

Panel 1: Developmental Parallels and Divergence in China and India

Moderator: Elizabeth Perry, Henry Rosovsky Professor of Government at Harvard University, and Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute

Discussant: Mark Frazier, Professor and Chair of Politics at The New School

- Class and Inequality in China and India (1950-2010): Comparative Political Economy

Speaker: Vamsi Vakulabharanam, Co-Director, Asian Political Economy Program, Associate Professor, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Abstract: China and India started at very similar points around 1950 in terms of their agriculture-manufacturing mix, rural-urban composition, and the poverty of their citizens. China was able to drastically reduce inequalities during the 1950-80 period, while creating a largely equal and literate workforce in urban areas, and a skilled farming community that had skills beyond agricultural production. India reduced its inequality marginally. The bottom 40% of the population did not see much improvement over this period. However, middle classes gained at the expense of both top and bottom deciles. By 1980s, India had much stronger private capitalist and professional classes but lagged far behind China in its skilled and literate workforce. The second period (1980-2010) shows similarity in the policies of the two countries. Given the superior initial conditions and its higher equality in the 1980s, China was able to achieve much higher growth rates than India. The decade of the 1980s was a very interesting one for both these economies as they experienced higher growth with very little increase in inequality. Yet, China and India went on to implement neoliberal economic policies in the 1990s that have heightened class inequalities and they now have to contend with a juxtaposition of extreme wealth and a large and permanent informal sector that does not blend well with official portrayals of development for all. In this presentation, I outline these long-term changes in a class framework, while discussing some of the methodological difficulties and innovations that arise out of this comparison.

- Beyond Regime? Depicting Land Acquisition conflicts in India and China

Speaker: Huang Yinghong, Professor, O.P. Jindal Global University

Through an analysis of the 544 cases of land acquisition conflicts collected from the most authoritative search engines in India and China, the author attempts to depict the land acquisition contention across the two countries and examines the roles of political and land regimes in shaping land acquisition contention in the two giant developing societies. It argues that land acquisition contention has accumulated during economic neoliberalisation, particularly since the first decade of the 21st century in the two countries. It is more concentrated in economically dynamic regions than others for projects not only for private companies but also for public infrastructure driven by the surging demand for land transition. Land acquisition conflicts arise in various forms among different stakeholders in the two countries, despite the confrontations between the state and the land-losing communities being far more furious and significant than others. Here we can see a minor role of the political regime in stimulating land acquisition contention in India and China.

However, the political regimes have a significant role in shaping the divergent processes and differential results of land acquisition protests between the two countries. For details, more actors are allowed to intervene and provide support to the land-losing community in India than in China. Protest against land acquisition largely sees no hope except through a positive intervention of the higher authority in China, while in India the social activists, courts, or opposite parties are actively involved in land acquisition protests. Furthermore, land acquisition conflicts could not prevent the implementation of land acquisition in China but do so in India. As a result, development is achieved despite furious protests in China, but it is hindered by protests in India. Therefore, it is the economic neoliberalism that provides a similar impetus for land acquisition conflicts in the two countries, while it is the political regimes that generate differential processes and results of land acquisition conflicts in the two countries.

- China, India and the ‘alternative visions of development’ at the Bretton Woods Conference

Speaker: Priyanka Pandit, Assistant Professor, Shiv Nadar University

Abstract: This research examines the contributions of Asian delegates, particularly from Nationalist China and British India, at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. There has been far less attention to how delegates from Asia contributed to creating an international financial system in the post-war period. By doing so, it explores the complex interactions that occurred between the highly industrialized countries of the USA, Britain, and Canada and developing countries, on the one hand, and within the developing bloc, on the other, in negotiating the ideational contours of the global financial regime. What is often forgotten is how the conference became a site of North-South dialogue as well as a struggle between ideas, actors, and norms, replete with instances of solidarity and failed solidarity. Furthermore, it contends how the Chinese and Indian delegates caught up in historically specific institutional, economic and sociocultural configurations had differing ideas of state, capital, and markets, which in turn affected their intellectual engagements with theories and techniques of finance and development at Bretton Woods.

Panel 2: Interdisciplinarity in China-India Studies

Moderator: Tansen Sen, Director, Center for Global Asia, and Professor, NYU Shanghai

Discussant: Marina Kaneti, Assistant Professor, LKYSPP

- The Iconographic Synthesis and Dissemination of Hooded Monk Imagery in Early Medieval China: Subhadra, Meditation, and Chinese Immortals

Speaker: Zhao Jinchao, Joint Postdoctoral Fellow, NYU Shanghai and Fudan University

Abstract: The imagery of hooded monk is known as the coined iconography of the Chan master Bodhidharma since late Tang period. Yet its previous development and dissemination remain uncharted. This study firstly examines surviving depictions of hooded monks prior to the Tang dynasty, tracing its origin to the late-fifth century Pingcheng area, the then capital of Northern Wei dynasty, demonstrating its defining reference to the practice of meditation. The pictorial program of hooded monks in the Pingcheng area reveals two sources of influence, the depiction of buddha image in meditation below trees, and the Gandharan tradition of depicting Subhadra, the latest Buddhist disciple, in the Buddha's Nirvana scene. Secondly, examining the broader context of highlighting meditation in Pingcheng, this study argues that the new imagery of hooded monk was developed to replace the skeletal fasting Buddha imagery, which was the primary representation of the highest deed of meditation from Gandhara to the Hexi Corridor and Pingcheng but disappeared completely since the late-fifth century. Thirdly, this study examines the sixth-century tradition of depicting the hooded monk in mountainous landscape, revealing its close connection to the contemporaneous representation of Chinese immortals seeking transcendence. Therefore, this study addresses the early development of hooded monk imagery in the broader context of the dissemination of Buddhism, Sinicization, and visual cultural development during the Northern Dynasties.

- Exotic Aromatic and Astronomy: Early Sino-Indian Contact via Maritime Routes through South China and Southeast Asia

Speaker: Bill Mak, Director, Chinese Research Center, ISF Academy

This paper examines the role of South China and Southeast Asia in the early history of Sino-Indian contact, i.e. during the first half of the first millennium CE, focusing on the cases of aromatic and astronomy. While the historical importance of the overland Silk Road connecting China, India, and other Eurasian culture has been much discussed, that of the maritime routes during the early period may still be further explored. The transmission of Indian aromatic, from which Hong Kong is named after, is a remarkable example demonstrating the connectivity between India and South China via Southeast Asia, largely through the maritime routes starting from the early centuries of the Common Era. Somewhat intriguing is the possible case of India-to-China transmission of exotic Vedic astronomical knowledge and the spherical cosmological model, mediated by early Buddhists from the coastal region of South China, as noted by scholars such as Jao Tsung-I. A variety of scientific knowledge continued to reach South China up to the eighth century, with the

notable example of Shi Yao's "Indiantesque" recension of the *Xinyao jing*, a manual of Indian astral science transmitted by the eighth-century Buddhist monk Amoghavajra.

- The Malacca Dilemma of the Raj: The Indian Revolt of 1857, the Second Opium War, and the British Proposal of a Kra Passage

Speaker: Cao Yin, Associate Professor, Tsinghua University

Abstract: In the late 1850s and early 1860s, the idea of building a passage through the Isthmus of Kra in the Malay Peninsula was hotly debated amongst British officials, merchants, and investors. This study finds that the British East India Company's rule over the Straits of Malacca had been a dilemma for itself and British merchants in China. The Second Opium War and the Indian Revolt of 1857 exacerbated the dilemma and pushed some British policymakers and investors to seek an alternative route between India and China. The proposal of the Kra passage, this study argues, was the response and solution to the Malacca dilemma. In historicizing the Kra passage proposal and putting it in the context of the British Empire's simultaneous crises in Asia in the mid-nineteenth century, this study aims to shed light on how the Second Opium War and the Indian Revolt of 1857 should be scrutinized in an integrated transnational framework.

- Marginalia and China-India Thought

Speaker: Adhira Mangalagiri Lecturer, Queen Mary University of London

A 1959 poem by the eminent Hindi poet Shamsheer Bahadur Singh features large, handwritten Chinese characters in the margins of the page, each character adjoining a stanza of Hindi verse. The poem makes for a striking visual scene: Chinese characters and Hindi words in the Devanagari script appear side-by-side in a joint act of poetic meaning-making. In a brief note at the top of the page, Shamsheer writes that he has "taken inspiration from the original meanings and evocations" of the Chinese characters to create his Hindi poem. But how do the Chinese characters relate to the lines of Hindi verse? What is the relationship between the margins and the page? The poem offers no easy answers to these inevitable questions. The poem is thus a multilingual enigma that invites decoding, an invitation I take up in this paper.

Reading Shamsheer's poem across the Chinese and Hindi words and literary spheres practices a form of China-India literary thought that thrives in the margins, taking the reader from the physical margins of the page, to marginal practices of literary modernism, and finally, the very margins of the nation-state, the contested borderlands upon which China and India waged war in 1962. The poem, I argue, articulates a form of transnational literary relation I have termed "disconnect," an ethics of thinking China and India together precisely in moments when the China-India conceptual pairing seems precarious, contentious, or on the brink of dissolution.

Panel 3: New Dimensions in China-India Relations

Moderator: Li Ruohong, Associate Director, Harvard-Yenching Institute

Discussant: Kanti Bajpai, Wilmar Professor of Asian Studies and Co-Director, CAG, LKYSPP

- From Resources to Influence: China and India's use of Economic Statecraft in Small States in South Asia

Speaker: Chulanee Attanayake, Research Fellow, ISAS, NUS

Abstract: Using resources to gain power over the other is not a new phenomenon in international politics. Be it in the pre-world war or post-world war era, and powerful countries have been using economic resources and capabilities to influence the behaviour of small states. Either through the promise of economic rewards or the threat of sanctions, the big powers influence the small countries to realize their respective economic interests. As emerging competitors and fast-growing economies in Asia, China and India use their economic resources in South Asia to gain influence on small countries. Amidst this backdrop, this paper explores how China and India use economic statecraft on small countries in South Asia, and how they have gained influence upon them. The paper will examine China and India's economic statecraft in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh and the Maldives.

- Constructing Normalization: The Forgotten History of China-India Relations, 1968-1993

Speaker: Duan Bin, Research Fellow, Nanjing University

Abstract: Sino-India normalization from the late 1960s to the 1990s is an important historical event with far-reaching influence in the history of Sino-India relations, although this history has been forgotten. Due to the enhanced political and economic influence of China and India, the competition and conflict between the two countries have intensified. At present, political scientist mainly focus on the competition and conflict between China and India on global, regional and bilateral issues. Historian of Sino-Indian relations focused on the causes and effects of the 1962 border war, and relatively ignored the history of normalization of Sino Indian relations. On the one hand, this research situation is due to the limited declassification of government archives of the two countries; But more importantly, the realistic research orientation of international politics has restricted the perspective and imagination of relevant researchers. Therefore, it is necessary to go beyond the history of geopolitical games and political propaganda and re-examine this chapter of history from the perspective of political reconciliation.

Under the dual background of the Cold War and the geopolitical game in South Asia in the 1970s, what factors prompted China and India to finally move towards political and diplomatic reconciliation after two decades of "Cold War confrontation"? In what international strategic perspective do China and India assess and position their bilateral relations, and how do they formulate their own normalization policies? What impact do these strategic perceptions and decisions have on China-India relations today? The first part

of the article examines the concept of normalization of Sino-Indian relations, analyzes the historical background of this concept and its manifestations in the respective contexts of China and India since the end of the 1960s; The second part examines the evolution trend, the main characteristics of each stage and the influencing factors of the normalization of Sino-India relations; The third part summarizes the remaining problems of the normalization of Sino-India relations and the re-evaluation under the background of the current "New Cold War".

This paper believes that the connotation of normalization of Sino-India relations not only includes the restoration of the diplomatic relations and high-level political meetings between China and India at the ambassadorial level, which were downgraded after 1962, the resumption of economic and trade exchanges and people to people and cultural exchanges between the two countries, the establishment of a set of border crisis management mechanisms to maintain peace and tranquility on the border, but also includes the active pursuit of China and India to get rid of the constraints of South Asia's geopolitics and the East West Cold War pattern, The process of handling Sino-India bilateral relations and the relations of other countries related to them independently. The "normalization" was a rethinking and positioning of the bilateral relations between China and India after the border war in 1962. The two sides tried to go beyond the "Hindi-Cheeni Bhai-Bhai" relationship based on the anti-colonialism discourse and the ideology of Asian African unity in the early 1950s, and rethinking their core interests and ways of interaction on important international, South Asian and bilateral issues.

- China-India relations: 'Tacit' support for secessionism during the Xi-Modi era

Speaker: Varigonda Kesava Chandra, Postdoctoral Fellow, ARI, NUS

China has historically provided covert support for secessionist movements in India's Northeast, even as India continues to house the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government-in-exile. Notwithstanding, both China and India have thus far refrained from overt political support to secessionism in either country. This paper demonstrates how, during the Xi/Modi era (2013-14 onwards), China and India's pursuit of non-political, 'tacit' support to secessionism in either country heightened considerably. In 2013, China initiated developmental projects in Pakistan administered Kashmir (PaK), thereby recognising Pakistan's de facto sovereignty over a region claimed by India. In 2018, China's state-owned media advocated for derecognition of Sikkim as Indian territory. In 2019 and 2020, China criticised India's abrogation of special autonomy to Indian administered Kashmir (IaK), a region locked in a long-standing separatist conflict with India. From the late-2010s, in particular, India has deepened relations with the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration; as well as strengthened relations with Taiwan. In September 2022, for the first time, India criticised the humanitarian situation in Xinjiang. This heightening of tacit support to secessionism, the paper argues, is driven by growing competition for hegemony in South Asia (and to a lesser extent, geopolitical competition in the larger Indo-Pacific), coupled with growing military confrontations along their disputed border. The unresolved boundary and resultant territorial claims is often cited as the chief source of tension in China-India relations; tacit support for secessionism could evolve into yet another major source.

- Deterrence before Diplomacy: India's approach to negotiations with China

Speaker: Yogesh Joshi, Research Fellow, ISAS, NUS

Abstract: What factors facilitate New Delhi's resort to negotiations vis-à-vis China? Using extensive archival evidence from the Indian archives and focusing on the period after the 1962 war until Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua's visit to New Delhi in June 1981, this paper argues that India's diplomatic overtures to Beijing during the Cold War were fundamentally motivated by two factors. First, New Delhi was highly sensitive to China's geopolitical circumstances, particularly its relations with great powers. Continuous tensions with the US and Soviet Union, New Delhi believed, were helpful in isolating China globally and created opportunities for negotiations with Beijing. Second, China's vulnerability vis-à-vis great powers notwithstanding, a sufficient military deterrent on the border in defending India's status quo objectives was a must. The greater the confidence in India's military deterrent, the higher the confidence among decision-makers to pursue negotiations. India's diplomatic outreach to China was often built upon a robust conventional deterrent. This dynamic was informed by a belief among Indian decision-makers that even when opportunistic, China is highly prudent about the consequences of using military force in settling disputes.

Panel 4: Comparative Political Economy: State Activism and Societal Agency

Moderator: Kellee Tsai, Dean of Humanities and Social Science, Chair Professor of Social Science, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Discussant: Adam Liu, Assistant Professor, LKYSPP

- Money circulations and fabric exports from China to Dubai through Indian diasporic connections

Speaker: Ka-Kin Cheuk, Lecturer (Assistant Professor), University of Southampton

Abstract: Chiefly drawing on fieldwork in the district of Keqiao in Zhejiang Province since 2009, this paper will show that irregular financial transactions play a critical role in the sustenance of otherwise tenuous business relations between Indian traders and Chinese suppliers in the China–Dubai fabric trade. Much of the fabric exported from Keqiao to Dubai relies on intertwined formal and informal transactions operated by Indian diasporic trading networks. These labyrinthine transnational money transactions aim to circumvent institutional hurdles and overcome deficiencies in operating capital, yet inherent to this system is a cycle of payment lags that cause tense relations between payers and payees. Nonetheless, the interlocking circuits of money circulations also prevent the overaccumulation of wealth and power by any particular stakeholder involved in international trade and defy or at least circumvent the formal political authority of state and financial institutions that seek to curtail such practices. These transactions thereby create a larger space for business survival among the grassroots players, especially Indian traders who may not have enough capital available when they initiate a deal with a Chinese supplier. By tracking such money networks, the paper aims to illustrate the contemporary importance of diasporic traders, particularly regarding their agency in counteracting the structural injustices in the global political economy.

- Giving Back to the Masses: Philanthropy and State Capacity in India and China

Speaker: Bhim Subba, Assistant Professor, University of Hyderabad

Abstract: The covid-19 pandemic witnessed a growth of philanthropy across the globe. The health crisis shaped the nature of philanthropic outreach and priorities vis-a-vis normal times. Although not unknown in Indian and Chinese societies, altruism is not profound compared to other countries. However, in the pandemic situation, India—one of the most affected countries, and China—where the first outbreak occurred and continues to have episodic covid lockdowns, observed a surge in philanthropic activities as indicated by reports from different national and international agencies. At the same time, the pandemic not only strained the state's capacity to allocate values authoritatively but also reinforced the centralisation of policy formulation and implementation across its territory even further—from the centre to the sub-national level. This work, therefore, attempts to study the linkages between the role of philanthropy vis-à-vis state capacity in these two altruistic societies. Moreover, it will try to analyse whether philanthropy limits state capacity or complement the latter. This preliminary work will dwell on datasets/studies of philanthropic activities of

private individuals, family and business charities and government initiatives in India and China during disasters in general and the covid pandemic in particular.

- Asian Miracle 3.0: Promises, Perils, and the State Roles

Speaker: Min Ye, Associate Professor, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University

According to the 2021 Global Innovation Index, six East Asian economies belong to the world's top 15. They are South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, and Japan. Moreover, middle-income Asian countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia and low-income Asian countries like India and Vietnam are also over-achievers compared to their peers in the Global South. While the selective North American and European economies still lead, Asia's new economy has firmly and rapidly closed the gap. Given Asia's population size, human capital, and research and development, the current Asian miracle is arguably just the beginning. This project proposes the central idea of Asian Miracle 3.0; it examines whether and how Asian states offer coherent policies and processes that can be instrumental to the new-era development in the world. The line of thinking builds on the developmental state literature posed to explain Asian miracle 1.0 of the post-WWII decades and the regional "coupling" scholarship employed to examine patterns in Asian miracle 2.0 since the 1990s. The current Asian Miracle 3.0 is as significant as the previous miracles, but the rise of China has dominated the policy and scholarly publications. Due to political and geopolitical concerns, relevant work on China's new economy has unduly focused on the "security state" and "digital authoritarianism." The proposed paper goes beyond such China-focused frameworks. By studying new vehicle development in Japan, China, and India, the paper seeks to offer comparative state roles, divergent drivers, and varied achievements. The selected Asian giants represent different stages in Asian miracles and shed light on the questions of whether a consistent Asian model exists and how sustainable is Asian miracle 3.0.

Panel 5: Challenges of Comparisons and Connections in China-India Urban Studies

Moderator: Mark Frazier, Professor and Chair of Politics, The New School

Discussant: Selina Ho, Assistant Professor in International Affairs and Co-Director, CAG, LKYSPP

- Governing the Urban in China and India

Speaker: Xuefei Ren, Professor, Michigan State University

Abstract: This presentation will discuss the territorial and associational features of urban governance in China and India, drawing upon comparative case studies in my book *Governing the Urban in China and India* (2020). It will also discuss China's Zero-covid policy and the instrumental role of territorial tactics in its enforcement. Finally, I will reflect on the "relational turn" in urban geography and its potential in generating new comparative scholarship on China and India.

- Unwinding Metropolitan Bias? The Shifting Politics of Urban Development in China and India

Speaker: Kyle A. Jaros, Associate Professor, University of Notre Dame

During the 1990s and 2000s, China and India invested enormous resources in the development of metropolitan cities, often at the expense of smaller urban centers and rural areas. In many cases, such urban growth strategies were conceived and implemented by provincial (state) governments, reflecting the key role of subnational governments in economic and regional policy. After the rise of Xi Jinping and Narendra Modi in the 2010s, however, both countries experienced some degree of governance recentralization and articulated new urban development strategies that placed more emphasis on medium-sized cities. This presentation considers the political and economic logics behind these parallel shifts in each country's urban development aspirations, and looks at the extent to which new policy goals have translated into action.

- Comparative Urban Governance in China and India

Speaker: Yue Zhang, Associate Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago

Abstract: Despite the national-level variations between China and India, the ongoing massive urbanization alongside rapid economic growth in both countries makes their cities ideal sites for cross-national comparison. This paper presents a theoretical framework to compare urban governance in China and India. It argues that urban governance has two dimensions: effectiveness and inclusiveness. While governance effectiveness is shaped by intergovernmental relations and party systems, governance inclusiveness is conditioned by nonstate networks. The paper develops a typology of urban governance (i.e., integrated, mobilizational, contested, and clientelistic) and examines how China and India fit into the fourfold typology. Evidence from urban village redevelopment in Guangzhou and slum redevelopment in Mumbai is used to exemplify the different models of urban governance in

the two countries. The findings suggest that the variations in urban governance are beyond the formal government system, regime type, and state capacity. The paper highlights that comparative urban politics not only contributes to substantive knowledge generation on development processes, but also has the potential to advance comparative methods.