

Global China
pulse
volume 1 | Issue 1 | 2022



This text is taken from *Global China Pulse: Volume 1, Issue 1, 2022*. The journal is produced by *The People's Map of Global China*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

What is Global China? (CHING KWAN LEE)

- Bräutigam, Deborah. 2009. *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Bräutigam, Deborah. 2015. *Will Africa Feed China?* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bräutigam, Deborah. 2020. 'A Critical Look at Chinese "Debt-Trap Diplomacy": The Rise of a Meme.' *Area Development and Policy* 5(1): 1–14.
- Byler, Darren. 2021. *In the Camps: China's High-Tech Penal Colony*. New York, NY: Columbia Global Reports.
- Calhoun, Craig. 2008. 'The Cultural Revolution: A Global Phenomenon.' In *Art and China's Revolution: A Guide to the Exhibition*, edited by Melissa Chu and Zheng Shengtian. New York, NY: Asia Society Museum.
- Chen, Wanjing (Kelly). Forthcoming. 'Harden the Hardline, Soften the Softline: Unravelling China's Qiaoling (侨领)-centred Diaspora Governance in Laos.' *The China Quarterly*.
- Cody, Stephen. 2021. 'Dark Law: Legalistic Autocrats, Judicial Deference and the Global Transformation of National Security.' *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Law and Public Affairs* 6(4): 643–86.
- Evans, James G. 2021. 'Maoism, Anti-Imperialism, and the Third World: The Case of China and the Black Panthers.' *Made in China Journal* 6(2): 139–46.
- Franceschini, Ivan and Nicholas Loubere. Forthcoming. *Global China as Method*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gao, Yunxiang. 2021. *Arise Africa, Roar China: Black and Chinese Citizens of the World in the Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Human Rights Watch (HRW). 2012. *In the Name of Security: Counterterrorism Laws Worldwide since September 11*. Report, 29 June. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch. www.hrw.org/report/2012/06/29/name-security/counterterrorism-laws-worldwide-september-11.

Hung, Ho-fung. 2020. 'The Periphery in the Making of Globalization: The China Lobby and the Reversal of Clinton's China Trade Policy, 1993–1994.' *Review of International Political Economy* 28(4): 1004–27.

Jones, Lee and Jinghan Zeng. 2019. 'Understanding China's "Belt and Road Initiative": Beyond "Grand Strategy" to a State Transformation Analysis.' *Third World Quarterly* 40(8): 1415–39.

Kelly, Jason M. 2021. *Market Maoists: The Communist Origin of China's Capitalist Ascent*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lanza, Fabio. 2017. *The End of Concern: Maoist China, Activism, and Asian Studies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lee, Ching Kwan. 2017. *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor and Foreign Investment in Africa*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Lee, Ching Kwan. Forthcoming. 'Global China at 20: Why, How and So What?' *The China Quarterly*.

Lovell, Julia. 2019. *Maoism: A Global History*. New York, NY: Knopf.

Lu, Juliet. Forthcoming. 'For Profit or Patriotism? Balancing Chinese State, Host Country, and Firm Interests in the Lao Rubber Sector.' *The China Quarterly*.

Monson, Jamie. 2021. 'Learning by Heart: Training for Self-Reliance on the TAZARA Railway, 1968–1976.' *Made in China Journal* 6(2): 95–103.

Repnikova, Maria. Forthcoming. 'Rethinking China's Soft Power: "Pragmatic Enticement" of Confucius Institutes in Ethiopia.' *The China Quarterly*.

Repnikova, Maria. 2022. *Chinese Soft Power*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Rudyak, Marina. 2021. 'The Past in the Present of Chinese International Development Cooperation.' *Made in China Journal* 6(2): 80–86.

- Sheridan, Derek. Forthcoming. “We Are Now the Same”: Chinese Wholesalers and the Politics of Trade Hierarchies in Tanzania.’ *The China Quarterly*.
- Snow, Philip. 1989. *The Star Raft: China’s Encounter with Africa*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Strauss, Julia. 2019. ‘Of Silk Roads and Global Transformation: China’s Rise and its Impact on the Developing World.’ *The China Quarterly* 239: 804–12.
- Wilcox, Emily. 2019. *Revolutionary Bodies: Chinese Dance and the Socialist Legacy*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Xu, Liang. Forthcoming. ‘Engendering China–Africa Encounters: Chinese Family Firms, Black Women Workers, and the Gendered Politics of Production in South Africa.’ *The China Quarterly*.
- Zhang, Hong. 2021. ‘Builders from China: From Third World Solidarity to Globalised State Capitalism.’ *Made in China Journal* 6(2): 87–94.

Understanding the China Development Bank in Latin America (LATINOAMÉRICA SUSTENTABLE)

- China Development Bank (CDB). 2021. ‘开发银行与绿色气候基金签署合作备忘录 [China Development Bank and Green Climate Fund Sign Memorandums of Cooperation].’ China Development Bank website, 18 October. www.cdb.com.cn/English/xwzx_715/khdt/202112/t20211203_9390.html.
- Collective on Chinese Financing and Investment, Human Rights, and Environment (CICDHA). 2022. *Human Rights and Chinese Business Activities in Latin American. Midterm Report on the Universal Periodic Review of the People’s Republic of China*. Collective on Chinese Financing and Investment, Human Rights, and Environment website. chinaambienteyderechos.lat/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Informe-reporte-medio-termino-1.pdf.
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). 2021. *The Impact of COVID–19 on Indigenous Peoples in Latin America (Abya Yala): Between Invisibility and Collective Resistance*. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean Digital Repository. repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/46698/1/S2000893_en.pdf.

- Garzón, Paulina, Siran Huang, Stephanie Jensen-Cormier, and Marco Gandarillas. 2021. *Banco de Desarrollo de China: Financiamiento, gobernanza y desafíos socio-ambientales para América Latina y el Caribe* [Understanding the China Development Bank Financing, Governance, and Socio-Environmental Challenges for Latin America and the Caribbean]. Latinoamérica Sustentable website. latsustentable.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Informe-Banco-de-Desarrollo-de-China-LAS.pdf.
- Gallagher, Kevin P. and Margaret Myers (2022) “China-Latin America Finance Database,” Washington: Inter-American Dialogue. https://www.thedialogue.org/map_list/
- Gelpern, Anna, Sebastian Horn, Scott Morris, Brad Parks and Christoph Trebesch, C. (2021). *How China Lends: A Rare Look into 100 Debt Contracts with Foreign Governments*. Center for Global Development, Working Paper 573. <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/how-china-lends-rare-look-100-debt-contracts-foreign-governments.pdf>
- Inclusive Development International (IDI). 2020. ‘265 Civil Society Groups Call on Chinese Authorities to Ensure that COVID-19 Financial Relief Does Not Bail Out Harmful Projects.’ Inclusive Development International website, 30 April. www.inclusivedevelopment.net/belt-and-road/265-civil-society-groups-call-on-chinese-authorities-to-ensure-that-covid-19-financial-relief-does-not-bail-out-harmful-projects.
- Latinoamérica Sustentable (LAS). 2020. ‘Mirador Mining Project.’ *The People’s Map of Global China*, 3 November. thepeoplesmap.net/project/mirador-mining-project.
- Latinoamérica Sustentable (LAS). 2022. ‘Santa Cruz River Hydroelectric Complex.’ *The People’s Map of Global China*, 26 April. thepeoplesmap.net/project/santa-cruz-river-hydroelectric-complex.
- Larrea, Carlos and Jesus Ramos. 2021. ‘Propuesta para un canje de deuda por Naturaleza con China (Versión preliminar) [Proposal for a Debt Swap for Nature with China (Preliminary Version)].’ Quito, Ecuador: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar. repositorio.uasb.edu.ec/bitstream/10644/7839/1/Larrea%20C-Ramos%20J-CON-032-Propuesta%20canje%20deuda.pdf.
- Ministry of Commerce of the People’s Republic of China (MOFCOM) and China Development Bank (CDB). 2020. ‘Work Notice on Supporting the High Quality and Cooperative Building of “One Belt One Road”.’ *PKULaw database*, 28 February. www.pkulaw.cn/fulltext_form.aspx?Db=chl&Gid=340060.

Myers, Margaret and Rebecca Ray. 2022. 'What Role for China's Policy Banks in LAC?' *China-Latin America Report*, March. Washington, DC, & Boston, MA: Inter-American Dialogue & Boston University Global Development Policy Center.

National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC). 2022. 十四五现代能源体系规划 [*14th Five-Year Plan for the Energy Sector*]. Beijing: National Development and Reform Commission. www.ndrc.gov.cn/xxgk/zcfb/ghwb/202203/P020220322582066837126.pdf.

Song, Xiaoyu. 2019. 'Financing of China's Policy Banks in Latin America and the Caribbean (2000–2018).' In *Chinese Financing in Latin America and the Caribbean*, edited by Enrique Dussel Peters, 65–84. Ciudad Universitaria, México: Universidad Autónoma Nacional de México.

Soutar, Robert and Fermín Koop. 2021. 'Explainer: What Are Debt-for-Nature Swaps?' *Diálogo Chino*, 2 November. dialogochino.net/en/trade-investment/47862-explainer-what-is-debt-for-nature-swap.

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). 2017. 'Indigenous People and Nature: A Tradition of Conservation.' *News*, 26 April. Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme. www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/indigenous-people-and-nature-tradition-conservation.

What's Behind the Diplomatic Spat between China and Lithuania? (VIDA MACIKENAITE)

Adomėnas, Mantas and Gabrielius Landsbergis. 2020. 'Lithuania: It's Time for Choosing.' *15min.lt*, 11 June. www.15min.lt/en/article/opinion/lithuania-it-s-time-for-choosing-530-1331612.

Ammann, Janos. 2022. 'Lithuanian Businesses Grind on under Chinese Pressure.' *Euractiv.com*, 18 January. www.euractiv.com/section/economy-jobs/news/lithuanian-businesses-grind-on-under-chinese-pressure.

Aušra, Mindaugas. 2019a. 'Chinese Demonstration in Vilnius Unmasks Beijing's Reach into Lithuania—LRT Investigation.' *LRT English*, 9 October. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1104874/chinese-demonstration-in-vilnius-unmasks-beijing-s-reach-into-lithuania-lrt-investigation.

- Aušra, Mindaugas. 2019b. 'Chinese Money Connects Lithuania to Belarus' Nuclear Plant—LRT Investigation.' *LRT English*, 17 December. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1125801/chinese-money-connects-lithuania-to-belarus-nuclear-plant-lrt-investigation.
- Barkin, Noah. 2022. 'Watching China in Europe—January 2022.' The German Marshall Fund of the United States website. sites-gmf.vuturvevx.com/61/6509/january-2022/watching-china-in-europe-with-noah-barkin.asp?sid=5cd43f13-e902-40fe-81b7-f6849ef073f1.
- BNS. 2019. 'Two Chinese Citizens Fined for Scuffle at Hong Kong Support Rally in Vilnius.' *LRT English*, 29 August. www.lrt.lt/naujienos/news-in-english/19/1092343/two-chinese-citizens-fined-for-scuffle-at-hong-kong-support-rally-in-vilnius.
- BNS. 2021. 'Lithuania Opens Embassy in South Korea.' *LRT English*, 26 October. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1529202/lithuania-opens-embassy-in-south-korea.
- BNS. 2022a. 'Allowing Taiwan to Open Office under its Name was a Mistake—Lithuanian President.' *LRT English*, 4 January. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1580082/allowing-taiwan-to-open-office-under-its-name-was-a-mistake-lithuanian-president.
- BNS. 2022b. 'Lithuanian Opposition Party Leader Offers to Negotiate with China to Mend Ties.' *LRT English*, 17 February. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1617849/lithuanian-opposition-party-leader-offers-to-negotiate-with-china-to-mend-ties.
- Bounds, Andy. 2021. 'Lithuania Complains of Trade “Sanctions” by China after Taiwan Dispute.' *Financial Times*, 3 December. www.ft.com/content/0ebaa7c7-761d-445e-b3e4-f5d2c9b4768f.
- Bounds, Andy, Richard Milne, and Kathrin Hille. 2022. 'Brussels Challenges China at WTO over Block on Lithuania Imports.' *Financial Times*, 27 January. www.ft.com/content/cb036c80-5f8e-4c44-86c4-e800975a26e0.
- Brunalas, Benas. 2022. 'Karbauskio šešėlinis kabinetas ketina pasiųsti žinutę Kinijai: gavę valdžią sprendimą dėl atstovybės pavadinimo atsauktume [Shadow Cabinet of Karbauskis Intends to Send a Message to China: If We Come to Power, We Would Withdraw the Decision Regarding the Name of the Representative Office].' *LRT*, 6 January. www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1582679/karbauskio-seselinis-kabinetas-ketina-pasiusti-zinute-kinijai-gave-valdzia-sprendima-del-atstovybes-pavadinimo-atsauktume.

- Deveikis, Jonas. 2020. 'Russia and China Seek Foothold in Lithuania via Gas and Tech.' *LRT English*, 4 February. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1139530/russia-and-china-seek-foothold-in-lithuania-via-gas-and-tech-report.
- European Commission (EC). 2021a. *Trade Policy Review—An Open, Sustainable and Assertive Trade Policy*. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, 18 February. Brussels: EC. trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2021/february/tradoc_159438.pdf.
- European Commission (EC). 2021b. *Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on the Protection of the Union and its Member States from Economic Coercion by Third Countries*. COM(2021) 775 final, 2021/0406 (COD), 8 December. Brussels: EC. trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2021/december/tradoc_159958.pdf.
- European Law Department at the Parliament under the Government of Lithuania. 2000. *Išvada Seimo rezoliucijos Dėl ryšių su Kinijos Respublika (Tajvanu) projektui [Report on the Parliamentary Resolution Regarding Relations with the Republic of China (Taiwan)]*. Database of the Parliament of Lithuania, 30 May. e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAK/TAIS.102388?positionInSearchResults=2&searchModelUUID=bede689c-345d-4cba-b671-9b6ed05c0f76.
- European Parliament. 2021. 'MEPs Refuse Any Agreement with China Whilst Sanctions are in Place.' Press release, 20 May, Brussels. www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20210517IPR04123/meps-refuse-any-agreement-with-china-while-sanctions-are-in-place.
- Jakučionis, Saulius. 2019. 'Chinese Investment into Klaipėda Port a "Concern" for National Security, President Says.' *LRT English*, 29 July. www.lrt.lt/naujienos/news-in-english/19/1083021/chinese-investment-into-klaipeda-port-a-concern-for-national-security-president-says.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye. 2012. *Power and Interdependence*. Harlow, UK: Longman.
- Lau, Stuart. 2021. 'Lithuania Pulls out of China's "17+1" Bloc in Eastern Europe.' *Politico*, 21 May. www.politico.eu/article/lithuania-pulls-out-china-17-1-bloc-eastern-central-europe-foreign-minister-gabrielius-landsbergis.

- Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas (LRS) [Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania]. 2000. *Rezoliucija dėl ryšių su Tairvanu* [*Resolution Regarding Relations with Taiwan*]. Database of the Parliament of Lithuania, Registration no. P-2522(2), adopted 20 June. e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAP/TAIS.102625?jfwid=kjtir0lhx.
- Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas (LRS) [Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania]. 2020. *Resolution No. XIV-72 on the Programme of the Eighteenth Government of the Republic of Lithuania*. 11 December. lrvt/uploads/main/documents/files/programme_of_the_eighteenth_government_of_the_republic_of_lithuania.pdf.
- LRT. 2019a. 'Hong Kong Solidarity Rally in Vilnius Met with Chinese Counter-Protesters—Photos.' *LRT English*, 23 August. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1090902/hong-kong-solidarity-rally-in-vilnius-met-with-chinese-counter-protesters-photos.
- LRT. 2019b. 'China's Push for Lithuanian Port Poses Risk to NATO.' *LRT English*, 26 November. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1119707/china-s-push-for-lithuanian-port-poses-risk-to-nato.
- LRT. 2020. 'Lithuanian President Doesn't Back Taiwan's WHO Membership—Aide.' *LRT English*, 22 April. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1166291/lithuanian-president-doesn-t-back-taiwan-s-who-membership-aide.
- LRT. 2022. 'Most Lithuanians Critical of Vilnius' China Policy—Survey.' *LRT English*, 11 January. www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1586875/most-lithuanians-critical-of-vilnius-china-policy-survey.
- Macikenaite, Vida. 2021. 'China Pulls the Economic Coercion Card against Lithuania.' *China Observers*, 20 December. chinaobservers.eu/china-pulls-the-economic-coercion-card-against-lithuania.
- Macikenaite, Vida. 2022a. 'Lithuania's Unforeseen Asymmetrical Interdependence Trap with China.' *Prospects & Perspectives* 10(22 February). www.pf.org.tw/article-pfen-2089-7898.
- Macikenaite, Vida. 2022b. 'Lithuania Country Profile.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 18 April. thepeoplesmap.net/country/lithuania.

- Members of the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania. 2020. *Rezoliucijos dėl paramos Taidvanui projektas [Draft of a Resolution Regarding Support for Taiwan]*. Database of the Parliament of Lithuania, Registration no. XIIIIP-4761, 28 March. e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAP/940b88e0895911eaa51db668f0092944?positionInSearchResults=2&searchModelUUID=cfae17ba-bc74-4c44-bc77-ef24b17cff36.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). 2016. 'China's Giant China Merchants Group Confirms its Plans to Invest in Lithuania.' *News*, 22 March. Vilnius: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania. cn.mfa.lt/cn/en/news/chinas-giant-china-merchants-group-confirms-its-plans-to-invest-in-lithuania.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). 2018. 'Fundamental Problems of the Astravets Nuclear Power Plant under Construction in Belarus.' *News*, 13 April. Vilnius: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania. www.urm.lt/default/en/news/fundamental-problems-of-the-astravets-nuclear-power-plant-under-construction-in-belarus-.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). 2019. 'Lithuania Handed a Note to the Chinese Ambassador.' *News*, 2 September. Vilnius: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania. mfa.lt/default/en/news/lithuania-handed-a-note-to-the-chinese-ambassador.
- Ministry of Transport and Communication (MTC). 2015. 'Lithuania and China Seal Accord to Set Up a Joint Venture Providing Forwarding and Logistics Services.' *News*, 23 November. Vilnius: Ministry of Transport and Communication of the Republic of Lithuania. sumin.lrv.lt/en/news/lithuania-and-china-seal-accord-to-set-up-a-joint-venture-providing-forwarding-and-logistics-services.
- Parliamentary Group for Relations with Taiwan. 2000. *Rezoliucijos dėl ryšių su Kinijos Respublika (Taidvanu) projektas [Draft Resolution Regarding Relations with the Republic of China (Taiwan)]*. Database of the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania, Registration no. P-2522, 15 May. e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAP/TAIS.100649?positionInSearchResults=4&searchModelUUID=cfae17ba-bc74-4c44-bc77-ef24b17cff36.

Samoškaitė, Eglė. 2022. 'Nevieša išpažintis apie santykius su Kinija: jei reiktų pakartoti— nekartotume, bet dabar atsitraukti neišeina [Non-Public Confession about Relations with China: If We Had to Repeat It, We Would Not, but There Is No Way to Step Back Now].' *tv3.lt*, 1 January. www.tv3.lt/naujiena/lietuva/neviesa-ispazintis-apie-santykius-su-kinija-jei-reiktu-pakartoti-nekartotume-bet-dabar-atsitraukti-neiseina-n1131704.

Shattuck, Thomas J. 2020. 'The Race to Zero? China's Poaching of Taiwan's Diplomatic Allies.' *Orbis* 64(2): 334–52.

State Security Department and Second Investigation Department under the Ministry of National Defence. 2018. *National Threat Assessment 2018*. Vilnius: State Security Department of the Republic of Lithuania. www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/ENG.pdf.

State Security Department and Second Investigation Department under the Ministry of National Defence. 2020. *National Threat Assessment 2020*. Vilnius: State Security Department of the Republic of Lithuania. www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/2020-Gresmes-En.pdf.

Sytas, Andrius. 2020. 'Lithuania to Support "Those Fighting for Freedom" in Taiwan.' *Reuters*, 9 November. www.reuters.com/article/us-lithuania-china-idUSKBN27P1PQ.

Sytas, Andrius. 2022. 'Lithuania Considers Modifying Taiwan Representation Name to Defuse Row with China.' *Reuters*, 26 January. www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/lithuania-considers-modifying-taiwan-representation-name-defuse-row-with-china-2022-01-25.

Zheng, Sarah. 2019. 'Re-Elect President Tsai Ing-wen in 2020 and Taiwan Will Lose All Its Allies, Beijing Warns.' *South China Morning Post*, [Hong Kong], 17 September. www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3027673/re-elect-president-tsai-ing-wen-2020-and-taiwan-will-lose-all.

How Global Capitalism Became Humanity's 'Fate' in Xi Jinping's New Era (RYAN MARTÍNEZ MITCHELL)

Bauer, Otto. 1907. *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* [*The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*]. Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung Ignaz Brand.

CCTV.com. 2007. '胡锦涛称两岸同胞是命运共同体要加强交往 [Hu Jintao States that Countrymen on Both Sides of the Strait Are a Community of Fate and Should Increase Exchanges].' *CCTV.com*, 15 October. news.cctv.com/taiwan/20071015/103757.shtml.

Cerny, Philip G. 2016. 'In the Shadow of Ordoliberalism: The Paradox of Neoliberalism in the 21st Century.' *European Review of International Studies* 3(1): 78–91.

Chen, Liangyu 陈良宇. 1996. '充分发挥党在国有企业中的政治优势 [Make Full Use of the Political Advantages of the Communist Party in State-Owned Enterprises].' *党政论坛* [*Party & Government Forum*] 7: 4–7.

Chengdu Party School Research Office 成都市委党校科研处. 1992. '论社会主义企业命运共同体一书出版 [Newly Published Book: *On Socialist Corporate Communities of Fate*].' *党校科研信息* [*Party School Research News*] 4: 6.

Doshi, Rush. 2021. *The Long Game: China's Grand Strategy to Displace American Order*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ewing-Chow, Michael and Junianto James Losari. 2020. 'The RCEP Investment Chapter: A State-to-State WTO Style System for Now.' *Kluwer Arbitration Blog*, 8 December. arbitrationblog.kluwerarbitration.com/2020/12/08/the-rcep-investment-chapter-a-state-to-state-wto-style-system-for-now.

Forgey, Quint and Phelim Kine. 2022. 'Blinken Calls China "Most Serious Long-Term" Threat to World Order.' *Politico*, 26 May. www.politico.com/news/2022/05/26/blinken-biden-china-policy-speech-00035385.

Gelpern, Anna, Sebastian Horn, Scott Morris, Brad Parks, and Christoph Trebesch. 2021. *How China Lends: A Rare Look into 100 Debt Contracts with Foreign Governments*. London: CEPR Press.

- Gewirtz, Julian. 2017. *Unlikely Partners: Chinese Reformers, Western Economists, and the Making of Global China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- He, Yin 和音. 2021. ‘携手守护全人类共同价值 [Understanding the Great Trend of Economic Globalisation and Expanding Opening Up on All Fronts].’ 求是 [Qiusbi], 18 March. www.qstheory.cn/qshyjx/2021-01/15/c_1126984541.htm.
- Hentschel, Volker. 1996. *Ludwig Erhard: ein Politikerleben [Ludwig Erhard: A Politician's Life]*. Munich: Olzog.
- Hu, Jintao 胡锦涛. 2012. ‘胡锦涛在中国共产党第十八次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao's Address at the Eighteenth Party Congress].’ 新华社 [Xinhua], 17 November. www.xinhuanet.com//18cpcnc/2012-11/17/c_113711665.htm.
- Huang, Jingxu 黄景旭. 1985. ‘日本企业如何调动职工的积极性? [How Do Japanese Enterprises Make Workers Proactive?].’ 学习与研究 [Study and Research] 7: 41–44.
- Itō, Hajime 伊藤肇. 1973. 社長の人間学 [The Anthropology of a CEO]. Tokyo: Hakuba Shuppan.
- Kundnani, Hans. 2018. ‘Lost in Translation: Communities of Fate.’ *Berlin Policy Journal*, 23 October. berlinpolicyjournal.com/lost-in-translation-communities-of-fate.
- Lind, Michael. 2020. ‘The China Question.’ *Tablet*, 19 May. www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/china-strategy-trade-lind.
- Ma, Hong 马洪. 1979. ‘日本工业企业管理考察报告 [Report of the Investigation of Japanese Industrial Enterprise Management].’ 世界经济 [The Journal of World Economy] 3: 4–13, 69.
- Ma, Hong 马洪. 1981. ‘关于经济管理体制改革的几个问题 [Some Issues in the Reform of Economic Management].’ 经济研究 [Economic Research Journal] 7: 11–24.
- Oriental Morning Post. 2007. ‘温家宝提东亚合作框架互建“新型命运共同体” [Wen Jiaobao Suggests a Framework for East Asian Cooperation and Mutually Establishing a “New Type of Community of Fate”].’ 东方早报 [Oriental Morning Post], 16 January.
- People's Daily. 1989. ‘企业命运共同体 [Enterprises: Communities of Fate].’ 人民日报 [People's Daily], 9 May.

PHP Interface. 2022. 'PHP Ideals.' *PHP Interface*, 10 May. www.php.co.jp/en.

Qian, Gang. 2019. 'The Birth of a Foreign Policy Catchphrase.' *Echowall*, 18 July. www.echo-wall.eu/china-and-world/off/birth-foreign-policy-catchphrase.

Renan, Ernest. 2012. *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? [What Is a Nation?]* Paris: République des Lettres.

Research Team on Community of Shared Future for Mankind and International Law 人类命运共同体与国际法课题组. 2019. '人类命运共同体的国际法构建 [Building a Community of Shared Future for Mankind via International Law].' *武大国际法评论 [Wuhan University International Law Review]* 1: 1–28.

Shaffer, Gregory and Henry Gao. 2020. 'A New Chinese Economic Order?' *Journal of International Economic Law* 23(3): 607–35.

Shanghai Branch of the Chinese Federation of the East Asian League. 1942. 东亚联盟论文选集 [*Selected Essays on the East Asian League*]. Shanghai: Dongya Lianmeng Zhongguo Zonghui Shanghai Fenhui.

Sina.com. 2012. '温家宝: 中国支持欧方应对债务问题的意愿是坚定的 [Wen Jiabao: China's Will is Resolute in Supporting Europe as it Confronts its Debt Crisis].' 新浪网 [*Sina.com*], 14 February. finance.sina.com.cn/china/20120214/220911377364.shtml.

Slobodian, Quinn. 2018. *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

The Economist. 2021. 'Seeking World Domination.' *The Economist*, 31 July. www.economist.com/books-and-arts/2021/07/31/china-aims-to-eclipse-america-by-2049-a-biden-official-writes.

Tooze, Adam. 2021. 'How China Avoided a Soviet-Style Collapse.' *Noema*, 16 September. <https://www.noemamag.com/how-china-avoided-soviet-style-collapse>.

Vogel, Ezra F. 2011. *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wang, Yi. 2021. 'Harnessing Strengths of CICA Cooperation and Building an Asian Community with a Shared Future.' Remarks by H.E. Wang Yi, State Councillor and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China at the Sixth CICA Ministerial Meeting, 12 October. www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/cohk//eng/Topics/gjtz/t1914054.htm.

Weber, Isabella M. 2021. *How China Escaped Shock Therapy: The Market Reform Debate*. London: Routledge.

Weber, Max. 1991 [1946]. 'Structures of Power.' In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 159–79. London: Routledge.

West, John. 2020. 'The China-Japan Economic Relationship Is Getting Stronger.' *Asian Century Institute*, 22 January. asiancenturyinstitute.com/international/1574-the-china-japan-economic-relationship-is-getting-stronger.

Wu, Jinglian 吴敬琏. 2021. '吴敬琏: 80年代经济改革的回忆与反思 [Wu Jinglian: Memories and Reflections of the 1980s Economic Reforms].' *爱思想 [Aisixiang]*, 9 February. m.aisixiang.com/data/125053.html.

Xi, Jinping. 2013. 'Full Text of Xi Jinping's Speech at Opening Ceremony of Boao Forum.' *China.org.cn*, 10 April. www.china.org.cn/business/Boao_Forum_2013/2013-04/10/content_28501562.htm.

Zhang, Yifan 张一帆. 1985. '企业应真正成为相对独立的经济实体 [Enterprises Should Genuinely Become Relatively Autonomous Economic Entities].' *甘肃理论学刊 [Gansu Theory Research]* 2: 31–38.

China's Overseas Energy Investments after the 'No Coal' Pledge: An Assessment (DANQING LI, SIMAN LI, AND MARK BO)

Adler, Kevin. 2021. 'Vietnam's Draft Power Plan Backs Coal Cancellations, Commitments to Gas, Renewables.' *Clean Energy News*, 27 April. cleanenergynews.ihsmarkit.com/research-analysis/vietnams-draft-power-plan-backs-coal-cancellations-commitments.html.

Arai, Juntaro. 2021. 'Tokyo Vows at G-7 to Cut Off Overseas Coal Financing this Year.' *Nikkei Asia*, 15 June. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Environment/Climate-Change/Tokyo-vows-at-G-7-to-cut-off-overseas-coal-financing-this-year>.

- Bank of China (BOC). 2021. ‘中国银行制定《中国银行服务“碳达峰、碳中和”目标行动计划》 [The Bank of China has Formulated the Action Plan to Serve the Targets of “Peak Carbon and Carbon Neutrality”].’ *Bank of China News*, 24 September. Beijing: BOC. www.boc.cn/aboutboc/bi1/202109/t20210924_20085963.html.
- Baxter, Tom. 2021. “No New Coal Power Abroad”: What Has Xi’s Announcement Changed?’ *Panda Paw Dragon Claw*, 1 October. pandapawdragonclaw.blog/2021/10/01/no-new-coal-power-abroad-what-has-xis-announcement-changed.
- BRproject. 2022. ‘中国能建中标印度尼西亚4×380兆瓦动力岛项目 [Energy China Won the Bid for Indonesia’s 4 x 380 MW Power Island Project].’ BRproject WeChat channel, 14 February. mp.weixin.qq.com/s/qOl_g_AeH8cSIxYR_vaPWA.
- Carbon Brief Staff. 2022. ‘14FYP Energy Plan; More Plans on Energy Storage and Hydrogen; China’s Emissions Analysis.’ *China Briefing*, 24 March. London: Carbon Brief. www.carbonbrief.org/china-briefing-24-march-2022-14fyp-energy-plan-more-plans-on-energy-storage-and-hydrogen-chinas-emissions-analysis.
- Carbon Tracker. 2020. *How to Waste over Half a Trillion Dollars: The Economic Implications of Deflationary Renewable Energy for Coal Power Investments*. Report, 12 March. London: Carbon Tracker. carbontracker.org/reports/how-to-waste-over-half-a-trillion-dollars.
- Chavez, Leilani. 2020. ‘Philippines Declares No New Coal Plants—But Lets Approved Projects Through.’ *Mongabay*, 5 November. news.mongabay.com/2020/11/philippines-declares-no-new-coal-plants-but-lets-approved-projects-through.
- Chen, Xiaodong. 2021. ‘Letter to South Africa Ambassador.’ 9 November. Cape Town: Fossil Free South Africa. fossilfreea.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/FFSA-correspondence-China-MMSEZ.pdf.
- China Chamber of Commerce for Import and Export of Machinery and Electronic Products (CCCME). 2022. ‘Ranking of Chinese Enterprises by Overseas Signed Power Projects in 2021.’ CCCME Official WeChat channel, 26 January. mp.weixin.qq.com/s/Kq6xe9GvVcGn-RN1NuBTog.
- China News Network. 2022. ‘Supporting the Green Development Financing Needs of Countries along the “Belt and Road”.’ 10 March. Beijing: Export–Import Bank of China. www.eximbank.gov.cn/info/circus/202203/t20220315_38375.html.

- Cronje, Jan. 2022. 'Coal Feet: Limpopo Industrial Park Backed by China Ditches Plans to Build Power Station.' *News 24*, 2 March. www.news24.com/fin24/companies/coal-feet-limpopo-industrial-park-backed-by-china-ditches-plans-to-build-power-station-20220302.
- Ginting, Pius and Ellen Moore. 2021. 'Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP).' *The People's Map of Global China*, 24 November. thepeoplesmap.net/project/indonesia-morowali-industrial-park-imip.
- Global Development Policy Center. 2022. *Outlier or New Normal? Trends in China's Global Energy Finance*. 11 March. Boston, MA: Global Development Policy Center, Boston University. www.bu.edu/gdp/2022/03/11/outlier-or-new-normal-trends-in-chinas-global-energy-finance-2.
- Institute for Energy Economics and Financial Analysis (IEEFA). 2020. *IEEFA Report: New Coal Power Plants Locking Pakistan into Too Much Supply and Unsustainable Capacity Payments*. 26 June. Lakeland, OH: IEEFA. ieefa.org/articles/ieefa-report-new-coal-power-plants-locking-pakistan-too-much-supply-and-unsustainable.
- International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA). 2022. *2021 Renewable Capacity Highlights*. 11 April. Abu Dhabi: IRENA. www.irena.org/-/media/Files/IRENA/Agency/Publication/2022/Apr/IRENA_RE_Capacity_Highlights_2022.pdf.
- Jong, Hans. 2021. 'Indonesia Says No New Coal Plants from 2023.' *Mongabay*, 12 May. news.mongabay.com/2021/05/indonesia-says-no-new-coal-plants-from-2023-after-the-next-100-or-so.
- Karim, Naimul. 2021. 'Bangladesh Scraps Plans to Build 10 Coal-Fired Power Plants.' *Reuters*, 28 June. www.reuters.com/article/us-bangladesh-energy-climate-change-coal-idUSKCN2E410H.
- Kinney, Sasha. 2022. 'Lamu Coal Power Plant.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 22 January. thepeoplesmap.net/project/lamu-coal-power-plant.
- Li, Danqing. 2019. 'China's Export Insurance Giant is Taking a Risk on Coal.' *Medium*, 2 April. medium.com/resource-china/chinas-export-insurance-giant-is-taking-a-risk-on-coal-fbc7b5c81238.

- Liu, Shuang, Wang Ye, and Wang Yan. 2021. 'South Korea and Japan Will End Overseas Coal Financing: Will China Catch Up?' *Insights*, 14 June. Washington, DC: World Resources Institute. www.wri.org/insights/south-korea-and-japan-will-end-overseas-coal-financing-will-china-catch.
- Ma, Xinyue and Kevin Gallagher. 2021. Who funds overseas coal plants? The need for transparency and accountability. Global Development Policy Center Policy Brief No. 7/2012. Boston, MA: Global Development Policy Center, Boston University. www.bu.edu/gdp/files/2021/07/GCI_PB_008_FIN-1.pdf.
- National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Ecology and Environment, and Ministry of Commerce. 2022. '国家发展改革委等部门关于推进共建“一带一路”绿色发展的意见 [Opinions on the Joint Implementation of Green Development in the Belt and Road Initiative].' 3 March. Beijing: Ministry of Ecology and Environment. www.mee.gov.cn/xxgk2018/xxgk/xxgk10/202203/t20220329_972898.html.
- National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) and National Energy Administration (NEA). 2022. '关于印发《“十四五”现代能源体系规划》的通知 [Notice about the 14th Five-Year Plan on Modern Energy Systems].' 29 January. Beijing: NDRC. www.ndrc.gov.cn/xxgk/zcfb/ghwb/202203/t20220322_1320016.html.
- Nedopil Wang, Christoph. 2021. 'Coal Phase-Out in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): An Analysis of Chinese-Backed Coal Power from 2014–2020.' *Green Finance & Development Center Brief*, 16 June. Shanghai: Fanhai International School of Finance at Fudan University. greenfdc.org/coal-phase-out-in-the-belt-and-road-initiative-bri-an-analysis-of-chinese-backed-coal-power-from-2014-2020.
- Nedopil Wang, Christoph. 2022. 'China Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) Investment Report 2021.' *Green Finance & Development Center Brief*, 2 February. Shanghai: Fanhai International School of Finance at Fudan University. greenfdc.org/brief-china-belt-and-road-initiative-bri-investment-report-2021.
- Ping An Group. 2021. *Ping An Bank Statement on Coal-Related Business*. Shenzhen: Ping An Group. group.pingan.com/resource/pingan/ESG/Sustainable-Business-Integration/ping-an-group-coal-lending-statement-2021.pdf.

- Rana, Shahbaz. 2022. 'Pakistan Moves to Address China's Gwadar Concerns.' *The Express Tribune*, 5 February. tribune.com.pk/story/2342079/pakistan-moves-to-address-chinas-gwadar-concerns.
- Reboredo, Ricardo. 2021. 'South African Energy Metallurgical Special Economic Zone.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 12 May. thepeoplesmap.net/project/south-african-energy-metallurgical-special-economic-zone.
- Reuters. 2021 'S. Korea's Moon Vows to End New Funding for Overseas Coal Projects.' *Reuters*, 22 April. www.reuters.com/article/global-climate-summit-southkorea/s-koreas-moon-vows-to-end-new-funding-for-overseas-coal-projects-idUSL4N2MF3R2.
- Shepherd, Christian. 2021 'China Turns its Back on Bangladesh BRI Coal Projects.' *Financial Times*, 10 March. www.ft.com/content/30840645-58d2-4da5-be05-f476623677d2.
- Suarez, Isabella. 2021. '4.5 Times as Much Overseas Coal Capacity Linked to China Cancelled or Shelved than Constructed.' *CREA Briefing*, 15 June. Helsinki: Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air. energyandcleanair.org/more-chinese-overseas-projects-cancelled.
- Suarez, Isabella. 2022. '12.8 GW of Chinese Overseas Coal Project Cancelled, but 57 GW Could Still Go Ahead.' *CREA Briefing*, 22 April. Helsinki: Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air. energyandcleanair.org/2022-chinese-overseas-coal.
- Sunningwell International. 2022. 'Sunningwell Response to Business & Human Rights Resource Center.' 28 December. London: Business & Human Rights Resource Center. media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/Sunningwell_response_to_BHRRC_ASia_reg_Ugljevnik_power_plant_project_rB8wF1Q.pdf.
- Tsingshan Industry. 2021. '青山承诺不再新建境外煤电项目 [Tsingshan Commits to No New Coal Power Plants Overseas].' 22 September. Shanghai: Tsingshan Holding Group. www.tssgroup.com.cn/青山承诺不再新建境.
- Vietnam Energy. 2022. 'The Conclusion of Deputy Prime Minister Le Van Thanh on Finalizing PDP VIII.' *Vietnam Energy Online*, 28 February. Hanoi: Vietnam Energy. vietnamenergy.vn/the-conclusion-of-deputy-prime-minister-le-van-thanh-on-finalizing-pdp-viii-28341.html.

World Resources Institute (WRI). 2022. 'WRI Co-Hosts International Roundtable on Green Development Guidance for BRI Projects.' Media release, 21 April. Washington, DC: WRI. wri.org.cn/en/news/wri-co-hosts-international-roundtable-green-development-guidance-bri-projects.

Xi, Jinping. 2021. 'Bolstering Confidence and Jointly Overcoming Difficulties to Build a Better World: Statement by H.E. Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China at the General Debate of the 76th Session of the United Nations General Assembly.' *China Daily*, 22 September. www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202109/22/WS614a8126a310cdd39bc6a935.html.

Yapp, Civi. 2022. 'AIIB Out, Others in on Thai Gas-Fired Plant.' *IJGlobal*, 11 February. www.ijglobal.com/articles/161951/aiib-out-others-in-on-thai-gas-fired.

Translating China's Special Economic Zone 'Model' into Rural Southern India: Impacts on Urban Development (CHARLOTTE GOODBURN AND JAN KNOERICH)

Aggarwal, Aradhna. 2010. *Economic impacts of SEZs: Theoretical approaches and analysis of newly notified SEZs in India*. MPRA Paper 20902. Munich Personal RePEc Archive. mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/20902.

Bach, Jonathan. 2017. 'Shenzhen: From Exception to Rule.' In *Learning from Shenzhen*, edited by Mary Ann O'Donnell, Winnie Wong, and Jonathan Bach, 23–38. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Bedi, Heather P. 2013. 'Special Economic Zones: National Land Challenges, Localized Protest.' *Contemporary South Asia* 21(1): 38–51.

Benson, David and Andrew Jordan. 2011. 'What Have We Learned from Policy Transfer Research? Dolowitz and Marsh Revisited.' *Political Studies Review* 9(3): 366–78.

Cross, Jamie. 2014. *Dream Zones: Anticipating Capitalism and Development in India*. London: Pluto Press.

Fan, Cindy C. 2007. *China on the Move: Migration, the State, and the Household*. London: Routledge.

Goodburn, Charlotte. 2015. 'Migrant Girls in Shenzhen: Gender, Education and the Urbanization of Aspiration.' *The China Quarterly* 222: 320–38.

- Goodburn, Charlotte. 2020a. 'Changing Patterns of Household Decision-Making and the Education of Rural Migrant Children: Comparing Shenzhen and Mumbai.' *Migration Studies* 8(4): 589–611.
- Goodburn, Charlotte. 2020b. 'Growing Up In (and Out of) Shenzhen: The Longer-Term Impacts of Rural–Urban Migration on Education and Labor Market Entry.' *The China Journal* 83(1): 129–47.
- Klasen, Stephan and Janneke Pieters. 2015. *What explains the stagnation of female labor force participation in urban India?* Policy Research Working Papers, 28 May. Washington, DC: World Bank. doi.org/10.1596/1813-9450-7222.
- Knoerich, Jan, Liliane Chantal Mouan, and Charlotte Goodburn. 2021. 'Is China's Model of SEZ-Led Development Viable? A Call for Smart Replication.' *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 50(2). doi.org/10.1177/1868102621993487.
- Kothari, Bejene, Vijay Kishore, Vaddiparti Raghavaswamy, and Galab Shaik. 2010. Special economic zones and the emergent rural–urban dynamics. Presented to Dynamics of Rural Transformation in Emerging Economies Conference, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, 14 April.
- Liu, Yuting, Shenjing He, Fulong Wu, and Chris Webster. 2010. 'Urban Villages under China's Rapid Urbanization: Unregulated Assets and Transitional Neighbourhoods.' *Habitat International* 34(2): 135–44.
- McCann, Eugene and Kevin Ward. 2012. 'Policy Assemblages, Mobilities and Mutations: Toward a Multidisciplinary Conversation.' *Political Studies Review* 10(3): 325–32.
- McFarlane, Colin. 2011. 'Assemblage and Critical Urbanism.' *City* 15(2): 204–24.
- Menon, S. Narayan and Soumya Kanti Mitra. 2009. 'Special Economic Zones: The Rationale.' In *Special Economic Zones: Promise, Performance and Pending Issues*, edited by Partha Mukhopadhyay, Kanhu Charan Pradhan, and K.C. Sivaramakrishnan, 3–44. New Delhi: Centre for Policy Research.
- Ministry of Commerce and Industry. 2005. *Special Economic Zones Act, 2005*. New Delhi: Government of India. commerce.gov.in/writereaddata/aboutus/actspdfs/SEZAct,2005.pdf.
- O'Donnell, Mary Ann. 2021. 'The End of an Era? Two Decades of Shenzhen Urban Villages.' *Made in China* 6(2): 56–65.

- Ong, Aihwa. 2011. 'Introduction: Worlding Cities, or the Art of Being Global.' In *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*, edited by Ananya Roy and Aihwa Ong, 1–28. London: Blackwell.
- Palit, Amitendu and Subhomoy Bhattacharjee. 2008. *Special Economic Zones in India: Myths and Realities*. London: Anthem Press.
- Parliament of India. 2007. *Department Related Standing Committee on Commerce: Eighty-Third Report on the Functioning of Special Economic Zones*. August. New Delhi. 164.100.47.5/newcommittee/reports/EnglishCommittees/Committee%20on%20Commerce/Report%20SEZ1.htm.
- Peck, Jamie and Nik Theodore. 2012. 'Follow the Policy: A Distended Case Approach.' *Environment and Planning A* 44(1): 21–30.
- Robinson, Jennifer. 2002. 'Global and World Cities: A View from Off the Map.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26(3): 531–54.
- Roy, Ananya. 2016. 'When Is Asia?' *The Professional Geographer* 68(2): 313–21.
- Sampat, Preeti. 2010. 'Special Economic Zones in India: Reconfiguring Displacement in a Neoliberal Order?' *City & Society* 22(2): 166–82.
- Shin, Hyun Bang. 2019. 'Asian Urbanism.' In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies*, edited by Anthony Orum, 1–10. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell.
- Shin, Hyun Bang, Yimin Zhao, and Sin Yee Koh. 2020. 'Whither Progressive Urban Futures? Critical Reflections on the Politics of Temporality in Asia.' *City* 24(1): 1–11.
- Sklair, Leslie. 1991. 'Problems of Socialist Development: The Significance of Shenzhen Special Economic Zone for China's Open Door Development Strategy.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 15(2): 197–215.
- Smith, Chris and Ngai Pun. 2006. 'The Dormitory Labour Regime in China as a Site for Control and Resistance.' *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 17(8): 1456–70.
- Sood, Ashima and Lorraine Kennedy. 2020. 'Neoliberal Exception to Liberal Democracy? Entrepreneurial Territorial Governance in India.' *Territory, Politics, Governance* 8(1): 23–42.

- Srinivasulu, Karli. 2014. 'Andhra Pradesh.' In *Power, Policy, and Protest: The Politics of India's Special Economic Zones*, edited by Rob Jenkins, Loraine Kennedy, and Partha Mukhopadhyay, 72–107. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Wong, Kwan-Yiu. 1987. 'China's Special Economic Zone Experiment: An Appraisal.' *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 69(1): 27–40.
- World Bank. 2015. 'China's Special Economic Zones: Experience Gained.' World Bank Investing in Africa Forum. www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/Event/Africa/Investing%20in%20Africa%20Forum/2015/investing-in-africa-forum-chinas-special-economic-zone.pdf.

Overlapping Agendas on the Belt and Road: The Case of the Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone (MARK BO AND NEIL LOUGHLIN)

- Asian Development Bank (ADB). 2018. *The Ha Noi Action Plan 2018–2022*. Manila: Asian Development Bank. [www.greatermekong.org/sites/default/files/SERD The Ha Noi Action Plan 2018–2022_WEB - 15March2018.pdf](http://www.greatermekong.org/sites/default/files/SERD%20The%20Ha%20Noi%20Action%20Plan%202018-2022_WEB_15March2018.pdf).
- Associated Press (AP). 2006. 'China Pledges \$600 Million to Cambodia.' *China Daily*, 9 April. www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-04/09/content_563496.htm.
- Bahree, Megha. 2014. 'In Cambodia, a Close Friendship with the PM Leads to Vast Wealth for One Power Couple.' *Forbes*, 24 September. www.forbes.com/sites/meghabahree/2014/09/24/who-you-know-inc-in-cambodia-a-close-friendship-with-the-pm-leads-to-vast-wealth-for-one-power-couple.
- Bräutigam, Deborah and Xiaoyang Tang. 2012. 'Economic Statecraft in China's New Overseas Special Economic Zones: Soft Power, Business or Resource Security?' *International Affairs* 88(4): 799–816.
- Bräutigam, Deborah and Xiaoyang Tang. 2014. "Going Global in Groups": Structural Transformation and China's Special Economic Zones Overseas.' *World Development* 63: 78–91.
- Cambodia Center for Independent Media (CCIM). 2018. 'Independent Union Does Not Exist to Protect Rights and Working Conditions of Workers in Sihanoukville Special Economic Zones.' CCIM website, 19 November. ccimcambodia.org/?p=1289.

China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT). n.d. '西哈努克港经济特区 [Sihanoukville Economic Zone].' CCPIT website. oip.ccpit.org/ent/parks-introduces/46.

Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC). 2020. *Development Cooperation and Partnerships Report*. March. Phnom Penh: Council for the Development of Cambodia. cdc-crdb.gov.kh/en/officials-docs/documents/DCPR-2018-English.pdf.

Diepart, Jean-Christophe and Laura Schoenberger. 2016. 'Concessions in Cambodia: Governing Profits, Extending State Power and Enclosing Resources from the Colonial Era to the Present.' In *The Handbook of Contemporary Cambodia*, edited by Katherine Brickell and Simon Springer, 157–68. London: Routledge.

Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Kingdom of Cambodia (PRC Embassy). 2021. '驻柬埔寨大使王文天同柬副首相兼国防大臣迪班共同出席中国国防部援建柬东盟军用枪射击比赛场和宪兵训练馆项目开工仪式 [Ambassador to Cambodia Wang Wentian and Cambodian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence Tea Banh Jointly Attended the Groundbreaking Ceremony of the Project of China's Ministry of National Defence to Build the Cambodia–ASEAN Military Firing Range and Military Police Training Centre].' Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Kingdom of Cambodia website, 20 December. kh.china-embassy.gov.cn/dssghd/202112/t20211220_10471776.htm.

Export–Import Bank of China (Eximbank of China). 2019. '金融时报: 促进互利共赢 架起“梦想之桥” 进出口银行助力“一带一路”建设' [Financial Times: Promote Mutual Benefit and Win-Win Construction Building a “Bridge of Dreams”. Export–Import Bank Helps the Construction of the “Belt and Road”]. 24 April. Beijing: Export–Import Bank of China. www.eximbank.gov.cn/info/circus/201905/t20190529_9206.html.

Flannery, Russel. 2005. 'Letting Out the Seam.' *Forbes*, 28 February. www.forbes.com/forbes/2005/0228/094.html.

Flannery, Russel. 2015. 'China's Currency Won't Ease Pressure on Industry to Upgrade.' *Forbes*, 19 August. www.forbes.com/sites/russellflannery/2015/08/19/chinas-currency-slide-wont-ease-pressure-on-industry-to-upgrade/?sh=17f7c1a86eba.

Franceschini, Ivan. 2020. 'At the Roots of Labour Activism: Chinese and Cambodian Garment Workers in Comparative Perspective.' *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 50(1): 144–67.

- Goldberg, Coby, Max Kearns, Henry Peyronnin, Ben Spevack, and Sofia Vargas. 2021. *Zoned Out: A Comprehensive Impact Evaluation of Mekong Economic Development Zones*. Washington, DC: C4ADS.
- Grimsditch, Mark. 2019. 'The Cambodia Conundrum: The Belt and Road, Private Capital and China's "Non-Interference" Policy.' *Panda Paw Dragon Claw*, 25 June. pandapawdragonclaw.blog/2019/06/25/the-cambodia-conundrum-the-belt-and-road-private-capital-and-chinas-non-interference-policy.
- Ham, Oudom. 2021. 'Project Profile: Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone Coal Power Plant.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 18 October. thepeoplesmap.net/project/sihanoukville-special-economic-zone-coal-power-plant.
- Hang, Sokhuntea, Erchi Zhang, Qi Zhang, and Sijia Li. 2017. 'Sino-Cambodian Factory Zone Sets Pace for Belt and Road.' *Caixin Global*, 12 May. www.caixinglobal.com/2017-05-12/sino-cambodian-factory-zone-sets-pace-for-belt-and-road-101089824.html.
- Hin, Pisei. 2022a. 'Cambodia-US Trade Tops \$9.1b in 2021: USCB.' *The Phnom Penh Post*, 10 February. phnompenhpost.com/business/cambodia-us-trade-tops-91b-2021-uscb.
- Hin, Pisei. 2022b. 'SSEZ's Q1 Imports, Exports Rise 51%.' *The Phnom Penh Post*, 25 April. www.phnompenhpost.com/business/ssezs-q1-imports-exports-rise-51.
- Hun, Sen. 2016. 'Selected Impromptu Comments at the Inauguration of the 100th Factory Presence in the Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone.' *Cambodia New Vision*, 6 July. <http://cnv.org.kh/selected-impromptu-comments-inauguration-100th-factory-presence-sihanoukville-special-economic-zone>.
- Inclusive Development International (IDI). 2020. *Reassessing China's Investment Footprint in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: Inclusive Development International. www.inclusivedevelopment.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/2020_IDI_Briefing-on-Chinas-Footprint-in-Cambodia-Update.pdf.
- Inclusive Development International (IDI). 2021a. 'Project Profile: Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 31 March. thepeoplesmap.net/project/sihanoukville-special-economic-zone.
- Inclusive Development International (IDI). 2021b. 'Country Profile: Cambodia.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 25 November. thepeoplesmap.net/country/cambodia.

- Kingdom of Cambodia and People's Republic of China (PRC). 2019. 'Joint Communiqué between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the People's Republic of China.' 23 January, Beijing. cnv.org.kh/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Joint-Communique-Between-The-Kingdom-of-Cambodia-and-the-People's-Republic-of-China-23012019.pdf.
- Khuon, Narim. 2018. 'Group Notes Lack of Sihanoukville SEZ Unions.' *Khmer Times*, 28 November. www.khmertimeskh.com/553684/group-notes-lack-of-sihanoukville-sez-unions.
- Layton, Peter. 2017. 'As China's Sphere of Influence Expands, Australia Has a Choice.' *War on the Rocks*, 6 June. warontherocks.com/2017/06/as-chinas-sphere-of-influence-expands-australia-has-a-choice.
- Loughlin, Neil. 2021. 'Chinese Linkage, Leverage, and Cambodia's Transition to Hegemonic Authoritarianism.' *Democratization* 28(4): 840–57.
- Loughlin, Neil and Mark Grimsditch. 2021. 'How Local Political Economy Dynamics are Shaping the Belt and Road Initiative.' *Third World Quarterly* 42(10): 2334–52.
- Loughlin, Neil and Sarah Milne. 2020. 'After the Grab: Land Control and Regime Survival in Cambodia Since 2012.' *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 51(3): 375–97.
- Mao, Pengfei and Sovan Nguon. 2019. 'Chinese-Invested Sihanoukville SEZ is Model for SEZ Development in Cambodia: Cambodian Deputy PM.' *Belt and Road Portal*, 31 May. eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/ghsl/wksl/92451.htm.
- Ministry of Commerce (MOC). n.d. *Business Registration*. Phnom Penh: Ministry of Commerce of the Kingdom of Cambodia. www.businessregistration.moc.gov.kh.
- Ministry of Public Works and Transport (MPWT). 2022. 'Khmer Times: Cambodia Benefits Immensely from China's BRI Projects.' Press release, 7 May. Phnom Penh: Ministry of Public Works and Transport of the Kingdom of Cambodia. www.mpwt.gov.kh/en/press/24018.
- Nachemson, Andrew. 2021. 'US Tightens Curbs as Cambodia Moves Closer into China's Embrace.' *Al Jazeera*, 10 December. www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/10/as-cambodia-moves-closer-into-chinas-orbit-us-tightens-curbs.
- National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce. 2015. 'Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road.' March. Beijing: NDRC.

- Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) and Ministry of Ecology and Environment (MEE). 2021. *Guidelines for Green Development in Overseas Investment and Cooperation*. Beijing: BRI Green Development Coalition (pp. 5–6). en.brigc.net/Media_Center/BRI_Green_Review/2021/202107/P020210729465376906569.pdf.
- Niem, Chheng. 2018. 'Report Decries Lack of Union Representatives.' *The Phnom Penh Post*, 28 November. www.phnompenhpost.com/national/report-decries-lack-union-representatives.
- Prak, Chan Thul. 2019. 'U.S. Urges Cambodia to Probe China-Owned Economic Zone on Tariff Dodging.' *Reuters*, 28 June. www.reuters.com/article/uk-usa-trade-china-cambodia-idUKKCN1TT0F1.
- Raymond, Gregory. 2021. 'From Neoliberalism to Geoeconomics: The Greater Mekong Subregion and the Archaeology of the Belt and Road Initiative in Mainland Southeast Asia.' *Made in China Journal* 6(2): 152–57.
- Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone (SSEZ). n.d. 'Brief Introduction.' SSEZ website. www.ssez.com/en/company.asp?Ione=3.
- Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone (SSEZ). 2012. 'Investment Advantage.' SSEZ website, 30 August. www.ssez.com/en/touzi.asp?nlt=58&none=17&ntwo=0.
- Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone (SSEZ). 2014a. 'The General Manager of the SSEZ Company Made an Official Visit to the New Governor of Sihanouk Province.' SSEZ website, 9 June. www.ssez.com/en/news.asp?nlt=106&none=3&ntwo=0.
- Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone (SSEZ). 2014b. 'Cambodian Anti-Terrorism GOE Will Fully Maintain the Stability of SSEZ.' SSEZ website, 15 August. www.ssez.com/en/news.asp?nlt=108&none=3&ntwo=0.
- Sinosure. n.d. '柬埔寨西哈努克港经济特区项目 [Cambodia Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone Project].' Sinosure website. www.sinosure.com.cn/xwzx/cbxm/hwtzbx/2016/11/182390.shtml.
- Sukumaran, Tashny. 2019. 'Cambodia "Playing with Fire" by Cosying Up to China, Says Opposition Figure Sam Rainsy.' *South China Morning Post*, 12 November. www.scmp.com/week-asia/people/article/3037414/cambodias-close-ties-china-undermines-fight-democracy-says-sam.

- Thame, Charlie. 2017. *SEZs and Value Extraction from the Mekong: A Case Study on the Control and Exploitation of Land and Labour in Cambodia and Myanmar's Special Economic Zones*. Bangkok: Focus on the Global South. earthrights.org/wp-content/uploads/sezs_and_value_extraction_in_the_mekong_english.pdf.
- Turton, Shaun. 2021. 'Cyber Slavery: Inside Cambodia's Online Scam Gangs.' *Nikkei Asia*, 1 September. asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/The-Big-Story/Cyber-slavery-inside-Cambodia-s-online-scam-gangs.
- Turton, Shaun and Yan Huang. 2021. 'China Grapples with Cambodia's Failure to Curb Crime Gangs.' *Nikkei Asia*, 17 December. asia.nikkei.com/Business/Business-Spotlight/China-grapples-with-Cambodia-s-failure-to-curb-crime-gangs.
- Xi, Jinping. 2021. 'Speech by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the Special Summit to Commemorate the 30th Anniversary of China-ASEAN Dialogue Relations.' *Xinhua*, 22 November. www.news.cn/english/2021-11/22/c_1310325511.htm.
- Xinhua. 2017. 'Cambodia, China Draft Plans for Cooperation under Belt and Road Initiative.' *Xinhuanet*, 22 February. www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-02/22/c_136077019.htm.
- Xinhua. 2018. '中国银行(香港)金边分行代表团称赞特区发展空间大 [The Delegation of Bank of China (Hong Kong) Phnom Penh Branch Praised the Development of the SEZ].' 新华丝路 [*Xinhua Silk Road*], 9 November. www.imsilkroad.com/news/p/110362.html.
- Xinhua. 2020. 'Cambodia-China Trade Volume Tops 11b USD in 2021, Up 37 pct.' *Xinhuanet*, 28 January. english.news.cn/asiapacific/20220128/54b02521fc9e4afc9c5363257e18a8ce/c.html.
- Xinhua. 2022. 'China's BRI Projects Greatly Benefit Cambodian Economy, People: Officials, Experts.' *China Daily*, 6 May. global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202205/06/WS6274bc7ba310fd2b29e5b118.html.
- Zhang, Bao 张保. 2022. '西港特区成中企赴柬投资热土 [Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone Becomes Hotspot for Chinese Companies to Invest in Cambodia].' 经济日报 [*Economic Daily*], 12 February. www.ce.cn/xwzx/gnsz/gdxw/202202/12/t20220212_37323674.shtml.

Civil Society's Multifaceted Response to China's Belt and Road Initiative (SHAWN SHIEH)

- Belt and Road Forum. 2019. 'Xi Jinping Attends the Opening Ceremony of the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation (BRF) and Delivers a Keynote Speech.' Belt and Road Forum website, 27 April. www.beltandroadforum.org/english/n100/2019/0429/c22-1391.html.
- Business & Human Rights Resource Centre (BHRRC). 2021. "Going Out Responsibly": The Human Rights Impact of China's Global Investments.' *Briefing*, August. London: BHRRC. www.bhrrc.org/en/from-us/briefings/going-out-responsibly-the-human-rights-impact-of-chinas-global-investments.
- Business & Human Rights Resource Centre (BHRRC). 2022. 'Going Out Responsibly: Time to Take Human Rights Seriously in Chinese Overseas Business Operations.' *Global China Pulse*, 12 January. thepeoplesmap.net/2022/01/12/going-out-responsibly-time-to-take-human-rights-seriously-in-chinese-overseas-business-operations.
- Cai, Feifei, Jinfei Yue, Jialin Zhang, and Jiyan Chen. 2017. *The social responsibility of China's OFDI and NGOs' engagement: Taking the Myanmar Letpadaung copper mining project as an example*. SRI Paper, July. Beijing: Social Resources Institute. media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/files/documents/SRI_The_Social_Responsibility_of_Chinas_OFDI_and_NGOs_Engagement.pdf.
- Cai, Feifei and Jinsan Zhou. 2018. *Research on community relations management of Chinese companies in Myanmar*. SRI Paper. Beijing: Social Resources Institute. www.academia.edu/37881664/Research_on_Community_Relations_Management_of_Chinese_Companies_in_Myanmar_Social_Resources_Institute_SRI.
- Chan, Debby Sze Wan and Ngai Pun. 2021. 'Reactive to Domestic Constraints: Dynamic Operations of a China-Backed Copper Mine in Myanmar, 2011–21.' *Eurasian Geography and Economics*. doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2021.1955721.
- Coalition for Human Rights in Development. 2019. *Uncalculated Risks: Threats and Attacks against Human Rights Defenders and the Role of Development Financiers*. Report, May. Coalition for Human Rights Development. rightsindevelopment.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Uncalculated-Risks-Full-report-cmpr-h.pdf.

- Gyuse, Terna. 2021. 'Ugandan Activists' Arrest Slammed as Threat to Space for Rights Defenders.' *Mongabay*, [San Francisco, CA], 28 October. news.mongabay.com/2021/10/ugandan-activists-arrest-slammed-as-threat-to-space-for-rights-defenders.
- Halegua, Aaron. 2020a. 'From Africa to Saipan: What Happens When Chinese Construction Firms "Go Global"?' *Made in China Journal* 5(1): 160–63.
- Halegua, Aaron. 2020b. 'Where is the Belt and Road Initiative Taking International Labour Rights? An Examination of Worker Abuse by Chinese Firms in Saipan.' In *The Belt and Road Initiative and Global Governance*, edited by Maria Adele Carrai and Jan Wouters, 225–57. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Hui, Ning. 2019. 'How Local Communities Halted a Chinese-Owned Gold Mine in Ecuador.' *China Dialogue*, 5 July. chinadialogue.net/en/business/11358-how-locals-halted-a-chinese-owned-gold-mine-in-ecuador.
- Inclusive Development International. 2020. 'Supporting "High Quality" Construction on the Belt and Road: How Chinese Entities Can Protect People and the Environment in a COVID-19 World.' Open letter, 29 April. Asheville, NC: Inclusive Development International. www.inclusivedevelopment.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/CSO-Statement_April-2020_Final_English-STATEMENTAPPENDIX-1.pdf.
- Inclusive Development International. 2021a. 'Dairi Prima Mineral Zinc Mine.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 29 March. thepeoplesmap.net/project/dairi-prima-mineral-zinc-mine.
- Inclusive Development International. 2021b. 'East African Crude Oil Pipeline.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 30 March. thepeoplesmap.net/project/east-africa-crude-oil-pipeline.
- Kernell, Samuel, Gary C. Jacobson, Thad Kousser, and Lynn Vavreck. 2017. *The Logic of American Politics*. 8th edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kinney, Sasha. 2022. 'Lamu Coal Power Plant.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 22 January. thepeoplesmap.net/project/lamu-coal-power-plant.
- Latinoamérica Sustentable. 2020. 'Rio Blanco Mining Project.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 3 November. thepeoplesmap.net/project/rio-blanco-mining-project.

- Learning Spaces. 2021a. *Cases of civil society advocacy on China's Belt and Road Initiative: Key takeaways and resources*. Learning Spaces Brief 3. drive.google.com/drive/folders/1acfyUuD3zZJnZ0DqIPVn0Nyg92OVGVIE?usp=sharing.
- Learning Spaces. 2021b. *Civil society advocacy on China's Belt and Road Initiative: Key takeaways and resources*. Learning Spaces Brief 2. drive.google.com/file/d/1NaCe0YhtGg2US0U2DJD3t2fQW_297QO/view.
- Learning Spaces. 2021c. *Legal advocacy on China's Belt and Road: Key takeaways and resources*. Learning Spaces Brief 4. drive.google.com/file/d/1uZMuiZM_62ZtmYkmGm_K_uGXEsoYzDvK/view.
- Lipton, Eric and Dionne Searcy. 2021. 'Chinese Company Removed as Operator of Cobalt Mine in Congo.' *The New York Times*, 28 February. www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/world/congo-cobalt-mining-china.html.
- Mackenzie, Ellis, Sarah Milne, Lorrae van Kerkhoff, and Bunthin Ray. 2022. 'Development or Dispossession? Exploring the Consequences of a Major Chinese Investment in Rural Cambodia.' *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2022.2026929.
- Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Environment and Ecology. 2021. 'Guidelines for Green Development in Foreign Investment and Cooperation.' Translated in *Green BRI Review*, July, pp. 5–6. en.brigc.net/Media_Center/BRI_Green_Review/2021/202107/P020210729465376906569.pdf.
- Nedopil, Christoph, Dmitry De Boer, Danting Fan, and Yingzhi Tang. 2021. 'What China's New Guidelines on "Green Development" Mean for the Belt and Road.' *China Dialogue*, 18 August. chinadialogue.net/en/business/what-chinas-new-guidelines-on-green-development-mean-for-the-belt-and-road.
- Reuters. 2014. 'China Expresses Concern after Protests at Myanmar Mine.' *Reuters*, 24 December. www.reuters.com/article/china-myanmar/china-expresses-concern-after-protests-at-myanmar-mine-idUSL3N0U82DR20141224.
- Rights and Accountability in Development (RAID). 2021. *The Road to Ruin? Electric Vehicles and Workers' Rights Abuses at DR Congo's Industrial Cobalt Mines*. Report, November. London: RAID UK. www.raid-uk.org/sites/default/files/report_road_to_ruin_evs_cobalt_workers_nov_2021.pdf.

- Searcey, Dionne, Michael Forsythe, and Eric Lipton. 2021. 'A Power Struggle over Cobalt Rattles the Clean Energy Revolution.' *The New York Times*, 20 November. www.nytimes.com/2021/11/20/world/china-congo-cobalt.html.
- State Council Information Office (SCIO). 2021. *China's International Development Cooperation in the New Era*. White Paper, 10 January. Beijing: Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. english.www.gov.cn/archive/whitepaper/202101/10/content_WS5ffa6bbbc6d0f72576943922.html.
- Swaine, Robert, Bernardo Mariani, and Ilya Jones. 2021. *Public Perceptions of the Belt and Road Initiative: Guiding 'Win-Wins' for People, Business and Policy Makers*. Report, August. London: Saferworld. www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1358-public-perceptions-of-the-belt-and-road-initiative-guiding-awin-winsa-for-people-business-and-policy-makers.
- Syntao. 2021. *Community Engagement Handbook for Chinese International Contractors (2021 Edition)*. 26 August. Syntao website. www.syntao.com/newsinfo/1850630.html.
- Tower, Jason. 2020. 'Conflict Dynamics and the Belt and Road Initiative: Ignoring Conflict on the "Road to Peace".' *Analysis 97*. Berlin: Brot Für die Welt [Bread for the World]. www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de/fileadmin/mediapool/blogs/Kruckow_Caroline/Analyse97-en-v08-Web.pdf.
- UN Affairs. 2021. 'China Headed towards Carbon Neutrality by 2060; President Xi Jinping Vows to Halt New Coal Plants Abroad.' *UN News*, 21 September. news.un.org/en/story/2021/09/1100642.
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). 2019. 'Lamu Coal Plant Case Reveals Tips for Other Community-Led Campaigns.' *News*, 22 August. Nairobi: UNEP. www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/lamu-coal-plant-case-reveals-tips-other-community-led-campaigns.
- Wang, Christoph Nedopil. 2022. *Interpretation of the 2022 'Guidelines for Ecological Environmental Protection of Foreign Investment Cooperation and Construction Projects'*. 18 January. Shanghai: Green Finance & Development Center. greenfdc.org/interpretation-2022-guidelines-ecological-environmental-protection-of-foreign-investment-cooperation-and-construction-projects/.
- Win Ko Ko Latt and Soe Than Lynn. 2013. 'Copper Project to Resume in September after New Contract Signed.' *Myanmar Times*, 29 July. www.mmtimes.com/national-news/7644-copper-project-to-resume-in-september-after-new-contract-signed.html.

- Yu, Pei-hua. 2021a. 'Letpadaung Copper Mine.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 23 March. thepeoplesmap.net/project/letpadaung-copper-mine.
- Yu, Pei-hua. 2021b. 'Myanmar–China Oil and Gas Pipelines.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 23 March. thepeoplesmap.net/project/myanmar-china-oil-and-gas-pipelines.
- Yu, Pei-hua. 2021c. 'Myitsone Hydropower Dam.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 23 March. thepeoplesmap.net/project/myitsone-hydropower-dam.

High-Profile Infrastructure and China's Global Influence Gamble (AUSTIN STRANGE)

- Baldwin, Kate and Matthew S. Winters. 2020. 'How Do Different Forms of Foreign Aid Affect Government Legitimacy? Evidence from an Informational Experiment in Uganda.' *Studies in Comparative International Development* 55(2): 160–83.
- Barnett, Michael and Raymond Duvall. 2005. 'Power in International Politics.' *International Organization* 59(1): 39–75.
- Bluhm, Richard, Axel Dreher, Andreas Fuchs, Bradley Parks, Austin Strange, and Michael J. Tierney. 2020. *Connective financing: Chinese infrastructure projects and the diffusion of economic activity in developing countries*. CESifo Working Paper 8344. Munich: Center for Economic Studies.
- Bräutigam, Deborah. 2009. *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bräutigam, Deborah. 2019. 'Misdiagnosing the Chinese Infrastructure Push.' *The American Interest*, 4 April. www.the-american-interest.com/2019/04/04/misdiagnosing-the-chinese-infrastructure-push.
- Bräutigam, Deborah. 2020. 'A Critical Look at Chinese "Debt-Trap Diplomacy": The Rise of a Meme.' *Area Development and Policy* 5(1): 1–14.
- Bräutigam, Deborah, Vijay Bhalaki, Laure Deron, and Yinxuan Wang. 2022. *How Africa Borrows from China: And Why Mombasa Port Is Not Collateral for Kenya's Standard Gauge Railway*. China–Africa Research Initiative Working Paper No. 52. Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.

- Burgos, Sigfrido and Sophal Ear. 2010. 'China's Strategic Interests in Cambodia: Influence and Resources.' *Asian Survey* 50(3): 615–39.
- Caixin. 2015. '习近平讲述“中国故事” 诠释官方外交语言新“温度” [Xi Jinping Tells “China Stories”, Illustrating New “Warmth” in Official Diplomatic Discourse].' 财新 [Caixin], 23 April. www.caixin.com/2015-04-23/100802893.html.
- Camba, Alvin. 2020. *Derailing Development: China's Railway Projects and Financing Coalitions in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines*. GCI Working Paper 008. Boston, MA: Global Development Policy Center, Boston University. www.bu.edu/gdp/files/2020/02/WP8-Camba-Derailing-Development.pdf.
- Cruz, Cesi and Christina J. Schneider. 2017. 'Foreign Aid and Undeserved Credit Claiming.' *American Journal of Political Science* 61(2): 396–408.
- Custer, Samantha, Axel Dreher, Thai-Binh Elston, Andreas Fuchs, Siddharta Ghose, Joyce Jiahui Lin, Ammar A. Malik, Bradley C. Parks, Brooke Russell, Kyra Solomon, Austin Strange, Michael J. Tierney, Katherine Walsh, Lincoln Zaleski, and Sheng Zhang. 2021. *Tracking Chinese Development Finance: An Application of AidData's TUFF 2.0 Methodology*. Williamsburg, VA: AidData at William & Mary.
- Dahl, Robert. 1984. *Modern Political Analysis*. 4th edn. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Dietrich, Simone, Minhaj Mahmud, and Matthew S. Winters. 2018. 'Foreign Aid, Foreign Policy, and Domestic Government Legitimacy: Experimental Evidence from Bangladesh.' *The Journal of Politics* 80(1): 133–48.
- Dollar, David. 2008. 'Supply Meets Demand: Chinese Infrastructure Financing in Africa.' *World Bank Blog*, 10 July. Washington, DC: The World Bank. blogs.worldbank.org/eastasiapacific/supply-meets-demand-chinese-infrastructure-financing-in-africa.
- Dreher, Axel, Andreas Fuchs, Brad Parks, Austin M. Strange, and Michael J. Tierney. 2018. 'Apples and Dragon Fruits: The Determinants of Aid and Other Forms of State Financing from China to Africa.' *International Studies Quarterly* 62(1): 182–94.
- Dreher, Axel, Andreas Fuchs, Bradley Parks, Austin Strange, and Michael Tierney. 2022. *Banking on Beijing: The Aims and Impacts of China's Overseas Development Program*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Editorial Board. 2008. 方毅传 [*Biography of Fang Yi*]. Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe.
- Flyvbjerg, Bent, Nils Bruzelius, and Werner Rothengatter. 2003. *Megaprojects and Risk: An Anatomy of Ambition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fung, Courtney, Enze Han, Kai Quek, and Austin Strange. Forthcoming. 'Conditioning China's Influence: Intentionality, Intermediaries, and Institutions.' *Journal of Contemporary China*.
- Ginting, Pius and Ellen Moore. 2021. 'Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP).' *The People's Map of Global China*, 24 November. thepeoplesmap.net/project/indonesia-morowali-industrial-park-imip.
- Goh, Evelyn (ed.). 2016. *Rising China's Influence in Developing Asia*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ho, Selina. 2020. 'Infrastructure and Chinese Power.' *International Affairs* 96(6): 1461–85.
- Kastner, Scott L. and Margaret M. Pearson. 2021. 'Exploring the Parameters of China's Economic Influence.' *Studies in Comparative International Development* 56(1): 18–44.
- Krebs, Ronald R. 2015. *Narrative and the Making of US National Security*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Ching Kwan. 2017. *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor, and Foreign Investment in Africa*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Leslie, Agnes Ngoma. 2016. 'Zambia and China: Workers' Protest, Civil Society and the Role of Opposition Politics in Elevating State Engagement.' *African Studies Quarterly* 16(3): 89–106.
- Liu, Hong and Guanie Lim. 2019. 'The Political Economy of a Rising China in Southeast Asia: Malaysia's Response to the Belt and Road Initiative.' *Journal of Contemporary China* 28(116): 216–31.

- Lu, Juliet and Erik Myxter-lino. 2021. *Beyond Competition: Why the BRI and the B3W Can't and Shouldn't Be Considered Rivals*. New York, NY: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. rosalux.nyc/belt-and-road-initiative-build-back-better-world.
- Lukes, Steven. 2005. *Power: A Radical View*. 2nd edn. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Malik, Ammar A., Bradley Parks, Brooke Russell, Joyce Jiahui Lin, Katherine Walsh, Kyra Solomon, Sheng Zhang, Thai-Binh Elston, and Seth Goodman. 2021. *Banking on the Belt and Road: Insights from a New Global Dataset of 13,427 Chinese Development Projects*. Williamsburg, VA: AidData at William & Mary.
- Monson, Jamie. 2009. *Africa's Freedom Railway: How a Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Monson, Jamie. 2021. 'Learning by Heart: Training for Self-Reliance on the TAZARA Railway, 1968–1976.' *Made in China Journal* 6(2): 95–103.
- Norris, William J. 2016. *Chinese Economic Statecraft: Commercial Actors, Grand Strategy, and State Control*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Office of the Secretary of State. 2020. *The Elements of the China Challenge*. Washington, DC: The Policy Planning Staff, Office of the Secretary of State.
- Pence, Mike. 2018. 'Remarks by Vice President Pence on the Administration's Policy Toward China.' The Hudson Institute, Washington, DC, 4 October.
- Ratigan, Kerry. 2021. 'Are Peruvians Enticed by the "China Model"? Chinese Investment and Public Opinion in Peru.' *Studies in Comparative International Development* 56(1): 87–111.
- Reuters Staff. 2018. 'China's Xi Says Funds for Africa Not for "Vanity Projects".' *Reuters*, 3 September. www.reuters.com/article/china-africa-idUSL3N1VO018.
- Smith, Alastair. 2008. 'The Perils of Unearned Income.' *The Journal of Politics* 70(3): 780–93.
- Strange, Austin. 2022. *Who Pursues Prestige Projects, and Why? Evidence from Chinese Development Finance*. Working Paper.

- Strange, Austin. Forthcoming. *China's Global Development Projects*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press (Elements in Global China).
- Tritto, Angela. 2020. 'Contentious Embeddedness: Chinese State Capital and the Belt and Road Initiative in Indonesia.' *Made in China Journal* 5(1): 182–87.
- van der Westhuizen, Janis. 2007. 'Glitz, Glamour and the Gautrain: Mega-Projects as Political Symbols.' *Politikon* 34(3): 333–51.
- Wang, Yuan. 2022. 'Executive Agency and State Capacity in Development: Comparing Sino-African Railways in Kenya and Ethiopia.' *Comparative Politics* 54(2): 349–77.
- Wellner, Lukas, Axel Dreher, Andreas Fuchs, Brad Parks, and Austin Strange. 2022. *Can Aid Buy Foreign Public Support? Evidence from Chinese Development Finance*. CESifo Working Paper 9646. Munich: Center for Economic Studies.
- Wijaya, Trissia. 2021. 'Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 4 August. thepeoplesmap.net/project/jakarta-bandung-high-speed-railway.
- Wong, Audrye. 2021. 'How Not to Win Allies and Influence Geopolitics: China's Self-Defeating Economic Statecraft.' *Foreign Affairs* 100: 44–53.
- Xinhua. 2021. '坚定不移推动共建“一带一路”高质量发展——习近平总书记在第三次“一带一路”建设座谈会上的重要讲话引发与会人員热烈反响 [Resolutely Promoting the Co-Construction of “Belt and Road” High-Quality Development—Important Speech by General Secretary Xi Jinping in the Third “Belt and Road” Conference Stimulates Enthusiastic Responses].' Chinese Government website, 20 November. www.gov.cn/xinwen/2021-11/20/content_5652108.htm.
- Ye, Min. 2020. *The Belt Road and Beyond: State-Mobilized Globalization in China: 1998–2018*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Zhang, Hong. 2020. 'The Aid–Contracting Nexus: The Role of the International Contracting Industry in China's Overseas Development Engagements.' *China Perspectives* 4(2020): 17–27.

Pragmatic Living in Motion: Two Chinese ‘Migrants’ and their Meanderings in the ‘City of Gold’ (ROMAIN DITTGEN)

Accone, Darryl. 2004. *All Under Heaven: The Story of a Chinese Family in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

Allen, John. 2003. *Lost Geographies of Power*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Allen, John. 2008. ‘Pragmatism and Power, or the Power to Make a Difference in a Radically Contingent World.’ *Geoforum* 39: 1613–24.

Barnett, Clive. 2020. ‘Who’s Afraid of Pragmatism?’ In *The Power of Pragmatism: Knowledge Production and Social Inquiry*, edited by Jane Wills and Robert W. Lake, 275–82. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Berlant, Lauren. 2011. *Cruel Optimism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Çağlar, Ayşe and Nina Glick Schiller. 2018. *Migrants and City-Making: Dispossession, Displacement and Urban Regeneration*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Dittgen, Romain. 2017. ‘Features of Modernity, Development and “Orientalism”: Reading Johannesburg through its “Chinese” Urban Spaces.’ *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43(5): 979–96.

Dittgen, Romain, Lewis Mark, and Gerald Chungu. 2019. ‘Of Spatial and Temporal Entanglements: Narrating a (Chinese) Street in Suburban Johannesburg.’ *China Perspectives* 4(2019): 37–43.

Driessen, Miriam. 2020. ‘Africa Drifters.’ *Made in China Journal*, 5(3): 48–51.

Giese, Karsten and Alena Thiel. 2014. ‘The Vulnerable Other: Distorted Equity in Chinese–Ghanaian Employment Relations.’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(6): 1101–20.

Goodman, David, S.G. 2014. *Class in Contemporary China*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Harrison, Philip, Moyo Khangelani, and Yan Yang. 2012. ‘Strategy and Tactics: Chinese Immigrants and Diasporic Spaces in Johannesburg, South Africa.’ *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38(4): 899–925.

- Hart, Gillian. 2002. *Disabling Globalization: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Huang, Mingwei. 2021. 'The Chinese Century and the City of Gold: Rethinking Race and Capitalism.' *Public Culture* 33(2): 193–217.
- Huynh, Tu T., Yoon J. Park, and Anna Y. Chen. 2010. 'Faces of China: New Chinese Migrants in South Africa, 1980s to Present.' *Journal of African and Asian Studies* 9(3): 286–306.
- Legg, Catherine and Christopher Hookway. 2021. 'Pragmatism.' In *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2021/entries/pragmatism.
- Lin, Edwin. 2014. "Big Fish in a Small Pond": Chinese Migrant Shopkeepers in South Africa.' *International Migration Review* 48(1): 181–215.
- Massey, Doreen. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage Publications.
- Murray, Martin J. 2011. *City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Nyíri, Pál. 2020. 'Migration and the Globalisation of Chinese Capital.' *Made in China Journal* 5(3): 42–47.
- Park, Yoon Jung. 2008. *A Matter of Honour: Being Chinese in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.
- Park, Yoon Jung. 2010. 'Boundaries, Borders and Borderland Constructions: Chinese in Contemporary South Africa and the Region.' *African Studies* 69(3): 457–79.
- Park, Yoon Jung. 2012. 'Living in Between: The Chinese in South Africa.' *Migration Information Source*, 4 January. www.migrationpolicy.org/article/living-between-chinese-south-africa.
- Park, Yoon Jung. 2022. 'Forever Foreign? Is There a Future for Chinese People in Africa?' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48(4): 894–912.
- Southall, Roger. 2016. *The New Black Middle Class in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

- Wang, Jinpu and Ning Zhan. 2019. 'Nationalism, Overseas Chinese State and the Construction of "Chineseness" among Chinese Migrant Entrepreneurs in Ghana.' *Asian Ethnicity* 20(1): 8–29.
- Wills, Jane and Robert W. Lake. 2020. 'Introduction: The Power of Pragmatism.' In *The Power of Pragmatism: Knowledge Production and Social Inquiry*, edited by Jane Wills and Robert W. Lake, 3–52. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Wingens, Matthias, Michael Windzio, Helga de Valk, and Can Aybek (eds). 2011. *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.
- Yap, Melanie and Dianne Man. 1996. *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Zack, Tanya and Thireshen Govender. 2019. 'Architectures of Visibility and Invisibility: A Reflection on the Secret Affinities of Johannesburg's Cross-Border Shopping Hub.' *Anthropology Southern Africa* 42(1): 29–45.
- Zeiderman, Austin, Sobia A. Kaker, Jonathan Silver, and Astrid Wood. 2015. 'Uncertainty and Urban Life.' *Public Culture* 27(2): 281–304.

Eventuality and Rhythms of Life in a City Yet-to-Come (JESSICA DICARLO)

- DiCarlo, Jessica. 2020. 'Development as Palimpsest: Infrastructures Revived in Boten's Architecture.' *Roadsides* (004). doi.org/10.26034/roadsides-202000403.
- DiCarlo, Jessica. 2022. 'Boten Special Economic Zone/Boten Beautiful Land.' *The People's Map of Global China*, 1 April. thepeoplesmap.net/project/boten-special-economic-zone-boten-beautiful-land.
- Ellis, Isaiah. 2021. 'Infrastructure between Anthropology, Geography, and Religious Studies.' In *The Routledge Handbook of Religion and Cities*, edited by Katie Day and Elise M. Edwards, 94–104. London: Routledge.
- Rippa, Alessandro. 2021. 'From Boom to Bust-to Boom Again? Infrastructural Suspension and the Making of a Development Zone at the China-Laos Borderlands.' In *Development Zones in Asian Borderlands*, edited by Mona Chettri and Michael Eilenberg, 231–52. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Engaging with China in Latin America: A Conversation with Paulina Garzón (MARK BO)

Colectivo sobre Financiamiento e Inversiones Chinas, Derechos Humanos y Ambiente [Collective on Chinese Financing and Investments, Human Rights and Environment] (CICDHA). 2019. *Third Cycle of the Universal Periodic Revision of the People's Republic of China Contributions of the Civil Society: Case Studies from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru*. Coalition for Human Rights in Development website. rightsinddevelopment.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Informe-China_ENG.pdf.

Latinoamérica Sustentable (LAS). 2021. *Understanding the China Development Bank: Financing, Governance and Socio-Environmental Challenges for Latin America and the Caribbean*. Latinoamérica Sustentable website. latsustentable.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/LAS-BDC-Report-English.pdf.

Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Ecology and Environment. 2021. 'Notice of the Ministry of Commerce and the Ministry of Ecology and Environment on Issuing the *Working Guidelines for Green Development in Overseas Investment and Cooperation*.' Unofficial translation available on the *Following the Money to Justice* website. www.followingthemoney.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/2021_MOFCOMMEE_Green-Development-Guidelines-for-Overseas-Investment-and-Cooperation_E.pdf.

The Dialogue. n.d. 'China-Latin America Finance Database.' *The Dialogue* website. www.thedialogue.org/map_list.

Chinese Soft Power: A Conversation with Maria Repnikova (NICHOLAS LOUBERE)

Hubbert, Jennifer. 2019. *China in the World: An Anthropology of Confucius Institutes, Soft Power, and Globalization*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Clash of Empires: A Conversation with Ho-fung Hung (HONG ZHANG)

Crammond, Edgar. 1914. 'The Economic Relations of the British and German Empires.' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 77(8): 777-824.

Doshi, Rush. 2021. *The Long Game: China's Grand Strategy to Displace American Order*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Skocpol, Theda. 1985. 'Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research.' In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 3–38. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.