Report - 2021 Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library Resources Access Grant Program

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During March 2021, I conducted research on the conceptualization of race and ethnicity in the People's Republic of China using the University of Toronto's online resources for Chinese studies. Access to e-resources unavailable at my home institution (e.g., Duxiu, ChinaMaxx) allowed me to explore historical definitions and discussions of race (*zhongzu*) and ethnicity (*minzu*) as well as the history of ethnic policy in the PRC.

In particular, I collected hundreds of articles, translations, and speeches from journals, such as *World Affairs* (*Shijie zhishi*), *Ethnic Unity/ China's Ethnic Groups* (*Minzu tuanjie/ Zhongguo Minzu*), *Ethnic Studies* (*Minzu Yanjiu*), *Sun Yat-Sen University Journal of Social Sciences*, *International Studies* (*Guoji wenti yanjiu*), and *Legal Studies* (*Faxue yanjiu*), that spoke to my interest in the distinction between ethnicity and race, delineated according to domestic and foreign forms of social differentiation. During the Mao era, many intellectuals, such as biologist Zhou Jianren, international law scholar Chen Tiqiang, and historian Huang Yuanqi, challenged racial hierarchies informed by Social Darwinism as well as legal systems in capitalist countries that facilitated exploitation and expropriation. Historical materialist analyses of race and racism drew on earlier Marxist formulations, colonial divisions in Asia and Africa, post-WWII and Cold War events (e.g., Malayan emergency, Bandung, US Civil Rights Movement), and official visits (e.g., WEB DuBois, Robert Williams). These articles allowed me to consider how socialist intellectuals periodized the history of racism, sometimes challenging its conventional Marxist designation as pre-capitalist by drawing attention to the dispossession of indigenous and enslaved peoples as central to primitive accumulation and the continuous intersection of race and class under capitalism. In addition, I was able to identify the major points of reference for their critiques of racism and racial capitalism, particularly, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, white supremacy in the US, and apartheid in South Africa, as well as the connections and comparisons they made between anti-black and anti-Asian racism. Some intellectuals, such as Chen Tiqiang, claimed that "race" should not be considered a domestic issue, particularly in light of the continuities between racial oppression in capitalist countries and their colonies and the UN Declaration of Human Rights. My research on Mao-era intellectual production suggests, however, how "ethnicity" tied to territorial governance and socialist ideology was treated as such. Going forward, I plan to consider the intersections of discussions of race and ethnicity as well as how they were articulated in relation to class-based politics in the capitalist and socialist worlds.

Moreover, the journal articles, translations, and book chapters that I collected from reform-era China illustrate continuities and discontinuities in post-socialist understandings of race and ethnicity. Many of these works demonstrate ongoing debates about how to define these terms, even as geopolitics continued to shape popular and scholarly understandings. I will use these works to consider the ways in which authors both departed from and maintained earlier socialist critiques of capitalism, alongside the records of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and other government agencies in promoting market reforms (ethnic trade *minzu maoyi*) in non-Han areas.

I also collected articles on the history of indigenous peoples in the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand to consider PRC accounts of indigenous nationhood and land. Lastly, I gathered discussions of multiculturalism (*duoyuan wenhua zhuyi*) in Canada, the US, and other countries as well as more recent engagements with critical race theory (*zhongzu pipan lilun*) that will allow me to make connections to scholarship in critical race and ethnic studies, indigenous studies, and American studies.

This preliminary research was crucial for the development of my second book project tentatively entitled "Racial Capitalism and Social Difference in Modern China" because research travel to China has not been possible during the pandemic. I already presented some of these findings at the American Comparative Literature Association seminar "Geographies of Racial Capitalism: Labor, Caste, and Dispossession" (April 9-11, 2021). This research will also serve as the basis for future applications for external funding (i.e., SSHRC).