

DAY ONE (11 November 2021, Thursday)

7.45-8.00	Welcome remarks
8.00-9.30	<p>Panel 1: The Old and the New</p> <p>1. <i>The Cold War and International Relations: Then and Now</i>, Greg Simons, Ural Federal University, Uppsala University, and Turiba University</p> <p>2. <i>Revisiting the 'End of History' Thesis – 30 Years On</i>, Arjun Chatterjee, The Heritage Academy</p> <p>3. <i>The New Cold War: Geopolitics, Covid-19, and Grand Strategies in Great Power Rivalry</i>, John Wei, University of Otago</p> <p>4. <i>Wishful Narratives of Quitting Cold War Mentalities, their Subsequent Failure and the Hybrid Warfare Backlash</i>, Victor Nemchinov, Russian Academy of Sciences</p> <p>Chaired by Cherian George, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
9.30-9.45	Break
9.45-10.45	<p>Keynote 1: Issues in Cold War Historiography</p> <p>Louis Menand, Harvard University</p> <p>Chaired by Ying Zhu, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
10.45-11.00	Break
11.00-12.30	<p>Panel 2: Unravelling Myths / Thinking Counterfactually</p> <p>1. <i>Rethinking the Cold War Narrative of 'Only Nixon Could Go to China' and the Origins of US-China 'Peer Competition'</i>, Pete Millwood, the University of Hong Kong</p> <p>2. <i>Late Stalinism and its Impact on the Global Cold War, 1945-1953</i>, Eva-Maria Stolberg, University of Duisburg-Essen</p> <p>3. <i>Tracing the Roots of Heroism in Superman: Counter Narratives of Communism in Cold War Theory</i>, Upasana Banerjee, Independent research scholar</p> <p>4. <i>War, Plague, and the Moon: An Analysis of the Cold War Narratives in Alternative History American Science Fiction TV Series</i>, Jin Xiaoju, Yunnan University</p> <p>Chaired by Mateja Kovacic, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
12.30-12.45	Break

12.45-2.30	<p>Panel 3: Transnational Art / Cultural Diplomacy</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>From the Cold War Ideology to the EU Cultural Policies: Film Co-Productions in South East Europe</i>, Eleni Sideri, University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki-Greece 2. <i>Transregional Cultural Relations of the Second Socialist World during the Cold War</i>, Caterina Preda, University of Bucharest 3. <i>Aesthetics, Politics, and Internationalism: Film Weeks in China during the 'Seventeen Years'</i>, Huiqi Pan, PhD (East China Normal University) 4. <i>Cold War and Martial Law Dynamics in the Art Exhibitions of the Metropolitan Museum of Manila from 1976-1986</i>, May Lyn L. Cruz, the University of the Philippines 5. <i>Where Does Abstract Art Belong? The Meanings of Abstract Art Beyond the Iron Curtain</i>, Agata Pietrasik, Getty/ACLS Postdoctoral Fellow in the History of Art <p>Chaired by Mateja Kovacic, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
2.30-2.45	Break
2.45-4.15	<p>Panel 4: The Press, Cinema, Television, and Soft Power</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Before being the Cold War: On the Origin and Transformation of the Expression 'Cold War' in the Anglo-US Press (1942-1950)</i>, Mireno Berrettini, Università Cattolica of Milan 2. <i>Stanley Kramer, Hollywood Liberalism, and the Cold War</i>, Jennifer Frost, University of Auckland 3. <i>How East Germany Saved (Some Of) the World: The Invisible Visor – A 1970s Cold War Intelligence TV Series as a Fantasy of Cosmopolitanism and Global Influence</i>, Tarik Cyril Amar, Koç University 4. <i>Anti-Spy Films in 1978 and 1979: Revival and Transition</i>, Qi Ai, Shandong University <p>Chaired by Eva Man Kit Wah, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
4.15-4.30	Break
4.30-6.00	<p>Filmmaker Lecture: The Shortest Speech</p> <p>Naeem Mohaiemen</p> <p>Chaired by Noit Banai, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
6.00-6.15	Break
6.15-7.15	<p>Keynote 2: Sadequain Naqvi – a 'Pakistani Picasso' for the Cold War</p> <p>Caroline Jones, Massachusetts Institute of Technology</p>

	Chaired by Noit Banai, Hong Kong Baptist University
7.15-7.30	Break
7.30-8.30	<p>Roundtable 1</p> <p>Ute Meta Bauer, Nanyang Technological University</p> <p>Caroline Jones, Massachusetts Institute of Technology</p> <p>Chaired by Noit Banai, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>

DAY TWO (12 November 2021, Friday)	
7.45-8.00	Announcements
8.00-9.30	<p>Panel 5: Humanity, Ecology, Trauma, Part 1</p> <p>1. <i>Cold War as a Unifying Human Rights Story</i>, Itai Sneh, City University of New York</p> <p>2. <i>Strange Harmony: Human Nature and Tyranny in the Eyes of Czesław Miłosz</i>, Milen Jissov, BNU-HKBU United International College</p> <p>3. <i>African/American Women and Global Solidarities: Memories and Silences</i>, Myra Ann Houser, Ouachita Baptist University</p> <p>4. <i>Visual Proximation and Socialist Internationalist Feminism: Displacing Binaries of the Cold War through Film OYOYO (1980) by Chetna Vora</i>, Vinit Agarwal, Independent researcher</p> <p>Chaired by Kenneth Paul Tan, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
9.30-9.45	Break
9.45-11.15	<p>Panel 6: Humanity, Ecology, Trauma, Part 2</p> <p>1. <i>Trauma, Cold War, Decolonization and China</i>, Marina Gržinić, Scientific and Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts, Institute of Philosophy</p> <p>2. <i>War Movies and Commemoration – How Movies Can Function as Tools for Remembrance</i>, Kent Sommer-Edstrøm, Cand. Mag. (University of Roskilde)</p> <p>3. <i>Curating Memory: Exploring Visual Narratives in Cold War Museums and Memorials in Taiwan, Vietnam, South Korea, and Cambodia</i>, Giacomo Bagarella, Consultant and writer</p> <p>4. <i>Climate Race?: Accounting for a Hot Planet in a New Cold War World</i>, Marina Kaneti, National University of Singapore</p>

	Chaired by Kenneth Paul Tan, Hong Kong Baptist University
11.15-11.30	Break
11.30-12.30	<p>Keynote 3: The Galaxy Empire</p> <p>John Keane, University of Sydney He Baogang, Deakin University</p> <p>Chaired by Jean-Pierre Cabestan, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
12.30-12.45	Break
12.45-2.15	<p>Panel 7: Migration, Exile, Defection</p> <p>1. <i>Exiled Ecologies: Recollecting Cold War Sinophone Displacement</i>, Zhou Hau Liew, National Taiwan University</p> <p>2. <i>Towards De-Cold War: The Sentiment of Anticommunism and Antiprostitution in the Narrative of 'Dalumei' (Mainland Little Sister) in Taiwan</i>, I-ting Chen, Lingnan University</p> <p>3. <i>Conditional Recognition: North Korean Defector Cinema in South Korea</i>, Jinhee Park, the Handong Global University</p> <p>4. <i>A Man Without a Country: British Imperial Nostalgia in Ferry to Hong Kong (1959)</i>, Kenny Ng, Hong Kong Baptist University</p> <p>Chaired by Dorothy Lau, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
2.15-2.30	Break
2.30-4.00	<p>Panel 8: China in the International Media</p> <p>1. <i>G7's Rhetoric of Rivalry with China via Hong Kong</i>, Vincent Pak-Hong Wong, Hong Kong Baptist University</p> <p>2. <i>Media Representation of China in COVID-19 News Coverage: An Analysis of the Language of Two Western Newspapers</i>, Zhixia Yang and Haiyan Men, Shanghai Sanda University</p> <p>3. <i>Hungary and the New Cold War Narrative on China</i>, Ágota Révész, Technische Universität Berlin</p> <p>4. <i>Imaging the West Philippine Sea Dispute Between China and the Philippines</i>, Jean Claire Dy, The University of the Philippines Visayas</p> <p>Chaired by Daya Thussu, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
4.00-4.15	Break

4.15-5.45	<p>Panel 9: Twitter Diplomacy</p> <p>1. <i>Making Cold War Public Diplomacy? China's Twitter Diplomacy During the Pandemic</i>, Mette Thunø, Aarhus University</p> <p>2. <i>'For They Have Sown The Wind, and They Shall Reap the Whirlwind' - China's Twiplomacy and its Repercussion in France</i>, Emilie Tran, Hong Kong Baptist University</p> <p>3. <i>Othering China: German Media Discourse During the Pandemic</i>, Yu-chin Tseng, University of Tübingen</p> <p>4. <i>Chinese Discourse against United States in the WTO Arena</i>, Mariano Mosquera, Catholic University of Cordoba</p> <p>Chaired by Alistair Cole, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
5.45-6.00	Break
6.00-7.00	<p>Keynote 4: China at the Dawn of the Cold War: Between Class War and the New Internationalism</p> <p>Rana Mitter, Oxford University</p> <p>Chaired by</p>
7.00-7.15	Break
7.15-8.15	<p>Roundtable 2</p> <p>Kanti Bajpai, National University of Singapore</p> <p>Ian Johnson, Former <i>New York Times</i> correspondent in China</p> <p>Maria Repnikova, Georgia State University</p> <p>Chaired by Daya Thussu, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>
8.15-8.30	Closing remarks

DAY THREE (13 November 2021, Saturday) GRADUATE STUDENT PANELS	
7.45-8.00	Announcements
8.00-9.30	<p>Graduate Student Panel 1: Cold War; Science & Technology</p> <p>1. <i>Cold War Redux: Who Ended the Cold War and Squandered the Cold Peace?</i>, Amartya Sharma, George Washington University</p> <p>2. <i>Not a Cold War but An Uneasy Peace</i>, Angie Hesham Abdo Ahmed Mahmoud, University of Hull</p> <p>3. <i>Sputnik I and American Popular Thought at the Dawn of the Space Age</i>, Tom Wilkinson, University of Auckland</p> <p>4. <i>Scientific Populism during Cov-19 in Social Media: A Comparative Study Based on the Changing Sentimental Attitudes of Chinese and American Internet Users Towards Scientists</i>, Xinyue Chen, University of Science and Technology of China; Yao Yao, University of Southern California</p> <p>Chaired by</p>
9.30-9.45	Break
9.45-11.15	<p>Graduate Student Panel 2: Conflict</p> <p>1. <i>News as Nationalism: Analysing India-China Border Conflict on India's Two Leading TV Networks</i>, Anilesh Kumar, Hong Kong Baptist University</p> <p>2. <i>Differentiated Narratives of Parallel Conflicts: A Comparative Analysis of Western, Indian, and Chinese Media Discourse on Kashmir and Xinjiang</i>, Youran Abby QIN and Abdul Rahoof K.K, Hong Kong Baptist University</p> <p>3. <i>Network Agenda Setting (NAS) in China-US Trade Conflict News: A Comparative Study across China, the US, Singapore and Ireland</i>, Shujun Liu, Tsinghua University</p> <p>4. <i>New Cold War in Post-COVID Era: Political Cartoon Expressions between China and the West</i>, Yu Ma, University of Copenhagen</p> <p>Chaired by</p>
11.15-11.30	Break
11.30-12.45	<p>Graduate Student Panel 3: Soft Power, Part 1</p> <p>1. <i>Benevolent Hospitality? The International Student and American Imperialism in Susan Choi's The Foreign Student</i>, Joanna Conings, the University of Nebraska-Lincoln</p> <p>2. <i>Sukarno's Experiment with Liberal Democracy and the Cornell's Modern Indonesia's Project</i>, Veronica B. Sison, the University of the Philippines Diliman</p>

	<p>3. <i>Motives of the Cultural Cold War by the United States: Behind the Congress for Cultural Freedom (1950-1967)</i>, Shi Jingjing (Claudia), Peking University</p> <p>Chaired by</p>
12.45-1.15	Break
1.15-2.30	<p>Graduate Student Panel 4: Soft Power, Part 2</p> <p>1. <i>Digitizing Nostalgia: Translated Soviet in the Kerala Public Sphere</i>, Eesha Jila Ikbal, The English and Foreign Languages University (EFLU), Hyderabad</p> <p>2. <i>Imagined Enemy or ‘the Hope of Village’: Postcolonial Discourse in Media Representation of Wu Lei in China and Spain</i>, Shenglan Qing and Zesheng Yang, Autonomous University of Barcelona</p> <p>3. <i>Visions of Spatial-Temporality After the Grand-Narrative: Nostalgia and Screen-dance in Youth (2017) and The Shape of Water (2017)</i>, Kaixuan Yao, Utrecht University</p> <p>Chaired by</p>
2.30-2.45	Break
2.45-4.30	<p>Graduate Student Panel 5: National and Regional Identities</p> <p>1. <i>Ethno-National Narratives Related to Cold War in Central Asian Cinema</i>, Yan Zhou, Beijing Normal University</p> <p>2. <i>Empire Flashbacks in Cold War Turkey</i>, Güldeniz Kıbrıs, Leiden University</p> <p>3. <i>Lubumbashi as a Cold War Capital: Reconsidering Postcolonial Congolese Art through the Lens of Cold War Geopolitics</i>, Ash Duhrkoop, University of Virginia</p> <p>4. <i>Raise of Southeast Asia Art as Canon: Birth of the Region, Regionalism from Cold War and Exhibition Discourse</i>, Lin Chi-ho Jeffery, SOAS</p> <p>5. <i>Aesthetic Tensions in Images of the Cold War—Water Mediation & Gameplay in Jun Nguyen-Hatsushiba’s Memorial Project Series (2001-2014)</i>, Toby Wu, University of Chicago</p> <p>Chaired by</p>
4.30-4.45	Break
4.45-6.00	<p>Graduate Student Panel 6: Home, Displacement</p> <p>1. <i>Where is My Homeland? Hong Kong Tenement Films during the Cold War Era</i>, Linda Huixian OU, Hong Kong Baptist University</p>

	<p>2. <i>The Transnational Advocacy Network Under The Cold War: A Case Study Of The Chinese In Northern Thailand Transmitting Their Political Identity Information</i>, Sha Qiu, Hunan Institute of Science And Technology; Lee Yu Hong, Nanjing University</p> <p>3. <i>Russian Speakers from Latvia: Identities Caught between Soviet Past and Present in Sweden</i>, Mara Simons, Latvian Academy of Culture</p> <p>Chaired by</p>
6.00-6.15	Break
6.15-7.30	<p>Graduate Student Panel 7: Video Games</p> <p>1. <i>The Ritual of Relieving Fear: Research on the Media Rituals of Cold War Theme Video Games</i>, Wu Yumeng, China University of Political Science and Law</p> <p>2. <i>Cold War Once More: (Re)Constructing Cold War in the Board Game Twilight Struggle</i>, Tianxiao Peng, University of Southampton; Sam Li Mengqi, Birmingham City University</p> <p>3. <i>The Cold War Cognition and Gratification in Chinese War Games: The Chinese Version of Command & Conquer: Red Alert 2</i>, Zhu Zixuan, Hong Kong Baptist University</p> <p>Chaired by</p>
7.30-7.45	Closing remarks

NARRATING COLD WARS CONFERENCE

11-13 NOVEMBER 2021 Hong Kong Baptist University



KEYNOTE 1: LOUIS MENARD

'ISSUES IN COLD WAR HISTORIOGRAPHY'

Professor Menand will raise historiographical questions about the period and ask whether there has been a shift in the last 10 years, particularly in cultural history.

Louis Menand is the Lee Simpkins Family Professor of Arts and Sciences and the Anne T. and Robert M. Bass Professor of English at Harvard, where he also holds the title Harvard College Professor, in recognition of his teaching. His books include *The Metaphysical Club*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for History, the Francis Parkman Prize from the Society of American Historians, and the Heartland Prize from the Chicago Tribune. He has been associate editor of *The New Republic* (1986–1987), an editor at *The New Yorker* (1993–1994), and contributing editor of *The New York Review of Books* (1994–2001). Since 2001, he has been a staff writer at *The New Yorker*, which he began writing for in 1991. In 2016, he was awarded the National Humanities Medal by President Barack Obama.



KEYNOTE 2: CAROLINE JONES

'SADEQUAIN NAQVI – A 'PAKISTANI PICASSO' FOR THE COLD WAR'

'Predicated internationalism' is a linguistic pattern that proved particularly useful during the Cold War. This type of construction – e.g. 'the Pakistani Picasso, Sadequain' – locates the modified artist in relation to a Eurocentric periphery. During the years 1960-1970, this Indo-Islamic (and later Pakistani) artist Syed Sadequain Naqvi 'Naqqash' bore the dominant signifier of the Spanish-French 20th-century painter Pablo Picasso in both Parisian and Pakistani contexts. Drawing on unpublished research as well as arguments from my 2016 book *The Global Work of Art*, this brief talk parses the specifically Cold War configurations at play in the willingly leveraged internationalism of Sadequain.

Caroline A. Jones is Professor of art history at MIT, where she also serves as Associate Dean in the School of Architecture and Planning. She studies modern and contemporary art, with a particular focus on its technological modes of production, distribution, and reception, and on its interfaces with science. Her solo-authored publications include *Machine in the Studio* (1996/98), *Eyesight Alone* (2005/08), and *The Global Work of Art* (2016); and, as editor, *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (co-edited, 1998), *Sensorium* (2006), and *Experience* (2016). Exhibitions she curated at MIT include *Sensorium* (2006), *Hans Haacke 1967* (2011), and the forthcoming *Symbionts* (2022). [Photograph by Joel Elliot, National Humanities Center]



KEYNOTE 3: JOHN KEANE & BAOGANG HE

'THE GALAXY EMPIRE'

When future historians look back on our discordant times, they will surely report an epochal shift of global importance: a transition from failed attempts to restore America's greatness to China's return, after two centuries of subjugation, to world pre-eminence. The writing is already on the wall, but strange prejudices, bitter disputes and conflicting predictions currently obscure the implications of such a transformation. Some

observers are already sure that ‘the rise of China’ is unsustainable or that forecasts of its global triumph are grossly exaggerated. Others recommend getting tough with an uppity Beijing through trade wars and military clashes in the Taiwan Strait or the South China Sea. Still others believe that a lengthy period of conflict – a new Cold War – is upon us. And there are those who think that the rough-tongued and cack-handed efforts to rejuvenate a militarily overstretched and fiscally overburdened America will unintentionally make China great again.

John Keane is Professor of Politics at the University of Sydney and at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB). He is renowned globally for his creative thinking about democracy. Among his best-known books are *The New Despotism* (2020); *Power and Humility: The Future of Monitory Democracy* (2018); and the highly acclaimed full-scale history *The Life and Death of Democracy* (2009).

Baogang He is the Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, Alfred Deakin Professor, Chair in International Relations, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts & Education, Deakin University. Graduated with PhD in Political Science from Australian National University in 1994, Professor He has become widely known for his work in Chinese politics, in particular the deliberative politics in China as well as in Asian politics covering regionalism, international relations, federalism, and multiculturalism in Asia. Professor He has published 6 single-authored books, 1 co-authored book, 7 co-edited books, 88 international refereed journal articles, and 66 book chapters. His publications are found in top journals including Science, British Journal of Political Science, Journal of Peace Research, Political Theory, Political Studies and Perspectives on Politics.



KEYNOTE 4: RANA MITTER

‘CHINA AT THE DAWN OF THE COLD WAR: BETWEEN CLASS WAR AND THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM’

In 1945, as the Second World War ended and the Cold War began, China was caught in a paradox. China was part of the great wave of Asian decolonization, and taking new initiatives in areas from rural development to global diplomacy. Yet it was also being violently divided by different visions of what the “good society” would be. This lecture examines the contradictions of a Cold War narrative with implications for other countries: between a China seeking to shape the new post-1945 world, and one being torn apart by it.

Rana Mitter is Professor of the History and Politics of Modern China, and a Fellow of St Cross College at the University of Oxford. He is the author of several books, including *China’s War with Japan: The Struggle for Survival, 1937-1945* (Penguin, 2013), [US title: *Forgotten Ally*] which won the 2014 RUSI/Duke of Westminster’s Medal for Military Literature, and was named a Book of the Year in the Financial Times and Economist. His latest book is *China’s Good War: How World War II is Shaping a New Nationalism* (Harvard, 2020). He won the 2020 Medlicott Medal for Service to History, awarded by the Historical Association, is a Fellow of the British Academy, and an Officer of the Order of the British Empire.

ROUNDTABLE 1



Ute Meta Bauer is Founding Director of the NTU CCA Singapore, and Professor, School of Art, Design and Media, NTU, Singapore, where she co-chairs the MA in Museum Studies and Curatorial Practice. In 2015 she co-curated with Paul C. Ha the US Pavilion for the 56th Venice Biennale featuring eminent artist Joan Jonas and was appointed co-curator of the 17. Istanbul Biennale and curator of the National Pavilion of Singapore, 59th Venice Art Biennale, featuring Shubigi Rao (both 2022). Bauer's recent research

focuses on Spaces of the Curatorial in Southeast Asia as well as on the interrelation of climate change and cultural loss.

Caroline A. Jones is Professor of art history at MIT, where she also serves as Associate Dean in the School of Architecture and Planning. She studies modern and contemporary art, with a particular focus on its technological modes of production, distribution, and reception, and on its interfaces with science. Her solo-authored publications include *Machine in the Studio* (1996/98), *Eyesight Alone* (2005/08), and *The Global Work of Art* (2016); and, as editor, *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (co-edited, 1998), *Sensorium* (2006), and *Experience* (2016). Exhibitions she curated at MIT include *Sensorium* (2006), *Hans Haacke 1967* (2011), and the forthcoming *Symbionts* (2022). [Photograph by Joel Elliot, National Humanities Center]



Noit Banai (PhD, Columbia University) is an art historian and critic who specializes in modern and contemporary art in a global context, with a particular focus on conditions of exile, diaspora, and statelessness. She is the author of *Yves Klein* (Reaktion Books, 2014), *Being a Border* (Paper Visual Arts, 2021) and a frequent contributor to *Artforum International Magazine*. Recent articles include "Hallucinatory Cinema, Multidirectional Memory, and the Dialogical Politics of Framing," in *Elaborate Gestures of Pastness: Three Films by Dani Gal* (2021) and "A Message to the Empire: Dream Worlds in the Name of Equality," in *Elisabeth Wild: Fantasias* (2020). After teaching at Tufts University in the United States and the University of Vienna in Austria, she is currently Associate Professor at Hong Kong Baptist University.

ROUNDTABLE 2



Kanti Bajpai is Wilmar Professor of Asian Studies and Director of the Centre on Asia and Globalisation, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. Prior to coming to Singapore, he taught at Oxford University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and M. S. University of Baroda, and held visiting appointments at the Brookings Institution, the University of Notre Dame, the Australian Defence Force Academy, and the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. His research interests are international security, India's foreign policy and national security, and South Asia. His most recent book is *India Versus China: Why They Are Not Friends* (2021).

Ian Johnson has been engaged with China for the past thirty-five years, writing on long-term social issues such as the country's search for faith and values, as well as political challenges including efforts to control dissent and history. He is a senior fellow for Chinese studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, regularly contributes to The New York Times and The New York Review of Books, and speaks in the media or to public audiences about China. In 2020, the National Endowment for the Humanities awarded him a Public Scholar grant to write a new book on historical memory in China.



Maria Repnikova is an Assistant Professor in Global Communication at Georgia State University. She is a scholar of Chinese political communication, including critical journalism, propaganda, cyber nationalism, and soft power. She is the author of the award-winning book, *Media Politics in China* (Cambridge 2017), and forthcoming book, *Chinese Soft Power* (Cambridge Elements Series). She also published in numerous top journals, as well as public media like *The New York Times*. Her current project is on Chinese soft power in Africa, with a regional focus on Ethiopia. Maria has a PhD from Oxford University where she was a Rhodes Scholar.

Daya Thussu is Professor of International Communication at School of Communication, Hong Kong Baptist University. In 2018-2019, he was a visiting Distinguished Professor and inaugural Disney Chair in Global Media at Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University, Beijing. For many years he was Professor of International Communication at the University of Westminster in London. Author or editor of 20 books, his latest publication is *BRICS Media: Reshaping the Global Communication Order?* (Routledge, 2021). He is the founder and Managing Editor of the Sage journal Global Media and Communication.



FILMMAKER LECTURE: THE SHORTEST SPEECH



Naeem Mohaiemen imagines rhizomatic families, malleable borders, and socialist utopias—beginning from postcolonial markers and then radiating outward to unlikely transnational alliances. In spite of underscoring a tendency toward misrecognition of allies, the hope of a future global left, against current categories of race, religion and nation, drives the work. He is author of *Prisoners of Shothik Itihash* (Kunsthalle Basel, 2014); editor of *Chittagong Hill Tracts in the Blind Spot of Bangladesh Nationalism* (Drishtipat, 2010); and co-editor w/ Lorenzo Fusi of *System Error: War is a Force that Gives us Meaning* (Sylvana, 2007). [Photo credit: Tate]

PANEL 1: THE OLD AND THE NEW

1. The Cold War and International Relations: Then and Now



The 'Old' Cold War had its beginnings in the closing acts of the Second World War as the US-led Western Allies and the Soviet Union began to ideologically diverge when it was clear that their common foe Nazi Germany was about to be comprehensively defeated. This was a binary ideological conflict that divided the world between the superpowers, with some small space for independent neutral actors in international relations. The conflict was marked by a measure of hard power symmetry between the two leading powers that threatened Mutually Assured Destruction, which created indirect armed conflicts and proxy wars. In 1991, the US declared itself the 'winner' of the 'Old' Cold War as the Soviet Union collapsed, leaving the US as the unipolar global hegemon that was messianically spreading its political system (liberal democracy) in order to create 'like-minded' vassal states.

This was a moment of triumphalism that was captured by the thinking of Brzezinski's 'Grand Chessboard' and the idea of aggressively spreading US influence globally and preventing the rise of competing powers (individual or concert). Therefore the US in the late 20th century was the uncontested global hegemon that was under the spell and illusion of the 'End of History' that would mark its ultimate triumph in shaping the world in its image, left unchecked by the absence of competing powers. Since at least 2014, more and more scholars, observers and commentators have been declaring the beginnings of a 'New' Cold War. This was more prominently lobbied and communicated from the events unfolding in Ukraine involving Russia in the wake of the Euromaidan regime change and subsequent string of events including the Crimean question. There is a distinct and increasing tendency by Western politicians and knowledge makers to try and exploit the use of brands in international relations and global geopolitics that have a historical context and resonance, such as the 'Great Game' or the 'Cold War.' An attempt is made to create emotional and historical linkages between the historical and contemporary events to accumulate political capital and legitimacy. This is often framed within the context of a 'crisis' implying an extraordinary event where the established rules of etiquette and behaviour no longer apply and 'demand' radical measures to re-establish an ordinary environment. These brands are emotional, but make use of logos, a rational logic that is selective and not entirely true. This is required to prime and mobilise mass audiences to act to support the mobilising actor in the manipulated belief of threat to values and time constraint that requires urgent and radical action. The 'New' Cold War is radically different qualitatively and quantitatively from the 'Old' Cold War. There is no binary global ideological geopolitical construct, the global order is gradually transforming away from US unipolar and Western centric order towards a Non-Western multipolar global order, where the US is a declining power that is desperately trying to retain its global status and the privileges that come with it. The US has been crippled politically, economically and increasingly militarily by the Endless Wars created in the 21st century in response to the triumphalism of the 'victory' in the 'Old' Cold War. The conflict is increasing in scale, Russia is the most traditional component, but this has been increasingly involving China from the relatively covert 'Asia Pivot' by Obama to the full out trade war unleashed by Trump on China. This is first and foremost a defensive conflict, which is based upon weakness and not from a position of strength, where communicational power seeks to mask the increasing tangible weaknesses of the US.

Associate Professor **Greg Simons** has a PhD from the University of Canterbury in New Zealand and is currently a researcher at the Humanitarian Institute at Ural Federal University in Russia, a researcher at the Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies (IRES) at Uppsala University in Sweden, a lecturer at the Department of Communication Science and leading researcher at the Business Technology Institute at Turiba University in Riga, Latvia. His research interests include: changing political dynamics

and relationships, the transforming global order, mass media, public diplomacy, political marketing, crisis management communications, media and armed conflict, and the Russian Orthodox Church. He also researches the relationships and connections between information, politics, and armed conflict more broadly, such as the GWOT and Arab Spring.

2. Revisiting the 'End of History' Thesis – 30 Years On



The year 2021, which marks the 30th anniversary of the end of the Cold War, is also an inflection point in shaping global affairs for the decades ahead, in the wake of the US-China rivalries and geopolitical ambitions. The paper aims to revisit Francis Fukuyama's 'end of history' thesis with an interdisciplinary approach, whereby concepts of peace and conflict studies are analysed with global communications and its far-reaching implications, in order to understand an emerging paradigm in international relations, which has multilateralism at its core and is far more complex than the 'end of history' thesis. This paper investigates how Fukuyama's thesis is falling short in delivering the universalisation of Western liberal democracy, in the context of a US – China hypothetical Cold War 2.0, and it will make an attempt to analyse how global communications

can make positive inroads in understanding contemporary conflict. While doing so, an understanding of the post-Cold War narratives would be helpful in decoding the global events unfolding in 2021; thus some of the cases in point that this paper will discuss include the beginning of the Biden presidency, Xi Jinping at the Boao Forum for Asia, Biden-Putin 'two great powers' meet in Geneva, and the media freedom in Hong Kong in recent times. This paper investigates whether a new framework is emerging towards multilateralism which can possibly accommodate US President Joe Biden's 'renewed' and 'unwavering' commitment towards 'shared democratic values' and the Chinese President Xi Jinping's thrust towards a rules-based international order where multilateralism is the way forward for humanity. This paper will highlight the characteristics of civilisational states [such as China] and nation-states [the US and countries in Europe] and discuss the role of global communication in analysing whether Cold War 2.0 is a possibility.

Arjun Chatterjee is a journalist-turned-interdisciplinary academic with over 16 years of experience in broadcast and digital media and research across Asia and Europe. He is a Chevening Scholar [University of Sussex, UK] and a news presenter from India. He has worked with the BBC in London after winning the prestigious BBC-Chevening Professional Placement award in 2017. Arjun Chatterjee was the Producer of BBC's flagship talkshow, HARDtalk. Later, he also worked with BBC Monitoring as a Consultant (2019-2021). Arjun has taught Journalism and Media Studies at colleges and universities in India and the Middle East.

3. The New Cold War: Geopolitics, Covid-19, and Grand Strategies in Great Power Rivalry

This paper considers geopolitical rivalries in the Covid-19 pandemic and post-Covid social revival and economic recovery through China, Taiwan, and the United States. It examines the socioeconomic wellbeing of marginalised populations to reframe a 'New Cold War' narrative of grand strategy for superpower competition and socioeconomic regeneration in deeply entangled economic and trade relations, technological advancement and competition, and regional and global networks of mobilities. This paper contributes to the rethinking and retelling of old and new Cold War stories by linking micro socioeconomics with macro narratives of past and present geopolitics under and after

Covid-19. More specifically, this paper recasts the grand narrative of the (New) Cold War in current geopolitics and the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic at both conceptual and practical levels. It pivots to the economic, demographic, and social class structures to re-focus on the material foundation behind cultural recognitions of marginalised populations, and turns the spotlight to 'at-risk' groups who have been disproportionately impacted by the uneven distributions of vaccines and essential medication, affordability of digital technologies, and shifting manufacturing and supply chains in current geopolitical tensions. These arguments help reframe the narrative of grand strategies towards the wellbeing of marginalised populations, repurposing the narrative of the (New) Cold War for a deeply socioeconomic and humanistic analysis of new mobilities in population movements, capital and cultural flows, supply chain efficiency, digital mobile technology, social class mobility, and inter-generational mobilisation in the changing demography that define our current time and crises of post-Covid recovery and future geopolitical rivalry.

Dr John Wei is a lecturer in Sociology & Gender Studies at the University of Otago. He is the author of *Queer Chinese Cultures & Mobilities: Kinship, Migration, and Middle Classes* (HKUP, 2020; US: Chicago UP). John returned to academia in 2021 after an over four-year hiatus. He serves on the New Zealand Ethics Committee (NZEC). His Syllabus+ and PhD+ initiatives explore new possibilities in tertiary education and graduate training. John shares his work on SocArXiv using the Open Science Framework: <https://osf.io/qbtvh/>.

4. Wishful Narratives of Quitting Cold War Mentalities, their Subsequent Failure, and the Hybrid Warfare Backlash



Narrating Cold war has been the prevailing screen for the universal picture of the world throughout half of the 20th century and the main attribute of the postwar world order. It also served as the predominant instrument of 'rational communication' in global politics. Its power narrative was considered effective by decision makers in conditions of rapid decolonization, evolving geopolitical bipolarity and spreading globalization as an all-embracing concept of international affairs characterized by nuclear strategic confrontation, arms race and intransigent ideological tensions.

Zero sum mentality gave an ominous ring to Cold war indoctrination among both the actants and stakeholders in the East and in the West. The narrative square that shapes up the sense of every story relied in this case on propaganda and brainwashing to pump up meaning into friend and foe contest that had also affected the Third world nations. Yet in spite of malignant security obsession the postwar Europe opposed real-politic logic. Periods of hostility were followed by times of reduced tension, by détente and by a promising but later rejected idea of common transnational home. The missed planetary alternative to finally bury both the Cold war and the Cold peace in Europe and in Asia showed how myopic were the leaders and the masses poisoned by stale Manichean narratives. Entering the new millennium without ideological confrontation we all should have been working for convincing narratives of planetary political warming to be prepared for pending environmental threats and boost options of dignified living. This golden opportunity was missed. Today the failed win-win peace making option of common home is substituted in the digitalized world of the 21st century with the hybrid warfare manipulation and entrainment that allows all parties to easily and 'convincingly' present their narratives of victories and to leave no place for stories of failure.

Victor Nemchinov is a tenured senior research analyst in the Department of Comparative Culturology, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of sciences. Dr. Nemchinov is well known as both an expert in cultural heritage, personal identity, communication theory and as a practicing high level freelance simultaneous interpreter. Victor Nemchinov was visiting professor at the Center for interdisciplinary studies (ZiF), Bielefeld University, Collegium Budapest and Vienna Institute of Cultural studies (IFK). He is International Society of History Didactics and the ICOM member. He headed Russian students' survey in 'Youth and History' international project and was associated with 'Dialogue of Civilizations' Forum.

PANEL 2: UNRAVELING MYTHS, THINKING COUNTERFACTUALLY

1. Rethinking the Cold War Narrative of 'Only Nixon Could Go to China' and the Origins of US-China 'Peer Competition'



Richard Nixon famously claimed that only he could have gone to China: a famed anti-communist who had made his political name during the McCarthyite attacks on left-leaning Americans, Nixon could shake hands with Chairman Mao Zedong without anyone accusing the president of ideological capitulation. This paper will show how this simplistic narrative obfuscates the reality of the US-China rapprochement of the 1970s. Nixon's initiative, bold as it was in execution, was hardly the daring gamble he claimed: by the late 1960s, US elite public opinion was firmly in favour of ending Washington's Cold War confrontation with Mao's China. 'Containment without isolation', a policy that rhymes with many

similar formations in contemporary United States China policy, was proposed in the 1960s and supported by civil society organisations that publicly campaigned for engaging China. These same organizations simultaneously had direct interactions with Nixon and his administration in which they made tangible suggestions for policy changes — many of which were implemented. If the idea of rapprochement came from beyond government, Nixon deserves credit for executing the early stages of rapprochement. But after the president's summit trip to China, US-China rapprochement became a multifaceted process that was too complex to be controlled by the president or his chief foreign policy adviser, Henry Kissinger. This paper will show how what the Chinese leadership called 'people-to-people' contacts, particularly cultural and academic exchanges, built a Sino-American relationship up from the isolation of the 1970s to the deep ties that would define US-China relations from the 1980s and into our own era. By drawing on new evidence from Chinese and US governmental and non-governmental archives, this paper will question narratives about US-China 'Cold War' relations — in the 1970s and today — but also offer insight into how these powerful narratives came to be formed and whose interest they serve.

Pete Millwood is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Society of Fellows in the Humanities at the University of Hong Kong. He researches the history of the Chinese world's international and transnational relations, particularly with the United States. After receiving his DPhil degree in History from St Antony's College, Oxford, Pete held postdoctoral fellowships at Tsinghua and Oxford universities and the London School of Economics. His work has been published in *Diplomatic History* and the *Journal of Contemporary History* and his first book, on cultural and scientific exchanges in the Sino-American rapprochement of the 1970s, is under contract with Cambridge University Press.

2. Late Stalinism and its Impact on the Global Cold War, 1945-1953



This paper explores the neuralgic point of the beginnings of the Cold War in its early phase from the Soviet perspective. After the USSR's victory in World War II which was attributed to Generalissimo Joseph Stalin by Soviet propaganda, the Soviet society experienced with the entrance into the postwar era a fundamental change from war to peace. This was – as my contribution will show – a challenge to Stalin's dictatorship. I argue that Stalin and Stalinist ideology, i.e. Stalinism, needed a prolonged war situation in the shape of a cold war in order to hold on with the repressive dictatorship in inner Soviet domestic affairs and in the neighbouring, occupied countries of Eastern Europe. In this context, cold war meant a retained military confrontation with the United States of America, accompanied by an arms race without risking a hot war. Scholars have discussed intensively the impact of Stalin's dictatorship on Soviet inner policy and the mechanisms of Soviet diplomacy after World War II. My paper wants to attribute a new facet, i.e. Stalin's perception of the Cold War and the formation of a Stalinist stratagem in the Global Cold War after 1945. By exploring these hitherto neglected issues a different view on Soviet foreign policy in its function within Stalinist ideology will be provided. In his politics, Stalin was a pragmatist leader with a sense for realities which meant that he pushed forward if possible, retreated through compromises when demanded in order to keep his system of rule, i.e. Stalinism, in the U.S.S.R and the East European countries intact. The issue of economic and social recovery of the Stalinist system on one hand, the question of national security on the other hand were intertwined. Therefore, Stalin pursued two goals: 1) to hinder a re-emergence of Germany and 2) to establish a safety belt of dependent Central Eastern countries on the USSR's western border.

Eva-Maria Stolberg. 1983-1990 studies of East European history, sinology and Slavic languages at the University of Bonn, 1990 Master degree, 1996 PhD, dissertation 'Stalin and the Chinese Communists. A Strained Alliance against the Background of Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1953' (published in 1997 by Franz Steiner Verlag), assistant professor at the Department of History, University of Bonn, research project: 'Siberia. Russia's Wild East. Myths and Social Realities in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' (published 2005 by Franz Steiner Verlag), 2005-2010 Associate Professor of East European History at the University of Bonn, since 2010 Associate Professor of Modern History at the University of Duisburg-Essen, research stays in Russia (including Siberia and the Russian Far East), Japan, PR China, and the United States.

3. Tracing The Roots Of Heroism In Superman: Counter Narratives Of Communism In Cold War Theory



This paper tries to examine how the American propaganda of anti-authoritarianism regarding the Cold War has contributed to a popular Anti-Communist/Anti-Soviet image across the globe through Mark Millar's *Superman: Red Son*. The story under the Elseworld imprints of DC Comics, where the ship of Krypton's last son crashes in the Eastern Prairies, constructs the image of our very American Superman as the socialist hero, whose ideal world flourished under the beam of socialism. Lex Luthor performs as the symbol of American Capitalist dictator whose wife Lois Lane manipulates Superman into killing Stalin. Superman on the other hand, whose tragic dream of a utopian world transforms his nature of benevolence into the supreme administrator who believed in killing for the greater good of humanity. This paper tries to identify how such American illustration of the Cold war thesis overlooks the dictatorial

nature of the American Capitalist government and manipulates the history by displaying Communism as equal to fascism. This paper also tries to analyse how relevant Arthur Miller's *Crucible* is in relation to America's attempt to discard their violence during the Cold War as seen in *Superman: Red Son*. In conclusion, this paper would try to analyse how an alternative analysis needs to be created within such platforms of popular literary devices. This paper would also analyse the importance of recognizing Russia's attempt to civil rights and the decolonization of Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia to provide a perspective of looking at the end of the Cold War on its 30th anniversary from a multidimensional socio-political outlook.

Upasana Banerjee is an Independent research scholar. She has a postgraduate degree in Comparative Literature from Jadavpur University. Her research interests lie in Indiqueer Activism, Black Feminism, Marxist Feminism and South Asian Culture and Literature. She breathes in Heavy Metal Music.

4. War, Plague, and the Moon: An Analysis of the Cold War Narratives in Alternative History American Science Fiction TV Series



In the first part, this article selects three alternative history American sci-fi TV series *The Man in the High Castle*, *For All Mankind* and *The Counterpart* that appeared in the second decade of the 21st century. These three popular cultural texts narrating focuses on the three key events: World War II, the Cold War and the Moon Landing, which marked the historical process of the 20th century. What will happen if Germany and Japan win the World War II? What will happen if the Soviet Union first landed on the moon? What will happen if the Berlin Wall does not fall? By analysing the narrative structures of the three dramas, we find that their narrative tension is aimed at reappearing and reconstructing the Cold War through direct or indirect means, and the social unconsciousness behind this is intriguing. In the second part, we

continue to explore the narratives of the three dramas with the questions raised in the previous part. After analysing the narrative elements and narrative kinetic energy, we find that the meta-narrative behind the Cold War narratives is actually a kind of cognitive structure of explaining the world. In this cognitive structure, the social unconscious of American culture longs for a distinct 'two worlds' rather than a community with a shared future for mankind. In the third part, we excavated the narratives of the three dramas as a whole, and found that the so-called 'two worlds' is not a simple antagonism between good and evil, and war, plague and the moon are just the fields for two worlds to compete and cooperate. In the end, we draw the conclusion of that alternative history American sci-fi TV dramas reflect American society's desire for a new Cold War in the future based on the romantic nostalgia for the Cold War.

Jin Xiaoju teaches in Yunnan University since 2011. She got her Ph.d Degree of Arts in Peking University, 2011. From 2015 to 2016, she did a six-month stint in Michigan State University as a visiting scholar. American film and television productions is her researching focus and she published papers and a monograph titled *Love, Murders and Ideology in Prime Time: Researches on American Television Dramas*. She is taking a course named American TV Dramas and Popular culture in her university.

PANEL 3: TRANSNATIONAL ART / CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

1. From the Cold War ideology to the EU cultural policies: film co-productions in South East Europe



The paper will examine how cultural diplomacy and soft power, which emerged in the context of Cold War could be a useful insight regarding the EU cultural and film policies in SE Europe. Using the notion of 'prehistory' introduced by Seteney Shami (2000) as temporality embedded in specific power geometries produced by Modernity and colonialism, I will challenge the ways dominant western-centric approaches regarding the Cold War, which emerged in the period of 'post-socialism', impeded us for years from tracing connections to the ways today, culture

and cultural policies are understood and utilised to build bridges beyond borders and to contribute to the process of Europeanisation. Focusing on film policies and the EU funded co-productions from South East Europe, I will try to answer questions related to the ways, co-productions turn to a space of interconnected political ideologies and economic interests. How do they draw from the cultural memories of the Cold War and how do they challenge (or not) the EU hierarchical political agendas as there have been applied in the wider South East Europe? How does revisiting the Cold War as pre-history of globalisation could help us critically assess present EU policies and visions? The research draws from ethnographic field trips in festival film markets in Tbilisi, Sarajevo and Thessaloniki, research in film databases and secondary sources.

Eleni Sideri is a social anthropologist (SOAS) specialising in the ethnographies of the Black Sea and the Caucasus. She conducted fieldwork in post-conflict contexts such as Georgia, Abkhazia, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Her last research was a multi-sited ethnography in different film markets and festivals exploring film co-production networks and the process of Europeanisation. She currently holds the position of Assistant Professor at the department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies-University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki-Greece. She has published extensively in different languages both in edited volumes and journals

2. Transregional Cultural Relations of the Second Socialist World during the Cold War



This presentation analyses from an interdisciplinary perspective the unique example of the Museum of Solidarity and its relations with the socialist countries in Eastern Europe during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1971, the Chilean socialist government of Salvador Allende (1970-1973) established in Santiago a museum based on donations by artists from around the world: the Museo de la Solidaridad (the Museum of Solidarity). It was the first museum in the Americas entirely based on donations from artists intending to create a public collection for Chilean citizens. In the period between 1971-1973, the Museum received hundreds of donations from several countries and artists around the world. After the military coup of 11 September 1973, the Museum was transformed into the

International Museum of Resistance Salvador Allende (MIRSA, 1975-1990), and went into exile to Europe, only to return to Santiago in 1990 as the Museum of Solidarity Salvador Allende (MSSA). Using an interdisciplinary lens at the intersection of transregional (Middell, 2019) and transnational studies (Apor, Iordachi 2013; Bazin, Dubourg, Piotrowski, 2016) this presentation focuses on the analysis of cultural relations of the Second Socialist World (Mikkonen and Koivunen, 2015; Dragostinova and Fidelis, 2018) during the Cold War and in line with the studies of the Cultural Cold War (Gould Davies 2003; Joseph 2019; Zourek 2016, Dragostinova 2018). I argue this case study helps explain the threads uniting countries of the Second Socialist World and adds one more layer to the understanding of the

role of cultural relations as they were established during the Cold War between socialist countries in the South and the East.

Caterina Preda, PhD is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Bucharest where she teaches undergraduate courses on Latin American politics, Art and politics, and Cultural memory in South America and Eastern Europe. Her research is interdisciplinary and deals with art in dictatorships, artistic memory in post-dictatorships in South America and Eastern Europe (Chile and Romania), and the visual representation of the Roma. Her most recent book compares the relationship between art and politics during the dictatorships in Chile and Romania and was published by Palgrave in 2017. Her most recent research projects dealt with the case of the Romanian Artists Union (UAP), and the transregional remembrance of dictatorships through artistic practices in South America and Eastern Europe (2018-2020)

3. Aesthetics, Politics, and Internationalism: Film Weeks in China during the ‘Seventeen Years’



During the Seventeen Years (1949–1966), exhibitions known as ‘Film Weeks’ (dianyingzhou) were used to import and export films. Films, as ideological front, were involved in the transnational and cross-cultural circulation system. From the perspective of the countries that held film weeks during this period, film weeks basically presents the trend from the ‘one-sided’ to the Third world in Asia and Africa. The conventional narrative of cold war history interpreted it as ‘Sino-Soviet split’, China began to consciously establish itself as the leader of the Third World revolution. This paper will review the history of the Film Week during the ‘Seventeen Years’ by combining with the political and diplomatic background of that time, with the materials collected by the Shanghai Archives and other newspapers such as People's Daily. It takes a cultural studies approach to understand the mutual-shaping process of art and politics. Using case studies of the Asian Film Week (1957) and the Asian and African Film Festival (1958-1964), this paper discusses how the third world countries engage in cultural contact and regional cultural cooperation, fight against the neocolonialism of the United States and other countries by holding film exhibitions, and participate in the construction of the international order of the cold war. But in addition to cooperation, there are also contradictions among the third world countries. This paper will take ‘Egypt-China Film Week’ (1957) and ‘China-Iraq film week’ (1958) as examples to further discuss. As an aesthetic practice, film weeks made such abstract concepts as imperialism, neo-colonialism and internationalism a concrete political experience. And participate in the shaping process of new China's political subject, as well as the process of self-expression of national image. This paper hopes to provide historical references for people to rethink China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), especially the ‘The Belt and Road Film Week’ program founded in 2018 by Shanghai International Film Festival.

Huiqi Pan awarded her PhD in School of Communication at East China Normal University in June, 2021. Her project focuses on the practice of film exhibition (including film festivals and film weeks) in Maoist China (1949–1966), examining the mutual shaping process between film exhibition and politics.

4. Cold War and Martial Law Dynamics on Display: Art Exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Manila from 1976-1986

This study examines the art exhibition program at the Metropolitan Museum of Manila as a dynamic site of Cold War cultural diplomacy in martial-law era Philippines. The Marcos government's foreign

NARRATING COLD WARS CONFERENCE

11-13 NOVEMBER 2021 Hong Kong Baptist University



policy of peaceful coexistence and of ‘making new friends while not abandoning old ones’ manifested at the country’s premier art museum. Frequently shown were so-called ‘embassy exhibits’ – ready-to-install thematic travelling art exhibitions facilitated by diplomatic missions. The two most active exhibitors at the museum were the United States and the Soviet Union. Their embassy shows harnessed the soft power of art to advance foreign agenda on top of promoting mutual understanding with the Philippines. The Cold War at the museum, of course, was not without the calculated permission of the host nation. The Marcos regime leveraged both sides for cultural and non-cultural favours. It exploited the goodwill from these embassy exhibits to signal virtues of modernity and legitimacy to its citizens and to the international community. The Metropolitan Museum of Manila and its foreign exhibitions was a dynamic site of multiple motives and volatile alliances in the Cold War and under Martial Law.

May Lyn L. Cruz is a faculty member at the Department of Theory of the University of the Philippines College of Fine Arts, where she teaches Philippine art history. She earned her undergraduate degrees in Economics and Fine Arts (Art History) from the same university, and her master’s degree in Arts Management from the State University of New York – University at Buffalo, under a Fulbright scholarship. Her research interests include Philippine modern art and museum management.

5. Where Does Abstract Art Belong? The Meanings of Abstract Art Beyond the Iron Curtain



From the 1950’s onwards the juxtaposition of abstract art (and modernism in general) contra socialist realism, was one of the key concepts organising the cultural sphere of the Cold War. Within this highly polarised schema, abstraction was often understood as an expression of freedom, available only to those artists living and working in the liberal democracies of the West, while socialist realism was depicted as its diametric opposite, an outdated artistic style, defined purely by politics and mainly serving the purposes of totalitarian propaganda. This binary perspective obscured not only the nuances present in socialist realist artistic production, but also failed to take into account the coexisting plurality of artistic languages in countries of the Eastern Block. In the Polish People’s Republic, for example, the political changes initiated after the death of Stalin in 1953 led to an official critique and even a short term dismissal of socialist

realism, eventually opening up a path towards official acceptance of abstraction and modernism. The aim of this paper is to explore how taking into consideration the presence of abstract art in the countries of the Eastern Block shifts the binary perspective on the cultural politics of the Cold War era. The presentation will focus on the official exhibitions of Polish art organised abroad, such as ‘12 Polish Painters’ (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1961), as well as on the presence of Polish artists in important international exhibitions, such as the Documenta II in Kassel (1959), and the Paris Biennale (1959). By studying and contrasting the critical reception of abstraction from Poland in both local and international press, I will focus on describing the shifts in the political attributions applied to abstract art. I will further show the way these exhibitions of abstract art were used as a means of cultural diplomacy and how at the same time they managed to enable a cultural exchange that moved beyond the Cold War dichotomies. In this way the paper relates to the conference’s goal to complicate the narrative of US-Soviet rivalry by focusing on visual culture and the arts and the divergent narratives and frameworks in which they were disseminated.

Agata Pietrasik is an art historian, her research interests include post-war modernism in Europe, representations of the Holocaust and WWII in the visual arts. She is currently working on the project ‘How Exhibitions Rebuilt Europe: Exhibiting War Crimes in the 1940s’ as part of the Getty/ACLS Postdoctoral Fellowships in the History of Art. She is the author of the book *Art in a Disrupted World. Poland, 1939–1949*, published in 2021.

PANEL 4: THE PRESS, CINEMA, TELEVISION, AND SOFT POWER

1. Before Being the Cold War: On the Origin and Transformation of the Expression ‘Cold War’ in the Anglo-US Press (1942-1950)

Although the expression cold war has a genesis in the distant past, it was during the years of Second World War that it began to spread in the Anglo-US public language. Traditionally, in fact, it is believed that it was used for the first time by George Orwell, in an essay entitled You and the Atomic Bomb («Tribune», October, 1945). However, a survey of the Anglo-US newspapers revealed the formula was already widespread before the great British writer used it, even if it had a different meaning. My paper presents an etymological genealogy of the expression Cold War by analyzing the cultural construction of the concepts underlying it. My research highlights the semantic transformations created by the Anglo-US press from the mid 1940s to the last years of the 1940s. In those years, the phraseme («Cold War») had been used to refer to a whole series of different ‘objects’. This carousel can be considered as an ideological and cultural ‘overwriting’ with a strong polarizing effect both in home politics and in the field of the international relations. I aim at understanding the genesis of an interpretative frame of reference through which, during the second half of the 20th century (and even today), the dynamics of the international system have been analyzed. In this sense, I believe my research project fits into the work of the conference. The expression Cold War was constructed and used in function of the Anglo-US internal and international political interests. It is therefore a question of historicizing one of the most relevant phrases of our modern political language.

Mireno Berrettini is full professor of History of International Relations at the Università Cattolica of Milan (Italy). He has been fellow for the Italian National Research Council (CNR) and for the European Social Fund (ESF). He collaborates with the Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI). He is a scholar of the evolutionary dynamics of the international system, of the relations between Italian Anti-Fascism, Resistance and the British political world. He is currently working on the genesis of the Cold War in Asian perspective.

2. Stanley Kramer, Hollywood Liberalism, and the Cold War

The most prominent liberal American filmmaker of the Cold War era was producer-director Stanley Kramer. The years that marked the start and the greatest success of his career as an independent producer in Hollywood—1947 to 1963—took the United States and the Soviet Union from open, declared hostility to a nuclear test ban treaty. During the Kramer’s early career, an anticommunist Red Scare and blacklist dominated Hollywood. He compromised with and challenged these forces over the late 1940s and 1950s, from both breaking with and hiring leftist screenwriters to publicly taking on the red-baiting American Legion. Consistently opposing anticommunism, Kramer can be labelled most accurately an anti-anticommunist. Kramer reached the peak of his career in the late 1950s and early 1960s just as the domestic consensus on the Cold War began to erode and the two superpowers began to restore cultural relations. He released a film every year, and the production process, plots, and public discussion of *The Defiant Ones* (1958), *On the Beach* (1959), *Inherit the Wind* (1960), and *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961) intersected in multiple ways with the Cold War at home



and abroad. This period culminated in Kramer's starring role at the 1963 Moscow Film Festival, where he served on the jury, introduced American films, and proclaimed his commitments to artistic freedom, civil liberties, and liberal internationalism. Throughout his career, Stanley Kramer operated at the intersection of popular and political culture. Attention to this Hollywood liberal reveals a counter-narrative that departs from conservative and liberal anticommunism with differing consequences for domestic and foreign policy. Kramer's films, public persona and actions, and especially the public debate around both complicate dominant narratives about Cold War consensus and conflict and remind us of the political alternatives available to Americans in the historical moment.

Jennifer Frost is a historian of 20th century United States society, politics, and culture and Associate Professor at the University of Auckland in New Zealand. She is the author of several books, including *Producer of Controversy: Stanley Kramer, Hollywood Liberalism, and the Cold War* (2017). Her latest book is '*Let Us Vote!*: Youth Voting Rights and the 26th Amendment', forthcoming in December 2021.

3. How East Germany Saved (some of) the World: The Invisible Visor – A 1970s Cold War Intelligence TV Series as a Fantasy of Cosmopolitanism and Global Influence



Addressing the later instalments of a 1970's franchise of popular East German television intelligence films under the title 'Das unsichtbare Visier' (The Invisible Visor; hereafter: Visor), this paper shows that these films, unsurprisingly, presented a highly idealized depiction of the activities and agents of East Germany's combined secret police and intelligence service, the Ministry of State Security (in short, Stasi). The paper argues that this fact was not unusual; on the contrary, it made these films part of a global phenomenon of Cold War culture, namely the heroizing and popularizing of the figure of the intelligence agent. The paper also argues that Visor painted the Western abroad – where the agents completed their missions – as both an 'invisible front' that only the bravest and most reliable subjects/citizens could face and an exciting realm of travel and practical cosmopolitanism. Moreover, in the case of the Cold War mid-size power East Germany, its agents' adventures served as a fantasy of international influence. Focusing on this aspect of Visor, this paper speaks to the articulation of narratives that combined the concrete public relations interests of the Stasi, competitive Cold War story-telling, and national self-delineation. Finally, the paper demonstrates that this set of tasks was contradictory: cosmopolitan fantasy met its limits in a country heavily restricting its citizens' ability to travel; the heroization of the intelligence agent could not, ultimately, resolve the Stasi's real image problem, its reputation as a repressive secret police. The paper warns not to assume that such contradictions were limited to the Cold War East or Cold War period.

Tarik Cyril Amar. Historian, Department of History, Koç University, Istanbul. Author of *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv. A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Cornell University Press, 2015). Finishing a study of Cold War spy television series in the Soviet Union, Poland, and East Germany (to be published with Oxford University Press, USA). Starting a project on the depiction of

nature in Soviet film. (Select) research Interests: Russian, Ukrainian, East European history, nationalism, mass violence, modern popular culture, humans and nature.

4. Anti-spy films in 1978 and 1979: Revival and Transition



Anti-spy film or *fate pian* basically refers to the film made from the 1950s to the 1970s, which themes around how national security agent, undercover investigator and frontier guard fight battle of wits and courage with spy. It packages patriotism and socialist preference within suspenseful, exciting and sometime thrilling stories, so as to 'educate the masses in a entertainment manner to be on the alert for potential and possible sabotage form hostile forces in their daily life' (Wu, 2005: 180). Obviously, the appearance of PRC's anti-spy film intentionally or unintentionally corresponds to that of worldwide spy film during the given period. This can be regarded as a common reaction of film industries on both sides of the Cold War division of the world. As Dai Jinhua argues, in the P. R. China, 'the espionage theme formed a primary mode of narrative cinema, qualifying as a distinct sub- or quasi-genre' (2018: 109). She redefines the espionage film as two categories: the one

is around undercover agent who infiltrates the enemy's inner sanctum, and the other is the anti-spy film. Following the changes in the Cold War era, the anti-spy film gradually replaced the spy film since the 1950s and made 'catching spy' become the distinctive subject of the genre. In fact, the red spy images did not frequently appeared on screen until the early 1980s. The spy film revived at that time. *Gunshots in the Security Bureau* (1979) and *The Blue File* (1980) are two prominent examples. A lot of academic attention has been paid to the subject transition. Most literature, however, focuses little on the situation at the turning point of the transition, namely, the period from 1978 to 1979. During the two years, many films banned during the Cultural Revolution were allowed to release. A considerable amount of them were anti-spy films such as *Spy in the Eastern Harbour* (1978) and *Hunting Number 99* (1979). This paper will focus on the easily ignored period to interrogate the narrative and subject of the anti-spy films and the particular political implications they delivered. With attention to the then political agenda of economic reform and opening-up, it will answer why the anti-spy film were unbanned in the given context; from the politically economic perspective, this paper further discuss the relation between the permission and the genre so as to detect the necessity of the subject transition of espionage film. It argues that the transient revival of anti-spy film in the 2-year period paralleled the political agenda. It served to bridge the gap between political and economic requirement in film production. This purpose endowed the anti-spy films with ambiguity in terms of the foe character's political identity. Accordingly, these films were highlighted more by their entertainment than the conflict relating to ideological orthodoxy.

Qi Ai is a postdoctoral fellow in media and communication studies at the School of Journalism and Communication, Shandong University, China, where he also is the associate director of Research Center for Culture, Art and Communication of Film and Teleplay (CACFT). He is a member of Shandong Film Association. He holds a Ph.D. in film and television studies from the University of Nottingham, UK. His research interests primarily include genre studies, film industries and regulation, and Chinese contemporary commercial cinema.

PANEL 5: HUMANITY, ECOLOGY, TRAUMA, PART 1

1. Cold War as a Unifying Human Rights Story



This paper will make three arguments concerning political dimensions of the Cold War that are salient for today's human right advocacy: 1. The promotion and protection of human rights served as a unifying, rallying point for Eastern Europeans during the Cold War. Indeed, human rights advocacy was effectively a form of transnational anti-Communism. 2. Political considerations of who was in the Warsaw Pact (such as Czechoslovakia and Poland) and who was not (such as Albania, Romania and Yugoslavia) strongly affected how Eastern Europe was defined. 3. The 1975 Helsinki Final Act, where the Cold War human standards became concrete, articulated, and subsequently proclaimed, was the symbolic and substantive embodiment for this pattern. Local groups in Communist countries were inspired by the mention of civil liberties as a rallying call for action. Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, Solidarity movement in Poland. Thus, Helsinki triggered a process of verification that was internal, and that built trust in the veracity of international concern and subsequent protections for oppressed people under Communist regimes.

Dr. Itai Sneh's research interests, presentations, courses, and publications include books, articles, and lectures on the history of human rights, justice, American presidential, diplomatic, legal, and political history, international law, terrorism, genocide, Israel, and the Middle East. He is the author of *The Future Almost Arrived: How Jimmy Carter Failed to Change U.S. Foreign Policy*. This book studies Carter's career, his approach to human rights, his formulation of goals, and his practices before, during, and after the presidency, asking whether his avowed promotion and protection of human rights influenced American actions abroad. His two Books in Progress: *Torture through Ages of Injustice: Oppressive Power Regimes, Anti Reconciliation, and Untruths*, demonstrates that torture is often ineffective and self-destructive; and that this practice shows that the legitimacy of the state, regime, empire, or institution involved is low, predicting and hastening its imminent collapse; and *The Encrusted Underside of Glory? Injustice, Inequality, and Struggles in American Legal History*, analysing patterns of socio-economic, racial, and political issues such as public policy, human rights, and law intersected in American history.

2. Strange Harmony: Human Nature and Tyranny in the Eyes of Czesław Miłosz

If every age has its signature works, *The Captive Mind* by Czesław Miłosz is such a work for the Cold War. Published in 1953 and valorized in the West as an incisive critique of the Soviet Bloc, it analyzes the inner world of Eastern Europeans caught in the grip of Stalinist tyranny. This subjectivity is what Miłosz calls 'the captive mind.' But with the Cold War long over, it is time to rethink and reassess his classic. This is the purpose of this paper. Casting a critical look at it, the paper argues that *The Captive Mind* is afflicted and debilitated by an implicit, but all too serious, aporia. As a part of his analysis of Eastern Europe's incarcerated mind, Miłosz articulates a conception of human nature. In a profound irony, however, that conception aligns with—harmonizes with—his portrayal of the evil Stalinist tyranny entralling Eastern Europe. Unwittingly, Miłosz in effect naturalizes that tyranny. He suggests that, rather than being evil, it is all too human—corresponding to elemental propensities of human nature. This paper problematizes this dramatic contradiction. Ultimately, it reflects on the implications of this momentous paradox for understanding the character and history of political oppression. A

monument of the Cold War, *The Captive Mind* is a prime example of Western Cold-War thinking on the Soviet Bloc. This paper is an attempt to rethink critically that exemplary thinking.

Milen Jissov is an Associate Professor in history at the BNU-HKBU United International College, in Zhuhai, China. He completed his Ph.D. at Queen's University, in Canada, and specializes in modern European intellectual and cultural history. His work has appeared previously in *Left History*, the *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire*, the *Asian Journal of German and European Studies*, and *The European Legacy*.

3. African/American Women and Global Solidarities: Memories and Silences



Intellectual histories are meant to be seen—in particular read, parsed, debated. Yet the late twentieth-century line of thought and connection that ran through African American connections to the Global South has been, through its nature, discreet. Amidst the Cold War, Black activists interested in crafting an intellectual response to colonialism, apartheid, and late-stage capitalism often met in secret, without notes, and many activists maintain this discretion while participating in oral histories or other celebratory projects. In doing so, they often chose to reject or not participate in narrating Cold War stories that were subject to binary or similarly divergent concerns. During the 1976 Soweto Massacre, South African students demonstrated against a decree that Afrikaans be their medium of instruction, regardless of a school's geographic positioning or demographics. As they marched through the streets of several major cities, police officers in Soweto—near Johannesburg—opened fire. The next day, an iconic photo of thirteen-year-old Hector Pieterson, bloodied and dying as a friend rushed him for help and his sister wailed alongside topped newspaper pages around the globe. In Havana, Cuba's Granma and its televised news seized upon an opportunity to show the horror of one of its enemies. In the middle of a tri-continental organizing conference, a group of African American women watched in horror as the images filtered into their Havana location.

They channelled it to change their approach to anti-apartheid organizing within the United States. This paper will examine the aftermath of that conference and the difficulties in researching this attempt to construct childhood innocence for watching American audiences. In doing so, it examines what organizers did much of their work while eliding the particular circumstances that had led to this shift. Based upon my interviews with activists, as well as media analyses of the events, I ask how this story can be more fully fleshed in a community that has utilized discretion to survive. Additionally, I ask what responsibility historians have toward maintaining this source discretion, even as progressive organizing perhaps relies on an ability to better understand—and therefore better elucidate—this that went before. In doing so, I hope to ask how we might more evenly consider disparate Cold War experiences and their telling.

Mary Ann Houser is Associate Professor of History at Ouachita Baptist University. She is a graduate of Ouachita, The College of William and Mary, and Howard University. While she generally researches Transatlantic solidarities dealing with southern Africa, she teaches broad courses in World History, African History, and Caribbean History. She is the author of numerous articles and book chapters as well as of *Bureaucrats of Liberation: Southern African and American Lawyers During the Apartheid Era* (Leiden University Press, 2020).

4. Visual Proximation and Socialist Internationalist Feminism: Displacing Binaries of the Cold War through Film OYOYO (1980) by Chetna Vora



Chetna Vora, an Indian student who came to East Berlin (part of German Democratic Republic or GDR) in the mid 1970's made two important and rarely known films during her study at Babelsberg Film academy - towards her third year submission *OYOYO* in 1980 and towards her graduation in 1981 *Women In Berlin*. This paper is a study into politics of friendship towards feminist socialist internationalism as a concept by means of the film *OYOYO*. Departing from a close architectural study of a prefabricated building of a student hostel for students of Political Economy, *OYOYO* enters into minor histories of their everyday lives. As students from various socialist countries such as Mongolia, Chile, India, Bissau, Cuba, Mali, Greece arrive in East

Germany and anti-colonial struggles and post-coloniality turn on the (-x to +x) axis of the cold war period, the binaries of US and Soviet get displaced. Thus, this research paper proposes to provincialize the binary polarities of cold war, and see the narrative as something that travels through many nodes. That each of these nodes can be made a center of minor, potential and subaltern histories negating the spatial configuration of two centers of cold war and many peripherals between them. This paper focuses on a fragment and takes research as an exercise in ontogeny, which in turn is always already implicated in sociogeny and thus there is inherent aspiration for sociogenesis. In socialist framework of GDR, it provides not only ends but means to engage and create lateral alliances across towards internationalist feminist socialism. Thus, this research paper proposes to displace binary narrative of cold war and tries to open up minor and potential histories.

Vinit Agarwal has graduated in 2019 from Critical Curatorial Cybernetic Research Practices (CCC RP) at Visual Arts Department at HEAD in Geneva/CH after working for eight years as a full-time software engineer (Bachelor of Engineering, 2008); Vinit has contributed as a researcher and writer of various performative texts including at The HKW Museum in Berlin, The Dark Mountain journal and One Gee In Fog, amongst others. He worked as scientific/artistic research-collaborator in a SNSF-funded research project on technopolitics, internationalism and decolonisation from 2019-2021. Currently, Vinit lives in his village Banera in Rajasthan and works as an independent researcher.

PANEL 6: HUMANITY, ECOLOGY, TRAUMA, PART 2

1. Trauma, Cold War, Decolonization and China

I would like to address the issue of decolonization and the Cold War. It is very important to think of the relationship between Cold War and decolonization because the first phase of decolonization lasted from 1945 to 1955 and included both Middle East and South East Asia. The second phase began after the Non-Aligned Movement conference in Bandung in 1955 and mainly involved North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. Looking at Jonathan J. Howlett, decolonization is more than a matter of high-level diplomacy and instead defines it as the removal of outside influences from a country, or as he argues, it is clear that there was still much to be done when the Chinese Communist Party came to power in 1949. He highlights 2 lines in this regard; firstly, China remains largely on the sidelines in the models that focus mainly on India, the Dominions and Africa. This is perhaps because China was never a formal colony, yet China was a place of imperial competition. Second, the relationship between China and Britain is so complex that it must be included in the story. Although British colonization left a harsh imprint in India and everywhere else, it is essential to think and talk about this trauma. The



Cold War (period of geopolitical tension between the Soviet Union and the United States and their respective allies, from 1947 until the dissolution of the Soviet Union) divided Europe into East and West Europe. Socialist and communist countries supported anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles. The decolonization movements had an impact on art, culture and theory. I would like to see this relationship through the perspective of violence, genocide, and trauma, and reflect on China's place in the first phase of decolonization.

Marina Gržinić is a philosopher and theoretician from Ljubljana. She is a prominent contemporary theoretical and critical figure

in Slovenia. Since 1993 she is employed at the Institute of Philosophy at the Scientific and Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts (short ZRC-SAZU in Slovenian and SRC-SASA in English). She serves as a professor and research adviser. Since 2003, she has also served as Professor at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Austria. Gržinić's work is directed towards a theory of ideology, theory of technology, biopolitics/necropolitics, video technology and transfeminism in connection with decoloniality.

2. War Movies And Commemoration – How Movies Can Function As Tools For Remembrance



This paper asks the question how war movies can function as tools for remembrance, and to what extent they can be viewed as valuable commemorative pieces for war veterans. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the co-existence between pop culture and history, and how war movies can be viewed in a historical and cultural context. The paper has focused on movies from the Second Indochina war, given the long history of movie making about the subject, and the amount of movies made about the war. From the Green Berets (1968) to Da 5 Bloods (2020) the Vietnam War has been able to amaze, terrify and shock moviegoers for the last fifty years, and continues to be a somewhat relevant pop cultural phenomenon. The paper has through analyses of movie

reviews, first-hand accounts and literature about the war sought to gain an understanding on how veterans view the depiction of soldiers in combat on film, and how they feel represented by them. The paper has shown how war veterans feel a connection to these movies, and, albeit not every movie has the same historically correct depictions of the battlefield how they still manage to bring out emotions in the viewer, either good or bad. As depictions of war the movies can give the veteran a feeling of representation by triggering a sense of familiarity with the actors, set and locations on the screen. This in turn can bring out old memories and long forgotten feelings in the viewer, thus providing a valuable, sometimes catharising experience for the veteran. Considering this it can be concluded that war movies inherit both historical value and pop cultural significance, and as such can be used commemoratively by veterans.

Kent Sommer-Edström wrote his Masters thesis on how disclosure of atrocities and war crimes impacted the movies about the Second Indochina war, during both the war years and the years afterwards. He has since continued his research on this topic and is currently focusing on the historical value of war movies and how war movies can function as commemorative pieces of pop culture. Main historical interests are the Cold War, the Second Indochina War, and literature, books, movies, and pop culture from 1945 to 2000.

3. Curating Memory: Exploring Visual Narratives in Cold War Museums and Memorials in Taiwan, Vietnam, South Korea, and Cambodia



In many East and Southeast Asian countries, the Cold War remains alive through places of memory that capture parts of the Cold War's legacy. This essay explores the topic of the visual and experiential language of the Cold War as expressed in these places of memory, where governments, civil society organizations, and individuals continue to recast and adapt their official and unofficial narratives of the Cold War and its enduring legacies. This article is based on a series of trips that the author took while in graduate school to places of memory in Taiwan, Vietnam, South Korea, and Cambodia and subsequent research. It weaves together the visitor's immediate experience as a foreigner and tourist with an understanding of how each place situates its narrative in the historical mainstream. The essay examines how sites manufacture recollections and identities in their role as

industries of memory, while also contrasting the inherent tension between their commemorative-religious components and scholarly-secular ones. Places of memory use a combination of visual media — statues, preserved military equipment, descriptions and data — and experiential tools — like designated pathways, lighting, and audio — to instil in visitors their desired impressions. They are focal points for experiencing countries' Cold War histories, especially for foreign travellers, but must also contend with preconceived Cold War narratives obtained from Western media, creating tension in determining which representation is more authentic and whether the local museum may be as full of propaganda as the international movie. Throughout all of the selected places of memory, there remain unaddressed questions of identity — who we are, what we did, what was done to us, who we want to be — that spur visitors to reflect on these questions for places of memory relevant to their own countries and selves.

Giacomo Bagarella is a consultant and writer based in New York City. He works at HR&A Advisors, where he advises clients on urban and economic development. His passion for cities and their histories informs projects such as this one. His work has been published in Foreign Policy, TechCrunch, and Gizmodo, as well as in peer-reviewed journals in Asia and Europe. He holds a bachelor's degree in Government from Harvard University and a joint master's in public policy from the London School of Economics and Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy.

4. Climate Race?: Accounting For A Hot Planet In A New Cold War World

Confronting China has become a top priority for both the new US administration and many of its allies. New initiatives (B3W) and old propositions (the QUAD) are given a new boost and celebrated as a winning strategy in defying the China threat. In a rhetoric dangerously reminiscent of the twentieth century Cold War, the friend-enemy distinction once again evokes the old ideological language of democracy vs. communism; only this time communism has been merged with authoritarianism. As new Cold War rhetoric gains traction across the world, this paper assesses the effects of the newly emergent bi-polarity and confrontational postures on the urgent need for global climate action. Does the new Cold War rhetoric extend to climate action? Could ideological differences be reconciled in addressing this global threat? Alternatively, can confrontation be leveraged as means for competition



and technological breakthroughs to prevent the devastating effects of climate change? Are there lessons from the Space Race that could be applied to a Climate Race? In particular, can the competition for global climate leadership, as part of the emerging antagonism, amount to positive breakthroughs in technologies and methods for addressing climate mitigation and adaptation? To examine such questions, the paper first revisits the visual and media discourse on the Space Race in order to draw out key aspects of the competition as presented in the public eye. Following, the paper maps out the Space Race framework onto the current discourse and representations on climate action and climate leadership, including tech innovations and support for mitigation and adaptation efforts. The last part of the paper comments on the broader implications of these findings, and especially the opportunities to leverage the language of antagonistic competition and scientific superiority as a means to stimulate government action on climate change.

Dr. Marina Kaneti is Assistant Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS. She works on issues pertaining to global governance and the (visual) politics of climate change, migration, and the Belt Road initiative.

PANEL 7: MIGRATION, EXILE, DEFLECTION

1. Exiled Ecologies: Recollecting Cold War Sinophone Displacement



The Cold War was accompanied by the emergence of nations in Asia. Paradoxically, it also resulted in migrant spaces that persist in tension with nation-states today. This paper examines two such spaces – the New Villages (新村, xin cun) and Military Dependents' Villages (眷村, juan cun) – through film and literature. As villages that witnessed large-scale forced migration during the Cold War, embedded within discourses of Anglo-American geopolitical aid and development, they are crucial founding blocks for Malaysian and Taiwanese national narratives that emerged from the Cold War. Yet, state narratives of development mandate the disappearance of these villages. This paper shows how writers and filmmakers in Malaysia and Taiwan utilize narratives about ecology, heritage, and exile, to contend with state attempts to shape post-Cold War national identities that move away from this Cold War past. It compares two streams of Sinophone cultural production. The first is by Taiwanese authors and filmmakers

through the 1980s and 90s, also known as juan cun wen xue (the literature of the juan cun), including short stories by Taiwanese author Chu T'ien-hsin and popular films such as *Papa Can You Hear Me Sing*, which depict a nostalgia for simplicity and rural life, in contrast with state-driven urban development. The second is by Chinese Malaysian writers and filmmakers such as Wong Yoon Wah and Lau Kek Huat, part of a recent wave of cultural works that address the violence of the Malayan Emergency, by resurrecting a vanishing Nanyang ecology that originated from tin mining and colonial extraction. Comparing these transnational heritage narratives, this paper intervenes in discussions of Cold War geopolitics in Asia through the frameworks of migration, space, and ecology.

Zhou Hau Liew is currently visiting scholar at National Taiwan University. He holds a PhD in Comparative Literature from the University of Pennsylvania and was previously a postdoctoral fellow at the Mahindra Humanities Center at Harvard University. His work has appeared in *Critical Asian Studies* and *Postcolonial Studies*. He is writing a book about exile, migrants, and the spatial legacies of the Cold War in Asia.

2. Towards De-Cold War: The Sentiment of Anticommunism and Antiprostitution in the Narrative of 'Dalumei' (Mainland Little Sister) in Taiwan



Investigating the narrative of dalumei (mainland little sister) and daluren (mainlander) through ethnography and textual analysis, this paper understands how the legacy of the Cold War and the Chinese Civil War continues to shape a structure of feeling and mainland Chinese migrants' everyday life in today's Taiwanese society. This paper discusses different types of texts that signal a positional superiority (Ding 2015) entangled with the dimensions of nationality and gender. Through my fieldwork between 2018 and 2020 in the Taiwan teahouses, where mainland Chinese hostesses entertained their Taiwanese clients through singing, chatting, and dancing with them, I observed how the hostesses were depicted by Taiwanese people. For example, in the teahouse district, the ideas such as 'ghost,' 'virus' and dalumei were used to describe an 'evil' imagination of the mainland Chinese hostesses and their erotic business in Taiwan. Furthermore, this paper analyses media representation in which mainland Chinese migrants in Taiwan, who once worked in sex-related industry or were engaged in 'sham marriage' (jiajiehung 假結婚), are portrayed as a threat to Taiwan's economic and political security. Tracing key moments after 1949, this paper focuses on how the Cold War and the feminist sex wars on the licensed prostitution in 1997 constructed the sentiment of anticommunism and antiprostitution and shaped a cross-strait structure of feeling. Through discussing the paradox of cross-strait intimacy and hostility, this paper argues that the affective structure against the communist Other has been maintained by the trope of 'dalumei' in the post-Cold War Taiwan. Finally, this paper highlights the importance of 'de-Cold War' (Chen 2010) in the context of Taiwan and China.

Dr I-ting Chen received her PhD in Cultural Studies at Lingnan University, Hong Kong, where she is currently a part-time lecturer at the Department of Cultural Studies. Her research interests include Cold War politics, sex work, gender and sexuality, migration, and cross-strait intimacy.

3. Conditional Recognition: North Korean Defector Cinema in South Korea

This research examines North Korean defector cinema (*t'albukyönghwa*), which is a Cold-War cinematic genre that defines films representing North Korean defectors in South Korea. In reference to Agamben's idea of homo sacer as those who 'can be killed but not sacrificed' by sovereign power, this paper inverts this notion in order to explore the sacrifice of North Korean defectors as deputies, negotiators, and cooperators represented in South Korean cinema. By the Constitution of South Korea, the juridical territory of the nation includes North Korea, albeit no sovereignty is practically exercised over the area. Therefore, North Korean defectors who arrived in South Korea are considered to have regained their citizenship from a formally 'displaced' status. South Korean cinema reflects the displaced identity of North Korean defectors who arrived in an entirely new political system. North Korean defectors are largely depicted in two modes in South Korean cinema, critical realism and



blockbuster genre. Realist films depict the lives of North Korean defectors who lack agency during their transition to unfamiliar ideological and economic structures. At heart, realist films intend to inter-contextualize with other outcasted lives regarding ethnicity, gender, sexuality and disability. However, they demur from imagining other ways of living with agency. Blockbuster films are able to simulate the agency of North Korean defectors as interstitial and transient beings, navigating both within and outside of the law, and yet they are included into South Korea conditionally. By analyzing these two modes of North Korean defector cinema, this paper examines how the identity of North Korean defectors are conditionally recognized in South Korean cinema in the post-Cold War condition of the Korean peninsula.

Jinhee Park is a media scholar who specializes in Korean cinema and media. She is currently a lecturer in the School of Communication Arts at the Handong Global University. She received her PhD in Cinema and Media Studies at the University of Southern California. Prior to her PhD, she earned her MFA in Film at Syracuse University. Her book project, *Aesthetics of Reversibility: Post-Cold War Cinema in the Division of Korea* explores the cinematic aesthetics that stemmed from the post–Cold War condition of divided Korea. She uses an interdisciplinary methodology that includes media studies, cultural studies, and East Asian Studies.

4. A Man without a Country: British Imperial Nostalgia in *Ferry to Hong Kong* (1959)



On New Year's Eve 1959, *Ferry to Hong Kong* was screened at the Lee Theatre and the Astor in Hong Kong. Produced by Rank as its first CinemaScope feature, the big-budget movie tells the real-life tale of Steven Ragan, a stateless drifter who was stuck for ten months on the ferry sailing between Hong Kong and Macau. Ragan's (aka Michael Patrick O'Brien) unusual experiences were keenly reported by the international press in 1952–53 and fictionalized by Simon Kent (Max Catto) in *Ferry to Hongkong* (1957). First, *Ferry to Hong Kong*

could be seen as an 'anxious cinema' (Sue Harper, Vincent Porter) eager to reestablish British national assurance on Asian Cold War fronts, following the 1956 Suez Canal debacle that witnessed the passing of Britain's empire might and international influence at the hands of the Eisenhower administration. The film conveyed sentiments of imperial nostalgia and loss by portraying a stateless subject, a descendant of the doomed Austrian and British empires. The director Lewis Gilbert later made *The 7th Dawn* (1964) about the retreat of British colonial forces from Malaya after WWII, another collaborative production starring William Holden as an American major. Second, Orson Welles called Hong Kong 'the new Third Man territory,' pompously referring to *The Third Man* (1949), a British film with his star persona that captured the paranoia and vulnerability of Vienna during the four-power occupation of Austria (1945–1955). This comparison unwittingly reveals British fears about the precariousness of Hong Kong in resisting the infiltrations of Communist China. More than the adventure of the vagabond *Ferry to Hong Kong* was an espionage thriller in uneasy disguise. The film precisely preceded Gilbert's three James Bond films that affirmed the power of the individual in cracking trans-boundary networks of espionage and political intrigue.

Kenny Ng is an Associate Professor at the Academy of Film, Hong Kong Baptist University. His published books include *The Lost Geopoetic Horizon of Li Jieren: The Crisis of Writing Chengdu in Revolutionary China* (Brill, 2015); *Indiescape Hong Kong: Interviews and Essays* (co-authored, 2018) [Chinese]; *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow: Hong Kong Cinema with Sino-links in Politics, Art, and Tradition* (2021) [Chinese]. His ongoing book projects concern censorship and visual cultural politics in Cold War Hong Kong and Asia, the politics of Cantonese-language and Sinophone cinemas, and left-wing cosmopolitanism.

PANEL 8: CHINA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

1. G7's Rhetoric of Rivalry with China via Hong Kong



Although the Group of Seven (G7) claimed itself to be a community of common values that stands for 'peace, security and a self-determined life all around the world' (G7, 2015), members of the group scramble over how to define and react to the rise of China after it joined the World Trade Organization at the turn of the 21st century. The internal division among G7 further deepened since China overtook Japan to become the world's second largest economy by 2010, and became more trivial during Donald Trump's reign as American president. At the 2018 G7 summit, Trump

decided to reject the joint communique, breaking the group's collegiality openly for the first time. Yet, other members also deviated from the group's official stance from time to time, each adjusting its 'long view' of China. These views were essentially the political rhetoric adopted by the Western elites and were often captured by public affairs magazines in these countries, part of which formed the corpus of this study. Specifically, Hong Kong has been frequently regarded as a major point of contention between China and the US, which by extension led to a rivalry with the Western elite states in the G7. The reaction on the Hong Kong protests since 2019 was seen as a proxy battle between the East and the West – The strategic importance of Hong Kong was inferred when G7 leaders issued a joint declaration that called for violence to be avoided while reaffirming the importance of the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984 amidst the protests, sending a clear signal to Beijing and the rest of the world that the West feel obliged to 'protect' this city. Hence, instead of merely a gateway for the West to enter the Chinese market, Hong Kong also serves as a bridgehead in the ongoing US-China trade war; or in ideological terms, a new cold war between liberal democracy and totalitarianism (Barron, 2019). This paper is the first comparative journalism study of political rhetoric adopted by all of the individual G7 members. Specifically, it examines how public affairs magazines in G7 covered the Hong Kong protests, sparked by the anti-extradition bill movement in 2019, and ended with the passage of the national security law for Hong Kong in the following year. This series of events has invoked a global fear towards 'Chinese expansionism', the political rhetoric spread by the Western media that laid the foundation of the so-called 'Cold War 2.0'.

Vincent Wong is a pioneer in promoting solutions journalism in Asia, with more than 20 years of experience in the communication industry. He got an MBA and an LL.B. from the Cambridge University and University of London respectively. His career began in Ogilvy & Mather Advertising in 1997, and then joined the Hong Kong Government in 1998, working on town planning and long term care policy. His book *Macrocreativity* was awarded 'Hong Kong Good Books' in 2005.

2. Media Representation of China in COVID-19 News Coverage: an analysis of the language of two Western newspapers



This study examines the news coverage of China against the backdrop of Covid-19 in the New York Times (NYT) and the Irish Times (IT), with the aim of addressing what areas of concern were selected and foregrounded to the public in the two media outlets, what themes were selected and how linguistic devices were used to frame China's response to Covid-19. In previous research (e.g., Chen et al. 2021, Gao and Jing 2020, Wang and Liu 2020), the representation of China on the topic in the western media is mainly focused on America-led NATO sources, but not sufficiently considered in the Non-NATO western media. Through qualitative and quantitative content analyses of news reports ranging from January 2020 to January 2021, it was found that those in one newspaper present a negative image of Chinese politics and its economy, and of Chinese people's emotion and social life, whereas the other's reporting was mainly neutral. The study investigates how the use of frames changed across the one-year time span of the enquiry. Analysis of metaphorical expressions in the

reports shows that in the NYT metaphors tended to be employed in negative reports as a device to establish unfavourable images of China. Its leader, its political system, its media, people, government, and anti-pandemic measures were represented by metaphors drawing on source domains such as warfare, natural disaster, imprisonment, and disease. Reports in the IT, however, were noticeably free of figurative language and presented a more balanced picture of China. The comparison highlights the selection, emphasis and exclusion practices in the NYT, while showing that neutral reporting as in the IT can exist in a Western media outlet. The study thus broadens the scope of existing analyses of the image of China and deepens the methodological endeavors in media studies through combining content analysis and linguistic analysis.

Dr. Haiyan Men is a lecturer in the Faculty of Foreign Languages of Shanghai Sanda University, China. She got her PhD degree in English Linguistics from Birmingham City University in 2015. Her major research interests include corpus linguistics and applied linguistics. She has published a monograph in collocation studies and several papers in both national and international quality journals.

Dr. Zhixia Yang is a lecturer in the Faculty of Foreign Languages of Shanghai Sanda University, China. She got her PhD degree in English Linguistics from Birmingham City University in 2017. Her areas of specialization include discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, language teaching and media study. She has published a monograph in a study of rhetorical questions in monologic genres and various articles in the area of pragmatics and education.

3. Hungary and the New Cold War Narrative on China

We have witnessed the rise of a Cold War narrative on China in the mainstream news media of the core countries of the EU since early 2018, the 'official' onset of the USA-China trade war. Hungary under the Orbán government seemed to be intact for a long while, until with the plans of 'Fudan



Hungary' in early 2021 a harsh Cold War rhetoric appeared in Hungarian oppositional media, presenting the Fudan case as a choice for the nation between East and West. The paper is based on close analysis of textual samples from Hungarian oppositional news media, comparing them to English and German language articles of a similar rhetoric. It also tries to explain the development in a domestic political context. Relations to China had not been a divisive issue in Hungarian politics before, until the Fudan plan became public and helped unify the Hungarian political opposition against China and the China-friendly Orbán-government. This opposition has also gladly embraced the Cold War narrative on China, and now uses it to prove its loyalty to the 'West'. They seem to be insensitive, however, to the fact that the 'West' itself is highly divided about China. For Hungary belonging to the 'West' means belonging to the EU, and the China question has further polarized the already existing

pro-EU and anti-EU camps within the country. What is lacking is a reflection on the broader complexity: how should the EU position itself between the USA and China in their rivalry? The Cold War rhetoric that has become prevalent and extreme influential in Hungarian oppositional media is actually reflecting a USA standpoint, and stays silent on the particular interests of the EU – and, actually, also of Hungary. Due to its strong mobilizing power it seems to be instrumentalized for domestic political gains.

Dr. habil. Ágota Révész, sinologist, worked in China for six years as a diplomat representing her native Hungary. Her most recent research project at Freie Universität Berlin focused on Chinese cultural diplomacy. She now leads an interdisciplinary project aiming at „China competence“ at the Center for Cultural Studies on Science and Technology in China at Technische Universität Berlin; and is coordinator for the Working Group „Public diplomacy and knowledge production“ at CHERN (China in Europe Research Network). Her current research focus is EU-China relations, Chinese soft power and perceptions of China (narratives and framing in the European media).

4. Imaging the West Philippine Sea Dispute Between China and the Philippines



The current rhetoric of the Duterte administration of the Philippines welcomes China as 'friend' runs counter to its current implementation of anti-communist project around the country. The anti-communist stance is a vestige of the Cold War rhetoric that was a prevalent in the 80s through state-sponsored red-tagging. Many groups have opposed the government's lukewarm stance against China regarding the West Philippine Sea dispute as well as the government's anti-communist stance. This paper examines how the imaging (through videos, graphics, and photography) in the media complicates the messaging of groups against the government. It argues that by further painting China as the enemy through the framing of dispute over the West Philippine Sea, this paradoxically validates the anti-communist stance of the government furthering the Cold War rhetoric of the past.

Jean Claire Dy is a Filipino-Chinese filmmaker, writer, and educator from the South of the Philippines. She holds a MA in Media Studies from the New School in New York and is currently Assistant Professor of Media Studies at the University of the Philippines Visayas. In the past, she was a Lecturer at the

Convergence Media Lab of the Cheung Kong School of Journalism and Communications at Shantou University in China. She is the founder of Stories Beyond, an initiative that envisions telling restorative and transformative narratives of communities beyond the single story. Her films and video pieces have been screened and exhibited in various festivals and exhibitions in the international scene

PANEL 9: TWITTER DIPLOMACY

1. Making Cold War Public Diplomacy? China's Twitter Diplomacy During the Pandemic



Recently, contemporary geopolitical rivalry between the US and China has by media and politicians been described as developing into a new Cold War scenario. Although historical conditions of the aftermath of World War II and today's competition for super power status are fundamentally different, the type of confrontational public diplomatic communication between the two competing countries for world dominance may easily lead to the conclusion that the world is entering into a new phase of intense geopolitical and ideological tensions. The practice of Twitter-diplomacy aggressively taken up by Chinese diplomats in 2020 as a response to the US President's numerous tweets is a recent development enabled by digital technology. It is the purpose of this paper to explore how Chinese diplomats started employing Twitter-diplomacy in 2020 and the nature in terms of topical content of this novel way of promoting public diplomacy. The paper will also address the question how mainstream media in Europe's major countries reacted to China's amplification of more combative diplomatic communication on Twitter to assess the media response of China's new diplomatic communication in particularly Western Europe.

For the textual analysis of China's official Twitter-diplomacy in 2020 a complete dataset of diplomatic tweets and retweets posted by 30 leading Chinese foreign policy government officials has been leveraged. Articles commenting on China's Twitter-diplomacy has also been identified in mainstream right-wing and left-wing media in the US, the UK, France, Germany and Italy. To examine the Twitter-data an innovative interdisciplinary approach of combining content and discourse analysis based on computational data-analytical and social-constructivist discourse-analytical methods will be applied. Framing analysis have been conducted in relation to European media responses. We expect in this paper to be able to demonstrate that as an authoritarian power China under stress from the pandemic and geopolitical rivalry vigorously engaged in public diplomacy on the social media platform of Twitter with specific aims and objectives that were not necessarily compliant with Twitter-diplomacy by government officials and diplomats from liberal democratic states. However, European media reacted to Chinese diplomatic narratives on Twitter based on preconceived notions about Twitter-diplomacy. With this research hypothesis, our ambition with this paper is to contribute to new understandings of not only China's Twitter-diplomacy per se, but in particular to new public diplomacy as carried out by an authoritarian super power in an era reminiscent of the Cold War, but in fact very different given the new technologies of communication.

Mette Thunø is associate professor at Aarhus University, Denmark, where she does research on global China and teaches classes related to contemporary China issues in the Department of Global Studies, China Studies Section. Her current research interest is studying China as a diaspora state, Chinese migration to Europe and PRC diplomacy. She has written extensively on Chinese transnationalism from the perspective of migrants and the Party-state and one of her current research project is on exploring PRC authoritarian diaspora governance. Currently, she is also undertaking a research project of China's new Twitter diplomacy based on all PRC diplomatic tweets in English of 2020. Her most recent

publication is the Introduction to a special issue of International Migration (2020) that she was also the co-editor of with Professor Li Minghuan, Jinan University, Guangzhou, PRC.

2. ‘For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind’ – China’s Twiplomacy and its repercussion in France



This paper examines China’s official Twitter diplomacy, a.k.a. Twiplomacy, in France in the COVID-19 era (I), its repercussions on the French government’s response to China (II), as well as China’s image in the French media and public opinion (III). Throughout the 2010s, as the Chinese economic interests in Europe including France became more visible and concerned virtually every sector, think tanks, governments and the media advocated the securitization of the Chinese economic presence through a ‘China threat’ narrative, calling to exercise anticipatory thinking, capabilities and resilience. Amidst a climate of mounting tension and distrust, His Excellency Lu Shaye took office as the new Chinese Ambassador to France and Monaco in July 2019; in

August, the Chinese embassy in Paris opened its Twitter account, @AmbassadeChine, aimed at promoting the values and outlook of China through soft power and public diplomacy, a long-term goal for Beijing’s foreign policy. However, as the COVID-19 spread to the globe, began a battle of narratives between states, arguing over responsibility and failures, while taking credit for their successes in aid and vaccine diplomacy, which, to many extents, is reminiscent of the language of the Cold War, in terms of structure, tropes, vocabularies and visuality. Based on computational data-analytical methods, this paper argues that the Tweets and retweets of @AmbassadeChine and Lu Shaye’s interviews in the French media, became a sharp power communication tool to enhance Beijing’s political messaging, and assert the Chinese perspective on the pandemic and other contemporary issues, illustrative of China’s authoritarian populism and the strategic rivalry between the PRC and the EU’s normative power. The tough and at times offensive words used by the Chinese compelled the French government to call Lu to order. As the world is still battling with the pandemic, the brutal ordering of Hong Kong SAR and the fate of the Uighurs further antagonized the Europeans and the French vis-à-vis China. While public opinion surveys reveal that the attraction for China has reached a historic low, our social constructivist framing analysis of the French media across the political spectrum, argues that the cumulation of aggressive Twiplomacy, coupled with the authoritarian control in Hong Kong and Xinjiang, will continue to weigh on China’s ability to influence preferences through attraction or persuasion, at least in liberal democracies and France in particular.

Dr **Emilie Tran** is assistant professor and the European Studies Programme Director, at the Department of Government and International Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University. She researches on China-Europe and China-France relations. She received the President’s Award for Outstanding Performance in Teaching 2021. Since 2018, she has been an elected official, representing the French living abroad, in her second term as Councilor of the French in Hong Kong and Macao.

3. Othering China: German Media Discourse During the Pandemic

This article examines Germany’s responses to China’s new tactic, Twitter diplomacy, a marked shift since the late 2019. It refers to a series of increasingly assertive and aggressive online engagements to shape how China is perceived online and it is characterised by colloquial and punchy tweets with usually confrontational and conspiratorial content from diplomats of China. In response to the

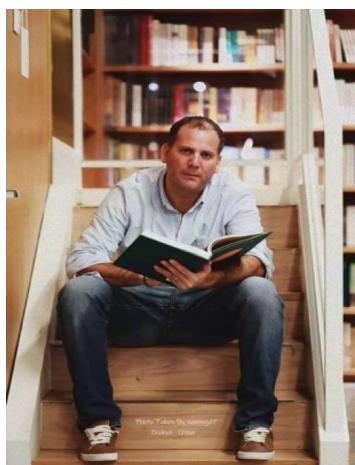


outbreak of Covid-19 in China and the following spread to the world, Twitter diplomacy is considered a more efficient way of letting out China's voice and deflecting any blame for the outbreak of the pandemic. It also displays 'fighting spirit' demanded by Xi. More importantly, this new aggressive Chinese foreign policy has escalated to a new era of China-US relations that some might call new cold war and further partakes the global battles of narratives. Against this background, this paper examines the repercussions of China's aggressive style of diplomacy in Germany media discourse as part of a larger research project concerning Europe. This paper focuses, first, on relevant articles on two mainstream German newspapers, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (central left) and the

Süddeutsche Zeitung (central right) in 2020 and surveys the ways in which Twitter diplomacy is discussed and evaluated in these two media outlets. Second, in parallel to the first point, this paper also looks at how China is perceived with regard to Covid-19, its origin and containment tactics, in a wider range of German media, including Der Spiegel and BILD. This paper observes that, regardless of the political stance, both newspapers perform similar negative responses to China's Twitter diplomacy. With regard to China and Covid-19, the author identifies negative narratives in which China is perceived either as inferior other (at the early stage of breakout in China) or dangerous other (when Covid-19 becomes a pandemic).

Yu-chin Tseng is appointed Junior Professor of Taiwan Studies at the University of Tübingen in 2018, and since then she has served as the co-director of the European Research Center on Contemporary Taiwan (ERCCT). Her research interests lie in the area of migration, global mobility, gender and intimacy, citizenship studies and Asian politics. She has published widely on the issues of marriage migrants in Taiwan, Chinese student migration in UK, gender and family in Asia, and same-sex marriage in Taiwan. Her current research focuses on two topics: intra-Asia mobilities for study and work, and China as an authoritarian diaspora state and its overseas population. She previously worked for an ESRC project, Bright Future: Students on the Move, and she is currently the executive editor of the Journal of Translocal Chinese: East Asian Perspectives.

4. Chinese discourse against United States in the WTO arena



China's rise on the global scenario can be interpreted from the various readings of Chinese pragmatism. Debates on institutional quality, hegemonic orientation and Chinese particularity has different consideration over pragmatism definition. In turn, the WTO arena is a representative framework of how China conceives these debates about its own ascent on the world scenario. Thus, an analysis of the discourse of China's demands against United States in the WTO dispute mechanism finds that China performs a rule-shaker function but not a rule-maker function. This means that China strategically accepts certain institutional frameworks, with partially criticism to them for the promotion of Chinese particularity. Moreover, China does not seem to have hegemonic vocation within the framework of the WTO arena.

Mariano Mosquera is a Doctor in Political Science from National University of Cordoba and Director of the Center for Belt & Road Studies at Catholic University of Cordoba in Argentina (<http://ucc.edu.ar/china/>). He was a professor and researcher at Sun Yat-sen University in the People's Republic of China. Author of one book and several scientific articles on Chinese political discourse. Mosquera's website: <https://www.marianomosquera.com>.

GRADUATE STUDENT PANEL 1: COLD WAR, SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

1. Cold War Redux: Who Ended the Cold War and Squandered the Cold Peace?



The ideological battles of the previous generations hold the keys to the challenges we face during periods of tumult and chaos; ‘history may not repeat itself, but it does rhyme,’ as Mark Twain waxed poetically. In other words, the past may hold valuable lessons for the future survival of the species on this planet. In this essay, we reexamine the history of the Cold War: who won the ideological battles and how the hard-won victories were later squandered. The history of the twentieth century may offer some teachable lessons for the challenges we face in the twenty-first century. The first part of the essay examines the historical dynamics between American President Ronald Reagan and Russian President Mikhail Gorbachev nearing the end of the Cold War. The second part of the essay examines how the peace dividend was squandered by the Western powers, argued within the framework of Mr. Francis Fukuyama’s ‘the end of history’ debate, and the immutable power of liberalism and democracy in shaping the future of humanity.

Amartya Sharma is an undergraduate freshman at the George Washington University in Washington D.C., studying in the 'Politics & Values' program.

2. Not a Cold War but An Uneasy Peace



The steady deterioration of the US-China relationship has prompted the creation of several theoretical approaches to comprehend the nature of the two nations contemporary great power competition. The Cold War comparison is a valuable heuristic for understanding the dynamics of the US–China strategic competition, but it is based on a bygone US-Soviet relationship, which may lead to misconceptions regarding the present US-China relationship. The analogy of the Cold War enables the US to engulf on a path of uneasy peace towards China and a self-fulfilling prophecy of perceiving the PRC as a strategic competitor whose aim is to overtake the US as the sole hegemony. Stapleton Roy believes that the present US-China relationship is fundamentally different from the Soviet Union-West connection. Deploying the analogy of the Cold War cannot be applied to China-US relations as both countries are not engaged in proxy wars, ideological

military expansion of the US and Soviet Union. To dispel any misconceptions about the parallel, it is contended that the New Cold War's central paradigm is a long-term ‘muddle through’ marked by intervals of greater tension accompanied by détente, rather than overt confrontation with one side conceding defeat. The dramatic rise of China's economic and military dominance in the twenty-first century has forced the United States to confront a competitor for the first time since the fall of the Soviet Union: a rival with the ability to become a powerhouse and dethrone it as the world's hegemon. China's heft revolves around the economy and not hegemony. As the Soviet Union's economy began to stagnate, the Cold War cooled, and then stopped as the Soviet Union fell apart. There were vehement expectations for the collapse of the Chinese economy, political system, or both, but this seems to be highly unlikely. As a result, China would be a much more formidable opponent than the

Soviet Union. The complexity and extent of interdependencies prompted US officials to advocate for economic decoupling from China on a global scale. The practical aim is not to excise the Chinese economy, but to bring its technical growth to a halt to gain a competitive edge in global supply chains. Economic warfare would work better against present-day globally integrated China than it did in the Cold War against the autarkic Soviet Union, it might, as Robert J Art notes: seriously hurt the US in ways that economic warfare against the Soviet Union never could. In short, the US and China are in a mutually assured relationship economically: each can retaliate against economic warfare waged by the other. For all the recent turmoil, China has been a tremendous economic beneficiary of the current world order. Beijing is not looking to upend the global order as much as it is trying to carve out more space within to accommodate its primacy. The US needs to renounce the Cold War paradigm and acquire an accurate understanding of itself, China, and the rest of the world, adapting to the development and prosperity of other countries and living in harmony with them.

Angie Hesham Abdo is a sea power researcher that focuses on China, an alumnus delegate of Harvard University, 2018. She was invited to Malaysia by Harvard University project for Asia and International Relations, where she gave a speech about the reason behind why American companies file for bankruptcy in China. Due to their lack of understanding of the Chinese consumer's needs and mentality. The seminar provoked Angie to think and act in the spirit of multilateralism, embracing the changing dynamics and conditions of a globalized world. Angie was a guest speaker in the Webinar USDInfo.org where she spoke about China- U.S relations and how the U.S hawkish stance towards China and its foreign policy solidifies the U.S waning decline and unease with Beijing's rise. She is the recipient of the Emerging Scholars award 2021 and co-chair and presenter at the University of Concordia, Montreal 2021, her presentation explored the emerging themes of Bio-politics and the State of emergency. She published multiple academic articles with Journal of Contemporary Voice and GRIN Wissen Finden & publizeren and submitted evidence to the UK Parliament Defence Committee. Her article on COVID19 was chosen in the 'WHO' special print.

3. Sputnik I and American Popular Thought at the Dawn of the Space Age



In 1957, the Soviet Union successfully launched the world's first artificial satellite – Sputnik I. In the United States, many saw Sputnik's launch as the dawn of a new era, the opening of humanity's 'Space Age'. Yet at the same time, the Soviet satellite seemed to trigger a crisis of confidence among American commentators and political figures. How could the Soviet Union – an opponent which was supposed to be technologically and scientifically behind – manage to achieve such a tremendous milestone? How could the United States catch up, if not overtake, their opponent? Historians have recognised that the early years of the Space Race are often characterized by a 'master narrative'. The dominant story of the Space Race sees American policymakers, surprised by Soviet success, immediately take action to try and surpass the Soviets as quickly as possible – and surpass they do, with 1969's lunar landing. At its core, this narrative is one of American success that has been echoed time and again, particularly by popular media. However, this story usually relies on the notion that 'crisis' was the

dominant feeling of post-Sputnik America. Popular print media of the time reveals that the American response to Sputnik was incredibly varied. While public discourse certainly reflected a heightened level of anxiety regarding Soviet capabilities (both technical and military), this was not the sole perspective. Instead, American thinking regarding the satellite's significance in the military, scientific, and domestic spheres often reflected contemporary concerns. While there were indeed many who

saw immediate crisis, there were also many who pushed back against such cries. The varied American responses to Sputnik I reveal to us the limits of dominant narratives in explaining significant historical moments and invite us to reconsider our ideas of Cold War consensus and the opening moments of the Space Age.

Tom Wilkinson is a graduate student at the University of Auckland. At the time of writing, he is preparing to commence a PhD focusing on American responses to the Space Race from 1957 to the mid-1960s. Previously, he has written a Master of Arts thesis entitled ‘Who wants to go to the Moon anyway?’ American Responses to the Launch of Sputnik, 1957’ and an Honour’s dissertation on the early years of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty exploring the establishment of these stations and their time as potential broadcasters of ‘grey propaganda’.

4. Scientific Populism During Cov-19 in Social Media: A Comparative Study Based on the Changing Sentimental Attitudes of Chinese and American Internet Users Towards Scientists



In recent years, populist movements have emerged around the world. Scholars have pointed out that political populism, which is a legacy of the Cold War, is characterized by a portrayal of society as a fundamental struggle between a supposedly morally superior people and a morally inferior political elite. However, this anti-elite sentiment is not only directed at politicians, but also at elites in other fields, including scientists and academic institutions. It is more important than ever to examine the relationship between populism and the production and dissemination of knowledge. The conceptualization of science populism rests on three scholarly foundations. First, the study of political populism provides an understanding of populist logics, actors and principles; second, the participatory turn of science suggests that public demands for participation have transcended the political sphere and follow different core logics in different areas; third, the study of core logics from science and its epistemology suggests that the authority of science is constantly being challenged and that alternative epistemologies are increasingly important. Alternative epistemologies are becoming increasingly important. In Cov-19, scientists have become important reference subjects, and their advice has become an important guide for the public in taking measures to prevent the epidemic. The subjects of this study are the Chinese scientist Zhong Nanshan and the American scientist Fauci, both of whom have played an important role in the epidemic. The study will analyze how the opinions and sentiments of the Chinese public towards the representative scientists evolved during the different phases of Cov-19. A common approach to sentiment lexicon-based analysis is to first use an off-the-shelf sentiment lexicon to match sentiment words to the text to be analyzed, then aggregate the sentiment words to calculate an overall rating, and finally obtain the overall sentiment tendency of the text. This paper proposes to adopt James Russell's circumplex model of affect, enabling it to perform more detailed sentiment classification.

April Chen Xinyue is a master's student in University of Science and Technology of China with double bachelor's degrees in New Media and International Economics. April is a young scholar of computational social science whose interests rely on science communication, political communication, man-machine interaction and feminism. During highly quantitative education, April has an intellectual curiosity to different fields. She is also a photographer, a volunteer and a life-long learner.

Yao Yao is now a master's student in Annenberg school of journalism and communication in University of Southern California, majoring in communication management. Her research interests focus on political communication, international journalism and international relations. She is trying to combine qualitative and quantitative methods to address more communication problems in social media.

GRADUATE STUDENT PANEL 2: CONFLICT

1. News as Nationalism: Analysing India-China Border Conflict on India's Two Leading TV Networks



This paper considers the role of Indian TV news in producing and publicising nationalistic narratives during the 2020 India-China border conflict: first major border clash since the 1962 war between the two neighbours. Grounded in framing theory and using nationalism as its contextual framework, this study will report the findings of a thematic discourse analysis on the introduction section of prime-time debate shows on two of the most watched English

language news channels in India: Republic TV (the overtly nationalistic network, which claims to have the largest audience share) and Times Now (part of the *Times of India* group, India's largest and oldest media organization). Evidence gathered revealed a prevalence of six nationalistic frameworks deployed by the two news networks in their coverage of the border row: (i) Attribution of blame (ii) Anti-China bias (iii) Defining the enemy of the nation (iv) Strong emotive appeal (v) Discrediting the military might of the enemy by exaggeration and hyperbole (vi) Selective description. The paper questions the limits of peace and conflict theory in comprehending the role of media in conflict situations and the results reinforce the idea of taking into consideration of domestic factors while analysing media coverage on contested international issues. The study also shows that the US-led Western media continues to be a dominant player in setting the global media agenda and news media in countries such as India still struggle to reach wider global audiences, despite the existence of an English-language 24/7 news economy. In the absence of a global impact, the focus of news networks has been, specifically, to exploit the (re)emergence of majoritarian nationalism to cater to an increasingly politically polarized domestic audience.

Anilesh Kumar is an award-winning bilingual Radio and Television journalist. He holds a master's degree in TV Journalism from Goldsmiths, University of London and a second master's in International Relations and Democratic Politics from University of Westminster, London. Prior to pursuing PhD, he was working as a senior correspondent covering foreign affairs. He is currently exploring the rise of nationalistic journalism across the globe. In particular, he aims to map the factors that lead to the production of nationalistic news content in TV media. He is also the host for Hong Kong Baptist University's talk series – Global Ideas.

2. Differentiated Narratives of Parallel Conflicts: A Comparative Analysis of Western, Indian, and Chinese Media Discourse on Kashmir and Xinjiang



Comparing media discourses of Kashmir and Xinjiang through the lens of critical geopolitics, this study connects different parties' narratives of conflict zones to a global discursive contestation against the backdrop of a 'New Cold War'. Focusing on Western and domestic media's coverage of Kashmir and Xinjiang, it yields three findings. First, while both Indian and Chinese media attempted to portray normalcy and development, Western liberal media held onto their professionalism and tried to uncover the concealed conflicts and struggles. Although Western media held the same standard in reporting facts about Kashmir and Xinjiang, their interpretations were discriminatory. Our second finding shows that both Indian media and the New York Times framed the Indian government's crackdown on Kashmir as part of the US-led Global War on Terror. While the Chinese media's attempts to legitimize the government's actions in Xinjiang as anti-terrorism measures were fiercely debunked by the Western media, who used the Xinjiang case to exemplify the Chinese government's systematic oppression of minorities. Third, while Western media tend to portray human rights problems in Kashmir as sporadic and endemic, they portrayed the human rights infringement in Xinjiang as systematic and symptomatic. Indian media, though downplayed or negated human rights violations, still understood human rights in line with the Western Enlightenment tradition. Chinese media, however, challenged the Western charges by redefining human rights in favour of security and economic development. In sum, Western media held an Euro-centric perspective, regarding Kashmir as a remote area marred by wars while Xinjiang as a region captured and tortured by China. Despite some factual contentions, Indian media's reports of Kashmir were within the hegemonic geopolitical framework laid out

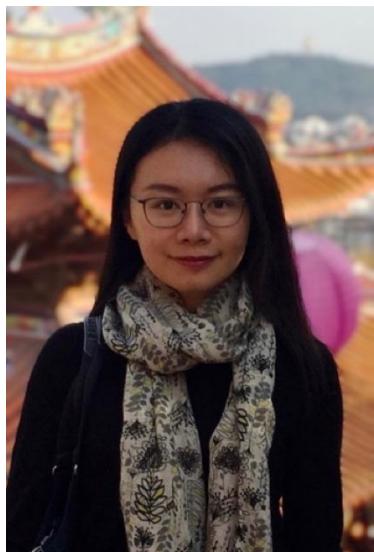
by Euro-Americans. Chinese media, conversely, posed a fundamental challenge to this narrative, seeking to promote an alternative geopolitical paradigm accentuating the Chinese interests and aspirations.

Abdul Rahoot K.K is an award winning journalist and a researcher. His research interests include political communication and journalism practice.

Youran Abby QIN is a Ph.D. student at the University of Wisconsin-Madison's School of Journalism and Mass Communication. Her research draws on multiple methods to explore the intersection of politics and communication.

3. Network Agenda Setting (NAS) in China-US Trade Conflict News: A Comparative Study across China, the US, Singapore and Ireland

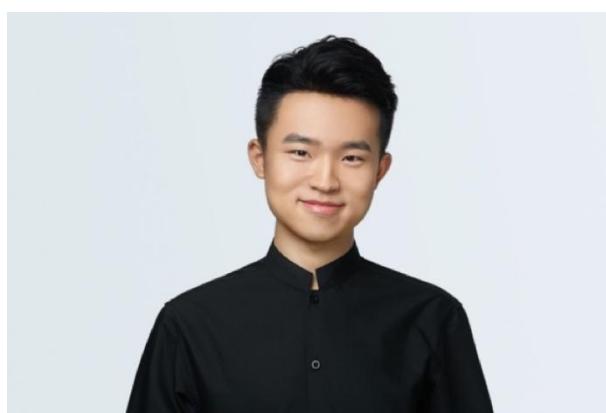
China-US trade conflict since 2018 not just threatens bilateral economy, whilst also deteriorating relationship within the political, military, technological and even ideological domain. To justify their actions, both two countries have been interpreting the conflicts from their own positions through linking frictions in different areas. News media play a critical role in setting their own country's agenda



abroad, and then influencing other countries' news contents and public opinions; this speaks to the inter-media agenda-setting theory in international journalism studies. Stemming from the agenda-setting at the first and the second level, which examines the salience transference of objects and/or objects' attributes, network agenda-setting (NAS), explores the transference of 'salience of networked relationships among objects and/or attributes'. This manual content analysis (from June 16, 2015 to January 20, 2020; n = 1,564) compares the NAS in trade conflict news across China, the US, Singapore and Ireland—four countries differing greatly regarding their political interests and journalistic culture. The comparative approach is helpful to uncover to what extent the differences regarding the attributes' network reflect these countries' characteristics. Additionally, this study investigates the chronological change of the attributes' network in each country, and therefore revealing to what extent the change is associated with China-US trade conflict's fluctuations. After several rounds of pilot studies, 15 attributes of the China-US trade conflict were identified. Results suggest that dyadic correlations regarding the attributes' networks exist significantly between the four countries, which illustrates the prevalence of the globalized news outlook. However, the correlation scores in all dyadic comparisons with China are lower compared to all dyadic comparisons with the US. The NAS between China and the US also differ in a higher degree than other dyadic comparisons.

Mrs. **Shujun Liu** (MA, at Chinese University of Hong Kong) is a PhD Candidate at the School of Journalism and Communication, Tsinghua University; the visiting scholar of University of Amsterdam (Netherlands). Previously, she worked as a journalist in Xinhua News Agency (Beijing, China). Her research focuses on the comparative political communication and Chinese Journalism.

4. New Cold War in Post-COVID Era: Political Cartoon Expressions between China and the West



Since the outbreak of COVID-19, although China effectively controlled the spread of the virus, some western politicians and media spread blaming voices and directly link the coronavirus with China. Covers and illustrations of many western newspapers depict or indicate China created and caused the global pandemic, which resulted in a certain degree of 'Blaming China War' on the western internet, and then triggered Chinese netizens' 'Pro-China Action' as a fight back. One example is Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* putting virus-shaped figures on

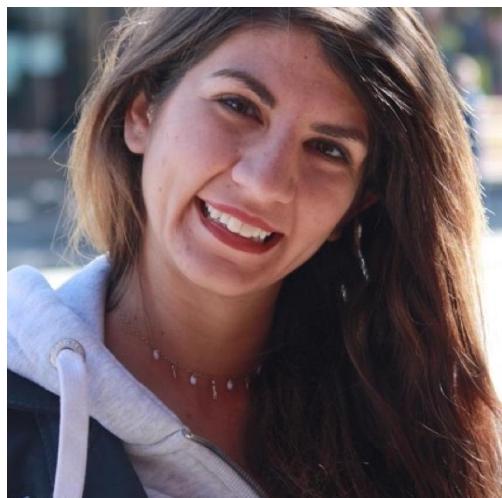
China's national flag, which has raised wide discussion on Weibo platform. Political cartoons is an editorial cartoon which conveys opinions, political views, ideologies from the creator, visual expressions on comics can be easily interpreted and spread via new media channels including Twitter, Instagram, Weibo, and etc.. Since the US-China trade war started in 2016, the United States and its western allies utilise political cartoons to portray China as an enemy, especially focusing on democracy, Hong Kong and Xinjiang affairs. As a fight back, Chinese CG artist Fu Yu's (Wuheqilin) produced several well-conceived CG paintings, including 'Peace Force', 'Crown A Jester', 'Floyd, Can You Breathe?'. Those widely circulated computer-generated images were considered as propaganda

tools by several scholars, several international media pointed out CG artworks would open China's combative diplomacy, which is more effective than traditional propaganda like news, statements, promotional videos, etc. The paper aims to study characteristics of China's political cartoons by analysing Wuheqilin's artworks and its exposures on Twitter, Instagram, and other international social media platforms. The proposal also discusses the possibilities of political cartoons on international communication and future strategies of promote and exporting the ideology of China.

Yu Ma, MA in Film and Media Studies, 2020 University of Copenhagen; BA, Film, Television, and Drama Literature, 2015 China University of Labor Relations (CULR); BM, Financial Management, 2015 CULR. Yu is looking for a PhD student at the moment. His paper 'Film Aesthetics of Circular Frame' won the Top Poster Award on the International Communication Association's (ICA) Conference in Washington D.C. in 2019. He is interested in audiovisual studies, visual communication, intercultural communication, as well as media representation in the Arctic. His previous experience includes participation in Copenhagen Asian Film Festival as marketing manager.

GRADUATE STUDENT PANEL 3: SOFT POWER, PART 1

1. Benevolent Hospitality? The International Student and American Imperialism in Susan Choi's The Foreign Student



Through an analysis of Choi's novel, *The Foreign Student*, this essay aims to look at the concepts of hospitality and benevolence, and at how these concepts which are often loaded with positive connotations enabled, and sometimes were used to hide, American Imperialism during and after the Korean war and, in some ways, still to this day. Choi's novel is one of the very few narratives of the Korean War told from a Korean perspective in English. The Korean War is also called the 'Forgotten War' because of the lack of documents pertaining to it. However, although it might have been forgotten in the American imaginary, the Korean War has had far-reaching consequences for the US and for Korea as it created a massive Korean exodus and is essential to understand the formation of the Korean American subject and

population. Choi's protagonist is a Korean man who comes to the US as an international student. This essay looks at how the US used international students as pawns in their 'integration strategy' while hiding behind the mask of the benevolent hero who were the only ones capable of stopping the great evil which was communism. In her book, Choi explains how after liberating Korea from Japanese colonial rule, the US stayed in Korea as a 'facilitating presence' to help Korea in its period of transition. Interestingly, during this period of transition many American products made their way to Korea. During the Cold War, the US used the communist threat as an excuse to go to any country they deemed 'needy' to help them fight and 'contain' the communist threat, even when those said countries did not ask for their help. During those years, the US recasted what looks in every shape and form like cultural hegemony as 'benevolence'. To expand American imperialism, the US needed to win the hearts and minds of the Asian population. One way to do so was to welcome international students, like Choi's protagonist, teach them to love America and its way of life and then send them back to their country as the perfect American ambassadors. Susan Choi's novel is particularly suited to analyze this process as well as to analyze the racial positioning of Asian subjects in the US during the Cold War. This essay also uses Derrida's concept of hospitality to compare the kind of hospitality the

US got in Korea and the one they offered Koreans after the war. We will also look at the inherent risks related to extending hospitality and how the host can quickly become the guest in its own country.

Joanna Conings is a Belgian international student who graduated first from the Université of Namur with a Bachelor in German languages and literatures (English/ Dutch), then obtained a Master in English at Creighton University, Nebraska, on a full scholarship, and who is now studying at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln in the hope of getting a Master in French.

2. Sukarno's Experiment with Liberal Democracy and the Cornell's Modern Indonesia's Project



When the US government initiated area studies program into Southeast Asia, Indonesia emerged as one of the main interests of students and scholars. In the early 60s, the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project (CMIP) spearheaded by renowned activist and scholar George Kahin, alongside a community of young Area studies scholars, produced monumental works exploring Indonesian politics, religion and society. The US grappled with the complexities of Asian countries which had undergone long centuries of colonialism and were now transitioning into independent countries. Kahin witnessed the political turmoil of post-independent Indonesia. Various groups competed over a commanding role in the emerging nation. This period was marked by Sukarno's experiment with liberal democracy, despite his reputation as a staunch critic of colonialism and western imposed ideologies. Various actors and groups, including the CMIP, emerged to examine Indonesia's

response to Sukarno's version of nationalism and his politics of non-alignment, the 'Third World Vision.' The existing literature has discussed how CMIP scholars influenced the trajectory of 'Indonesian Studies.' It has not, however, discussed how Sukarno influenced the trajectory of CMIP's early phase. This paper is a preliminary work on Sukarno's collaborative conversation with CMIP scholars. In this essay, I analyze (1) CMIP's political analyses of the newly independent Indonesia and (2) the historiographical implications of CMIP's re-positioning of Indonesia (within Southeast Asia). I read these thrusts alongside (3) Sukarno's vision of Indonesia' within the backdrop of the Cold War Southeast Asian politics. My goal is to highlight their intentional and unintentional intersections as well as divergences.

Veronica B. Sison is a teaching associate at the University of the Philippines Diliman where she is currently taking her MA in History. Her research interests are in Cold War politics and production of knowledge in Southeast Asia, colonial history and global history. She is taking part in the Reconceptualizing the Cold War Project spearheaded by Prof. Masuda Hajimu of the National University of Singapore.

3. Motives of the Cultural Cold War by the United States: behind the Congress for Cultural Freedom (1950-1967)

In the Cold War era, the United States focused on the external promotion of the Abstract Expressionism as a powerful weapon to defeat the USSR and elevated its cultural impact in field of arts. Speaking from the reasons that why this art movement was valued by America over half a century ago, foreign policy of the United States and its shift in strategy in the Cold War era played a crucial role in promoting the Abstract Expressionism apart from its artistic advantage and radical



development. The observation of the movement and the promotion draws to the conclusion that the prosperity of the market of Abstract Expressionism provides an indispensable resource for the target of the outward promotion and implementation of foreign cultural policy of the United States. Meanwhile, the enforcement of the foreign policy in cultural Cold War also strengthens the international impact of the art movement. This paper discusses the reason of the success of the promotion of the Abstract Expressionism on the basis of first-hand literature and history as well as official documents, applying methods including history analysis and case study as a manner to acquire better comprehension of the very history

from the perspective of foreign policy.

Shi Jingjing is a Ph.D student of the School of International Studies of Peking University, majoring in diplomacy. Her research interest mainly focuses on America's cultural diplomacy and interdisciplinary field in arts and international relations. In 2020, she participated Peking University and Tokyo University's Forum themed 'The Growing US-China Conflict and East Asia'. She is now conducting a research on American abstract art and its globalization on a basis of international relations study and has recently published a critique *On Internationalization of American Contemporary Art* on China's leading art website Artron.

GRADUATE STUDENT PANEL 4: SOFT POWER, PART 2

1. Digitizing Nostalgia: Translated Soviet in the Kerala Public Sphere



For the reading public of the small Malayalam-speaking state of Kerala in India, the dissolution of the USSR in 1991 meant not just the downfall of the strongest Communist federation till date, but also an end to the golden era of Soviet Literature. Since its inception, the USSR had recorded a successful employment of literature as propaganda in its state-building enterprise – setting up state-owned publishing giants in Moscow to produce and disseminate quality translations across much of what was then known as the Third World. Through a microhistorical approach, the first part of this article would examine the modes of production, censoring, and dissemination of these translations; the political agenda behind such an undertaking by the Soviet in the context of the

Cold War; how it instilled a cosmopolitan sensibility amongst the Malayali readership; and its literary, cultural, and ideological ramifications in Kerala which is in stark contrast to the rest of India. I would argue that the Cold War, though then absent as a discursive category, mediated the cultural public sphere of Kerala in the twentieth century to fit into its polarized model. In the second section, I would analyze the re-configuration of the notion of Soviet Union in the Malayali psyche – from a sought-after utopia to a dreaded dictatorship – in the years leading to and following the dissolution of USSR in 1991, the subsequent critical disengagement with it marked with nostalgia, and the recent trend of digitizing the preserved copies of old Soviet translations on new media platforms. With the help of the conceptual tool of mediatization, I believe that my project would throw light on how the digital archiving of Cold War literature foregrounding children's literature and collectors' childhood nostalgia

carefully re-narrativizes it for posterity, excluding the propaganda-ideology cornerstone on which it was built in the first place.

Eesha Jila Ikbal. Completed BA (hons.) in English from EFLU, Hyderabad; MA in Comparative Literature from University of Hyderabad; currently a doctoral research scholar in the Department of Cultural Studies at EFLU working on the twentieth century Kerala cultural public sphere. Areas of interest include Cultural History, Book History, Translation Studies, Comparative Indian Literature, Marxism, and Microhistory.

2. Imagined Enemy or ‘the Hope of Village’: Postcolonial Discourse in Media Representation of Wu Lei in China and Spain



Cold War is a legitimate subject of the history of violence, integrated into the broader concept of postcolonial history. This study applies the concept of postcolonialism, which emerged around the 1980s, two decades after the highpoint of decolonization and along with the final stage of the Cold War. Postcolonialism criticizes the imagination of class and racial enemies, which include Cold War narratives, Orientalism, and Ethnocentrism. International football is a forum that symbolized war between countries. In this forum Western countries play the dominant role. Asian countries always devote national and private resources to participate in international football games and to resist the hegemony of Western countries in this sport. Wu Lei has been the only Chinese footballer to play in the top five European football leagues since 2019. This study explores postcolonial discourses in media representations of Wu Lei, using critical discourse analysis of two-year coverage in Spain and China. In China, Media and fans call Wu Lei ‘the hope of the whole village’, which symbolizes him as a resistant force to the modernized and developed European football system. Spanish media emphasize the Chinese image as an economic hegemon instead of a political otherness. Chinese private capital has penetrated Spanish markets in recent years and Spanish football clubs have been seeking global interests and investments. A discourse of an economic hegemon has emerged, which developed from the orientalist discourse reproducing mysterianism and xenophobia. Chinese media maintains ambiguous attitudes to the outbound private capital when the Chinese government had limited irrational outbound investments. The ambiguous attitudes could also be because private capital and its ideology have not been legitimized enough in China. The power of private capital has been partially substituted by nationalism and the value of self-realization in the Chinese narrative of Wu Lei.



Shenglan Qing is a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Audiovisual Communication and Advertising, Autonomous University of Barcelona. Her research interests span from globalization, cultural studies to comparative studies and computational methods. Her dissertation analyzes the glocalization of neoliberalism in social media discussions about reality television programs in China and Spain. Shenglan holds a Master of audiovisual communication at Autonomous University of Barcelona. Her Bachelor's degree in Spanish came from Central South University (Hunan, China). As the first author,

she published research in a multi-lingual academic journal *Observatorio* and presented her research in international conferences IAMCR and ICA.

Zesheng Yang is currently a doctoral candidate in the Department of Audiovisual Communication and Advertising at Autonomous University of Barcelona. He earned his master's degree in mass communication at Wee Kim Wee School of Communication and Information at Singapore Nanyang Technological University in 2017. His research interests include social media, digital platforms, and race, ethnicity and sports.

3. Visions of Spatial-Temporality After the Grand-Narrative: Nostalgia and Screen-dance in *Youth* (2017) and *The Shape of Water* (2017)



Though 1991 saw the defeat of camp-socialism and the end of the Cold War world order, it has by no means undermined the official effort of upholding socialist ideological discourse in China. Sino-US state antagonism has rekindled and now threatens the return of a Cold War 2.0. Regardless of political hostility, both sides experience the difficulty of imagining a vision of future alternative to the now untenable ones that socialism and neoliberal capitalism each offer. This article takes the loss of the grand narrative as the shared post-Cold War historical horizon and analyzes how do the selected nostalgia films—*Youth* for post-socialist nostalgia, and *The Shape of Water* for Cold War nostalgia—imagine new visions of spatial-temporality through cinematic means, particularly through the use of screen-dance, which both films heavily feature. Looking at screen-dance allows us to investigate the reflective multiplicities of their reflective nostalgia, that is, the psycho-affective layers and the spatial-temporal

positionabilities structurally formulated by the cinematic language of screen-dance. In other words, they provide us with new imaginaries of spatial-temporal regime from the perspective of affective infrastructure. Moreover, the two films' representations of screen-dance borrow respectively from the Chinese-socialist and the US-Cold War visual forms. By remediating these Cold War-era visual legacies, rechanneling the ideological presuppositions, social-political premises in shifted spatial-temporalities, and thereby calibrating person desires, screen-dance in both films allows us to understand that the emotional appeal of 'post-ness' in these nostalgia films is not a given. In this way, these films point to the affective, psycho-social mechanisms underlying our attachment to the categorization of our present temporality as the 'post-x.' Cementing such attachment as our historical condition, these films open up to the pertinent question of whether these geared mechanisms could be extracted or mobilized for political ends.

Kaixuan Yao is a recent research master's graduate of Comparative Literary Studies at Utrecht University, the Netherlands. Her current research focuses on reading screen-dance in socialist and post-socialist China through critical affect theory. Her broader research interests include Cold War narratives and visuality, representation of time and historicity, and theories of the body.

GRADUATE STUDENT PANEL 5: NATIONAL AND REGIONAL IDENTITIES

1. Ethno-National Narratives Related to Cold War in Central Asian Cinema



As a subsystem of the national cinema programme of the USSR during the Cold War, the Central Asian cinema worked as the most important local political propaganda tool for the purpose of ethno-national integration owing to its special geopolitical characteristics. Such important artistic functions dominated the development of cinema in the area and carefully maintained a valued position that was diametrical to the Western world. However, the ‘subject’ in such cinema had to identify with the Soviet common national identity from the perspective of ‘the other’ centred on Moscow. When the consciousness of small nationalism gradually awakened, the cinema of Soviet Central Asia began to portray ethnic identity equality from the perspective of ‘their own subjects’. The interweaving of ‘the other’ and ‘the subject’ perspectives simultaneously became potential narrative strategies in the cinema of Soviet Central Asia. Then, based on the outbreak of long-term social contradictions since 1985, the Soviet Kazakhstan ‘New Wave’ deconstructed the mirror image of Soviet Central Asia as ‘Oriental’ in a contrary and casual style. When the five Central Asian countries gradually recovered from their civil strife beginning in the late 1990s, criticism of the Soviet ethnic identity as an ‘adopted son’ became a recognition crisis of modern identity portrayed as an ‘Asian orphan’ in many films. The metaphors of fathers as the matrix of such films affectionally symbolized the construction or loss of ethno-national identity. When the indignation related to small nationalism that had stemmed from the Cold War subsided, nostalgia for the Soviet ethnic identity and the dilemmas related to the new national identity became the common cinema themes within the five Central Asian countries, which critically examined national reality and embodied the respective national cinema style.

Yan Zhou is a PHD candidate in the school of Art and Communication at Beijing Normal University, China. Her main research interests are Central Asian movies and Chinese movies.

2. Empire Flashbacks in Cold War Turkey



Nation is imagined as attached to a homeland; the ‘sacred’ source of resources, livelihood, output, energy and emotions. In modern societies like Cold War Turkey, where encounters with ‘others’ increase due to displacements, migrations, wars and modernization; nationalist myths referring to collective memories of space, gain strength since they help people counter ‘homelessness’ and provide physical and emotional security. This paper focuses on the legacy of collective imperialist memories on Turkish nationalist imagination and the conflation of ‘empire’ and ‘nation-state,’ through widely consumed historical/action/adventure movies of the 1960s-70s. Giving their first examples at the beginning of the 1950s, come the 1960s the Turkish historical adventure films have become one of the most popular genres in Turkish cinema at a time when there was a general interest in historical films all around the world. Some of the most memorable and successful films of the genre were those featuring comic-book heroes which gained popularity such as Karaoglan, Malkoçoglu, Kara Murat, Tarkan and Battal Gazi. These were Ottoman-Turkish heroes riding their horses in post-Ottoman spaces in the Cold War period. Thus, the paper is divided into two parts. In

general interest in historical films all around the world. Some of the most memorable and successful films of the genre were those featuring comic-book heroes which gained popularity such as Karaoglan, Malkoçoglu, Kara Murat, Tarkan and Battal Gazi. These were Ottoman-Turkish heroes riding their horses in post-Ottoman spaces in the Cold War period. Thus, the paper is divided into two parts. In

the first part, how these movies represent post-Ottoman identity in the form of a nationalist hero. The second part, however, analyzes 50 in-depth interviews, conducted over four months from October to December 2018, with randomly chosen 25 females and 25 males, who spent their childhood and early adolescence in the 50s-70s; who were potential viewers of these movies. How they remember them and how they constructed their national identities as opposed to their historical ‘other’s such as Greeks will be the focus of this part. In fact, although the Ottoman Empire died in 1923, its imprint on collective memory still survives. What emerges at the end is the coexistence of nation-state ideology with visions of empire and so highly ambiguous, fluid, abstract and indefinite mental geographical maps besides specific, impermeable and static understanding of national borders. These different nationalist imaginations of space could also reveal the complexity of everyday construction of nationhood through movies.

Güldeniz Kıbris. I am a PhD Candidate at Leiden University. My dissertation that I wrote under the supervision of Prof. Erik-Jan Zurcher, is about the use of political myths through historical/action/adventure movies in the 50s-70s Turkey. I am also teaching on nationalism at Koc University, Istanbul. My research interests include peripheral perspectives on national identity, local politics and critical legal studies.

3. Lubumbashi as a Cold War Capital: Reconsidering Postcolonial Congolese Art through the Lens of Cold War Geopolitics



The Congo Crisis (1960-65), fought over the mineral-rich Katanga province of Democratic Republic of the Congo (then Republic of Congo), is one of the many proxy sites of violent conflict that took place during the Cold War. Despite being a series of civil wars fought in a newly sovereign nation, the United States and the Soviet Union became involved over mineral interests, with both supporting opposing factions. Paintings produced by Congolese painter Tshibumba Kanda-Matulu and other artists from Lubumbashi depict events from the conflict, including its cast of international actors. Canonized as ‘popular art,’ Tshibumba’s paintings are typically viewed through the rubric of postcolonial nation-building. The work of these painters has yet to be thoroughly analyzed

within a framework of Cold War geopolitics. This paper explores the advantages of analyzing this artwork through the frame of the Cold War, both to complicate its conventional narrative as a ‘cold’ war between two polarized superpowers, as well as to reconsider the use of the term ‘postcolonial’ to describe the geopolitical situation in the Congo following political independence from Belgium. I argue that reading Tshibumba’s paintings against a framework of the Cold War helps to break open the category of the modern as it is conventionally understood in African art history and, in turn, to shed new light on the experience of modernity in the Congo and what is considered Congolese modern art. Through Tshibumba’s paintings and examples of contemporary art by artists from Lubumbashi, it becomes clear that the Cold War ushers in a new phase of colonization – neocolonialism – based not on physical occupation of Africa, but rather on the penetration of markets. Considering the importance of the minerals mined from the Katanga region, including copper, cobalt, and uranium, this legacy of the Cold War period has significant implications today.

Ash Duhrkoop is a doctoral student specializing in 20th-c. and African art. Her current research considers the impacts of colonialism, industrialization, and extractive economies through art and

material culture in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Previously, Ash served as the Andrew W. Mellon Curatorial Research Associate for African Art at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, where she co-authored *The Arts of Africa: Studying the Collection and curated the exhibition History from below the Mountain: Tshibumba Kanda-Matulu and Sammy Baloji*. She holds an MA from Columbia University and a BA in Art History and Written Arts from Bard College.

4. Raise of Southeast Asia Art as Canon: Birth of the Region, Regionalism from Cold War and Exhibition Discourse



This paper aims to trace back the canonization of the term ‘Southeast Asia’ in the field of Southeast Asia modern art history. I tried to map the discursive density of the term Southeast Asia Art in the Cold War context via the studies of political bodies like COCI under ASEAN and US Information service supported Southeast Asia program at academic institutions like Cornell. Based on Seng Yu Jin’s concept of ‘Exhibitionary Discourses’, exhibition-making has been a vital force forming regional imaginaries. By conducting a textual analysis of exhibition catalogues, curatorial statements, and records of meetings and symposiums held by ASEAN, I hope to map out the condition that evokes T.K. Sabapathy’s regionalist perspective and the region’s image through cultural events by cultural participants from ASEAN member

states. I try to demonstrate how these cultural events and exhibitions among the non-communist Southeast Asia countries foster the aspiration to develop ‘toward a moral community, unified by common values’ that helps to solidify the scholarship framework of ‘Southeast Asia’. I hope this could provide one of the possible explanations of why despite the immense linguistic, religious, and political diversity, ‘Southeast Asia’ can be produced as Amitav Acharya’s ‘imagined and socially constructed community’ but not a ‘natural region’. All in all, this paper shows the Southeast Asia experiences in Cold War scholarship from non-academic institutions perspectives and looking into the production of Cold War scholarship in US-funded academic and research programmes.

Lin Chi-ho, Jeffery, is currently an MA South East and Pacific Asian Studies student at SOAS University of London in the United Kingdom. He was recently awarded the 15th Hong Kong Arts Development Awards for young artists (in Arts Criticism). His research interests include cultural politics and trends in arts development, sinophone studies, visual culture, historiography of art, curatorial practices, and socially engaged art in Southeast Asia. He is also a member of the International Association of Theatre Critics (IATC, Hong Kong), and the Hong Kong Literary Criticism Society and Cultural Leadership Youth Academy at the University of Hong Kong.

5. Aesthetic Tensions in Images of the Cold War—Water Mediation & Gameplay in Jun Nguyen-Hatsushiba’s Memorial Project Series (2001-2014)

Jun Nguyen-Hatsushiba’s Memorial Project series (2001-2014) investigates the difficulty of visualising the tensions of the Cold War, utilising the critical interface of the sea body to activate contested histories. Filming within the metrics of performance enacted underwater, Nguyen-Hatsushiba is indisputably the first of many Asian visual artists to consider the mediation of history through the seascape, debuting this form at the inaugural Yokohama Triennial (2001). This paper will primarily

consider Nguyen-Hatsushiba's Project Nha Trang, Vietnam: Towards the Complex-For the Courageous, the Curious and the Cowards (2001) as exemplary of this mediation, engaging with Melody Jue's conception of Wild Blue Media to consider the displacement of our normative environment of interpretation for Cold War narratives. Nguyen-Hatsushiba's orchestration of performance within the seascape allows for encounters between contested notions of modernity, displacement and war-time conflict that cannot occur above-water, or on the ground. Yet, the performance of such mediation underwater also immediately connotes the seeming ephemerality of such occurrences and the retention of these histories, with few traces permanently embedded in the seabed. As a counterpoint to the seascape mediated works of the series, the paper will also consider Memorial Project Waterfield (2006-14). Nguyen-Hatsushiba staged Memorial Project Waterfield at the 2006 Gwangju Biennale as a performance work occurring over 20 days, with volunteers from Vietnam gradually forming a hybridised US & Vietnam flag through bottles of their urine. Nguyen-Hatsushiba later used video footage of the performance to produce and edit a single-channel work with an American first player shooter interface and Japanese anime sequences. Thus, critical consideration of these cultural-coded aesthetics and the work's recombinatory effects allows us to problematise and engage with the tiers of displacement faced by the Vietnamese as a result of the Cold War. Furthermore, understanding Nguyen Hatsushiba's positionality, as a diasporic artist of Vietnamese and Japanese descent living and working in the United States, will be a crucial mode of understanding the development of this form of water mediation, specifically through context of experimentation and art production for international biennales.

Toby Wu (he/him/his) is a Master's candidate at the University of Chicago reading Art History and Media Studies. He is interested in the development of moving image and visual art practices in the Global Contemporary, specifically through Transpacific exchanges between Japan, Southeast Asia, and the United States of America. Toby is an inaugural (2021) Asia Art Archive in America (AAA-A) & PoNJA GenKon fellow and the Graduate Curatorial Intern for Transpacific Art Histories at The Smart Museum. He has previously worked with KADIST Art Foundation (San Francisco), National Gallery Singapore and Museum of Contemporary Art and Design (Manila).

GRADUATE STUDENT PANEL 6: HOME, DISPLACEMENT

1. Where is My Homeland? Hong Kong Tenement Films during the Cold War Era



Tenement drama was once a cinematic form of astounding popularity in Hong Kong cinema. Films as such showcase the lives of urban lodgers from diverse sociocultural backgrounds, who typically dwell in cramped partitioned rooms or bunk beds and share facilities in the communal area under one roof in contemporary Hong Kong, ending with an emphasis on the importance of solidarity and mutual support among the tenants to overcome a variety of social crises. The classic tenement drama has long been regarded as a highly politicized mode of representation favored peculiarly by the left-wing camp, but indeed it has been utilized by the right-wing film artists as well. In this paper, I examine several Hong Kong tenement films of the 1950s, including Home, Sweet Home (1950), The Dividing Wall (1952), and Halfway Down (1957), in respect of how tenement is employed as a trope in cinematic storytelling to depict myriads of sociohistorical problems encountered by the diasporic Chinese communities, so as to revisit the city's past, especially the historical traumas and collective memories concerning the shadow of war, displacement, mass unemployment,

housing shortage, class struggle, gender oppression, and left-right ideological confrontations. In particular, I will delve into the social and cultural milieu for the popular portrayals of the refugee experience, the political functions of the tales of exile, and the contentious meanings of the concept of "homeland" through a Cold War lens. I contend that, Hong Kong tenement films produced by different political forces who adopted similar filmmaking tactics in constructing the narrative, aesthetics, and motif of the tenant stories were the strategic responses of Hong Kong film industry to the ongoing influence of the global Cold War politics and the British imperial politics, which reflects Hong Kong's crucial geopolitical position as a locale of Chinese diaspora amid the Cold War.

Linda Huixian OU is a PhD candidate in Academy of Film at Hong Kong Baptist University. She holds a BA degree in English from Guangdong University of Foreign Studies in PRC, and a MA degree in Humanities from The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. She is currently working on her dissertation on the history, politics, and space of Hong Kong tenement films in the 1940s-1970s.

2. The Transnational Advocacy Network under the Cold War? A Case Study of the Chinese in Northern Thailand Transmitting their Political Identity Information



This study focuses on the Cold War period and research on the political identity information transmission of a group of the KMT(Kuomintang) Yunnanese Chinese in northern Thailand, based on the theory of transnational advocacy network(TANs). In previous studies, the TANs is always applied to researching there network of the nongovernmental organization. However, during the Cold War, the two main superpowers control the whole global, whose unparalleled ability impose exert influence or project power on other nations and organizations. During the Cold War, in order to obtain the legal status in the United Nations, Taiwan voluntarily sided with the United States camp, following whose instruction. When it comes to solving the disputes in the Northern Thailand, caused by the group of the KMT(Kuomintang) Yunnanese Chinese, the United States played a very important role. This study use the context analysis to renew the TANs for adapting to the period of the Cold War, in which the United States almost replace the role of the NGO. Then, the present study restructure the Boomerang Model to analysis the effects of the Thai, Taiwan and the United States when it comes to the political identity information transmission of this group of political refugees during the 1950s to 1990s.



Lee Yu Hong. Born in 1994, from Taiwan Province, China. In 2017, he received a bachelor's degree in Pacific Rim history from the Department of history, national Donghua University, Taiwan, and a master's degree in transnational immigration from the school of international relations, Sun Yat sen University, China in 2019. In 2019, he entered the school of history and the Institute of

international studies of Nanjing University in China to study for a doctorate and engage in international normative research. The main research interests are: South China Sea Research, transnational migration and international norm communication.

Sha Qiu. Born in 1994, from Hunan Province, China. She is an assistant lecturer of the school of Journalism and Communication at the Hunan Institute of Science And Technology. She graduated from Central South University in 2017 and got her master degree at Cityu University of HongKong major in new media and communication in 2019. The main research interests are political communication, international communication, computer communication.

3. Russian Speakers from Latvia: Identities Caught between Soviet Past and Present in Sweden



There is a large Russian speaking community in Latvia – around 37% of the total inhabitants of Latvia, consisting of Russians and other nationalities from the former Soviet republics. Many members of this community have been living in the separate information space since the renewal of Latvia's independence from Soviet Union in 1991. To an extent it is due to the slow integration process in the new Latvian society. Russian speakers have managed to in part adapt to the realities of life in the independent Latvia, forming specific type of adjusted identity. The research investigates those constellations of identities which were created earlier while growing up either in Soviet Latvia or newly formed Republic of Latvia and remade again when moving to Sweden. It looks into processes of self-creating

one's identity once again, not seldomly forming hybrid type of identities. The analysis of different narratives created about historical events which are still differently interpreted in the society of Latvia, are examined. One of those, for example, is the theme about the occupation by Soviets versus liberation of Latvian people. These are the consequences of the previous narrative of the Soviet Old Cold War on the present day post-Cold War politics of Europe. Interviews done so far reveal strong attachment to Latvia as a homeland, strictly demarcating connection with Russia. Interviewees admit though that they lived in a parallel, divided away reality from ethnic Latvians. Moving to Sweden has brought new aspects in the narrative and some re-evaluations have been done since then, which includes seeing past events in another light when adjusting to new circumstances.

Mara Simons is living in Sweden and is PhD candidate in the Latvian Academy of Culture. Her research is related to the contemporary Latvian diaspora in Sweden and identity issues.

GRADUATE STUDENT PANEL 7: VIDEO GAMES

1. The Ritual of Relieving Fear: Research on the media rituals of Cold War theme Video Games



The video games represented by Red Alert 2 and Modern Warfare 2 contain a lot of content related to the cold war in the narrative. Red Alert 2 expresses the antagonism between the Cold War camps through a large number of game symbols. Modern Warfare 2 shows the sharp opposition between camps by setting up a virtual 'Zakayev airport Massacre' in the game. Video games are keen to tell the Cold War story 'whether it is true or not', trying to relieve the fear of the Cold War deep in the human soul with the help of games. The fear of the Cold War is superficial, and the deep-seated ones are 'Red scare' and 'Holocaust fear'. 'Red scare' corresponds to the western world's fear and prejudice against the Soviet Union. 'Holocaust fear' comes

from the trauma of Hitler's evil consequences of massacre, and concerns about the defects of modernity. After the two World Wars, the cold war perfectly inherited the 'Red scare' and 'Holocaust fear', making the cold war a new source of fear. The popularity of Cold War theme video games shows that the need to relieve fear always exists, which makes 'whether the cold war is really over' a topic worthy of discussion. But it is undeniable that fear makes value preference possible, and value preference is easy to lead to confrontation. Today's world is full of confrontation, and the voice of the 'new cold war' is heard all the time, which may better show that the cold war has never ended.

Wu Yumeng. Doctoral student, School of law, China University of political science and law. Major: Law. Research direction: Philosophy of law. Research strategy: cross research between law and other disciplines. Hobbies: observe the source of social power behind social phenomena.

2. Cold War Once More: (Re)Constructing Cold War in the Board Game Twilight Struggle



The key research question of this research is: How does Twilight Struggle shape the memory of the Cold War through the game's simulation, and present its retrospect to the history of the era? Published in 2005, Twilight Struggle is staged in the cold war era, seeking out to present its interpretation about that history. This research attempt to answer the question and present and critically evaluate the history of cold war constructed by the game Twilight Struggle under the framework of procedural rhetoric established by Ian Bogost. In summary, this game presents its interpretation and reflection of the world political situation during cold war that the USSR and the USA as the only active player of the cold war, while the other regions are the pawns of the two superpowers with no agency. From the perspective of the cartography, the categorization of presented countries and the rules of 'stability number', the game highlights geopolitics as one of the most significant elements in cold war. In the game, the concepts of 'country' is flattened into regions, the geopolitical instruments, except for the two superpowers, the USSR and the USA. Additionally, Twilight Struggle has employed and provided its interpretation of space war, nuclear warfare and other elements to stimulate and offer the delicacy, complexity and sophistication of that history. Furthermore, this research further investigates and develops the idea that 'we can never really know the past, but can only continually play with, reconfigure, and try to make meaning out of the traces it has left behind', in this case about the cold war.



Tianxiao Peng. Research field: I mainly pay attention to tabletop role-playing games, other kinds of role-playing games, games in different platforms, games of Chinese traditional culture, and the connection of game world and true world. Affiliation: Winchester School of Art, University of Southampton. PhD supervisor: Seth Giddings and Wanick Vieira

Sam, Li Mengqi is a PhD candidate of Birmingham City University. He enjoys doing culture studies and media studies, the medium he's studying is video games; the culture he's exploring is the ones in and around video games. But he is a bad, I mean a poor skilled, gamer. He'd rather watch other people playing games than play the game himself, which offers him a weird distance observing and analysing

all the games. Now he's working on the representation/reflection of China in and around video games. Later, well, who knows, maybe virtual YouTuber or abstract games.

3. The Cold War Cognition and Gratification in Chinese War Games: The Chinese Version of Command & Conquer: Red Alert 2



Post-Cold War, the war games produced by many game developers had a Cold War theme; Command & Conquer: Red Alert 2 is one of the most successful. The Chinese modified version of Red Alert 2 (name The Glory of the Republic) was so popular that nearly every internet bar in mainland China installed it on all of their computers. The paper will compare the original and Chinese versions of the game to study the context and how it shapes the collective players' ideas. Young players were exposed to the game prior to receiving education about the Cold

War, thereby the game shaped their initial views. Red Alert 2 is set against the background of a virtual 'hot war' between the US and the USSR and their camp. In the original American version, China is not a selectable country. However, in the Chinese version, China becomes a new power, does not belong to any camp, and is too powerful to maintain the game balance. This paper will argue that this radical idea in the game shows the developer's clear ideal of future China, namely obtaining high-tech weapons from the West, and the sturdy weapons and system from the Soviets and becoming a significant world power. The confrontation between China and the West may have boosted the game's popularity and radically simplified the relationship between China and the West. Chinese policy over the past two decades fit the game's concept very well. Undoubtedly, the Cold War reflected in the modified Chinese version shaped millions of Chinese gamers' opinions of the Cold War and partially predicted Chinese diplomatic relations. More importantly, it provided an illustration of the role China will play in the post-Cold War political environment.

Zhu Zixuan is a second-year Ph.D. student in the School of Communication, Hong Kong Baptist University. He obtained a Master of Arts from Hong Kong Baptist University and a Bachelor of Arts from Beijing Film Academy. His research mainly focuses on mainland China-Hong Kong film, film production, and film-digital game interdisciplinary studies. Before his academic career, he worked as a filmmaker in the Chinese film industry.

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