gauhati University, Guwahati.

Speakers:

Priyanka Keshry, Doctoral Candidate, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Ah Q, Ah Qism in China’s IR Discourse: Focus on India

Cherry Hitkari, PG Intensive Advanced Diploma in Chinese Language (CF-2), Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi.

Rocking the Cradle, Ruling the World: Crafting the Ideal Citizen through Children's Songs in the People's Republic of China

Prahlad Kumar Singh, Doctoral Candidate, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Military-Civil Fusion in China: A Case Study under Xi Jinping's Era

Discussants:

Sonika Gupta, Associate Professor of Global Politics, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Madras, Chennai.

Hemant Adlakha, Associate Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Vice-Chairperson and Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.
VALEDICTORY SESSION
1600 – 1700 Hours

Chair: Vijay Nambiar, Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; former Ambassador/High Commissioner of India to China, Pakistan & other countries and former Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations.

Valedictory Address: Nirupama Rao, former Foreign Secretary, Government of India and former Ambassador of India to China.

Lessons from the Last 75 Years: India and China

Report of the Conference: Sabaree Mitra, Convener, 15th AICCS; Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Welcoming Delegates to the 16th AICCS: Bhim Subba, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad & Visiting Associate Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Vote of Thanks: Joanna Mahjabeen, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Gauhati University, Guwahati.

Note: Speakers in all thematic sessions will have 15-18 minutes to make their presentations, while the Discussants will be allotted 10 minutes to respond. The Chair will take up to 5 minutes to make the opening and concluding remarks. The remaining time will be for Q&A.

In Special Panels, unless otherwise decided by the Chair beforehand, each speaker is requested to confine the presentations to 10-12 minutes, and keep the remaining time for Q&A.
ABSTRACTS

INAUGURAL SESSION

Prasenjit Duara, Oscar L. Tang Professor of East Asian Studies and Director, Global Asia Initiative, History Department, Duke University, North Carolina.

China and Southeast Asia: A Contemporary History

The Keynote Address being delivered by Prof. Prasenjit Duara picks up from a study he published in 2010 (Asia Redux) about an emergent Asian regional integration formed by and around the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It remains the most successful regional formation in Asia and it drew upon the dense history of trade, migration and cultural networks that have intersected this region and its hubs from well before the second millennium to the present. Until recently, Southeast Asia was seen to be loosely in the ambit of the Chinese tributary order. Contemporary scholars, however, see the Chinese Tribute order more as an interface between it and the Mandala Order of Southeast Asian empires serving their own goals and interests.

As the ASEAN regional formation developed in the late 20th century, it received a great fillip from the PRC’s cooperation. However, the rise of China, particularly in the last decade, has significantly reshaped the further integration and enmeshment strategies of ASEAN nations. Problems in the South China Sea and the dam-building rage on the Mekong, Salween and others have created significant ruptures as well as possibilities of collective action. China’s Belt and Road (BRI) may be seen as poised uncertainty between the logic of the older imperial Chinese order and the more recent logic impelled by capitalist nation-states. While BRI projects have certainly added weight to China’s engagement in the region, the global rhetoric and responsibilities of BRI also present new opportunities and concerns in the region together with the emergence of new Indo-Pacific formations.

SPECIAL PANEL I: State of China Studies in India

G. Venkat Raman, Professor, Humanities & Social Sciences Area, Indian Institute of Management Indore; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

The Challenges of Studying China: Making a Case for Cautious Optimism

Sinology has been a matter of considerable interest to a select few academics. However, the historic visit of the then-premier Rajiv Gandhi ushered in an era of new hope. It was assumed that the two Asian giants would explore possibilities of co-existence and work together for the Asian century. The growth in the volume of
bilateral trade and gradual increase in track I and track II diplomacy opened up new windows to facilitate learning about each other. Earlier confined to some select departments in a few Indian universities, China’s emergence as an economic behemoth and politically powerful actor in the international arena has generated a lot of interest. Today China is being discussed and debated in educational institutions in and beyond Delhi. A fresh set of young China scholars have been steadfast in pursuing their academic interests in the field of Sinology. There is a growing realisation to publish in peer-reviewed journals, write books and design courses focussing on China. These courses deal with a wide range of issues dealing with historical and cultural aspects to some current topics dealing with the ‘economic modernisation’ story of China and its evolution as a tech power. While these developments give one more than a ray of hope, we must ask ourselves some tough questions. For instance, how do we manage the challenge of genuine research based on primary and secondary sources, given the paucity of funds? How do we package the ‘China’ story to students in the university classrooms? It is not good news that at a macro level, so little is being invested in studying and researching a country which has a very high impact on India’s power ambitions. What can we do about it? I try to highlight some of the challenges and endeavour to propose a few baby steps to address these challenges.

Usha Chandran, Assistant Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Raj Gupta, Doctoral Candidate, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Relevance of Chinese Language in China Studies in India

The relevance of language to understand a society, its politics, culture and above all the mindset of the people has been accentuated by Sociolinguists and Sociolinguists of Language for a few decades now. Noam Chomsky, had stated that, “language is our humanity, it is used to understand ourselves and others, as well as to deal with the reality of our world and engage in acts of meaning”. However, language being so intimately tied to our being, its relevance is often overlooked, and while not knowing the language often leads to misjudgement and misunderstanding about a society, looking at a society through the lens of language tends to open several doors through which one can easily permeate into the society. It is known to all that in China, the use of English language is extremely limited and though local dialects are also in use, majority of the engagement is in Mandarin. It is more often observed that the ability to read and comprehend academic discourse in Chinese language goes a long way in formulating a more precise epistemological knowledge framework. The existing scholarship on China, in India, are to a large extent based on English language sources, mostly written by Westerners. Therefore, Indian scholars may be running the risk of viewing China; their largest neighbour, from a Western lens. Whereas, the need for India to comprehend China as it is, has been deferred for long and calls for urgent attention. This study attempts to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches, to examine the lack of China Studies in India, and explore ways to enhance it. In doing so, it first discusses the sociological theories and concepts on the use of language for an immersive and profound understanding of society and applies them to the idea of looking at China through the lens of Chinese language. The study involves questionnaire-based interviews of roughly five sets of scholars and students from all over India, who are either teaching or learning Chinese language and China studies, and who are researching or observing China. This
study aims to explore the reasons behind the gap between demand and supply in Chinese and/or China studies, the role of Chinese language in understanding China and what are the possible ways to enhance the skill sets of China Studies in India.

Aravind Yelery, Senior Research Fellow, Peking University, Beijing/Shenzhen; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Reassessment of Methods and Tools of Research in Area Studies: Exploring the Inflection Points of Accessibility and Efficacy of Technological Tools

Area Studies is the core of some critical and ground-breaking theories and debates in the social sciences and humanities. Given the fact of accessibility, despite the role and progress made by Area Studies, the state of research in Area Studies is suffering from a decline in intellectual and material support. One of the persistent problems in research and education has been access to organic data and primary sources of information. The linguistic barriers and logistical limitations have been further impacting the accessibility issues. The database deficiencies and the time factors resulted in limiting the research and capacities. The pandemic and growing insistence on monolingualism has proved this a significant concern. Against this backdrop, the discussion this paper intends to augment covers the debate over the newer and more effective methods of technology and niche mediums in Area Studies. Can technology-centric function and analytics enable the whole knowledge acquisition process to be more accessible, faster and engaging?

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

The State of China Studies in India: Of Methodological and Disciplinary Boundaries

In the context of China studies in India, area studies have left an indelible imprint on the discipline. There has been a visible dominance of strategic, security-led discourse, evident in a slew of research on China's bilateral/multilateral relations. Yet, the discipline has expanded beyond these as researchers from various disciplinary backgrounds have immersed themselves in observing, examining and engaging with China, bringing in various methodological variations and blurring the disciplinary boundaries. The utility-led discourse, which emanates from a variety of institutions- universities, think tanks, and research institutes with affinity to the market- further provide impetus to variety in China Studies. There are possibilities of coalescing interdisciplinarity like never before, as access to information and knowledge repositories is faster and more efficient. And yet, most knowledge creation and engagement with China reflects a preoccupation with western theoretical, methodological and disciplinary frameworks. This article raises the following questions: Are there specific contexts of reading China in India? How do the available contexts frame the disciplinary boundaries and choice of methods to engage with China? Alternately, what could be some of the India-specific methodological and disciplinary concerns as sign-posts of further research on China?
Mayongam Muinao, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Political Science, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

Re-inventing the North East India Trans-Himalaya Trading Route in the Height of Indo-China Relation:
Challenges and Prospects

Before the advent of British rule in North East India the region was identified as the wealthiest place and the centre for trans-Himalaya border trade. Udalguri and Doimara in Assam are known to be the trading centre for the Tibetans and the Assamese. Many of the tribesmen of the North East also engaged in barter trade with the Tibetan traders. The inter-trade linkages have also brought cultural and technological exchange among the people of North East India and China. It is believed that “silk culture” and manufacture of silk were first introduced in Manipur from China. It later dispersed over to the Southern Indus countries and other parts of the sub-continent through inland and sea routes. It is also believed that the horses were first brought from Tibet and Camel from the Western part of the country to the North East region and later exported to the different parts of the sub-continent. So, the present-day North East region was once the trading centre and also the transit route for trans-Himalaya border trade. The strategic location of North East India was also counted by the British as it used North East India as the strategic route to connect Yunnan, China during the II World War popularly known as the Stillwell road. But after India and China attained their independence the revival of the age-old trading route was not materialised as both nations perceived suspicion and threat over one another as the scar of the 1962 war and the history of border dispute still remain. Now, the Indo-China relationship has reached a new geopolitical height. Both nations see one another through the lens of security threat. Now, North East India, once the trading centre of trans-Himalaya border trade and window to South East Asia has become the sandwich of Indo-China rivalry. The North East region of India is viewed through the lens of security rather than economic opportunities. So, this paper aims to evaluate the challenges and prospects in reinventing the age-old trading route of the trans-Himalaya border region within the ambit of Indo-China relations.

Mathew Thongminlal, Doctoral Candidate, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Cultural and Trade Route Linkage between China-Myanmar-India: A Study of Frontier/Cross Border Tribe Jingpo-Kachin-Singpho

The Northeast Indian states act as a gateway to Southeast Asia and China at a strategic location. Across the frontier, there has been an interface in terms of language, culture, trade, and history dating back millennia. The strategic place, for many reasons, has been a concern for India owing to the cross-border illicit drugs trade, smuggling of arms and ammunition, and haven for armed organizations that carry out attacks on Indian security forces and engage in extortion. The region lacks development and infrastructure. For all these reasons,
Indian policymakers tried to bring an action to the area and consolidate its position as a gateway to Southeast Asia. The 'Look East Policy' (1991) and the 'Act East Policy' (2014) have been launched by New Delhi to tackle the region’s unequal development and achieve greater access to Southeast Asia to counter the growing Chinese influence.

This paper analyses the trans-regional trilateral trade between India, Myanmar, and Yunnan province in China before the arrival of the East India Company. This trilateral overland trade was dominated by the Singpho tribe in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh in India, Kachin in Myanmar, and Jinghpaw in Yunnan province of China. Based on this, the paper examines how these past trilateral trade routes in areas inhabited by these tribes were instrumental in enhancing cultural and economic exchanges. It has been argued that re-opening this trade route along with the frontier across the India-Myanmar-China border and the Kachin state in Myanmar held by the Kachin Independence Army will have implications for security problems for India. Using this past trade route that Gunnel Cederlof refers to as the 'old southwest Silk Road network,' Willem van Schendel’ Zomia,’ and Willem van Schendel and Gunnel Cederlöf call 'India-China Corridor,' the paper will examine the regional network which binds these societies and communities together.

Jigme Yeshe Lama, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta, Kolkata.

*(Dis)Connections, Residues and Tibetan Buddhism in the Eastern Himalayas*

This paper looks at the Eastern Himalayas as a site of multiple connections, while focusing on Tibetan Buddhism. It employs Raymond William’s ‘residual formations’ in understanding the dynamic role of Tibetan Buddhism in the region. The Eastern Himalayas are currently spread along the modern nations of Nepal, India, Bhutan and China(Tibet). They have long been spaces of human habitation and connections. However, the dawn of the nation-state in these spaces, especially India in 1947 and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, led to the comprehension of these regions through the language of strategy and security. Further, with the Chinese takeover of Tibet, and the 1962 border war between India and China, the region has been heavily militarised. They are understood in terms of the language of the nation-state and reimagined through the policymakers based in New Delhi and Beijing, which are more or less singular and centralised. However, as seen in the paper, these regions have residues of past connectivities that include Tibetan Buddhism. Before the modern state, Buddhism was an important source of “ritual sovereignties” in the region. Such a form of sovereignty is present in Bhutan, whereas the earlier Chogyals of Sikkim and the Dalai Lamas of Tibet wielded power through Tibetan Buddhism. The matrix of Tibetan Buddhism provided pre-1950 Tibet to exercise influence over Tawang and the Walungchung region of Eastern Nepal. While tracing these connections, the paper will explore the interactions of the modern state with Tibetan Buddhism in the Eastern Himalayas. The latter has taken the form of an “active residue” (Williams, 2016) and is seen to share an interesting relationship with the modern states. As an “active residue” Tibetan Buddhism connects the geographies of the Eastern Himalayas and beyond through monastic institutions, reincarnated lamas, sacred spaces and pilgrimage spots, forming an interface between Buddhism (culture) and geography.
Madhavi Thampi, Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi and former Associate Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi.

**World War II: The Crucible of Modern Sino-Indian Relations?**

This talk will focus on the interactions between India and China during World War II (1939-1945). The tendency to confine the discussion on India-China relations largely within the nation-state framework and the "friendship/enmity" binary has prevented adequate importance from being given to the relations that developed between them during the War. For this was a period of tremendous expansion and diversification of India-China relations, driven by the geopolitical realignments and massive displacement engendered by the War, as well as the growing consciousness in each country of the importance of the other. Three aspects, in particular, will be taken up for discussion. First, the official push given to the expansion of ties in spheres as wide-ranging as trade and commerce, military relations, diplomacy, scientific and technical cooperation, transport and communications, as well as health, education and culture- in short, the beginnings of modern state-to-state relations between India and China, even though India was still under British rule and much of China was under Japanese occupation. Secondly, the increased movement of people between India and China, including traders, pilgrims, officials, students, refugees, deserters, stranded seamen, adventurers and smugglers. Some of this represented a continuation and intensification of earlier patterns of trade and migration, but it was also engendered by the exigencies of wartime. Thirdly, we will consider the complicated political dimensions of the relationship. While India and China were "allies" during the War, the interests of the Nationalist Government in China, the British Indian government and the various strands within the Indian national movement often diverged considerably. Moreover, considerations about the impending post-war order in Asia gave rise to incipient geopolitical rivalry, along with tensions over borders, infiltration and influence and control over border regions like Tibet. A close look at India-China relations during World War II can thus throw light on issues like the role of larger regional and global politics in refashioning these ties, the potential for multi-level cooperation between the two regions, and the origins of the tensions and mutual suspicions that have prevented the full development of this potential in subsequent decades.

**SPECIAL PANEL II: Institutional Interfaces & Informal Histories in the Himalayan Contact Zone**

Swati Chawla, Associate Professor of History, Jindal School of Liberal Arts and Humanities, O.P Jindal Global University, Sonipat.

**The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology and Sikkim’s Resistance to Merger with India**

Through a focus on the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology (NIT) in Gangtok (est. 1958), this presentation will show how Tibetan Buddhist art and iconography were deployed to cement Sikkim’s assertion of difference from India. The NIT served as a locus of Sikkimese diplomacy and a symbol of its Buddhist character, by
placing the kingdom within the Tibetan cultural region and away from British- and postcolonial India. It holds among the world’s largest collections of Tibetan religious art, statues, manuscripts, and ritual objects outside of Tibet. Sir Tashi Namgyal (r. 1914-1963), styled as an imperial prince—“Maharaja”—in the colonial administration, donated the land for the institute, and the foundation stone was laid by His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. NIT narrates the history of Sikkim by foregrounding images of the 8th century Tantric master Padmasambhava, credited with the transmission of Buddhism to Tibet and Sikkim, and the three lamas who assisted the first Sikkimese king Phuntsog Namgyal (r. 1642-1670) in proselytizing the Lepchas into Buddhism.

In protracted negotiations beginning with the British Cabinet Mission of 1946, the last two monarchs of Sikkim asserted that their kingdom was unlike any of the other 600 princely states that were slowly getting folded into India or Pakistan by virtue of their Buddhist faith; the others were either Hindu or Muslim. In cartographic, religious, and cultural narratives, they stressed their kingdom’s affinity to Lhasa and the institution of the Dalai Lama. The efforts to establish an institute of Tibetology were coterminous with their adoption of “traditional” Buddhist titles of Chogyal (Dharma King) and Gyalmo (Queen). They attempted to resist Indian incorporation by shifting the locus of legitimacy and authority from Delhi to Lhasa, Hindu/Indian to Buddhist/Sikkimese, and its articulation from Sanskrit to Tibetan.

**Aniket Alam, Associate Professor, Human Sciences Research Group, Centre for Exact Humanities, IIIT-Hyderabad.**

**Oral History of Border Making in the Western Himalayas in the 20th Century**

This paper will relook at the idea of border, borderlands, and frontiers in the Western Himalayas by drawing on oral history and oral traditions, which have remained largely untapped in existing scholarship. Theorising the border in the Asian highlands goes back to the imperial projects of the 19th century. In the past few decades there has been extensive, and insightful scholarship, which has critiqued the border-making projects of the imperium as well as of the post-colonial nation-states. The paper will engage in some detail with Curzon’s ideas of a Himalayan frontier from the early 20th century and with some recent scholarship on borders and borderlands (Bérénice Guyot-Réchard, Nayanika Mathur, Benjamin Hopkins, Kyle Gardner). While recent scholarship has critiqued imperial and post-colonial border-making, it has been less successful in providing alternatives to current political boundaries and conflicts.

In the proposed paper, the author will draw on the oral histories and oral traditions as recorded by Tika Ram Joshi (1911) and Rahul Sanskrityayan (1949) from the Kinnaur region of the Western Himalayas, as well as oral histories and oral traditions recorded by me during fieldwork in Kinnaur in 2021 and 2022. The paper will argue for the need to learn from imaginings of boundaries, borders, distances and divisions of Himalayan communities over the 20th century. The oral histories and traditions of pastoral, trade and divine journeys will show how Himalayan states and communities mediated separation, division, as well as engagement and collaborations. If successful in its objectives, this proposed paper hopes to contribute to a new and different understanding of contemporary borders in the Himalayas, and encourage scholarship to listen to the lived experiences of people on the ground as it searches for solutions to conflicts.
Sanjukta Datta, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Ashoka University, Sonipat.

**Across the Himalayas: Magadha’s Buddhist Networks (c. 5–15th centuries CE)**

The Buddhist landscape of ancient Magadha or modern south Bihar has a long history going back to the 6th–5th century BCE when the founder of the faith is believed to have attained enlightenment seated under a bodhi tree at Mahābodhi or modern Bodhgaya. Within a few centuries after the Buddha’s death, Magadha started developing strong trans-regional connections, attracting Buddhist pilgrims from both within and beyond the subcontinent to the shrines and monasteries (vihāras) that dotted the area. In this presentation, I explore the premodern history of Magadha’s Buddhist connections with the Himalayan region and beyond, extending to Nepal, Tibet and China. Using a combination of literary sources, inscriptions, and art historical remains, I identify distinct phases in the millennium-long history of this association (5th–15th centuries CE). Some of the highlights of this interface include the visits of Chinese scholar-monks Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing to several sacred sites between the 5th and the 7th centuries, the pioneering role of patrons from Nepal and Tibet in the making of richly illustrated Buddhist manuscripts at mega-monasteries such as Nālandā and Vikramāśīla in the late 10th–early 11th century, the contributions of king Aśokacalla of the Khaśa kingdom in the central Himalayas and his associates in the sustenance of worship in 13th century Mahābodhi as well as a long-term, dynamic process of east Asian re-creation of the Mahābodhi temple and the Vajrasana image enshrined within it.

Sayantani Mukherjee, Assistant Professor, Department of History and Ashoka Centre for China Studies, Ashoka University, Sonipat.

**An Expert in the Field: Native Surveyors and the Cartographic Creation of Tibet, 1860-1904**

The Survey Department of India had, since its inception in 1767 recruited and trained native surveyors in their ranks. These recruits, known as “chain-men”, were an informal corps trained in routine survey and reconnaissance work to assist their British and European expedition leaders in mapping and surveying the expanse of India. This paper seeks to foreground the role of the native surveyor in the creation and dissemination of geographical knowledge about the Tsangpo-Brahmaputra River in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1860, for the first time in its history, the Department began to train South Asian and Tibetan agents to lead their own surveying expeditions to provide geographical insights about the regions at the borders of British India where it was considered “too dangerous” for Europeans to venture, namely, Tibet and Central Asia. These surveyors were chosen for the language skills and local capital they possessed, and they wove through multiple traditions of knowledge in their work. Against the constraints of an imperial system desirous of diminishing their contributions, this paper analyses how they built credibility, argued for their expertise, and suggested new methods for expanding the field in an attempt to carve out a space for themselves as explorers. It argues that their participation in the process of river mapping was fundamental to the British Indian state’s identification of territory, an extended process in the trans-Himalayan frontier that resulted in the creation of Tibet as a new cartographical entity over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
In this paper, the author shows how Tibetan Buddhist populations in the peripheries of the Indian nation-state are drawn into a Himalayan cultural network through institutional spaces of Buddhist higher learning. Post-exile and the reconstitution of a Tibetan diasporic community in India after 1959, important monastic universities displaced from Tibet were rebuilt in India. Not only have they been engaged in preserving and promoting Tibetan Buddhist traditions among the diasporic Tibetans, but also uniquely modern institutes such as the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies at Sarnath, Varanasi, established in 1967, or the Central Institute of Buddhist Studies in Ladakh. These institutes, which combine modern knowledge with a Buddhism-based curriculum, also admit non-Tibetan Buddhist populations. The blending of Tibetan Buddhist knowledge with modern liberal education, arising from the interactions of the Dalai Lama with the western world has structured these institutions of Buddhist learning in India, which are located in the Indo-Tibetan borderlands. They also reveal new alignments and frictions. I attempt to understand the forging of Indian-Himalayan solidarity through these institutional spaces.

THEMATIC PANEL II: Northeast India & China: Cultural & Educational Interfaces

Daveirou Lanamai, Assistant Professor (Chinese), Department of Foreign Languages, Tezpur University.

Influence of Chinese Vloggers in Northeast India: A Study on the Vlogs of Li Ziqi and Dianxi Xiaoge

Vlogs act as a medium to disseminate socio-cultural and political annotations, newsfeeds, lifestyles, and adventures through various social networking sites. With massive growth and advancement in technology, vlogging has become a significant platform for cross-cultural media production and consumption. The paper will examine the influence of Chinese vloggers Li Ziqi and Dianxi Xiaoge in Northeast India based on their popularity and the contents of their vlogs showcasing idyllic self-dependent rural lifestyles. While refraining from analyzing the perceptions of other international communities on the vlogs, the paper will examine the forms of appreciation and cultural appropriation with a focus on the socio-cultural and political world of the viewers from Northeast India as well as their engagement with the vlogs. It will then look at the intricate nexus of forming a parasocial relationship between the viewers and the vloggers.

The augmentation of cultural enactment through online has a substantial role in defining national, racial, and ethnic identities. Focusing on everyday ordinary rural lives and restraining from geopolitical discourse of China, the vlogs have garnered massive recognition and favourable appreciation of Chinese culture from overseas viewers. The paper will critically appraise the role of these vloggers and their vlogs in creating a positive image of China among its viewers in Northeast India which otherwise has been marred by the paradoxical India-China bilateral relation since the post-Covid pandemic crisis.
Ningshen Zingjarwon, M.Phil, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Tracing Folk Ideas and Worldview in Folktales: A Comparative Analysis of Some Chinese Ethnic Minorities and the Meiteis of Manipur

The Meiteis are believed to be the descendants of various ethnic groups who once had their homes in China. They reached the Manipur valley through successive waves of migration since pre-historic times onwards. Some of the ancient trade routes between South Asia and East and Southeast Asia that passed through Manipur during the second century B.C. suggests the existence of cultural contacts between the two cultures. The Cheitharol Kambaba, the Chronicles of Manipur records the coming of Chinese to Manipur around the 16th century. It also records the existence of trade intercourse between Yunnan and Manipur and the coming of a Chinese merchant in 1630. The present work focuses on highlighting and analysing certain themes of Meitei and Chinese folktales which could help us to understand better and appreciate their respective culture. The research finding shows that there is an integral connection between folktales and the value systems of its society. The shared understandings that we find in both cultures have been seen as a result of the ethnic and cultural ties between the two cultures. By examining some strikingly parallel tales of the Meiteis and some Chinese ethnic minorities of China, the paper further expands on the little-known ethnic affinities between the Meiteis and some of the ethnic minorities of China. The present study shows the ‘explanatory potential’ of folk literature in establishing ethnic ties between distinctive cultures. It also reiterates the value of folk literature as a vital source of historical research.

Shyamkumar Ningthoujam, Guest Faculty, Department of Foreign Languages, Manipur University, Imphal.

Chinese Language Education in India’s Northeast Region: Opportunities and Challenges

China, being an immediate neighbour of India with a population of more than 1.4 billion and having the largest economy in Asia with over $12 trillion GDP, shares a boundary of about 3488 km. The border stalemate between India and China has a direct impact on Chinese language education in India, particularly in the Northeast region which is considered, by many experts, to be one of the most strategic locations when it comes to India’s Act East policy. Understanding each other’s language and culture will facilitate the relation and trade and business between the two neighbouring countries. The present paper focuses on the significance of learning the Chinese language and culture in India with reference to India’s Northeast region. Also, the paper explores the challenges in learning the Chinese Language while discussing the current trends of Chinese Language education in the region. There are only two universities in the whole Northeast region which offer Chinese language courses and that too certificate courses only. The recent deterioration in the bilateral relationship that led to the banning of several apps among others by Indian authorities has had a direct impact on the Chinese language education sector. Keeping the political issues aside, it is high time to look at the education sphere separately.
Dickey Lama, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Women's College, Calcutta, Kolkata.

Tianxia and Kyaukpyu: Spheres of influence and connection between China and Myanmar

Tianxia, translates into ‘all under heaven’, it is an idea that embodies harmonious co-existence. This cosmological imperial concept was to be a convergence of the physical, psychological, and political realms. The classical idea has seen a revival in Chinese foreign policy becoming the focus of debate in scholarship and public discourse. The proposed paper seeks to analyse the concept through the Kyaukpyu port of Myanmar. The spheres of influence and connection transcend notions of nation-state, influenced by the ancient Chinese civilisation but nevertheless are bound by it.

Amidst China’s spheres of influence, the narrative of the Chinese Culture Area includes the societies of East Asia. This region was historically influenced by the Chinese civilisation or a Chinese World order and was concentric in its engagement. Myanmar in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region and Tianxia in a constructivist framework will assess the spheres of influence and connections between China and Myanmar. Central to this analysis is the Kyaukpyu port of Myanmar which seems to resolve the Malacca Dilemma of the Chinese. The narrative constructed by China, to propagate the Belt Road Initiative (BRI), is about these civilisational ties and connections. Today, these connections have been replaced by ideological similarities such as the support that the Chinese have for the Arakan Army. The assessment of Chinese perceptions and misperceptions about the same will influence foreign policies of the nation states in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Ideas, identity and historical connections become essential for China as it engages with the littoral powers of the IOR.

Shruti Dey, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Politics & International Studies, School of Social Sciences & International Studies, Pondicherry University.

China’s Rise and the Hedging Strategies of India and Vietnam in Perspective

The unprecedented rise of China has challenged the existing global power structure and the "rules-based order". The United States and other democratic states responded to the rise of China with minilateral initiatives like the Quad. The behaviour of states in the region toward China’s rise has received scholarly attention from the broader perspective of realism and balance of power. Given the altering geostrategic landscape, some states have started advocating the hedging strategy, a complex mix of selective cooperativity and competition that has yet to receive adequate scholarly attention. In this context, we have taken up a comprehensive study of India-Vietnam relations and its responses to China’s rise under the hedging strategy framework. China shares not only territorial and maritime boundaries with India and Vietnam but also shares strong trade relations with both countries. In recent times, skirmishes with China on the territorial and maritime boundaries with India and Vietnam have highlighted the significance of studying the foreign policy of these countries toward China. Recently, both New Delhi and Hanoi celebrated the completion of their 50 years of establishment of diplomatic relations and five years of establishment of Comprehensive Strategic
Partnership. This paper seeks to understand India's and Vietnam's hedging strategies toward China. Furthermore, this paper aims to understand the various multilateral platforms in the Indo-Pacific region through which India and Vietnam engage with China.

Swagata Saha, Doctoral Candidate, School of International Studies, Symbiosis International (Deemed) University, Pune.

Sukalpa Chakrabarti, Deputy Director and Associate Professor (IR & Public Policy), School of International Studies, Symbiosis International (Deemed) University, Pune.

The 'Pauk-Phaw' factor in India's Act East Policy

Myanmar, positioned at the crossroads of South Asia and South East Asia, has been the stepping stone of India's eastward ambition. There are many primordial, developmental, trade and connectivity linkages between both India and Myanmar as well as India and China.

The military junta in Myanmar had found in China a timely friend through the years of embargo and sanctions. Despite being heavily economically dependent on China, Myanmar is wary of China’s development and debt trap, given the experience of the Myitsone dam or the Sri Lankan economic shutdown. Owing to Myanmar’s proximity to the Golden Triangle, China’s covert trade in substance had plummeted as China had sealed its borders pursuing the Zero Covid policy.

India is yet to fully tap the connectivity routes or hydrocarbon potential of Myanmar. While the Indian Mizos feel at one with their ethnic brethren across the border, India’s Citizenship Amendment Act extinguished any hope of Rohingyas seeking refuge in the region’s largest democracy.

In India’s endeavour to maintain natural leadership in South Asia and China’s rising claims into the region, Myanmar acts as a countervailing ground. Myanmar’s drastic regime changes have deep overtures for India-China’s geo-political pursuits and deeper goals.

Set against this background, the paper would analyse the salience and implications of India-Myanmar brotherly relations for India’s Act iteration of foreign policy. Connectivity and citizenship issues would be the variables for comparison and understanding of these implications for Indian foreign policy.

SPECIAL LECTURE II

Lu Xiaoning, Reader in Modern Chinese Culture and Language, SOAS China Institute, SOAS University of London.

Mobile Attraction: Travelling Film Projectionists and Rural Cinema Exhibition in Mao's China

For Mao’s China, Lenin’s oft-quoted statement “that of all the arts the most important for us is the cinema” is a truism with an unspoken precondition—cinema encounters its audience. This talk focuses on a unique agent of
Chinese socialist cinema—travelling film projectionists who brought films to a broad audience in rural China in the 1950s and 1960s. The first half of the talk frames the emergence of travelling film projectionists in a network of interwoven factors, including the economic, the socio-political, and the technological, in order to call attention to the problems and challenges in the Chinese Communist Party’s popularization of cinema. The second half examines the travelling film projectionist’s exhibition practices, including pre-screening promotional activities and “live performance” during the film screening. Through analyzing the overlay of the state’s interest and intrinsic values of professional practices, and last but not least, the importance of agency on the part of film projectionists, the talk complicates the reductionist understanding of Chinese socialist cinema as a tool of state propaganda.

SPECIAL PANEL III: Geopolitics of Transborder Waters

Ruth Gamble, Senior Lecturer, History, Department of Archaeology and History, La Trobe University, Victoria.

China’s Yarlung Tsangpo Challenge: Balancing Green Power, Biodiversity Protection, Geopolitics, and Indigenous Rights

When the Chinese government released its fourteenth five-year plan in 2020, it outlined a large hydropower development on the lower reaches of the Yarlung Tsangpo River. It caused immediate consternation among several stakeholder groups: conservationists and earth scientists, Indian media, and Indigenous groups from the region. China, however, has promoted this and other hydropower projects on the edges of the Tibetan Plateau as an integral part of their decarbonisation efforts and a key element of their “ecological civilisation” (shengtai wenming 生态文明). This paper explores the pros and cons of developing this section of the Yarlung Tsangpo for hydropower use.

Douglas Hill, Associate Professor, School of Geography—Te Iho Whenua, University of Otago, Dunedin.

Contesting the imagined geographies of the Yarlung Tsangpo-Brahmaputra basin

In both China and India, the orthodox discursive construction and material contestation of water is built on an understanding of rivers as a material to be utilised for capital accumulation, rather than as a fluid set of processes that are embedded within ecosystems and life-worlds. In considering how these technocratic approaches to the national development of hydropower in both countries intensify disputes over transboundary river basins, literature has argued that rivers become cast as securitised objects of geopolitics. However, this geopolitical tussle is not just a competition between Beijing and New Delhi. Indeed, both India and China are pursuing their objectives for the development of the river basins of the Himalayas through transnational regionalization processes, which entail a rescaling of sub-national governance arrangements to extend into neighbouring countries. In tracing the constellations of actors involved in these multi-scalar processes, the paper argues that States, supranational organizations, and nongovernmental forces all contest the territorial
development of the Himalayas. However, this contestation takes place in a discursive environment where certain kinds of knowledge are privileged, such as those produced by engineers, hydrologists, energy economists and security intellectuals.

In considering the geopolitical implications of how the Yarlung Tsangpo-Brahmaputra is both imagined and contested by different stakeholders, this paper engages with key geographical concepts such as territoriosity and scale to demonstrate the closures of contemporary orthodox concepts of the role of hydropower. The latter part of the paper argues for alternative imaginaries of the rivers of the Himalayas as a precursor to a more inclusive and sustainable Yarlung Tsangpo-Brahmaputra basin.

Shahab E. Khan, Fulbright Research Scholar, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Delaware; Executive Director, Bangladesh Center for Indo-Pacific Affairs, Jahangirnagar University, Dhaka.

**Geopolitical Overlay of the Hydropolitics: Rethinking Transboundary Water Relations in the Context of Bangladesh, India, and China**

The idea of hydro politics, in the context of regional and global geopolitics, is emerging as a critical factor in defining and redefining political and strategic relations among countries. Over the last century, the world has witnessed multiple conflicts over transboundary waters in the MENA region, the Mekong basin, and South Asia. One must note that freshwater supplies are drying up, climate change is accentuating sea level rise and altering maritime and water boundaries, and ever-expanding population growth is putting pressure on national resources. We are also witnessing global hyper-nationalism, backed by resource nationalism, which is rattling diplomatic relations across the regions. Water as a political tool is now shaping geopolitical equations and reshaping the nature of foreign policies. The upper riparian countries have traditionally enjoyed inherent power to bargain and politically negotiate with the lower riparian countries diplomatically. However, resource depletion and nationalism, innovative water management solutions and technologies, and geopolitical relations between the upper and lower riparian countries have started to recalibrate the relations between the upper and lower riparian countries. The river linkages among China, India, and Bangladesh have become a riparian hotspot. Hence, the spar over water development from the Yarlung Tsangpo-Brahmaputra basin has put China-India-Bangladesh into a growing diplomatic odd, and this particular basin presents a sense of potential conflict over water. In Bangladesh’s neighborhood, Pakistan and India had a dispute over the sharing of water rights to the Indus river and its tributaries which has been resolved through diplomatic and political processes. Sino-Indian tension over the envisioned hydropower construction in Yarlung Zangbo has flared up geopolitical rivalries; at the same time, experiences of unresolved water sharing, Farakka Dam, and once proposed Tipaimukh Dam in the Barak Valley have always put Bangladesh-India water relations under severe stress. Most certainly, Bangladesh may become the victim of wrangling over water between these two upstream neighbors. Bangladesh’s deeper economic and technological ties with Beijing and rattled water relations with Delhi are the critical determinants for Dhaka to choose a policy of neutrality. While there are examples of positive hydro politics that led to the peaceful resolution of transboundary water crises, the grand challenges still loom over water management and availability. Amid this aqua geopolitical landscape and hydro-diplomatic
tensions, it is crucial to build awareness of hydro politics and hydro diplomacy, backed by open access to information on water. Hence, political confidence-building measures should be the priority for all these countries, based on a fundamental theory that while the Yarlung Tsangpo-Brahmaputra basin presents a potential for conflict, it can also be a model of regional cooperation for water governance.

THEMATIC PANEL IV: China’s External Relations: Trade & Foreign Aid

Sharmistha Hazra, Doctoral Candidate (Politics and International Relations), School of Liberal Studies, Pandit Deendayal Energy University, Gandhinagar.

China’s Strategic Presence in Three East African Ports: Implications for Indo-Pacific Security in the Western Indian Ocean

This paper attempts to understand how China’s presence in the East African seaports would pose a security threat to Indo-Pacific security. Chinese investment in major seaports around the world has caught much attention after the introduction of the Belt and Road Initiative. Under the Maritime Silk Road China has hugely invested in port reconstruction and development. China’s development drive in East Africa is not new and particularly in various sea ports, it has invested hugely. Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, Lamu port in Kenya, Beira port in Mozambique are to name a few where Chinese construction firms have worked and the Chinese Exim Bank has given loans. Not only in East Africa Chinese firms are active in almost 46 ports of Sub-Saharan Africa. Most importantly, the Chinese navy has a base in Djibouti which was opened in 2017. In fact, there are speculations that China might open the first Atlantic military base in Bata port of Equatorial Guinea. While China’s projects are mostly taken under the name of development in Africa but the serious expansion of Chinese navy around the major sea lines of Africa has created major challenges to the US and its major allies like India. In Sri Lanka, the Hambantota port has been acquired by China for a lease of 100 years, but despite these incidents, African countries are competing to get the Chinese fund. If the East African seaports goes to Chinese hands completely it would be a serious security threat towards the other power presented in Eastern Africa and in the Indian ocean. The paper has taken three East African ports Dar es Salaam, Lamu, and Doraleh port of Djibouti as a case study to examine how Chinese presence in these three ports could dismantle the security architecture of Indo-Pacific in the Western Indian Ocean region.

Jasveer Singh, Doctoral Candidate (Diplomacy and Disarmament Division), Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Decoding China’s Foreign Aid Policy: The Case of Pacific Island Countries

With the changing world order, China has emerged as a major modern donor. Especially with regard to its foreign aid policy, China has now proactively engaged with various Pacific Island countries. Foreign aid is the most important tool of foreign policy under the rubric of Chinese soft power diplomacy. Chinese foreign aid policy has been evolving since its inception in 1949, and it is of late becoming increasingly diversified in terms of its amount, effects and institutional structures. Therefore it is important as well as timely to unravel the
underlining motives, principles and theoretical basis of China’s foreign aid. The Indo-Pacific region becomes a theatre of power competition in the 21st century, of which Pacific Island countries are a major part. China is the third largest foreign aid donor to Pacific Island countries which has contributed to the increased Chinese sphere of influence over there. Therefore it is important to analyze the growing Chinese influence in Pacific Island countries. This paper tries to analyze China’s foreign aid policy through the realist perspective and seeks to answer – Why and How China provides foreign aid to Pacific Island countries? How much significance China’s foreign aid has for Pacific Island countries compared with traditional donors? And by providing foreign aid how China can maintain its influence and fulfil strategic national interests?

Khanindra Ch. Das, Assistant Professor (Economics), Birla Institute of Management Technology, Greater Noida.

**Growth of Cereals Trade between India and China: What it means for Food Security?**

Food security is of utmost concern in food-deficient economies since any disruption in supply can cause scarcity and higher prices. China being the most populous country on earth meets food shortage through imports of cereals and other food products from several countries. On the other hand, India enjoys a surplus in several food commodities, which are exported to other nations and some of it is provided as foreign assistance to countries in need. However, trade in food products between India and China has been limited due to market access issues. Indian traders are confronted with several challenges in exporting to China. However, the situation has started changing since the COVID-19 pandemic induced disruptions. China started importing ever more quantities of food items from India by relaxing some of the market access barriers. As a result, India became the 9th largest exporter of cereals to China in 2021 from a negligible player a few years back. This calls for a closer look at the trade in food products between the two countries.

In this paper, China’s growing food imports from India and its drivers are examined. The growing importance of India in China’s food basket can be seen as a balancing act and a strategic response to India’s self-reliance mission which discourages unwanted imports from China. India also resorted to several restrictive measures against Chinese goods and money in response to geopolitical developments. China’s renewed openness for food imports from India could be viewed as a balancing act to avoid further backlash from India.

From the Indian point of view, China turned into the 9th largest export destination for cereals from being a negligible partner in cereals trade. India’s food exports to China and other nations are also analyzed and the ways to sustain food exports, particularly to China are discussed. Constant market share analysis of export growth is applied to distinguish the competitiveness effect, market distribution effect, and commodity composition effect. While food remains a vital commodity in an era of disruption in the supply chain, establishing a reliable supply chain and production system will be required to ensure food and income security for the consumers and producers of China and India respectively.
Ah Q, Ah Qism in China’s IR Discourse: Focus on India

The phrase Ah Qism is born out of the character Ah Q in the novella The True Story of Ah Q (阿Q正傳; Āh Q zhèng zhuàn) (1921), written by Lu Xun (魯迅) (1881-1936). Both the character Ah Q and the notional concept of Ah Q-ism are widely used in the International Relations (IR) discourse in contemporary China. The use of literary phrases or idioms is neither new nor unusual in China’s socio-political writings. In recent times, idioms such as 割舟求剑 Kèzhōuqiújiàn or “silly solutions”东郭先生 Dōngguō xiānshēng or “Mr. Wolf” have been used to describe the US “anti-China” policies under Trump and Biden administrations respectively.

The term Ah Q-ism originates from the concept of “spiritual victory” and is a typical trait in the character of Ah Q, which caricatures Ah Q’s successive defeats in everyday life and finally portrays the character as a perpetual “loser.” But the protagonist in the novella sees in every defeat his “moral” victory. Hence, the phrase eventually came to be applied in contemporary Chinese literary discourse as “moral or spiritual victory.” While Lu Xun created the Ah Q character as a symbol of how an ordinary person becomes a victim of the Chinese traditional feudal values and rigid hierarchical social structure, who in turn laughs back at the society by way of “celebrating” his so-called failures as “victories.” Over the decades and following a fundamental turnaround in the living standards since the founding of New China in 1949, and more particularly since the economic transformation due to the success of reform policies first implemented in 1979, the “victories” of Ah Q are satirically viewed as negative characteristics of someone who is considered as “successive failure.” More recently, China’s foreign policy analysts and commentators have been employing the term “spiritual or moral victory” in the context of frequent border standoffs between China and India. Many Chinese commentators perceive these frequent border frictions as deliberately provoked by India. The reason for the Indian belligerence at the India-China border, according to the Chinese IR experts, is India’s Ah Q-like seeking “moral victory.

How and why has this discourse maintained relevance throughout the twentieth century and thereafter? What excursive role is being performed by Ah Q? How does the character Ah Q play a role in intellectual, literary, national and international discourse both during Lu Xun’s times and thereafter? This paper is an exploration of the questions through the Ah Q as a protagonist and its relevance in China and India then and now.

Rocking the Cradle, Ruling the World: Crafting the Ideal Citizen through Children's Songs in the People's Republic of China
The ability of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to not just withstand all emerging challenges and avert legitimacy crises time and again but to also craft China’s place on the international scale as a superpower parallel to the United States, has baffled China watchers across the globe. This paper argues that ensconced at the centre of this success story are constant attempts by the Party to manufacture consent so as to reproduce popular legitimacy in which the Party’s State-controlled primary education system plays a major role. Following the USSR, the CCP recognised the need to imbue a primary school curriculum with the ideals it held dear in order to raise generations of ‘ideal citizens’ with unquestionable loyalty to the Party.

This paper is an attempt to prise out the changing definitions of the ‘ideal citizen’ over a period of 72 years of the CCP’s rule through a study of children’s songs taught in primary school, for music has not just been an integral part of the school curriculum from Mao’s regime to Xi’s, but also possesses a unique psychological quality of enticing emotions and building group solidarities. The themes in these songs have been identified and juxtaposed with socioeconomic changes witnessed both within China and internationally to understand the Party’s changing aspirations, threat perceptions and solutions to address them. The title ‘Rocking the Cradle, Ruling the World’ highlights how the CCP uses primary education to build citizen loyalty and ensure domestic social stability, which this paper argues, is a major reason behind China’s rise. While academic research has focused on shifts in children’s songs in primary education, the link between these songs and the changing notions of an ‘ideal citizen’ remain neglected. This paper is a humble attempt to bridge this gap.

Prahлад Kumar Singh, Doctoral Candidate, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Military-Civil Fusion in China: A Case Study under Xi Jinping’s Era

The civil-military relationship aims to understand the dynamics of the relationship between the civilian government and the military in any society. It also assumes that civilian and military constitute two separate domains and the normative idea of civilian control over the military. For the democratic system, the civil-military relationship is dominated by the concept of ‘objective control’ and separation between civilian and military domains. The state aims to keep the military away from participating in political affairs. In China, the military plays a dominant role in political affairs. The military’s historical role in the revolutionary transformation and the notion of party army provided a significant role for the military in society and politics in the post-revolutionary period. The theoretical discussion on the civil-military relationship in China identifies some of the major trends and debates associated with the military’s role. The debate on professionalisation and political work focuses on the issue of reconciliation and contestation between the political part and the professional ethic of the Chinese military. There is also debate on the impact of modernisation on the military’s political role. The leadership changes also affect the civil-military relationship. In the case of strong leadership, institutional separation blurs, and the military has a less autonomous sphere to work.

Historically leadership played a crucial role in setting policy priorities in China due to the centralised political structure. To achieve the twin goal of economic development and military modernisation state shares civilian and military technology to overcome resource constraints. The study aims to understand the impacts of
military-civil fusion on civil-military relationships by exploring how the idea of integration and fusion shapes or reshapes the foundational notion that defines civil-military relationships in China

Under the leadership of Xi Jinping, MCF has become a crucial aspect of military modernisation and overcoming resource constraints for developmental needs. This paper will first introduce ideas and different theoretical assumptions about Military-Civil Fusion. Then it will discuss the historical evolution of Military-Civil Fusion in China and the role of leadership in shaping that. Then the paper will discuss the role of Xi Jinping in promoting Military-Civil Fusion. It will also discuss some of the major foreign policy concerns for Countries cooperating with China. In conclusion, the paper will investigate challenges, implications, and concerns related to China’s Military-Civil Fusion program.

VALEDICTORY SESSION

Nirupama Rao, former Foreign Secretary, Government of India and former Ambassador of India to China.

Lessons from the last 75 years: India and China

India-India relations display many layers of complexity in modern and contemporary times, a complexity much of which is rooted in history. From conflicting claims of sovereignty along the borders they share to a clash of maritime ambitions in the Indian Ocean region and the larger Indo-Pacific, the China challenge is something India has to deal with on both its land and sea borders. In this context, the valedictory address will discuss the various theatres of contestation between India and China in the region and beyond. These also include China’s leader-level, expanding 'monetary' and 'military' influence within South Asian countries like Sri Lanka, Nepal and Maldives. In particular, the 'Pakistan factor' will be taken into account, because of the highly contentious relationship that the country shares with India and the "all-weather" one it shares with China. Today, India and China have come a long way since the days of 'Peaceful Coexistence' of the Nehru-Zhou Enlai era. Their relationship despite efforts to build and institutionalise CBMs in the border areas is becoming more fractious. This has been starkly illustrated by the 2020 Galwan Valley clash. As democratic India’s internal priorities are solidly focused on economic development and growth by eliminating poverty and building a resilient manufacturing base, China’s domestic and external policies are increasingly being guided by authoritarianism, ‘wolf-warrior’ diplomacy and over-militarization. Given the ground realities, the address will also chart a trajectory for India’s regional partnerships with democracies and other like-minded countries in the context that the near future may potentially witness a clash of ambitions between India and China in Asia in general, and specifically in the Indo-Pacific.
Alka Acharyya is Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies and Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies (Chinese Studies) School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). 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 a 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 current research focuses on India-China-Russia Trilateral Cooperation and the Chinese strategic response to the post-cold war regional architecture, with special reference to China’s neighborhood. She has been teaching courses on Chinese Foreign Policy and Political Economy to Masters and M.Phil students and guiding doctoral research since 1993. Twelve scholars have so far been awarded a doctoral degree under her supervision. She is the joint editor of the book Crossing A Bridge of Dreams: 50 years of India-China, published in 2002, has contributed chapters to many books and regularly features in the Economic and Political Weekly.

Adrian Haack is the director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) in New Delhi. Haack represents the foundation in India. In Germany’s Army, Dr. Haack served in a battle tank unit in the First Division. Years later he took the oath of duty as an officer in the Navy reserve forces. In the CDU, Dr. Haack was involved as of the age of seventeen. In CDU’s youth branch and the party itself he held numerous positions: He was the youngest member of the CDU executive board at the state level and election candidate in 2021. Since 2015 he worked for the parliamentary group in the field of free trade and security policy. Most recently, he headed the CDU General Secretary's Bundestag staff for three years. Dr. Haack studied political science in Hanover and Warsaw and received his doctorate from University of Göttingen. He was supported by a scholarship and published a book on the European Union.

T. G. Sitharam has taken over as the Director, Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati, Assam on July 01, 2019, and also holds the additional position of Chairman, BOG of IITG. He was a Senior Professor, Department of Civil Engineering, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, India (he is on deputation from IISc from July 01, 2019). He was formerly a Chair professor in the area of Energy and Mechanical Sciences at Indian Institute of Science (IISc), a premier research and education institute in India. He was the former founder and Chairman of a Centre for Infrastructure, Sustainable Transport and Urban Planning (CiSTUP) at IISc, Bengaluru. Presently, he is the
Honorary Professorial Fellow at the University of Wollongong, Wollongong, Australia from 2019 to 2022 and a Distinguished Professor at Hankou University International Innovation Centre, China. Presently, He is the Chairman of the Research Council, CSIR-Central Building Research Institute (CBRI), Roorkee. He is the Chairman, of the Executive Council of Visvesvaraya Industrial & Technological Museum Bangalore India. He is Governing Council member of the National Council for Science Museums (NCSM), Govt of India and EC member of AICTE, Govt of India, New Delhi. He is the founder President of International Association for Coastal Reservoir Research (IACRR), registered in NSW, Australia. He is the President, Indian Society for Earthquake Technology (ISET), Roorkee. He is presently the Chairman, of AICTE South western zonal committee, Regional office at Bengaluru. Formerly, he was a visiting professor at Dalhousie University, Canada; Yamaguchi University, Japan; Indian School of Mines (IIT-ISM), Dhanbad; and William Mong fellow at the University of Hongkong, Hongkong. He was the vice president of Indian Society for Earthquake Technology (ISET) and Vice President of the Indian Society of Earthquake Science (ISES). He obtained Ph.D. in Civil Engineering from University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada (1991). Further, he served as a Research Scientist (for his post-doctoral work) at the centre for earth sciences and engineering in the Department of Petroleum Engineering, the University of Texas at Austin, Texas, USA till 1994. He is the Chief Editor of the international journal of Geotechnical Earthquake Engineering, (IJGEE), PA, USA. He is the Editor-in-chief, of Springer Transactions in Civil and Environmental Engg series, Book Series, Singapore. He is also a fellow of many societies and is actively engaged in socially relevant projects.

Sabaree Mitra has been teaching Chinese Language, Literature and Culture at Jawaharlal Nehru University, since 1990. Her basic training has been in Chinese Language and Literature and her research interest include contemporary Chinese literature, criticism and cultural history. Prof. Sabaree Mitra has presented papers at National and International Conferences and has published research articles in many peer-reviewed academic journals of international repute. Her books include Purbadiganter Kabita: Samakaleen tin china kabir ek jhalak (2002), a collection of contemporary Chinese poetry translated into Bengali, Literature and Politics in 20th century China: Issues and Themes (2005), and, Chinese Women Writers and Gender Discourse (1976-1996) (2008). In the last few years, her interdisciplinary work has explored themes such as: “Body as a Site of Struggle and Resistance in the Asian Women’s Writings: A Study of Chinese and Bengali Fiction since the 1970s”, “Making of a ‘People’s Culture’: Discourse & Praxis in China”, “The Chinese Experience of Theorizing Women through Intercultural Dialogue: Contribution of Li Xiaojiang”, “Tagore and Bengal's Social Modernity: Bringing Women to the Cultural Mainstream”, and “Tagore’s Path for Women’s Emancipation: A Comparative Perspective with the Chinese Experience”. Prof. Mitra is an Honorary Fellow in the Institute of Chinese Studies and a member of the Editorial Board of China Report. She was the Chairperson of the Indian Expert Group, which compiled the Encyclopedia of India-China Cultural Contacts on behalf of the Ministry of External Affairs, GOI, in collaboration with Chinese scholars. She is also a Member of the Joint Study Group of the BCIM Economic Corridor instituted by the Ministry.
Sukanya Sharma teaches Archaeology in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences of IIT Guwahati. She has written three books. They are Celts, Flakes and Bifaces: The Garo Hills Story and Source Book of Archaeology of the Himalayan region: Arunachal Pradesh, The Kamakhya Temple and Its Art & Architecture by Priyanka Tamta and Sukanya Sharma. She has done extensive research on the Archaeology of North East India and has published articles in many national and international journals of repute.

Prasenjit Duara is the Oscar Tang Chair of East Asian Studies at Duke University. He was born and educated in India and received his PhD in Chinese history from Harvard University. He was previously Professor and Chair of the Dept of History and Chair of the Committee on Chinese Studies at the University of Chicago (1991-2008). Subsequently, he became Raffles Professor of Humanities and Director, Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore (2008-2015). In 1988, he published Culture, Power and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942 (Stanford Univ Press) which won the Fairbank Prize of the AHA and the Levenson Prize of the AAS, USA. Among his other books are Rescuing History from the Nation (U Chicago 1995), Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern (Rowman 2003) and most recently, The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and a Sustainable Future (Cambridge 2014). He has edited Decolonization: Now and Then (Routledge, 2004) and co-edited A Companion to Global Historical Thought with Viren Murthy and Andrew Sartori (John Wiley, 2014). His work has been widely translated into Chinese, Japanese, Korean and European languages.

Pahi Saikia is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati. She did her MA and MPhil from CPS, JNU, New Delhi. She completed her PhD in Political Science from McGill University, Canada. She is a recipient of the Canadian Commonwealth Fellowship. Her major areas of specialization are Comparative Politics and International Relations. Prior to joining IIT Guwahati, she was a Sessional Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, at the University of Victoria, BC, Canada. She was also associated with the Center for Asia and Pacific Studies, University of Victoria, Canada. She was a Visiting Academic at Murdoch University, Perth, Australia. In 2018, she was awarded the Indo-Shastri Mobility grant to conduct research at Carleton University, Canada. Her research interests include: International Relations; Foreign Policy between India and neighbouring countries; Ethnic identity politics, tribes and indigenous people in Northeast India; Governance & political development in developing areas; Security issues in borderlands Asia; Social movements and conflict prevention.
Manoranjan Mohanty was a Professor of Political Science and Director of, 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 interest 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 is based on a thirty-year study of China’s reforms with a focus on Wuxi is China’s Transformation: The Success Story and the Success Trap (Sage: 2018), Hindi edition Cheen ka Kayapalat (Sage Bhasha, 2020). He has been a part of several national and international research projects and academic initiatives leading to research papers and edited or coauthored volumes such as Chinese Revolution: Comparative Perspectives (1993); People’s Rights: Social Movements and the State in the Third World (1998); Class, Caste and Gender (2004); Grass-roots Democracy in India and China (2007); Weapon of the Oppressed: An Inventory of People’s Rights in India (2009); India: Social Development Report 2010 (2010); A Fistful of Dry Rice: Land, Equity and Democracy: Essays in Honour of D Bandyopadhyay (2012); Building a Just World: Essays in Honour of Muchkund Dubey (2015); Exploring Emerging Global Thresholds: Towards 2030 (2017); China at a Turning Point: Perspectives after the Nineteenth Party Congress (2019); and Migration, Workers and Fundamental Freedoms: Pandemic Vulnerabilities and States of Exception in India (2021). He has contributed to many Handbooks and Encyclopaedias the latest being the essay, Inequality: Perspective from the Global South in Oxford Handbook of Global Studies (2020). He has published books and articles in Odia as well. He has been an active member of the People’s Union for Democratic Rights, Delhi since its inception and also of Pakistan-India People’s Forum for Peace and Democracy. He is part of the Bandung Spirit Network and a founding member of the Global University of Sustainability.

G. Venkat Raman is currently a Professor at the Humanities and Social Sciences Area, Indian Institute of Management, Indore. After securing his doctoral degree from the School of Government, Peking University, Beijing, Venkat returned to India to begin his academic career. He started his teaching career with the Indian Institute of Management, Kozhikode. For over seven years, he has been affiliated with IIM Indore. Dr. Venkat offers courses like
Understanding China, Political Risk Management in an Uncertain World, and Business Ethics. His research interests are confined to questions related to China’s internal and external governance and Business Ethics pedagogy. Apart from publishing research articles, he contributes articles to popular media. His latest book (co-edited volume) published by Routledge is titled Locating BRICS in the Global Order: Perspectives from the Global South. He has also published case studies on Indian businesses in China in prestigious case centers like the Indian School of Business Case Centre, Hyderabad, and China Europe International Business School Case Centre. Dr. Venkat’s latest research interests examine the growing Sino-US tech rivalry and its implications on global governance.

**Usha Chandran** is Assistant Professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University and Adjunct Fellow, at the Institute of Chinese Studies. She holds a Ph.D in Chinese on Gender issues in China from JNU. Her major research interests include gender issues in China and comparison with India, interface between gender and language, women's subjectivity in literature, and exploring Sociological methodologies to study Chinese society. Major publications include; Changing Image of Women in India and China - Drawing a few Parallels and Differences, 2013, Whatever Happened to Lu Xun’s Nora, 2016, A Women’s World, 2010, Women's Share in the Sky at the 19th Party Congress, 2019, and Gendered Governance: Is China Taking a U-Turn to Solve the Problem Left-Over by Women’s Liberation Movement; The Left-Over Women?, 2022. She is currently working on her book, Gender Discrimination at Work in Urban China: The Paradox of Equality and Difference in Women’s Liberation Movement, accepted for publication by Routledge.

**Raj Gupta** is a Ph.D Candidate from CCSEAS, JNU, New Delhi. He has completed B.A and M.A in Chinese from JNU and studied advanced Chinese at BLCU, Beijing in 2019-2020 upon the nomination by the MHRD. He 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 Galwan incident in VIF, ICS and C3S.

**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 regarding 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.

**Aravind Yelery** is Senior Research Fellow (Associate Professor Grade) at the Peking University, Beijing/Shenzhen. He is involved in teaching and curating courses for PKU and select universities globally and at a few Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) in India. In 2019, he won the Best Courseware Project Funds Award at Peking University. Yelery is also a visiting faculty at the Fudan School of Management, Shanghai. Before joining PKU, he was an Associate Fellow and Assistant Director at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India. Yelery holds a PhD in Chinese Studies with a particular interest in Political Economy. He has co-edited a book titled *Tailspin: The Politics of India-China Economic Relations* (London: Routledge, 2021) and recently authored a book titled *China Inc.: Between State Capitalism and Economic Statecraft* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2021).

**THEMATIC PANEL I: Northeast India & Trans-Himalayan Connections: Culture & Trade**

**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.

**Mayongam Muinao** is a Ph.D Research Scholar at the North Eastern Hill University, Shillong. He holds a Bachelor’s degree in Political Science from St. Edmunds College, Shillong, and a Master’s degree in Political Science, from North Eastern Hill University, Shillong. His Ph.D
research looks at China’s Engagement in South Asia and India’s Response. His research interests include India's foreign policy, China’s foreign policy and the changing dynamics of the great power geopolitical rivalry. He also looks into the geopolitical and economic significance of North East India in India’s foreign policy.

**Mathew Thongminlal** is a doctoral candidate at the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. He holds a Master’s degree from the Department of East Asian Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, the University of Delhi with a specialization in Chinese studies. His research interests include China’s ethnic minority policy, Yunnan ethnic minorities’ relations and trans-border socio-cultural ties and Yunnan’s strategic location with South and Southeast Asia.

**Jigme Yeshe Lama** is currently an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Calcutta. He completed his Ph.D from the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. His research interests lie in Sino-Tibet ties, religion and politics in the Himalayas and Tibetan democracy in exile. He has presented papers in international and national seminars/conferences and published several chapters in edited volumes. In 2016, he edited a volume *Changes on the Roof of the World – Reflections on Tibet* published by Pentagon Press, New Delhi.

**Samir Kumar Das** is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Calcutta, India. Previously Vice-Chancellor of the University of North Bengal, Dean of Arts, University of Calcutta and a Post doctoral Fellow of the Social Science Research Council (South Asia Program), he served as Adjunct Professor of Government at Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Visiting Professor of the North East India Studies Programme at Jawaharlal Nehru University and as Professeur Invite at the Universite Sorbonne Paris Nord among many of his recent assignments. He specializes in and writes on issues of ethnicity, identity, security, migration, rights and justice. His latest publications include *The Making of Goddess Durga in Bengal: Art, Heritage and the Public* (co-edited) from SpringerNature in 2021 and *Migrations, Identities and Democratic Practices in India* (authored) from Routledge in 2018.
Kamal Sheel did his Ph.D in Chinese history and studies at the University of Wisconsin – Madison, USA and learned the Chinese language at the National Taiwan University and Fu-Jen Catholic University, Taipei, Taiwan. He has taught at Panjab University, Chandigarh and Banaras Hindu University. He has also been a Fellow and Visiting Faculty in the USA (Yale and Wisconsin), Taiwan (Academia Sinica), Denmark (Copenhagen), China (Peking and Nanjing) and Singapore (National University), India (IIT- BHU, Somaiyya and Sikkim). His area of interest is Social and Intellectual History of Modern China and India-China Interactions. His major publications are Peasant Society and Marxist Intellectual of China (Princeton 1989 & 2015), and Thirteen Months in China (Oxford 2017) jointly with Anand Yang and Ranjana Sheel. His forthcoming work is an annotated translation of Kang Youwei’s travelogue to India. He is currently an Honorary Fellow of the Institute of Chinese Studies.

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 entitled China and the Making of Bombay (with Shalini Saksena, 2009). She edited the volume India and China in the Colonial World (2005, 2010). She recently coordinated a project to catalogue materials related to modern China in the National Archives of India and is working on a history of relations between India and China during World War II based on archival materials.

Mahendra P. Lama is a Professor, at the Centre for South Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University and an Adjunct Fellow with the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), Delhi. He is a development economist and has been a senior Professor in the School of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He is presently Chief Economic Adviser in the rank of Cabinet Minister in the Government of Sikkim. He was the Founding Vice Chancellor of the Central University of Sikkim and became the youngest VC of a national University in India. He served as a Member of, the National Security Advisory Board, Government of India; Chief Economic Adviser in the Government of Sikkim with a Cabinet Minister Rank (2002-2007) and the Pro-Vice Chancellor of Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi. He is presently the Government of India's
nominee in the Eminent Persons Group set up by the Prime Ministers of India and Nepal. He was bestowed full professorship by JNU at a relatively young age of 38.

Swati Chawla is an associate professor of history at the School of Liberal Arts and Humanities, O.P. Jindal Global University. She received her Ph.D in history from the University of Virginia. Her doctoral research focused on the protracted processes of nation-building and citizenship-making in the eastern Himalaya at the cusp of India’s transition from colonial rule. She teaches courses on the Himalaya, migration, citizenship, and advanced research methods.

Aniket Alam teaches history at the International Institute of Information Technology, Hyderabad. He is a historian of the Himalayas with interests also in the study of the colonial state and contemporary politics in South Asia. His book *Becoming India* (2008) argued for a regionally specific history of colonialism in the Western Himalayas, whose geographical, social, and political-economic contexts could not be subsumed under the broad category of India. His current research looks at family forms, trade, religious institutions, agricultural transformations, political movements and border-making to build the case for the Himalayas and highland Asia have historically been a distinct, and singular, social formation. At present, he is finishing a book exploring the nature of transformations in the trans-Himalayan region of Spiti.

Sanjukta Datta is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History, at Ashoka University. A scholar of ancient and early medieval Indian history, she works on inscriptions from eastern India. Her research interests include kingship, patronage, trans-regional Buddhist networks and documentary cultures. At Ashoka she has taught courses on ancient Indian history; histories of Buddhism, Hinduism, and world religions; documentary cultures of premodern India; and archaeology.

Sayantani Mukherjee is a historian of modern China and the trans-Himalayan Tibetan border worlds of the nineteenth and twentieth-century Asia. She is an Assistant Professor at Ashoka University in the Department of History and the Ashoka Centre for China Studies and received her Ph.D in History from Columbia University. Her doctoral research focused on imperial cartographical and surveying practices in the trans-Himalayan and Tibetan borderlands of British India and Qing China. At Ashoka, she teaches classes on the history of statecraft, imperial and transnational history, and borderlands histories.

Swarajyoti Gohain is an Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Ashoka University. She has a Ph.D in Anthropology from Emory University, U.S.A., and Bachelors,
Masters, and M.Phil. degrees in Sociology from Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University. Her monograph *Imagined Geographies in the Indo-Tibetan Borderlands* is a study of cultural politics and transborder spatial imaginations among the Tibetan Buddhist Monpa communities in Arunachal Pradesh. Her research interests include the anthropology of state and borders, culture and politics, development and infrastructure, and Tibetan Buddhist communities in the Indian Himalayan region. She has fieldwork experience in Northeast India and the Himalayas. Her current project is a study of contemporary Tibetan Buddhist educational and monastic institutions and networks in India. She has a second research project which broadly probes the relation between culture, politics, and ecology in the Himalayas.

**THEMATICAL PANEL II: Northeast India & China: Cultural & Educational Interfaces**

**Avijit Banerjee** is a Professor in Chinese & Head of the Department of Chinese Language & Culture (Cheena Bhavana) Visva-Bharati University. Dr Banerjee has done his Graduation, Masters and Ph.D in Chinese language and Literature from Visva-Bharati. He studied in China at Beijing Language University from Sept 1996 to July 1997 under the India-China Bilateral Cultural Exchange Programme. Dr Banerjee has authored many articles and chapters in several volumes and co-edited two books “India in the eyes of the Chinese Youth in April 2016 and “China Through the eyes of Indian Youths” in 2017. Dr Banerjee’s research interests include Chinese language and India-China cultural studies. Dr Banerjee also attended and presented papers at many national and international conferences in India, Thailand and various cities in China and also took part in many online conferences in 2020 and 2021 and 2022. In recent years some of the articles that Dr Banerjee has authored are ‘A Review of the Scholarly Activities of Christian Missionaries and Indian Buddhist Monks in China with Special Emphasis on Ancient Chinese Documents: The primary sources of China Studies in India’, ‘Confucius Institutes and Chinese Soft Power in Southeast Asia’, ‘The Role of Manuscript in the Development of Chinese Writing System’, ‘Loan Words in Chinese and English Language’, ‘The Power of Cultural Exchange’, ‘Introduction of Ancient Indian Buddhism to China And the India-China Cultural Exchanges’, ‘Chinese Teaching and Learning in India During the Covid-19 Pandemic: An Introduction and A Reflection’ etc.

**Daveirou Lanamai** is an Assistant Professor (Chinese) in the Department of Foreign Languages, at Tezpur University, Assam. She earned her master’s degree from the Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. A recipient of the Ministry of Human Resource and Development, Government of India Scholarship 2013-14, she undertook advanced studies in the Chinese Language from Beijing Language and Culture University, Beijing. Currently, she is also pursuing PhD from the Department of Cultural Studies, at Tezpur University, Assam. Her areas of research include onomastics studies dealing with toponyms and anthroponyms of various nationalities. She also focuses on intercultural studies of minority nationalities in India and China.
Ningshen Zingjarwon holds a bachelor's degree from Miranda College, and an intensive diploma degree in the Chinese language from the Department of East Asian Studies, Delhi University. She holds a Master's and M.Phil degree from CCSEAS, JNU. She has worked as an Assistant professor of Chinese Language at Tezpur University and as a guest faculty of Chinese language in the Department of East Asian Studies, at Delhi University. Her research looks at the shared understanding and the connections that exist between North East India and China. Her research interest includes comparative studies on Popular Folk Deities of Meiteis and Chinese; Folk Tales of Meiteis and some ethnic minorities of China; and Folk Tales of the Naga tribes of North-East India and some of the ethnic minorities of Yunnan, China.

Shyamkumar Ningthojam is currently teaching as a guest faculty (Chinese language) at the Department of Foreign Languages, Manipur University, Imphal. He holds a Bachelor's and a Master's degree in the Chinese language from the Center for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. He is also a recipient of the Chinese Government Scholarship (2014-15), jointly funded by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), the Government of India and China Scholarship Council (CSC), and the Government of P.R. of China. He is also a Ph.D candidate at the Department of Linguistics at Manipur University. His research looks at the issues pertaining to the learning of Chinese as a Foreign language (CFL) by the speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages with a focus on Meiteilon. His areas of interest include India-China cultural relations, Chinese history and culture and second language education.

Mayanglambam Sadananda Singh (MA, Ph.D), is a young Indian folklorist from Imphal, Manipur. He is currently working as Assistant Professor in the Manipuri Department at DM College of Arts, Dhanamanjuri University, Imphal where he teaches Manipuri Folklore and Culture. His doctoral thesis was dedicated to the performance of Indian Epics prevalent among the Meiteis of Manipur but the scope of his interest is much broader. He studies academic literature in the theory of folklore and performance studies with a particular emphasis on oral literature and vernacular religious practices. While working on his Ph.D, as a Visiting Ph.D Student, he studied folkloristics at the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore, University of Tartu, Estonia from October 15, 2010, to August 15, 2011, on European Union’s “Doctoral Studies and Internationalization Programme DoRa-5” Fellowship. In 2014 also as the third recipient of the Albert B. Lord Fellowship, he worked as visiting fellow at the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, University of Missouri, USA for three months. He participated as an invited speaker in the “International Academic Forum of Kunlun Culture and Intangible Cultural Heritage” held from 15 to 22 August 2016 at Golmud, Qinghai, China. He has travelled, lectured and presented papers in the USA, China, Estonia and Lithuania. Dr Sadananda writes in Manipuri and English. He has two books to his credit and several papers. His research interests are wisely balanced between empirical materials and theoretical reflections.
THEMATIC PANEL III: China, India & Southeast Asia: Policies & Perspectives

Ashok K. Kantha was the Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. 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 specialized 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.

Dickey Lama is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Women’s College, affiliated with Calcutta University. She is currently pursuing her Ph.D from the department of Political Science at the University of Hyderabad. Her research investigates Chinese engagement in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR), particularly Myanmar. Her research interests include security and strategic engagements in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) and Indo-Pacific. The historical connections in the IOR and International Relations Theory (IRT) are her other research interests.

Shruti Dey is a research scholar and currently pursuing her PhD from the Department of Politics and International relations, at Pondicherry University. Her area of interest is primarily India’s foreign policy towards Southeast Asia, Maritime Security and minilateral institution like Quadrilateral Security Dialogue. She has actively participated in and presented several papers at various National and International Conferences. She could be reached at email id – shruti94ontheego@gmail.com.

Swagata Saha is a doctoral candidate at the Symbiosis School of International Studies. She has been offered a Junior Research Fellowship at the university. She has also been a Junior fellow at the Observer Research Foundation and a Research Assistant at a UPE project at the University of Calcutta besides being a researcher with WikiStrat. Her research interests include India’s neighborhood and foreign policy, particularly with regard to China and South Asia, non-traditional security, political economy, sub-regional politics, identity politics, and governance issues. She has contributed book chapters, in journals like India Quarterly, South Asian Survey, JAIR Journal of
International Relations, The Telegraph, Asia Times, East Asia Forum, Eurasian Review, and South Asia Monitor apart from Observer Research Foundation on various issues related to foreign policy and India-China relations. She has also participated in workshops like the Global Initiative of Academic Networks (GIAN) course on China Wired: Culture and Politics of New Media in China, 2017 at China Studies Department, IIT Madras, Centre for Policy Research (Delhi) Strategic Studies workshop 2014 and has been part of Embassy of China- Indian Think Tank Delegation, 2017

Sukalpa Chakrabarti is presently Associate Professor (IR & Public Policy) & Deputy Director at the Symbiosis School of International Studies, Symbiosis International (Deemed University), Pune. She has been teaching across specializations in international relations, politics, international business & economy at UG to PG levels for over sixteen years now. Her areas of interest are International Relations, Politics & Public Policy. Her doctoral research at the University of Pune involved a study on the “WTO and its dispute settlement mechanism- the political response of India with regard to IPR & Agriculture.” From an area studies perspective, Asian regionalism, diplomacy and the role of India have been her major focus. Dr. Chakrabarti has been a regular columnist for The Diplomatist and East Asia Forum besides contributing to journals like South Asian Survey, The Asian Journal, Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, Business Economics, etc. She has contributed books and edited volumes and chapters in her area of interest. Dr. Chakrabarti is a member and Pune Chapter head of the Jadavpur Association of International Relations and also a member, of the Hyderabad Institute of Social Sciences. She is on the Board of Editors, JAIR Journal of International Relations which is published in collaboration with the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi. She is also on the Research Advisory Board at the Centre for New Economic Studies (CNES), Jindal Global University. Dr. Chakrabarti has also been on board as a reviewer for SAGE and OXFORD Publications. She also has SCOPUS-indexed international publications.

Manorama Sharma is a former Professor and Head of the Department of History of North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong. She has taught in the history departments of Dibrugarh University and Gauhati University in various capacities. Prof. Sharma’s main areas of interest in teaching and research have been the study of the society and polity of Northeast India with a special focus on Social change in Assam, tribal traditions and democratic governance, and Gender relations. Professor Sharma has been a scholar with international reputation with publications ranging from books and monographs to edited works and publications in journals and books. Some of her latest publications are “Intellectual History: Women in Colonial Assam” in Suparna Gooptu (ed), Writing Women in History: Glimpses from India’s Colonial Past, K.P. Bagchi & Company, Kolkata, 2019 and “Keeping Up with the Times: Rethinking Development through a Gendered Lens in Assam,” in Uddipana Goswami & Abantee Dutta(eds), Making Peace Mutually: Perspectives from Assam, Bhabani Books, Guwahati, 2021. She has also lectured in Universities in India and abroad on areas like historiography, matrilineal societies and tribal societies. She has jointly worked on a research project “Tribal Traditions and Democratic Governance in North East India” with the London School of Economics and Politics, London and was a part of the crisis states programme of the London School of Political Science and Economics.
Rashmi Doraiswamy is a Professor at the MMAJ Academy of International Studies. She studied Russian language and literature at Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her doctoral dissertation was on Mikhail Bakhtin, the Russian cultural philosopher. Her areas of specialization are Central Asia, Eurasia, Soviet Union, Russia, literature, cinema and Culture Studies. She has presented papers at conferences and published widely in India and abroad. She has edited several books on Eurasia and on cinema and is the author of two books, one on the Indian filmmaker, Guru Dutt, and the other on the Kyrgyz writer, Chingiz Aitmatov. She was a recipient of the National Award for Best Film Critic in 1994.

Lu Xiaoning is Reader in Modern Chinese Culture and Language at SOAS, University of London, where she teaches Chinese-language cinema and culture. Her research has been preoccupied with understanding the complex relationship between cultural production and state governance in modern China. She is the author of Moulding the Socialist Subject: Cinema and Chinese Modernity 1949-1966 (Brill, 2020) and co-editor of The Oxford Handbook of Communist Visual Cultures (OUP, 2020). Her writings on various aspects of Chinese socialist cinema and culture have appeared in journals and edited collections, including Journal of Chinese Cinemas, Studies in Eastern European Cinema, Journal of Contemporary China, Chinese Film Stars (Routledge, 2010), Surveillance in Asian Cinema: Under Eastern Eyes (Routledge, 2019) and Maoist Laughter (Hong Kong University Press, Choice’s Outstanding Academic Title 2020).

Nimmi Kurian is a Professor at the Centre for Policy Research. Her research focuses in particular on the border regions between South Asia and Southeast Asia, India’s neighbourhood policy, federalism and foreign policy, transboundary water politics and comparative regionalism. Nimmi serves on the External Advisory Board of the India China Institute, The New School, New York and on the Fellowship Committee of the China Studies Postdoctoral Fellowship Program, Centre for China Studies, Ashoka University. She has held Fellowships from the India China Institute, The New School, New York and the Charles Wallace India Trust. She holds an MA, MPhil and PhD in International Relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University. Nimmi has written and published widely on alternative spatial imaginations of South Asia, a theme that is explored in detail in her two books India China Borderlands: Conversations Beyond the Centre (Sage, 2014) and India and China: Rethinking Borders and Security (co-author) (University of Michigan Press, 2016). She is one of the authors of the India Country Report.
Studies, Sri Jaago high-level Foundation, Bangladesh. He also serves as a member of various high-level institutions.

Douglas Hill is a senior lecturer in development studies at the Department of Geography at the University of Otago. The majority of his teaching and research is concerned with India. His extensive publications, both individually and with international colleagues, have included work on rural livelihoods and poverty alleviation, environmental management and participatory governance, urban change and the growth of the middle classes, labour in the global system, and the politics of economic reform and federalism in India. His current research focuses on the comparative political economy of transboundary water resource management in the Indus and Ganges-Meghna-Brahmaputra basins at a variety of scales over time. Much of this research is reinforced by substantial and sustained field research in India, particularly in West Bengal. Dr Hill has also conducted fieldwork in Bangladesh, Nepal, and Malaysia. He serves on the executive committee of the South Asian Studies Association of Australia and the steering committee of the New Zealand/Aotearoa International Development Studies Network.

Ruth Gamble is a Lecturer in History at La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia. She is a historian of Tibet and the Himalaya, with a particular interest in this region’s rapidly changing environment. She is currently writing a history of the Yarlung Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) River. She has also published articles on the region’s ecological politics, literature, and histories. She was recently awarded an Australian Research Council DECRA Fellowship.

Shahab Enam Khan is currently serving as Research Director at the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute and as a senior faculty at the Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University, Bangladesh. He is an acclaimed scholar in the fields of Security, Foreign Affairs and National Integrity Institutions. Professor Khan has served as Advisor/Consultant/Board Member of various international organizations, i.e. UNDP Maldives and Bangladesh, UNODC, UN Women, International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), USAID, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK and Regional Center for Strategic Studies, Sri Lanka, and Jaago Foundation, Bangladesh. He also serves as a member of various high-level...
committees formed by the Government of Bangladesh. He led PVE pioneering research for UNDP Maldives, UN Women and the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Professor Khan is regularly cited and interviewed by international and national media. He is a Senior Fellow at the Hainan Institute of World Watch, Hainan, China and a non-resident Visiting Fellow at the Nepal Institute for International Cooperation and Engagement. He has completed his Fellowships at the Universities of Delaware and Birmingham in the US and the UK. He studied at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, the University of Manchester, and the University of Dhaka. He can be reached via shahab.e.khan@gmail.com; or shahab@bei-bd.org.

**Mirza Zulfiqur Rahman** is a Programme Coordinator and Research Associate at the Heinrich Böll Regional Office, New Delhi and is a Visiting Associate Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. He is responsible for the Programme on Democracy and Pluralities and co-manages the Alternative Development Paradigms/Worldviews with a geographical focus on Northeast India. He also co-manages thematic coordination and research with HBS Dialogue Offices in Washington D.C, Brussels and Hong Kong. He holds a Ph.D in Development Studies from the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Guwahati, Assam. He completed his MPhil in Diplomacy in Disarmament and his Masters in International Relations from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; and his Bachelors in Political Science Honours from Hindu College, Delhi University. His areas of interest include research on Northeast India, transboundary water sharing and hydropower dams, roads and connectivity infrastructures, conflict and insurgency, peacebuilding, development politics, migration and cross-border exchanges. His research specialization is on border studies in Northeast India and transboundary water sharing and management issues between China, India and Bangladesh. He is committed to grassroots-based alternative community work and development models. He is an avid photographer and has travelled extensively in parts of Northeast India for research work.

**THEMATIC PANEL IV: China’s External Relations: Trade & Foreign Aid**

**Biswa Ajit Dhar** is a Professor, at the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India. He was also Director General for the Research and Information System for Developing Countries in New Delhi for five years. Prior to this post, he was the Professor and Head of the Centre for WTO Studies at the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, New Delhi. He has been involved in trade policy issues, particularly in the context of the multilateral trading system, both as a researcher and a policy adviser to the Government of India. He has been a member of the Indian delegation to the Ministerial Conferences of the World Trade Organization. He has also served on expert panels set up by the Ministry of Statistics, Department of Chemicals and Fertilizers and Ministry of Environment and Forests. Dr. Dhar has been working extensively with several intergovernmental organizations including UNDP, UNESCAP, FAO, and UNCTAD, taking up
issues related to the functioning of the global trading system. He authored and co-authored numerous texts on various issues related to trade and development.

**Sharmista Hazra** is doing Ph.D in Politics and International Relations from the School of Liberal Studies, Pandit Deendayal Energy University based in Gandhinagar, Gujarat. Prior to joining the new institution, she completed her MPhil and Masters in International Relations from the Central University of Gujarat. Her research interest includes India’s interest in the Indian Ocean and Africa. With a keen interest in Maritime geopolitics, she submitted her MPhil dissertation on the comparison of Chabahar port and Gwadar port and the politics unfolded in the Persian Gulf. Now she is exploring Chinese maritime interest in the African ports and how it could have implications for India’s interests. Furthermore, the International History and Colonial History of South Asia also fascinates her.

**Jasveer Singh** is pursuing Ph.D in Diplomacy and Disarmament at the Centre for International Politics, Organisations and Disarmament at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from Govt. Degree College Nahan, and a Master's degree in Political Science from the Department of Political Science, from Himachal Pradesh University, Summer Hill, Shimla. His research interests include – India’s Foreign Policy and South Asia, India’s Maritime Security and Indo-Pacific strategy, and India’s Foreign Aid Diplomacy. He is looking to understand the changing dynamics of international politics after COVID-19.

Deepak Kumar Bhaskar has done MA, M.Phil and Ph.D from School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi. He has done BA (Hons) Political Science from Satyawati College, DU. He taught as an Assistant Professor on Ad-hoc basis in Daulat Ram College, University of Delhi for more than a decade. At Present, He is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, Nagaland University (A Central University), Lumami. He presented numerous papers in Various National and International Conferences. He has publications and books in his account. His area of research is India, China in Africa, African Democracy, Political Instability in Africa, Military Politics in Africa. He is currently teaching Foreign Policy of India and Major Powers. His interest is in International Relations, Foreign Policy and Political Philosophy.

Panu Pazo is currently Assistant Professor and Head of Department of Political Science at Sikkim Government College, Namchi. He completed his Ph.D in 2014 from the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He was awarded the India - China government fellowship and lived in China for 3 years where he learnt Mandarin and conducted the fieldwork for his Ph.D research as well. He was working as Associate Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi from 2011 to 2014. From 2015 to he has been actively involved in teaching and research. He has published several articles on traditional and non–traditional security issues.

Akhil Ranjan Dutta, Professor and presently Head of the Department of Political Science at Gauhati University, Assam, India is one of those social scientists of India’s Northeast whose research has been motivated by political and cultural aspirations of people at the grassroots. A familiar face in Assam’s intellectual circle, Professor Dutta is known for his endeavours to build an organic link between academia and the larger society, a passion born of his academic trajectory. His political, cultural and ideological orientations have been moulded by his early encounters with the common citizen’s struggles in the rural setting of his childhood in a remote village of Assam’s Lakhimpur district, his subsequent exposure to the diverse, secular and inclusive academic and cultural. atmosphere of Cotton College, Guwahati, and the rich and progressive intellectual setting of the University of Delhi. A bilingual author (in Assamese and English) and a political commentator, Professor Dutta is closely connected with the social and cultural movements in Northeast India, and is a popular columnist in several leading Assamese dailies. He is a regular commentator and contributor on Assam’s politics in leading national and international journals including the Economic & Political Weekly, and serves as Executive Editor of Natun
Padatik, a socio-cultural magazine published from Guwahati. A passionate advocate of interdisciplinary social science scholarship, Professor Dutta presently serves as the honorary Chairperson of Brahmaputra Institute of Research and Development (BIRD), Guwahati, India, and is the President of the Social Science Research Community (SSRC), India-Transcending Boundaries for Sustainable Alternatives. In his two decades of teaching at Gauhati University, he has also served the Gauhati University Teachers’ Association (GUTA) as its General Secretary for three tenures, as its Vice President for two tenures and as its President in the year 2019-20. A Rotary World Peace Fellow (2009) at the Rotary International Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand, Professor Dutta led the Indian Think Tank Delegation to China in June, 2017 on the invitation of the Chinese Embassy in India and the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. Professor Dutta also received visiting fellowships at the Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi in March 2017 and in the Department of Political Science, the University of Delhi in March 2020. Professor Dutta is also the recipient of the Second Bhabananda Dutta Memorial Social Science Research Award 2020. Apart from his research publications in reputed international journals like Social Change, Studies in Indian Politics and Advances in Applied Sociology Professor Dutta has authored and edited several books both in Assamese and English. Some of his significant edited volumes include Human Security in North East India: Issues & Policies (Ed. 2009); Political Theory: Issues, Concepts and Debates (Ed. 2011); Culture, Ideology, Politics (Ed. 2012); Indian Politics: Issues, Institutions and Processes (Ed. 2013); The Conscientious Statesman: Gaurisankar Bhattacharyya in Assam Legislative Assembly (Ed. 2015) and Asomor Jatiya Jivanat Lakshminath Bezbaruah Aru Anyanya Prabandha (Assamese, 2015). Prof. Dutta’s forthcoming book is Hindutva Regime in Assam: Saffron in the Rainbow, Sage Publications.

Priyanka Keshry is a Research Scholar in Jawaharlal Nehru University. She is currently pursuing her Ph.d on the topic titled Anatomy of Declining Trajectory of India in Chinese Imagination from the High of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai to low of Ah Qism. She has submitted her M.phil on the topic, Ah Q Ah Qism in China’s IR Discourse: Focus on India. She has studied in China also, specialising in Chinese language and Culture.

Cherry Hitkari is a postgraduate student of Chinese language at the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi and a Research Intern at the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), New Delhi. She holds a Bachelor’s (Hons.) in History from Jesus and Mary College and a Master’s in East Asian Studies with a specialisation in Chinese Studies from the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi. She is an Advisory Board Member, 'Tomorrow’s People' at Modern Diplomacy, Greece; the Founder and Editor-in-Chief of an online student-led gender research journal called Parwaaz and the Editor-in-Chief of a student-led initiative called East Asian Dialogue. Her research interests range from Propaganda studies and ideological control; Cultural Semiotics; Gender perspectives on Disarmament and Nuclear Terrorism to politics and foreign policies of China, North and South Korea, particularly changes in China’s maritime security strategy. Her work has appeared in several Indian and International publications including Indian Defence Review, Lowy Institute, Australian Naval Institute, Pacific Island Times, China-India Dialogue, and Beijing Review among others. She speaks Hindi, English, French and Chinese.
Pralhad Kumar Singh is currently pursuing Ph.D from Centre of East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi. He is presently working on Military-Civil Fusion in China. He has submitted M.Phil. dissertation on Civil-Military Relations in China during Xi Jinping's Era from the Department of Political Science, University of Delhi. He also worked as Research Intern at the Institute of Chinese Studies. He holds a Master's degree in Politics with specialization in International Relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University. His major areas of interest include Civil-Military Relations, International Relations and Political Theory.

Hemant Adlakha is Associate Professor of Chinese, Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. He is also Vice-Chairperson and Honorary Fellow with the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. His areas of research include political discourse in the PRC and modern Chinese Literature and Culture. He is a Member, International Editorial Committee, International Society for Lu Xun Studies, Seoul (ROK). His articles have appeared in China Report, The Diplomat, Japan Times, Encyclopaedia of Race and Racism, 2nd Edition, Washington etc. His co-translation of Lu Xun’s prose poetry collection from Chinese into Hindi has been published by the National Book Trust (NBT) in November 2019.

Sonika Gupta Ph.D is an Associate Professor of Global Politics at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Madras, Chennai, India. Her research interests include Tibetan Exile Community in India, State-making in India’s Himalayan Borders, Cosmopolitanism and International Relations Theory. The ongoing work of her research group, Tibetscapes, is accessible at https://tibetscapes.wordpress.com/

VALEDICTORY SESSION

Nirupama Rao is a former Indian Foreign Service officer. She retired as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, the senior most position in the Foreign Service, being the second woman to occupy the post (2009-2011). She was the first woman spokesperson (2001-02) of the Indian foreign office. She served as India’s first woman High Commissioner (Ambassador) to Sri Lanka (2004-2006) and to the People’s Republic of China (2006-2009). She was Ambassador of India to the United States from 2011 to 2013. In retirement she has taught at various universities, including as a Senior Visiting Fellow in International and Public Affairs at the Watson Institute at Brown University where she taught an undergraduate seniors course on "India in the World" and as George Ball Adjunct Professor at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs. Her book entitled The Fractured Himalaya: India Tibet China, 1949 to 1962 was published by Penguin India in October 2021. Ambassador Rao was a Fellow at the India-China Institute of The New School, New York in 2016, Public Policy Fellow at The Wilson Center, Washington D.C. in 2017 and Pacific Leadership Fellow at the School of Global Politics and Strategy, University of California at San Diego in 2019. She is a Global Policy Fellow of the Wilson Center. She was a Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow from 2015-2016 and a Practitioner-in-Residence at the Rockefeller Foundation’s Bellagio Center in Italy in 2017. She is a member of the Board of Governors of the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore, a member of the Advisory Council of the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bangalore, on the Board of the Indian Council for Research in International Economic Relations (ICRIER), and a Councillor on the World Refugee and Migration Council. She is also a Member of the Board of Directors of the US India Business Council and heads the Board of Trustees of the India board of the American India Foundation (AIF). She has an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters (2012) from Pondicherry University, India. She is a staunch believer in the power of social media as an advocacy platform for policy and currently has over 1.3 million followers on Twitter. Ambassador Rao is the recipient of a number of awards recognizing her contributions in public service. She received the K.P.S Menon Memorial Award in 2010, the Sree Chithira Thirunal Award in 2011, the Vanitha Ratna Award of the Government of Kerala in 2016 and the Citizen Extraordinaire Award of Rotary International in 2018. She is also the recipient of the Fellowship of Peace Award of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Center in Washington D.C in 2018. Ambassador Rao is a Founder-Trustee of The South Asian Symphony Foundation (SASF) (www.symphonyofsouthasia.org) - a not-for-profit Trust which is dedicated to promoting mutual understanding in South Asia through the creation of a South Asian Symphony Orchestra (SASO).

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 MA 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 CPC’s Hundredth Anniversary.

**Joanna Mahjabeen** is with the Department of Political Science, Gauhati University. She received her Masters in Political Science from University of Delhi and PhD from Gauhati University. Her academic and research interests cover political theory, Indian political thought, gender violence and environmental politics.
ABOUT THE ORGANISERS

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 58th year of publication.

The Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati, the sixth member of the IIT fraternity, was established in 1994. The academic programme of IIT Guwahati commenced in 1995. At present the Institute has eleven departments and five inter-disciplinary academic centres covering all the major engineering, science and humanities disciplines, offering BTech, BDes, MA, MDes, MTech, MSc and PhD programmes. IIT Guwahati has been the only academic institution from India that occupied a place among the top 100 world universities – under 50 years of age – published by London based Times Higher Education (THE) in the year 2014 and continues to do this even today in various International Rankings. Along with older IITs and Delhi University, IIT Guwahati has also been ranked below 500 in the QS World ranking released recently. An important feature of academic excellence is the continuous replenishment of ideas and creation of new areas of research and innovation, attracting organizations seeking collaboration in education, research and development as well as product development.

Gauhati University is one of the premier institutions of higher education in Northeast India and one of the most sought-after postgraduate institutions. It has been the top ranking institute (placed within top 1.12% of all institutes, as per NIRF rankings) for six years in a row and is a NAAC A-Grade institution. Great Sanskrit scholar, Indologist and philanthropist Krishna Kanta Handiqui was the founder Vice Chancellor of Gauhati University. Being the oldest and the largest university in the entire Northeast, the university represents the academic and cultural background of the region, on which the other academic institutions of Northeast India started their journey. Being the pioneer educational institute, it extends its hand holding support to all subsequent academic institutions in this region. Gauhati University has been serving as the Think Tank for development of entire Assamese Society throughout the history of the university.

Omeo Kumar Das Institute of Social Change and Development (OKDISCD) is an autonomous Institute situated in Guwahati that undertakes, promotes and coordinates research on problems and processes of social transformation and development of Assam and other States of the North Eastern region of India and contributes to the formulation of strategies and programmes for
speedier regional development. As envisaged by the founders of the Institute, it acts as a "clearinghouse of ideas and information on research in social sciences with special emphasis on the problems of Assam and other States of the North-Eastern region". Established in 1989 under the joint initiative of Government of Assam and Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) New Delhi, OKDISCD is recognized as a leader in the field of social science research in Northeast India. It is reputed for the quality of its research and various programmes for promoting social science and policy research. Over the last two and half decades, a large number of studies have been completed by the Institute which has contributed towards the corpus of knowledge on various aspects of social concerns and research priorities in the region. It is noted for its strong research thrust in varied areas of democracy and governance, regional development, health and education, environment, gender, human development that are making substantial contributions to regional and national level.

The **Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung** is a German foundation established in 1955, with its headquarters at Sankt Augustin near Bonn, and also in Berlin. Through political education and counselling, the foundation campaigns worldwide for peace, freedom and justice. Its principal aim is to preserve and promote liberal democracy and strengthen international dialogue. The KAS India Office was established more than 50 years ago and it has been working with Indian partner institutions such as Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), The Energy Research Institute (TERI) and the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS).