The Translation and Circulation of Contemporary Chinese Humanities and Social Sciences in European and North American Contexts (1989-2018): The Case of Wang Hui

PhD Thesis

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Abstract

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This thesis analyzes the translation and translocal circulation of works of Chinese humanities and social sciences (HSS) in European and North American contexts between 1989 and 2018. It addresses two main questions: What are the main dynamics and mechanisms at work in those processes of translation and circulation? And what are the conditions that allow certain works and authors to obtain translocal recognition and intellectual legitimation? For that purpose, this research proceeds in two phases. The first phase begins by compiling a database of works of HSS from China translated into English. The analysis of the compiled data allows us to distinguish three different periods for the translation of China's HSS into English, each one characterized by a specific set of dynamics. The analysis shows a set of macro-level dynamics related to geopolitical factors: following China's growing profile in the global scene, its intellectual production becomes the object of increasing interest abroad. At the same time, the availability of financial resources allows Chinese institutions to promote translation initiatives that seek to increase the translocal visibility of China's HSS as part of a broader quest for cultural influence. The second phase is based on a case study in order to identify dynamics at the micro-level. The case study focuses on the translation and circulation of the works of Wang Hui (汪晖, b. 1959), a scholar and critical intellectual. Wang Hui's work has been translated and published in different European and North American locations, and enjoys unusual levels of recognition for a Chinese scholar in those contexts of reception. The analysis will concentrate on the Anglophone and Italophone contexts, and it will map out the dynamics among the different agents that take part in the initiatives to translate Wang Hui's work (translators, editors, etc.). Through this case study, we can observe the importance of socio-intellectual dynamics—that is, the embeddedness of knowledge/ideas, and the social context where they are translated into—for the circulation of an author. Perspectives such as post- and decolonial critiques have illuminated the existence of asymmetries in the production and circulation of knowledge. Their critique focuses on the historical origins and the epistemological consequences of those imbalances. However, the analysis of socio-intellectual dynamics is not usually taken into consideration when dealing with the translation and circulation of intellectual productions from locations such as China, which—at least until recently—occupied rather peripheral positions in the contexts of European and North American receptions. In that regard, this thesis suggests the notion of "interventional translation"—a mode of translation in which the translated work intervenes upon the target context and interpellates the debates and problematics of the reception context, rather than being presented as a mere representation of the source context. As the analysis shows, that interventional approach is displayed in paratextual materials that interpret the translated work in a particular way, or in the way different agents process the texts of the translation. This thesis contends that, while the intellectual production from so-called "peripheral" languages tends to have a marginal circulation in European and North American locations, the socio-intellectual embeddedness of the translated work or author can create the conditions for a wider circulation.

Keywords: translation, circulation, humanities and social sciences, socio-intellectual dynamics, contemporary Chinese thought, Wang Hui, interventional translation

Resum

Traducció i circulació d'obres contemporànies d'Humanitats i Ciències Socials de la Xina als contextos europeus i nord-americans (1989-2018): El cas de Wang Hui

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Aquesta tesi analitza la traducció i circulació translocal d'obres d'humanitats i ciències socials (HCS) de la Xina en contextos europeus i nord-americans entre 1989 i 2018. En ella, abordem dues preguntes: Quines són les principals dinàmiques i mecanismes que operen en aquests processos de traducció i circulació? Quines són les condicions que permeten que determinades obres i autors gaudeixin de reconeixement i legitimació intel·lectual translocal? Per tal d'hi respondre, aquesta recerca es desenvolupa en dues fases. La primera fase comença amb la recopilació d'una base de dades d'obres de HCS de la Xina traduïdes a l'anglès. L'anàlisi de les dades recopilades ens permet distingir tres períodes diferents, cadascun dels quals caracteritzat per unes dinàmiques específiques de traducció. L'anàlisi en el seu conjunt mostra l'existència de dinàmiques a nivell macro relacionades amb factors geopolítics: el creixent perfil de la Xina en l'escena global ha comportat un augment de l'interès des d'altres països per la seva producció intel·lectual. Al mateix temps, la disponibilitat de recursos financers permet a les institucions xineses promoure iniciatives de traducció per augmentar la visibilitat translocal de les HCS de la Xina, com a part d'una búsqueda més àmplia d'influència cultural. La segona fase es basa en un estudi de cas per identificar dinàmiques a nivell micro. L'estudi de cas se centra en la traducció i circulació de l'obra de Wang Hui (汪晖, n. 1959), un acadèmic i intel·lectual l'obra del qual ha estat traduïda i publicada en diversos llocs d'Europa i Amèrica del Nord, on gaudeix d'un reconeixement inusual per a un intel·lectual xinès. L'anàlisi se centrarà en els contextos anglòfon i italófono, i en les dinàmiques entre els diferents agents involucrats en les iniciatives de traducció de l'obra d'en Wang Hui (traductors, editors, etc.). A través d'aquest estudi de cas, podem observar la importància de les dinàmiques socio-intel·lectuals (és a dir, la relació entre el coneixement/les idees i el context social on es tradueixen) per a la circulació d'un autor-a. Les perspectives de la crítica post i decolonial han posat de manifest l'existència d'asimetries en la producció i circulació del coneixement, centrant-se principalment en la genealogia històrica i les conseqüències epistemològiques d'aquests desequilibris. No obstant això, l'anàlisi de les dinàmiques socio-intel·lectuals no es té en compte quan tractem la traducció i circulació de produccions intel·lectuals procedents de llocs com la Xina, que -almenys fins fa poc- ocupaven posicions més aviat perifèriques en els contextos de recepció europeus i nord-americans. En aquest sentit, aquesta tesi suggereix la noció de "traducció com a intervenció", una manera de traducció en la qual l'obra traduïda no s'ofereix simplement com a representació del context d'origen, sinó que intervé en el context meta i cerca interpel·lar els debats i problemàtiques d'aquest context de recepció. Com a mostra l'anàlisi, aquest enfocament intervencionista es desenvolupa en els materials paratextuales que interpreten l'obra traduïda d'una manera particular, o en la forma en què diferents agents processen els textos de la traducció. Aquesta tesi sosté que, si bé la producció intel·lectual de les anomenades llengües "perifèriques" tendeix a circular de manera marginal en contextos europeus i nord-americans, l'arrelament socio-intel·lectual de l'obra o l'autor-a traduït podria crear les condicions per a una circulació més àmplia.

Paraules clau: traducció, circulació, humanitats i ciències socials, sociologia de les idees, dinàmiques socio-intel·lectuals, pensament xinès contemporani, Wang Hui, traducció com a intervenció

Resumen

Traducción y circulación de las Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales contemporáneas de China en contextos europeos y norteamericanos (1989-2018): el caso de Wang Hui

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Esta tesis analiza la traducción y circulación translocal de obras de humanidades y ciencias sociales (HHCCSS) de China en contextos europeos y norteamericanos entre 1989 y 2018. En ella, abordamos dos preguntas: ¿Cuáles son las principales dinámicas y mecanismos que operan en esos procesos de traducción y circulación? ¿Cuáles son las condiciones que permiten a determinadas obras y autores/as obtener reconocimiento y legitimación intelectual translocal? Para ello, esta investigación se desarrolla en dos fases. La primera fase comienza con la recopilación de una base de datos de obras de HHCCSS de China traducidas al inglés. El análisis de los datos recopilados nos permite distinguir tres periodos diferentes en la traducción, cada uno de ellos caracterizado por unas dinámicas específicas. El análisis en su conjunto muestra la existencia de dinámicas a nivel macro relacionadas con factores geopolíticos: el creciente perfil de China en la escena global ha conllevado un aumento del interés desde otros países por su producción intelectual. Al mismo tiempo, la disponibilidad de recursos financieros permite a las instituciones chinas promover iniciativas de traducción para aumentar la visibilidad translocal de las HHCCSS de China, como parte de una búsqueda más amplia de influencia cultural. La segunda fase se basa en un estudio de caso para identificar dinámicas a nivel micro. El estudio de caso se centra en la traducción y circulación de la obra de Wang Hui (汪晖, n. 1959), un académico e intelectual cuya obra ha sido traducida y publicada en varios lugares de Europa y Norteamérica, donde goza de un reconocimiento inusual para un intelectual chino. El análisis se centrará en los contextos anglófono e italófono y en las dinámicas entre los/las diferentes agentes que intervienen en las iniciativas de traducción de la obra de Wang Hui (traductores/as, editores/as, etc.). A través de este estudio de caso, podemos observar la importancia de las dinámicas socio-intelectuales (es decir, la relación entre el conocimiento/ideas y el contexto social al cual se traducen) para la circulación de un/a autor/a. Las perspectivas de la crítica post y decolonial han puesto de manifiesto la existencia de asimetrías en la producción y circulación del conocimiento, centrándose principalmente en la genealogía histórica y las consecuencias epistemológicas de esos desequilibrios. Sin embargo, el análisis de las dinámicas socio-intelectuales no suele tenerse en cuenta cuando se trata de la traducción y circulación de producciones intelectuales procedentes de lugares como China, que -al menos hasta hace poco- ocupaban posiciones más bien periféricas en los contextos de recepción europeos y norteamericanos. En este sentido, esta tesis sugiere la noción de "traducción como intervención", un modo de traducción en el que la obra traducida, no se ofrece como una mera representación del contexto de origen, sino que interviene en el contexto meta y busca interpelar los debates y problemáticas de dicho contexto de recepción. Como muestra el análisis, el enfoque de intervención se despliega en los materiales paratextuales que interpretan la obra traducida de una manera determinada, o en la forma en que diferentes agentes procesan los textos de la traducción. Esta tesis sostiene que, si bien la producción intelectual de las llamadas lenguas "periféricas" tiende a circular de manera marginal en contextos europeos y norteamericanos, el arraigo socio-intelectual de la obra o el/la autor/a traducido puede crear las condiciones para una circulación más amplia.

Palabras clave: traducción, circulación, humanidades y ciencias sociales, sociología de las ideas, dinámicas sociointelectuales, pensamiento chino contemporáneo, Wang Hui, traducción como intervención

今吾國之所最患者，非愚乎？非貧乎？非弱乎？則徑而言之，凡事之可以瘉此愚、療此貧、起此弱者皆可為。而三者之中，尤以瘉愚為最急。何則？所以使吾日由貧弱之道而不自知者，徒以愚耳。繼自今，凡可以瘉愚者，將竭力盡氣羈手繭足以求之。惟求之能得，不暇問其中若西也，不必計其新若故也。

（嚴復〈與外交報主人書〉，1902年）

Among the afflictions of our country today, are not ignorance, poverty, and weakness the main ones? Then, anything that can heal this ignorance, cure this poverty, and pull us out of this weakness is acceptable. The most urgent of these afflictions is ignorance. Why? Because our current poverty and weakness emanate from ignorance. From now on, we must spare no efforts to seek out knowledge in order to heal that ignorance. For that, we must not ask whether that knowledge is Chinese or Western, new or ancient.

(Yan Fu, "Letter to the Editor of the *Waijiao Bao*", 1902, my translation)

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Note on Chinese Names

The casuistic of Chinese names has been very complex to manage. Chinese names conventionally follow the surname-name order. However there are cases in which Chinese authors and scholars decide—for whatever reasons—to shift the order of their surname and name when publishing abroad (e.g., "Shiping Hua" instead of "Hua Shiping", or "Jing Wang" instead of "Wang Jing"). Moreover, there are the cases of non-Chinese authors and scholars of Chinese origin whose names follow the name-surname order. In some cases, therefore, this requires a detailed inquiry into the personal background of an author or scholar.

For this dissertation, as a general principle, I mention them with their names in the order they have consigned in their work (thus "Wang Hui", but "Shiping Hua"). I follow this principle whenever they are raised in the expositive parts of the texts

Given the high frequency of certain Chinese surnames (especially in their *pinyin* transcription without tone marks) and to avoid confusion, Chinese authors will be generally cited with their full names. In citations, full names will be given in the surname-name order.

Acknowledgements

Foreword

This thesis presents an analysis of the dynamics at play in the translation of contemporary thought produced in mainland China and its circulation in Europe and North America. To do so, it analyzes the translation and circulation of the works of Wang Hui (b. 1956), a major contemporary Chinese academic and intellectual. This thesis is intended as a contribution to understand how intellectual productions circulate translocally, the dynamics and mechanisms involved in their circulation, what happens to them when they move across different cultural, intellectual, social and political contexts, and what effects they produce when they do so. Translation is one of the main forms that the translocal circulation of intellectual productions can take. My analysis will take into consideration the conditions of circulation at different but interrelated levels: from the social dynamics of the agents implicated in translation initiatives to the overarching geopolitical factors underpinning cultural and intellectual exchanges between different contexts.

My interest in this topic derives from my personal engagement with translation and Chinese cultural production. Since early, I have been aware of the scarcity of translations of Chinese works of the humanities and social sciences in my own language (Spanish) and even in the global lingua franca, English. At the same time, in my engagement with the Chinese context of intellectual production, I have frequently noticed among thinkers and scholars from mainland China a certain frustration about their marginal position in the global division of intellectual labor and about being neglected by their peers in Europe and North America. Those feelings of frustration serve sometimes as the fertile ground in which cultural essentialisms grow and prosper in China as well as across so many other locations of the so-called "Global South". This

essentialism, sometimes fuelled by patronizing Euro-American claims, hinders the possibility of real translocal dialogue and intellectual exchange, keeping the interlocutors behind the parapets of aprioristic cultural trenches. Unless the prevalent nodes of intellectual production and legitimation take effective notice of this imbalance and make steps toward exchanges with other locations, those frustrated with the current state of affairs will likely (and understandably) keep responding by isolating themselves in an intellectual ecology of their own. In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world saddled with crises that override national and cultural boundaries, intellectual activity constitutes an essential source for imagining and designing the social contents of the future. In such circumstances, the proliferation of culturally- or nationally-bounded bubbles of intellectual activity cannot exist without cost. Even more so when the conditions for the construction of a truly planetary dialogue about our future and the negotiation of new forms of the "universal" have never been as optimal as today. Not a universal as "an empty placeholder that hegemonic particulars come to occupy," but a universal that "includes differences, rather than eliminating them" (Srnicek & Williams, 2015: 78). For such kind of universalism to emerge, it is essential to embrace a proliferation of locally situated ideas and translocalize them in a sustained dialogue. Translation, as a concrete practice across social, cultural, and linguistic formations, can be a form of interweaving and dialogue if practiced in a critical and self-conscious way. This was the igniting spark of my research and its overarching objective: to make a contribution (as insignificant as it might be) to generate possibilities for a more diversified space for transnational intellectual exchange, in terms of concepts, references, and methods in circulation, assuming the principle that "the ethical task of Translation Studies is to ultimately improve relations between cultures" (Pym, 2009: 1).

I have conducted this research in a period of economic, social, environmental, and geopolitical crises sending waves across the globe. This juncture has revealed with unprecedented clarity the increasingly planetary scale of problematics that concern people regardless of their geopolitical location: the pressing environmental crisis—which calls for "a universal that arises from a shared sense of a catastrophe" (Chakrabarty, 2009: 222)—or the worsening of labor conditions for the growing ranks of "global workers" (Dyer-Witheford, 2010: 490).

The relation between intellectual production and power dynamics is one of the focuses of this thesis. In that sense, I have conducted this research during years of profound and unprecedented transformations in the balances of geopolitical power. When I began my research on this topic, I could still consider the Chinese context of intellectual production as occupying a "semi-peripheral" position in the global distribution of intellectual labor. However, as the years of research went by, that consideration became increasingly problematic. Given the emergence of the socio-political formation "China" in the global arena, there is an increasing worldwide attention and willingness to engage with China's intellectual production and it is possible to ponder the rising status of Chinese as a "global language" (Gil, 2021). Therefore, it would have been easy to justify my interest in Chinese intellectual production merely on the trope of "China's global rise" and the urgent need to know better about this global power. However, I want to make clear that I emphatically do not consider the intellectual productions from China as necessarily more important or relevant simply because of China's increasing economic and geopolitical status. Claiming so would be equal to a justification of the old Eurocentric asymmetries in the circulation of intellectual productions, and would ultimately present as normal and unavoidable the power constraints and imbalances that still weigh upon the circulation of ideas. I want to be clear about this: increasing the circulation of works by China's intellectuals is just every bit as necessary as increasing the circulation of the works of African, Arab, South Asian, or Latin American thinkers, to name but a few. The translocalization of ideas should respond to the capacity of those ideas to produce solutions and propositions that address locally specific predicaments, not just as a mere consequence of the economic and political might of any socio-political constituency. If anything, the study of the Chinese case is interesting precisely because it makes us aware of the geopolitical and economic factors that still pervade the translocal circulation and legitimation of intellectual productions. Lest we take these considerations into account, we may encounter a reiteration of the same old imbalances and hegemonic contingencies under new references and conceptual garments. As translation discourse in mainland China is increasingly co-opted by governmental agendas, the functional possibilities of translation in translocal circulations are being

narrowed down to the representation of national or official images of the country.[1] But translation is about much more than that. When translating a text from a certain country, we're not necessarily thinking about representing that country. We may translate a text because we think it contains valuable ideas that can illuminate questions in our immediate context. From which country those ideas come from is not the fundamental concern. I hope that the analysis I present here helps somehow in discerning a way of practicing translation that fosters the translocal circulation of ideas.

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[1] For instance, Tang Jingtai (2022), a Journalism scholar at Fudan University in Shanghai, has called for enhanced translation efforts to shape and disseminate discourse on Chinese issues on a global scale in order to shape China's international image and advance its discursive power. See also the cases described in Chang (2017).

1
Introduction

1.1. Research Questions and Objectives

Ideas have always circulated between different localities, and this process has accelerated in the information society. And yet, not all ideas get to circulate and be recognized in the same way. We tend to think that ideas circulate by the force of their alleged intrinsic value. This obscures the existence of other factors and mechanisms of a social, intellectual, political, or geopolitical nature that determine the circulation of intellectual products. Translation has historically been a privileged vector for intellectual circulation. It primarily consists in a translingual textual transfer, but such transfers are not limited to the text: the production of translated texts is surrounded by a set of different non-textual factors and dynamics.

This thesis will analyze the translation and translocal circulation of works of contemporary humanities and social sciences from China in European and North American contexts between 1989 and 2018. It will address two main questions: What are the main dynamics and mechanisms at work in the translation and circulation of contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences in European and North American contexts? And what are the conditions that allow certain works and authors to obtain translocal intellectual legitimation?

I assume Lamont's definition of intellectual legitimation as the process by which a theory—we may add: or an author— "becomes recognized as a part of a field—as something that cannot be ignored by those who define themselves, and are defined, as legitimate participants in the construction of a cognitive field" (Lamont 1987: 586).

My objectives are (1) to identify the dynamics at work in the process of translation and circulation of contemporary humanities and social sciences from China to Euro-American contexts of reception; (2) to analyze what this case tells us about the translocal circulation and legitimation of knowledge and ideas, especially when they take place in a context of asymmetric relations of intellectual production and circulation; and (3) through the analysis of specific cases of translation initiatives, to identify possible strategies that could help facilitate the circulation of knowledge and ideas, and intellectual exchanges in a more balanced way.

To do so, I will focus on the translation and circulation of the works of critical intellectual Wang Hui (汪晖, b. 1959) in two different contexts: Anglophone and Italian. Wang Hui enjoys a notable renown in European and North American intellectual fields, and he is the most translated contemporary mainland Chinese intellectual. He appears, therefore, as an exceptional case since, within the period under analysis and to this date, no other mainland-based Chinese thinker has been the object of such sustained interest reflected in the translations of his work. The exceptionality of Wang Hui's case is worth analyzing precisely in order to identify which factors and dynamics may explain the relatively extensive introduction of his work into those contexts.[2]

I will show that the translation and circulation of these works is underpinned by several dynamics at macro- and micro-levels. The former are especially related to geopolitical dynamics and, more precisely in recent times, the geopolitical emergence of China, which has increased global attention toward the discourses and propositions that are being produced therein. The micro-level refers to socio-intellectual dynamics, that is, the interpersonal, intellectual and even ideological affinities between the different agents implicated in translation initiatives (authors, editors, translators, publishers), and how an author's work can be translated and introduced by agents in the reception context as a way to intervene in a discussion in their own context.[3] In this sense, I contend that the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work and the relatively sustained interest he has caused in European and North American contexts in the most

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[2] The latest translation of Wang Hui's work into English is *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought* (Wang Hui, 2023), a rendition of his main work to date. Since it appeared after closing my research and since it falls out of the chronological frame defined for this research, that initiative was not covered by this thesis.
[3] One of the earliest formulations of these ideas was Bourdieu's essay on the "social conditions of the international circulation of ideas" (Bourdieu, 2002), based on a conference he delivered in October 1989.

recent decades is related to a combination of factors and dynamics at both macro- and micro-level. On the one hand, since the 1990s and especially after the 2000s, there has been an increasing interest in what Chinese intellectuals say, as the PRC is increasingly perceived as a key actor in the global scene with growing influence in the world's developments. On the other hand, Wang Hui is translocally connected to intellectuals and scholars worldwide that share certain common scholarly and ideological outlooks. In connection to this, Wang Hui's work has been translated in a way that connects with debates and problematics of the reception context, and interpellates important sections of the intellectual field of the target contexts. In that sense, Wang's works have often been presented by its importers as a contribution to broader issues, not merely as an account of issues in China.

The specificities of the circulation of Chinese works of humanities and social sciences, and the particular case of Wang Hui's, can provide a more complex account of the circulation of ideas among different contexts. This analysis can offer insights about the translocal circulation of ideas in a context of asymmetric knowledge circulation and geopolitical shifts. It can also illuminate the possibilities of translational practice as a form of translocal intellectual pollination by identifying strategies to facilitate circulation in a way that counters the asymmetries in the flow of intellectual productions and the persistent source-context focus under which these works are generally read by the European and North American receptions.

The circulation of ideas is determined to a considerable degree by the location of their production. Heilbron and Sapiro highlight the existence of asymmetric power relations that influence cultural exchanges—including the circulation of ideas in translation. Those power relations possess elements of a political, economic, or cultural character which are unequally distributed among different locations (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007: 95). The language in which a work is written is a fundamental factor in translation and circulation, since languages are also subject to asymmetric power relations: De Swann, for instance, offered the diagnosis of an imbalanced "world language system" with (hyper)central and peripheral languages (2001) based on statistical data related to language speaking abilities; and Heilbron spoke previously of the existence of "book translations as a cultural world system" (1999) in which the quantitative flows of translations among languages reveal a sharp asymmetry.

Branchadell & West similarly speak of "less translated" languages to refer to "languages that are less often the source of translation in the international exchange of linguistic goods, regardless of the number of people using these languages" (2005: 1). With a more specific focus on the translation and circulation of social sciences works from East Asian languages, Delissen (2017) has also statistically shown the imbalance of translation exchanges between these languages and European ones. The focus on the translation of Chinese works in the humanities and social sciences is especially relevant because, on the one hand, according to the aforementioned statistical analyses, they have been occupying a marginal position in the European and North American reception, but, on the other hand, China is a sociopolitical formation with an increasing status in the world scene, which makes the Chinese case particularly appropriate in order to consider geopolitical factors in the translation and circulation of intellectual products. In fact, as I will show, it is increasingly problematic to analyze China as a "peripheral" or "marginal" actor in translation and intellectual flows.

Besides quantitative terms, the power asymmetries in the circulation of intellectual products is also noticeable in qualitative terms. As I will explain in chapter 2, the modern configuration of world power as marked by colonialism also created differentials between some Euro-North American locations and locations in the Global South in terms of how knowledge was considered depending on the location of its production: ideas from the former location were considered as having a "universal" and general validity, while ideas from the latter were regarded as contextual, locally-relevant knowledge.

For many decades, postcolonial and decolonial critiques have been conducting a very necessary work of problematization and analysis to make this issue visible. As a result of these critiques and the awareness they have arisen, "non-Western thought, formerly relegated by regimes of colonialism to the status of particularist belief or 'tradition,' is increasingly refashioned as a legitimate form of authoritative knowledge amid and against wider, global(ized) communities of argument" in such a way that "Western-trained scholars must learn to treat engagements with foreign others as more than just case studies whose particularities present evidence for interrogating the lapses of existing theories but not for posing original ones that are relevant or meaningful to 'us'" (Jenco, 2020: 68).

However, postcolonial and decolonial critiques have mostly focused on the historical origins and the epistemological consequences of those imbalances. As a consequence, this critique often appears as a loop that identifies one instance after another of epistemic injustice and asymmetry. Yet if we seek also to act effectively upon those imbalances and to produce more diversified and multidirectional intellectual fertilizations and exchanges, it is necessary to look beyond historical and epistemological issues—as fundamental as they are—to produce a broader and more complex understanding of the dynamics at work within any phenomenon of knowledge circulation. Let me be clear: I am emphatically not suggesting that the effects of the colonial fracture upon the circulation and legitimation of knowledge today should be overseen; my point is that, while keeping a central concern about that, we should complete that approach with an account of other dynamics driving the circulation and translocal reception of intellectual products. Besides geopolitical factors such as the reconfiguration of global power that I mentioned before, this thesis will focus on the socio-intellectual dynamics at work in the circulation of contemporary humanities and social sciences, more precisely, in the case of the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's works in English and Italian.

Socio-intellectual dynamics will be especially important in this analysis, since this aspect is not usually taken into consideration when dealing with the translation and circulation of intellectual productions from locations such as China, which—at least until quite recently—occupied a rather peripheral position in the contexts of European and North American receptions.

A clarification is necessary about what I call "socio-intellectual" dynamics. My combined use of the "social" and the "intellectual" is based on the idea that "the symbolic value of cultural production does not exist per se, but is created through agencies of selection and consecration inside the [cultural] field" (Jurt, 1981: 463, as cited in Wolf, 2011: 9). As a consequence of this social embeddedness of any cultural production, the social and the intellectual dynamics cannot be considered separately: the social, on the one hand, because the agents that intervene in the translation and circulation of an author and/or his/her work are part of a field in which sociological dynamics prevail in the form of interpersonal affinities, exchanges of symbolic capital in the form of collaborations, conferences, and all forms of interactions. On the other

hand, we are dealing with the field of humanities and social sciences, a disciplinary area composed by producers of intellectual discourse (often in the form of ideas, such as theories, analyses, propositions, paradigms, methodologies, etc.). As such, these producers or agents are ascribed to a universe of discourse, and they accumulate their symbolic capital and become legitimate members of the field precisely because of their capacity to intervene upon certain discussions, and to do so by displaying intellectual capabilities such as certain conceptual and analytical tools.

Considering these socio-intellectual dynamics, in the following chapters I contend that the circulation of a translated work (or author) is facilitated when this work *intervenes*—or is made to intervene—into the target context, that is, when the author or the work that is translated interpellates the debates and problematics of the reception context, rather than being presented as a document that informs about questions at the source context or as a "national" representation of the source context. Moreover, the study case I present shows that these dynamics can be decisive for the circulation of intellectual works, independently of the positions that the source and target contexts occupy respectively within the global division of intellectual labor. While the intellectual production from so-called "peripheral" or "less translated" languages tends to have a marginal circulation in European and North American locations, my analysis observes how those limitations can be overcome to a certain degree by these socio-intellectual dynamics. In this regard, from the example of Wang Hui's work in European and North American contexts, I will show how the social and intellectual embeddedness of this author and his work has been a fundamental condition for his translocal circulation and intellectual legitimation.

1.2. State of the art

The analysis of the dynamics of translation and circulation of cultural productions has been the object of a growing research interest for Translation Studies, especially so after the emergence of the "manipulation school" and the subsequent "turns" of the discipline since the 1980s (Snell-Hornby, 2006). Notably among these shifts in outlook are the cultural turn, the postcolonial turn, and the sociological turn, which took into

consideration questions pertaining to the political, ideological, and sociological factors that influence the production and circulation of translations through history. The resulting huge body of research, however, has overwhelmingly concentrated on literary texts, a preference that could be related to the genealogy of translation studies as a discipline that emanated from comparative literature. Research on cases of non-fiction or essayistic writing, more specifically in the field of the humanities and social sciences (including works of critical theory, philosophy, history, sociology, and others) has not received comparable attention within the field of translation studies, neither in the form of general assessment nor in concrete case studies, with some traceable exceptions such as Venuti (1998, Chapter 6), Susam-Sarajeva (2006), Bastin et al. (2010), Paloposki (2011), Bielsa (2011), Paloposki & Riikonen (2013), Uribarri Zenekorta (2013), and Castro (2014).

Interestingly, translation—understood as translingual practice (Liu, 1995), as a product, or as a set of social networks and dynamics—has become a focus of interest in recent years for very different disciplinary fields beyond translation studies. All these researchers have touched upon phenomena of translocal cultural and intellectual interactions in which translation is implicated in some way or another, showing a preferred interest for the sociological, political and intellectual/ideological underpinnings of translation initiatives, in detriment of the more translingual and textual aspects of translational practice. These approaches have also in common their preferred attention to non-literary texts, including humanistic and legal texts. Some remarkable achievements are the aforementioned Liu (1995) in the fields of cultural studies and critical theory, which shows how intellectual systems travel and transform, and how "equivalence" among languages can be historically constructed; Burke & Hsia (2007, esp. chap. 6 & 7), and Clements (2015) in cultural history, which point to the central role that translation has played in the configurations of culture, especially in the modern world; or the programmatic proposal by Moyn & Sartori from the emerging field of "global intellectual history", that suggests to focus on "intermediaries, translations, and networks" (Moyn & Sartori, 2015: 9–16) as one possible approach

The crossing between translation and the humanities and social sciences has been notably productive in the field of the sociology of culture, especially the research that outpoured from Bourdieu's seminal article on the "international circulation of ideas"

(2002). Many of the researchers who have been following this strand have favored research on the circulation of theoretical and analytical works, and on the processes of intellectual legitimation and canonization of theoreticians, thinkers, and their ideas beyond national boundaries, highlighting the central function that translation often has in such processes. Besides, sociological approaches are obviously at the forefront of these studies, with contributions that underscore the key role that different agencies—individual or collective/institutional—can play in the circulation of ideas (e.g., Boschetti, 2010). Many researchers underscore in their work the social nature of the construction of knowledge, which usually includes its transformation and adaptation (also through translation) of a work to the new contexts where it arrives. For instance, Espagne highlights translation as a component of his notion of "cultural transfer", understood as "any passage of a cultural object from one context to another results in a transformation of its meaning, a dynamic of re-semantization, which can only be fully recognized by taking into account the historical vectors of the passage" (2013: 1, my translation). These transformations have been studied in concrete cases related to specific authors or systems of thought, e.g. Pinto (2002) with regard to the translations of German phenomenology in France in the 1930s; Denord (2002) about the international circulation of neoliberal ideas; Wacquant (1993) and Sapiro & Bustamante (2009) on the worldwide circulation of Bourdieu's work; Brissaud & Chahsiche (2017) on the international success of Thomas Piketty; or the contributions included in Sapiro et al. (2020) which deal with the circulation of different theoretical paradigms and authors following what its editors call a "socio-historical" approach, according to which

> ideas and knowledge are conveyed and circulated by agents (with their own strategies and positioning) and shaped by material conditions (books, journals, gatherings such as conferences, grants, etc.). These mediators and the conditions provide explanatory factors for understanding which theories and paradigms circulate and which do not, as well as for their appropriations and usages in the receiving country or discipline. (Sapiro et al., 2020: 2)

In most of the aforementioned research, translation appears as one among many other aspects of circulation in the humanities and social sciences. Only recently a rising body

of research is putting translation at the very heart of this very same circulation. For instance, the contributions included in Sapiro (2012) address the conditions for the translation of works in the human sciences including not only sociological and intellectual aspects, but also a more technical perspective related to the economy of publishing, such as market conditions in different countries, the situation of publishing houses, and state policies for the translation and export of its cultural products. On the other hand, Schögler analyzes translation as a "knowledge-making" practice that entails "a rewriting and repositioning of texts and scholars in a new intellectual space" (2018: 62). Based on the idea that knowledge is "socially, locally, and contextually constructed" (81–82), he shows that the rewriting and repositioning of texts is detectable already in the choice of texts to be translated as well as in the paratextual material that translators (and we could also include other agents who participate in the translational initiative) write to accompany and interpret the text for the target readership. Using the example of the multiple translations of Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, he shows how such translational practices (textual and peritextual) can define the circulation and canonization of an author and his work. These translational practices are further explored in the collective volume edited also by Schögler (2019a) with regard to "academic thought", which includes several in-depth study cases related to specific authors and academic currents.

These more recent analyses show a renewed concern about the textual and linguistic dimensions of translation. The successive cultural and sociological paradigms in translation studies had the effect of moving the analysis away from textual aspects. For this reason, several voices have been calling for a move back to the text—without obliterating, of course, the multiple dimensions (cultural, sociological, political) at work in any translation initiative. For instance, Pym has highlighted the importance of showing the connections between the textual and the social dimensions in translations so that we can understand "why certain translations are the way they are" (2009: 7). Similarly, Yannakopoulou (2014) has pointed to the importance of showing the linkages between agency and the texts of translations. As Bielsa has recently pointed out, the processes of transformation and adaptation so dear to sociological analyses of translation are necessarily embodied in linguistic means (2021: 6).

The geopolitical factors in the circulation of ideas in the humanities and social sciences remains also a growing concern. In many of the references that I have previously mentioned, the geopolitical or structural conditions of circulation are often addressed from a historical perspective or by providing data on the imbalanced flows of translations among languages (I will further address these questions in the next chapter). Besides that, more recent works are also beginning to pay attention to the shifting power relations on a global scale and their consequences in the patterns of knowledge circulation. An example of this approach is the collective volume edited by Heilbron et al. (2018), which includes case analyses of the production and circulation of works in the social sciences and humanities in Latin American and North African contexts.

However, the vast majority of the aforementioned research tends to concentrate on cases of circulation within European or North American locations. And in the fewer cases of research concerned with the production, translation, and circulation in African, Asian, or Latin American locations, these contexts tend to appear as the receiving end, that is, they analyze how Euro-American works of humanities and social sciences are translated, circulated, or received in African, Asian, or Latin American contexts. The only exception is the special issue of the journal *Tracés* edited by Allard & Rabier (2017) about the "translation and introduction" of social sciences from East Asia, which includes an empirical constatation of the imbalances in translation flows between East Asia and Europe (the aforementioned Delissen, 2017), and presents a general programmatic view in favor of increased exchanges as a way to "denaturalize our categories of thought" and to "welcome otherness" (Rabier, 2017). In that regard, the research presented in this dissertation contributes to the state of the art research in two aspects: (a) the analysis of translation and circulation of works of contemporary humanities and social sciences from a non-European language, and (b) the analysis of the socio-intellectual dynamics therein.

If we take a look precisely at the aforementioned kind of research that has engaged with Chinese contexts, we find again that the analyses are predominantly centered on the translation and circulation of different Euro-American texts and authors into Chinese contexts. For instance, a widely analyzed phenomenon is the various translation initiatives that took place in China since the nineteenth century. Such initiatives were often operated by European or North American agents in the framework

of colonial and religious proselytism. Liu He (2016) has also analyzed the translation of Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International* Law into Chinese by W. A. P. Martin in 1864, a paradigmatic case of the introduction of a whole body of foreign knowledge into a new context and of the deliberate political (and translational) construction of "universality". With regard to cases led by Chinese agents, many researchers have focused on the translatorial activity of late-Qing thinker Yan Fu (1854–1921), paying attention to the social and political factors that motivated Yan Fu's decisions as a translator and intellectual (Schwartz, 1964; Lin, 2002; Huang, 2008; Cheung, 2010). The case of Yan Fu's translations provides an excellent example of the process of choices, transformation, and adaptation that was necessary in order to introduce works of European thought and to make them interpellate the Chinese intellectual milieu of the time. We also find similar insights in the analysis of more recent initiatives. For instance, Luo Gang (2006) has traced the translation and reception of the ideas of Max Weber in China since the 1980s. Also, Wang Xiaoming (2018) has analyzed the "translation fever" of the 1980s, a golden age for translations in mainland China which saw the torrential import of works from the Euro-North American humanities and social sciences. In both cases, the authors illuminate Chinese intellectuals' multifaceted engagement with those works, as well as the close relationship between translational decisions and the intellectual context of China at the time. This thesis, however, will look in the opposite direction, that is, how European and North American contexts have engaged with contemporary works of humanities and social sciences from China.

1.3. Research Methods

The research for this thesis unfolds in two phases. The first phase seeks, on the one hand, to provide a general background about the translation and circulation of contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences. This phase will include the compilation of a database of works of Chinese humanities and social sciences translated into English (as the main language of the Euro-American scholarship and because it is often the pivotal language for translations from Chinese into other Western languages, as I will explain later) and published in book form by European and North American

publishers between 1989 and 2018. The analysis of the data and their historical contextualization will allow us to distinguish different periods with their own dynamics of translation and circulation.

Moreover, the database reveals that Wang Hui has been the most translated Chinese author in that field for that period. The case analysis of Wang Hui's translation and circulation will be the object of the second phase, which will deal with the translations of Wang Hui in European and North American contexts. I will compile an additional database of Wang Hui's translated volumes into Western languages that will allow me to identify English and Italian as the two languages with the highest number of translated books by Wang Hui (6 in English and 3 in Italian). Then I will proceed to the analysis of the dynamics of translation and circulation in these two languages.

Table 1.1: General scheme of the research procedure.

PHASE 1 - Compilation of a database of works of contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences in English translation (1989–2018)
➔ General overview and context ➔ Identification of relevant cases for study
PHASE 2 - Case study: The translation and circulation of the works of Wang Hui
➔ Specific database of Wang Hui's works in translation ➔ Analysis of dynamics of translation and circulation

For this research I use a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods that I will describe in more detail below, following the two phases.

1.3.1. PHASE 1 - Compilation of a Database of Works of Contemporary Chinese Humanities and Social Sciences in English Translation (1989–2018)

The first step has been the creation of a database of translations into English of contemporary Chinese works in the field of the humanities and social sciences. This database will be relevant for two purposes:

(1) It provides us with an overview of the translation and circulation of China's production in the humanities and social sciences. Through the historical contextualization of the data, and with particular attention to the different intellectual conditions of the period 1989–2018, I will detect patterns and point to the dynamics, general trends and macro-level conditions of translation and circulation for Chinese humanities and social sciences in European and North American contexts.

(2) The analysis of the data will allow me to detect which authors have been most translated into English as the main Western language (that, as I previously mentioned, usually precedes further translations into other Western languages) in order to identify relevant study cases for a more specific analysis.

Compilation criteria

The database has been compiled according to the following criteria:

Format: The compilation of the data considers works published in book format, i.e., including not only monographs, but also anthologies and collections as far as they have been published in volume form. In this database I have excluded other types of publication such as articles published in academic journals, although I will refer to publications in this format by Wang Hui in the case analysis. Despite ongoing changes in publishing tendencies, the book as a format still confers special symbolic credit in the academic field (Thompson, 2005: 83–84). Moreover, recent improved bibliometric data shows that books continue to be highly appreciated as a form of output in the academic fields of the humanities and social sciences, particularly in the Anglophone context and especially so in the humanities (Nederhof, 2006; Chi, 2016; Yang et al., 2021). Moreover, if translations are already an indicator of a certain degree of consecration (Sapiro & Bustamante, 2009), we can argue that the publication of translations in book format is an indicator of further consecration, given the higher investment in terms of time, editorship, and financing required for a publishing initiative in book form, especially as a physical volume.

Geographical area: The books included are those published by publishers based in European and North American locations. Volumes published in English by publishing houses in mainland China are not included, since they tend to have a very limited distribution abroad (Ma Yumei, 2019: 67). On the other hand, publications in English by multinational publishers based or by branches in the Netherlands or Switzerland, for instance, are included. I am aware of the limitations that this geographical scope presents, since books published in English today are able to find a translocal circulation (physically or digitally) indifferent to geographical or geopolitical boundaries. However, I have chosen to limit the geographical scope in this way for the sake of clarity and definition of scope and also in order to have a more focused analysis and to clearly define the scope for fieldwork and interviews with related agents.

Chronology: This database considers translations published in English from 1989 to 2018. The data for this period can be considered as exhaustive (I provide more details about the sources below). I take 1989 as a starting point because this date marks a watershed in the intellectual context of mainland China. After the Tian'anmen protests, academic and intellectual activity resumed under very different conditions and some of the scholars and intellectuals who played a significant role in the 1980s went into exile. Moreover, the protests and their suppression, as we shall see, have lingered in the European and North American images and representations about intellectual production in China.

Authorship: the database includes Chinese authors who were active in the intellectual and academic field of mainland China since the 1980s and who are based in the PRC.[4] This excludes Chinese intellectuals or scholars based overseas. In the case of authors who went into exile after 1989, I have included only the translations of works that were originally published in mainland China in 1989 or earlier. The reasons for this consideration is that authors based abroad are subject to other social and intellectual conditions different from those at work in mainland China, which influences the

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[4] Some mainland Chinese authors (and Wang Hui is a perfect case in point) have a growing translocal presence, with frequent visits and participation at international events. However, despite being inserted, to varying degrees, in translocal intellectual and scholar networks, their main institutional affiliations remain at PRC institutions.

dynamics for the translation and circulation of their work. More precisely, given their situation as exiles, their writings could no longer be published in mainland China and, therefore, the nature of the intended readership of their writings may have changed.

Source language: The works included are translations from original Chinese texts. We therefore exclude texts by Chinese authors that were originally written in English. For most of the titles I only had access to online previews. In some cases, these previews included the credits or acknowledgment pages, which allowed us to confirm whether the title in question is a translation or a book originally published in English, given that in most cases the name of the translator is not disclosed on the cover. Whenever I couldn't confirm a title as being a translation from a Chinese original, I have opted for not including it in the database.

Target language: the database will be focused on translations into English. The focus on Anglophone translations came as an unavoidable choice, since Chinese to English flows of translations are considerable enough to form a corpus with sufficient items so as to be analyzed in a more productive way. Besides, the status of English as a hypercentral language (De Swann, 2001) means that the circulation of Chinese intellectual and cultural productions toward other languages is often mediated by the Anglophone reception.[5] Given the pivotal role of the Anglophone context, the analysis of the Anglophone translations will allow me to expand the map of circulation into other linguistic territories, widening my scope and tracing translocal and translingual networks that have enriched my account. Consequently, I will also address the reception in other non-Anglophone contexts, most prominently among them the Italian context, which presents very relevant features that, I suggest, are eloquent of more general dynamics of the translocal circulation of the humanities and social sciences. I will also make some punctual references to other linguistic contexts that illuminate certain aspects of the circulation.

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[5] About the pivotal role of English for translation between other languages, see Sapiro & Bustamante, 2009; Marín-Lacarta, 2018; Brissaud & Chahsiche, 2017: 26–29.

Thematic areas: The database focuses on works in the humanities and social sciences, based on the definition by the OECD (2015) (see the detailed disciplines included in this category's definition on page 34) .

Data sources

The data about the translations of Chinese humanities and social sciences is mainly based on the *Index Translationum*, the UNESCO's international bibliography of translations. Despite its already proverbial shortcomings (Heilbron, 2000: 13; Poupaud et al., 2009: 269; Sapiro, 2015: 326), it remains the broadest source about international translation flows available by now. Its online database covers translations from 1979, but the reliability of its data varies among languages and countries, since it depends exclusively on the data supplied by UNESCO's member states. Moreover, its exhaustiveness decreases as we approach the present, as datasets are updated with variable speed. In spite of this, one of its main advantages is that it allows tailoring the search according to source and target languages, and country of publication. As for subjects, the terms of the search engine only distinguish nine categories without further refinement. For our purpose, we have searched into the following predetermined categories: "Philosophy, Psychology", "Law, Social Sciences, Education", "History, Geography, Biography", and "Arts, Games, Sports". As it can be seen, the obtained results require a considerable amount of revision, which means having to check the entries one by one to ensure that the book in question falls into the aforementioned criteria.

In order to complement and correct the data, I also conducted supplementary searches in the catalogs of the British Library and the US Library of Congress. Since these databases are not specifically intended as translation databases, their "advanced search" tools do not offer "source language" as a search term. Our searches had to be introduced by combining keywords such as "China", "Chinese", "history", "sociology", "philosophy", "theory", etc. Despite these shortcomings, these databases were useful when I needed to corroborate results found in other sources.

A somewhat heterodox supplementary option that has been gaining relevance for this kind of research are online booksellers, most prominently Amazon (both its US

and UK local websites). As Torres Simón has noted, Amazon has the advantage of offering an account of what is really available to the public in those locations (Poupaud et al., 2009: 276). Searches cannot be limited by source languages, but they can be tailored according to date of publication. The searches must be introduced in very general terms like "Chinese philosophy" or "China + social sciences", which demands an ulterior refining and revising of the results. However, an advantage of using Amazon is the "recommendations" of related books that each search triggers, which results in an aggregating effect that is particularly useful in the case of collections that include many translated volumes, which is the case for many academic publications translated from the Chinese.

In that regard, when I identified a translated volume as being part of a series or collection, I also consulted directly the publisher's website, which usually includes a list of the titles within the series, as well as a "recommendations" function. This was especially relevant for translations published in the most recent years by European and North American academic publishers in cooperation with Chinese institutions, which appear often within specific China-related series.

Data Analysis

The results of the database are presented in Appendix 1. These results will be the object of a specific analysis that attends to the topics and authors published, and their diachronic distribution. By considering the contents of the books and by contextualizing them within the historical and intellectual conditions at the time of their publication, the database will illuminate general trends and macro-level dynamics that underpinned the European and North American translations of contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences between 1989 and 2018.

Besides, the database will allow us to identify one study case for a more in-depth analysis. The collected database shows that the most translated author in the Chinese humanities and social sciences is Wang Hui, with a total of six volumes published in English so far. The case analysis of Wang Hui's translation and circulation will be the object of the second phase.

1.3.2. PHASE 2 - Case Study: The Translation and Circulation of the Works of Wang Hui

For Susam-Sarajeva, "case studies are ideal when one wants to cover the contextual conditions giving way to the particular unit studied" (2009: 39). Following Susam-Sarajeva's proposal for the design of case studies for Translation Studies (42–44), which schematizes the context, main units of analysis, and embedded sub-units of analysis, the definition of my case study would be as follows:

Table 1.2: Case study scheme.

Context ➜	The translation and circulation of Contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences in European and North American contexts.
Main units of analysis (Cases) ➜	Wang Hui's works in English and Italian.
Embedded sub-units ➜	Works translated (volumes); agents involved in the production of these translations; paratextual elements.

As previously stated, my choice of Wang Hui as the main unit of analysis is based on the fact that he has been the most translated Chinese contemporary author in the humanities and social sciences with a total of six volumes published in English. Wang's case, therefore, allows me to work with a sample of sufficient size to be productively analyzed and to obtain relevant conclusions. Besides the quantitative significance of this case (compared to works by other Chinese authors), a closer look at the circulation of Wang Hui's work in these contexts reveals a considerable degree of intellectual legitimation in European and North American contexts, signaled by indicators such as prizes and participation at academic and political events, as I will describe in the analysis.

For the study of Wang Hui's translation and circulation in the Anglophone and Italophone contexts, I will combine quantitative and qualitative methods in order to identify the dynamics and factors that have surrounded the circulation of Wang Hui's works in translation. The quantitative methods include bibliographic data about Wang

Hui's publications and epitextual materials (i.e., reviews of Wang's work published by journals and other outlets). The qualitative methods include close readings of biographical, bibliographical, and paratextual materials about Wang Hui and his work, as well as interviews with the agents implicated in the translation and circulation of his works in the European and North American contexts. Below, I will explain these different methods in more detail.

Quantitative Methods

Once I have identified Wang Hui as my study case, I have produced a second database collecting Wang Hui's book publications in European and North American contexts (Appendix 2). For the elaboration of this database, we have used as a basis the preexistent bibliography of Wang Hui's works included as an appendix in He Jixian & Zhang Xiang (2014b: 406–428), which includes both his original Chinese works and their different translations in other Asian and European languages. We have checked, corrected and updated the data as for 2018 by consulting the previously mentioned sources and by information obtained during the interviews.

A further look into these translations of Wang Hui's work reveals that, apart from English, his work has also been translated into other European languages: Italian, French, Spanish, German, Slovenian, and Portuguese.[6] Among them, Italian stands out with a total of three volumes, while we find only one volume in Spanish (2008c), German (2012a), Slovenian (Wang Hui & Rošker, 2015), and Portuguese (2017b). In the case of French, there are no volumes by Wang Hui, but two essays published in *Le monde diplomatique* (2002, 2005). My analysis will concentrate on the cases of the Anglophone and Italian translation and circulation, with eventually some sideline references to translations in the other languages. I focus on English and Italian because, as I will eventually demonstrate, the social underpinnings of translational initiatives and circulation in these two languages are the clearest ones and have played, each one in different manner, a key role in extending Wang Hui's work to other languages such as French, Spanish or Portuguese. The case of Wang's circulation in the German context

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[6] In the Asian context, his work has been translated into Korean and Japanese.

points also to some interesting features, however, my limited knowledge of German prevents me from analyzing this case.[7]

In the case of the English volumes, I have also produced a database of reviews from the publication databases JStor, Project Muse, and Google Scholar (see Appendix 3). Reviews will be useful to determine the qualitative aspects of the circulation in terms of the kind of publication that features these reviews (whether they are addressed to a specialized Asia/China Studies readership or to a more general, non-Area Studies specialist readership).

Qualitative Methods

In order to determine the socio-intellectual conditions that surround the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's works in English, I have undertaken a micro-level analysis that focuses on the social and intellectual conditions of the circulation. For intellectual conditions, I have traced those of the Anglophone and Italophone contexts and their recent historical developments in order to identify the dynamics in such contexts that may explain the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work in those locations. As for the social conditions, I have identified the agencies (individual or collective/institutional) involved in the initiatives of translation and circulation, as well as Wang Hui's translocal interpersonal networks. For this purpose, I have used the following qualitative methods:

Close readings: An important element of the research is the close reading of the translated works as well as related materials in order to identify and reconstruct the processes of translation and circulation of Wang's works in English and Italian. Munday (2014) and Paloposki (2017) have underscored the use of this kind of sources in translation research, especially in historical approaches, and their relevance in obtaining information about the process of translation and about the agents involved. These

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materials include what historiographic research would call "archival material", and they are especially relevant to dissect micro-level conditions: communications and statements produced by implicated parties, written or oral exchanges (as long as there is evidence of them as, for instance, recordings of conferences), or paratextual elements such as prologues, introductions, or reviews (more on paratexts below).

An important methodological note in this regard is that my case study is a contemporary one, that is, the agents involved are still active in the intellectual field. This means that, unlike research on people or collectives from earlier times whose private archives may be available for researchers, the relevant documents for the study of active authors, particularly personal communications, are obviously not accessible. This means that I can obtain certain information and insights only if the person in question willingly provides access to them, as has been the case of some of the agents that I interviewed. On the other hand, those difficulties are compensated by the ready access to the agents and to livelier, first-hand accounts of events that can be obtained via personal interviews.

The close reading of the aforementioned materials produced by authors, translators, editors, and other agents have to be read along in juxtaposition to other kinds of materials that account for the socio-intellectual conditions of the moment, like historiographical accounts of certain intellectual contexts, biographies, etc.

For the purposes of our analysis, the close reading that we perform is one that I would call "accumulating close reading" where relevant events and insights come to the fore as the result of the juxtaposition or the contrast with previous information. A detail in the foreword to a translation, for instance, can appear to be anodyne when read for the first time. But when re-read after having read other documents or spoken to agents, that same detail can appear under a new light and reveal new implications that were not evident in the first reading. For this reason, this kind of research requires a sustained and attentive work of re-reading through the same documents (including, in the case of interviews, the transcripts or audition of recordings) at different stages of the research process.

Paratexts: Close reading is also performed upon paratextual elements as sources of information about the social and intellectual conditions within which the works were translated and circulated.

The notion of the paratext was suggested by Genette in his 1987 book *Seuils* (Genette, 1999). According to Genette, a text rarely appears in its naked state and is more often accompanied by a set of elements—verbal or non-verbal—that comment on the text, present the text to readers, or points to a particular way of reading it. As shown by Blum in her study of academic translations in East Germany, "paratexts [are] used by agents to position the translation in the receiving community under the prevailing sociocultural, political and ideological circumstances" (2019: 139).

Genette distinguishes two kinds of paratexts depending on their position with regard to the text: (1) Peritexts, which refer to those paratexts that appear physically linked to the text, that is, in the same volume. Some prominent examples of peritexts are introductions, prologues, translators' notes, footnotes, epilogues, and blurbs, but also the cover, the index, etc.; and (2) epitexts, which names those elements that don't appear physically attached to the volume, such as reviews published in journals or media, interviews with the author, etc.

It is important to note that the term paratext refers exclusively to those elements that offer information specifically about the published work. This clarification is particularly relevant in the case of peritexts, which are not attached to the text. As Batchelor notes, "the paratext is not the element itself (the interview, correspondence, recording, journal, etc.), but only that small part of the element which serves to present or comment on the text in question" (2018: 10–11).

However, besides the information they provide about the work itself, paratextual elements can also offer hints about the social operations beneath the process of translation. Some paratextual elements written by the author, the translator, the editor or other agents (acknowledgements, translator's prologues, prefaces, or footnotes) can also provide information about the social and interpersonal networks surrounding an author's intellectual production or the translational initiative, as they sometimes make explicit mentions of the collaborations (individual or institutional) underpinning the process. They can also illuminate aspects about the context in which the works were translated

and circulated, and, in some cases, the dynamics in which they were intended to intervene.

Since Genette's founding articulation, the use of paratexts as element of analysis in literary and translation studies has attested to its explanatory possibilities (Kovala, 1996; Harvey, 2003;[8] Batchelor, 2018, to name but a few). However, its increasingly extensive use has also shed light into some of its limitations, at least in the way paratexts were initially formulated by Genette. In one of the best reworkings of paratextual analysis oriented to translation studies, Batchelor has pointed out, for instance, Genette's overemphasis on the author as the center of the work, favoring the connection between paratexts and the authorial intention, thus neglecting the role played by other agents sometimes far beyond the authorial responsibility (2018: 13). Another limitation signaled by Batchelor is Genette's conservative notion of translation, which can be related to his overemphasis on authorial privilege. For Genette, a translation is a paratext, that is, not a text in self but an "auxiliary" element at the service of the original. He acknowledges the possibility of changes and slidings of meaning, but he nevertheless upholds an essential, somehow transcendental relation between the authorial will in the original text and the translated text, which does not correspond to the nowadays broadly analyzed and accepted idea of translation as rewriting (22). Likewise, Tahir Gürçağlar has also remarked that Genette's take on translation as a form of paratext reinforces the unequal hierarchy between the source text and its translation, and obscures the separate life a translation may lead in the target context, where it addresses a different readership, acquires a different function, and may produce different, unexpected effects (2001: 45–47).

The value of paratextual elements for the research on the transnational circulation of cultural products has been empirically demonstrated by several scholars through the analysis of concrete cases. For instance, at the macro-level analysis, paratextual elements can offer evidence of structural or overarching conditions well above the level of (inter)personal agencies, sometimes linking to the geopolitics of cultural production. For instance, they may indicate the status that the translated work is accorded in its intended reception context (Waring, 1995). In some occasions, as we shall see, the

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[8] Harvey (2003) prefers the notion of "bindings of translation," which may seem to emphasize the physical dimension of these elements, in contrast to Genette's idea of paratexts as a "message" rather than a material element.

authors of the paratext (editors or translators) show their awareness about such structural determinants, and consequently use the paratextual space to counter them in the hope that the reader will read the work in an unconventional or even subversive way. Idris (2016), for instance, has analyzed the use of paratexts in translations of Arabic thought into European languages in order to subvert colonial hierarchies of knowledge by presenting Arabic thought as a precedent and genesis to European thought. As for the positioning of an author in the reception context, Delistathi (2017)'s case study on the political discourse of Marxism in Greece has also demonstrated the role that the reviews of translated theoretical texts can play in the construction of a certain discourse in the context of reception, while Susam-Sarajeva (2006) has analyzed how the paratextual elements of the translations of French theoreticians like Roland Barthes helped building the image of those thinkers and their ideas in the contexts of reception. In our case, we will see how some paratexts to Wang Hui's English and Italian translations seek to position Wang Hui and his work as relevant beyond the Chinese context by highlight the theoretical value and the translocal relevance of his ideas, and by connecting them with concerns of the reception context.

Interviews: The other fundamental qualitative method has been a series of personal interviews. When dealing with a contemporary case, the use of interviews as a source of data is very valuable as first-hand information, especially when we intend to dissect the social dynamics in a process of translation (Whitfield, 2005; Buzelin, 2007; McDonough Dolmaya, 2015). The interviews were conducted between 2015 and 2022. I interviewed agents involved in the translation and circulation of Wang Hui, including Wang Hui himself, as well as editors, translators, and publishers of his works in English and Italian.[9] The purpose of these interviews was to gather extra data—especially the kind of anecdotal information that tends to be elicited in more formal published writings. I have conducted a total of 21 interviews that were conducted face-to-face, telematically (via Skype) or in written form by email.[10] In some cases the personal interview was followed up by additional written exchanges via email. Apart from these

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[9] It is important to consider that the function of some agents within translation initiatives are not always univocal. That is, as we shall see, in some translation initiatives the same individual agent overlaps different functions as translator, editor, or prologuer.

[10] A list of the relevant interviews is provided after the references section.

21 interviews, I also conducted other interviews with scholars and translators who have not been included in the final manuscript. Those were cases in which I thought that the interviewee was connected to some translation initiative but ultimately was not. In other cases, the interviewees were not directly involved in the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work, but had been part of other translation initiatives of Chinese humanities and social sciences.

The specific questions for the interviews were semi-structured. Some questions were common to all interviews, for instance questions about the agent's personal and professional trajectory, or questions about his/her interactions with the author or other agents. On the other hand, since different agents played different roles in the process, and given that, in some cases, they were located in different contexts with different dynamics, a considerable part of the questions had to be necessarily specific for each interviewee to address concrete aspects in the translation and circulation process.

Interviews presented some challenges. One of these challenges was derived from the fact that my interviewees were in different locations like China, US, UK, and Italy. An important number of the interviews were conducted during a research fellowship at Peking University, with occasional visits to Shanghai and Nanjing. Not all agents asked for an interview provided a positive response, a refusal that could be perceivable at some specific points of this thesis. In those few cases, I had to rely on other sources such as published interviews or articles by the intended interviewees in which they mentioned relevant information for my analysis.

There was also the risk of the agents' self-awareness. Although I always tried to keep the interviews focused on the narrative of their participation and didn't disclose much information about my research approach, some interviewees—who, we must remember, are scholars and researchers themselves—seemed to have an intuition about what my approach was and the kind of data I was looking for, and therefore provided certain information in a very timely and precise fashion, especially with regard to their scholarly *habitus*. In other cases, to the contrary, it was more difficult to obtain such information about personal history, and the interviewees were somehow reluctant to delve into what some of them considered "academic gossip." This is also telling about the specificities of conducting this kind of historical research on contemporary translation initiatives: the same kind of information can be considered relevant and

serious when it refers to historical events, but could appear as frivolous gossip when related to more recent ones.

1.4. Working Definitions

Before moving into the actual analysis, I will provide a working definition for some of the key terms that run through this thesis.

Translation: The term "translation" has been the object of widespread and flexible use in recent years as a metaphor of a wide array of phenomena (see Guldin, 2016). Most frequently, these metaphorical uses have no reference at all to the textual dimension of translation proper. These metaphorical uses have become so frequent that they risk expanding the term "translation" so much that it becomes meaningless (Pym, 2014: 154).

My use here will refer to translation proper or translation as a translingual practice that generates textual products. However, while keeping sight on its textual products, I see translation not as a finished product but instead as a socially-invested process that also implies conditions beyond the text. Also, it is necessary to pay attention to the aftereffects of translations, that is, what happens after a text in translation is made available in a new context (Arduini & Nergaard, 2011; Gentzler, 2017). With regard to the social nature of translation, my intention is not to make a "sociology of translation without translation" (Wolf, 2007: 27); my approach is not limited to agents per se, but shows how socio-intellectual issues relate to the textual aspect of the process.[11] In that sense, the textual will be sometimes presented as an interface upon which the social and intellectual conditions of the production process are sometimes embodied. Those social and intellectual dynamics embedded in the process of translation sometimes help to explain the arrival of an author to a certain context and the use of certain translational (textual) strategies. In the case of Wang Hui's circulation in translation, for instance, we will see that translations of his work comprise a textual choice among his essays

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[11] In the "State of the art" section, I already mentioned the "return to the text" that some translation scholars call for.

selected according to what importers consider to be relevant for their intended readership. Moreover, some of Wang's texts include ideas that the intended readership may find problematic. We will see that, in some of those cases, the importing agents decided to include additions written by Wang Hui or peritextual material (e.g., prologues) to specifically address such ideas and to offer an interpretation for readers.

Circulation: The movement of ideas across lines of time and space has been conceptualized in different forms in the humanities and social sciences in recent decades. For instance, Michel Espagne, as well as other historians of Franco-German cultural interactions, have favored the term "transfer" to refer to "all passages of a cultural object from one context to another" (Espagne, 2013: 1). It is important to note that Espagne highlights the fact that, as a consequence of their passage, those cultural objects experience a process of reinterpretation, "a transformation of their sense, a re-semantization dynamic that we cannot recognize unless we consider the historical vectors of the passage" (ibid.). However, this notion of transfer seems nevertheless to imply a process with points of departure and arrival. In that sense, the notion of "circulation" appeals to a more open-ended conceptualization of movement in which there is no definite arrival or effect. Qi uses the notion of "circulation" to offer a more open definition of knowledge flows as "the movement of particular concepts, theories and methods between distinct social and economic groups, geographic regions and cultural settings" (2014: 15). In line with Espagne's stress of change in his idea of transfer, Qi's definition observes the existence of asymmetric patterns that reflect the imbalances of political and economic power. Circulation is therefore a multidirectional, multi-sided process in which we witness acts of "resistance, appropriation, modification and change" (ibid.).

Vauchez (2013) highlights a set of features that characterize circulation which are relevant for the case we study here. For instance, he defines circulation not as a linear process, but rather as a continuum in which knowledge is forged in the same process of its circulation (12–13). Vauchez also warns against the "internationalist bias" that overestimates the denationalization of circulatory configurations. Vauchez underscores the fact the agents' participation in transnational spaces is intermittent, and concomitant with their national adscriptions (13); finally, he reminds us that circulation does not

happen through flat spaces; instead, circulations are usually segmented in spaces with their own temporalities and action logics (14), and they are characterized by hierarchization and the unequal distribution of authoritative resources (15).

Contemporary: For the purposes of this thesis, I will more specifically focus on intellectual productions spanning from the year 1989 down to 2018. I will occasionally engage with texts produced or published before 1989, but they are intended as supplementary, contextual clarifications on the antecedents and the intellectual genealogy of the main period of analysis.

Chinese / China: These terms will be used throughout this thesis to refer to the People's Republic of China (henceforth, PRC). This choice of the PRC as the focus of our research entails factors at least at two levels with regard to the study of translation and circulation of intellectual products originated therein. These factors can be characterized as "internal" and "external".

The internal factor refers to the fact that the PRC, as a sovereign geopolitical unit and social constituency, implies a series of conditionings (institutional, social, legal) that have an impact upon the possibilities for intellectual production by the people living, thinking, and writing within its geopolitical boundaries. These conditions bear upon the formation of "cultures of intellectual life" (Bender, 1997: 3–4), that is, a matrix that constitutes an audience for intellectual producers, and which supplies to them the collective concepts, the vocabulary of motives, and the key questions that give shape to their work, and which are historically constructed and held together by a cluster of shared meanings and purposes. The recent case of Cambridge University Press blocking access from mainland China to "sensitive" academic articles on Chinese History questions the positivist myth of knowledge and ideas moving unimpededly in an era of almighty communication technologies; on the other hand, it also undermines the hasty demise of the "nation-state" as a valid unit of analysis. The translocal circulation of knowledge happens, therefore, within a tension between the centripetal forces of the nation-state as a space for the production of ideas, and the centrifugal tendencies enabled by enhanced global connection and the development of communication technologies.

As for the external factor, we refer to the image that may be usually associated with the PRC in other locations. That image may also influence how its cultural and intellectual production is perceived abroad. For instance, given the PRC's political regime, Chinese intellectuals and writers tend to be positioned abroad vis-à-vis the regime, and perceived through the lens of a particular "political capital" (Hockx, 2011: 52–53), preferably as dissenters, when published abroad. This is visible in the preference among publishers for works and authors who have been affected by censorship (see chapter 3.1).[12] Furthermore, the weight of its political regime upon outsiders' views makes China appear often as an intellectual and cultural wasteland in which the only possibilities appear to be either overt dissidence or silence. However, as highlighted by Cheek,

> by focusing on dissidents and religious activists, we miss most of what China's intellectuals are doing today and have done over the past century of dramatic change in Asia. How can we get past our habits and anxieties to see something more of what China's industrious, talented, and dedicated intellectuals have been doing? How do we put down our largely unconscious Chinese mirror and pick up a telescope to peep at the range of intellectual participation in public life across this huge country and tumultuous century? (Cheek, 2016: xii)

As I will show in the next chapter, these narrow perceptions of the intellectual context within the PRC have also affected at different points in recent decades the choice of works and authors to be translated and circulated in European and North American contexts. However, in recent years, a growing number of agents from within the PRC are launching translation and publishing initiatives that seek to redress, to some extent, those perceptions, even though the degree of collision between those outbound initiatives and official government narratives and agenda can still be subject to discussion, as we shall see.

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[12] It must be noted, once again, that the available academic analysis of the effects that political conditions within China exert on the circulation of its cultural and intellectual production are mostly focused on literary production.

Humanities and social sciences: As previously mentioned, I will follow the classification of humanities & arts and social sciences suggested by the OECD (2015). In this classification, social sciences include: psychology and cognitive sciences; economics and business; education; sociology; law; political science; social and economic geography; media and communications. Humanities and the arts, on their part, encompass the following disciplines: history and archaeology; languages and literature; philosophy, ethics and religion; and art (including arts, history of arts, performing arts, music). Works such as personal memoirs or (auto)biographies are not included, even if they are written by or about scholars or intellectuals.

Unlike other disciplines like the natural sciences, the humanities and social sciences present a higher degree of diversity in terms of practices and of legitimate forms of discourse depending on different contexts (see, Hyland, 2004). These differences may be related to the different historical trajectories and processes of institutionalization that the aforementioned fields of knowledge have gone through in different contexts.[13] For this reason, unlike other disciplines characterized by positivist and empiricist approaches which present a higher degree of homogenization, the translation of works from the humanities and social sciences present particular challenges (Bennett, 2019).

Translocality: The spaces among which cultural exchanges happen have been conceptualized as corresponding to nation-states (Djelic, 2004) or markets (Swedberg, 1994). However, the conflagration of geographic space and the erasing or relativization of prevalent physical and political boundaries caused by information technologies has led to a situation in which the space of interactions is not easily definable with conventional terms. This has led to an approach that focuses on geographically defined units to an approach that centers its attention on circulation, processes and flows of people, images, commodities, knowledge, ideas, and ideologies (Appadurai, 2000: 5). A book in a digital format can be read practically from any location with an internet connection (unless national restrictions are at work). Moreover, geopolitical borders are overlapped by linguistic borders, which adds to the complexity of the space we intend to

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[13] For the history of the humanities and social sciences in different national and institutional settings, see Fleck et al. (2019).

analyze. While some languages can be easily ascribed to more or less specific geopolitical units (e.g., Italian in Italy), this is not the case with English, whose presence and usage far exceeds the limits of those geopolitical units that recognize it as their official language.

The term "global" has been increasingly used in recent decades (it has been possible to talk about "global" circulations). Yet the term "global" seems to imply a sense of totality that is actually difficult to convey in any analysis. Moreover, the analysis that I present here engages with very specific and limited locations—the PRC, Europe, and North America— for which the term "global" would be a complete overstatement.

Notwithstanding this, things get even more complicated when we consider that, despite those developments, some of those older conventional boundaries can still exert certain influences, even if they do so with a lessened strength. Thus, any terminological choice to conceptualize those spaces becomes ultimately problematic.

Considering all the aforementioned complexities, I found the notion of "translocality" as defined by Freitag & Von Oppen (2010) to be the most promising and less problematic and I will be using it throughout this thesis when referring to the sort of cross-territorial flows I will analyze hereafter. Freitag & Oppen define translocality as follows:

> In the descriptive sense, we refer to translocality as the sum of phenomena which result from a multitude of circulations and transfers. It designates the outcome of concrete movements of people, goods, ideas and symbols which span spatial distances and cross boundaries, be they geographical, cultural or political. Translocality as a research perspective, in contrast, more generally aims at highlighting the fact that the interactions and connections between places, institutions, actors and concepts have far more diverse, and often even contradictory effects than is commonly assumed. (5)

Indeed, as my case study will show, exchanges happen on the basis of dynamics that are not exclusively determined by conventional boundaries. Instead, those dynamics unfold in a space defined rather by interpersonal and ideological affinities that create translocal communities of intellectual interests and discourse which overrun state boundaries.

Therefore, my use of the notion of translocality also attends to the critique of methodological nationalism in translation studies to overcome the pervading national scope (in terms of *national* cultures, *national* languages, etc.) in which most of research on translation is usually framed. For instance, Cussel has pointed out how the nationalist methodological framework "obscures other positionings" at work in translation initiatives, and she highlights the need for TS to "work out [...] different ways of being and sharing among the diverse actors and localities involved in the production and reception of translations" (2020: 7).

I must clarify that I do not completely discard the nation-state as an analytical category to understand certain dynamics. Indeed, the "national" or its coadjuvant concept of "transnational" are compatible with the broader framework of translocality and can be regarded as one of the forms of the translocal:

> [T]he concept of translocality assumes a multitude of possible boundaries which might be transgressed, including but not limiting itself to political ones, thus recognising the inability even of modern states to assume, regulate and control movement, and accounting for the agency of a multitude of different actors. (Freitag & Von Oppen, 2010: 12)

As I mentioned in my definition of "Chinese / China", the nation-state can still conjure an imaginary as well as references, and expectations. Moreover, nation-states as social and political formations can also exert a centripetal effect upon agents that move translocally. In the case I analyze in this thesis, the lingering influence of the state as a form of agency can be noticed, for instance, in the Chinese state's regulation on the publishing industry which determines what can or should be published, or through government-funded projects of translation, as we shall clearly see in the next chapter.

I contend that the case of the translocal circulation of works of contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences, as well as the specific case of Wang Hui's circulation offer clear examples of the lingering tension between different spatial definitions. As I will show for Wang Hui's case, his work has been translated and circulated in a translocal and highly de-nationalized scholarly and intellectual network of individuals, collectives, and institutions. On the other hand, the PRC's growing

profile as a geopolitical constituency and Wang Hui's condition as an intellectual *from China* were also influential in that circulation, since there has been an increasing attention toward the PRC and his intellectual and cultural production in recent years.

1.5. Thesis Outline

This thesis will be developed in six chapters. In the next one, chapter 2, I will introduce the main theoretical and conceptual frameworks that I will be using throughout this thesis. I will address the different critical assessments of the pervasive imbalances among geopolitical locations with regard to the production, translation, circulation, and translocal legitimation of their intellectual products. These assessments note that European and North American (especially Anglophone) intellectual products tend to circulate more abundantly and their propositions are generally regarded as bearers of a theoretical value that makes them relevant and applicable beyond their original context of production. In contrast, the intellectual productions of other (generally former colonized) locations are less translated and circulate in much lower quantity, and their value is generally restricted to knowledge about the locales where they were originally produced. I will show how this asymmetry is reflected in the way texts are translated, and I will put forward the notion of "interventional translation" to refer to a way of translating that takes into consideration the multiplicity of dynamics that play into the translocal legitimation of a work, and activates those dynamics—especially sociological and intellectual dynamics to make that work interpellate the reception context. Interventional translation is also a way of rendering the source work in a way that makes explicit connections between the propositions and ideas it contains and the reception context.

Chapter 3 presents a general background through the analysis of the dynamics that have underpinned the translation of works of humanities and social sciences from Chinese into English in recent decades. This analysis will be based on one database of volume-length translations published in European and North American locations between the years 1989 to 2018. This database has been compiled specifically for this thesis and includes a total of 195 items. The analysis seeks to identify different

dynamics that drove these translation initiatives at specific periods. As a result, I identify three different periods with distinct predominant dynamics that can be related to different (geo)political conditions of those times, and which determined quantitatively and qualitatively the works that were translated. This chapter therefore shows how the circulation of translations in the humanities and social sciences is closely related to the wider structural and geopolitical context.

Chapter 4 opens the study case about the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's works. In this chapter, I trace the early trajectory of Wang Hui in China. The purpose of this chapter is to identify aspects of his trajectory within mainland China as well as features of his early work that contribute to explain why he has been the object of such notable interest in European and North American contexts. I will delve into Wang's early work on modern Chinese literature in the late 1980s, his shift toward modern Chinese intellectual history, his role as academic journal editor in the early 1990s, and the intellectual and political controversies surrounding some of his essays in the late 1990s. I will show how, from early in his career, Wang became part of a translocal network of scholars and intellectuals. I will also identify the main formal features of Wang Hui's work that are relevant for his translocal circulation beyond China.

Chapter 5 analyzes the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work in the Anglophone context. This chapter will illuminate the rich complexity of socio-intellectual dynamics at work. First, I will chart the intellectual background of the Anglophone contexts in which Wang's work was translated. I will also trace the different agencies—individual and collective—that were involved in the initiatives to translate his work into English, including editors, translators, and publishers, as well as the main outlets (publishing houses, journals) that published Wang's work in English in the US and the UK. We will see how the intellectual and political leftwing outlook of these agents defined the translation and circulation of Wang's essays in the Anglophone context. I will also analyze the different stages of Wang's circulation and explain under what conditions his work was introduced. More precisely, I will show how the choice of certain essays to be translated and their timely publication in English connected Wang's work with Euro-American debates of the late 1990s and early 2000s about the "end of history" and neoliberalism. The Anglophone context is also important because it plays a

pivotal position for the translation of works among languages with a less hypercentral global position.

Finally, chapter 6 will deal with the translation, circulation and reception of Wang Hui's work in the Italian context. Like in the previous chapter, I will trace the recent historical development of the intellectual background within which Wang's work was translated, and the different agents involved in those translation initiatives. The Italian case offers further evidence of the importance of socio-intellectual factors in facilitating the import of an author's work, as some of Wang's Italian volumes were intended to interpellate social and political debates of the Italian context. Moreover, the Italian case is also relevant because it shows how the socio-intellectual affinities of the author in a particular intellectual context can enable his work to overcome certain structural dispositions, namely, the mediation of the Anglophone reception.

2
Theoretical and
Conceptual Frameworks

As previously mentioned in the introduction, translocal and cross-cultural phenomena—including prominently the circulation of ideas in translation—can be and have been approached from different disciplinary and theoretical settings. In my research, I assume Tyulenev (2014: 119) and Buzelin & Baraldi (2016: 130)'s suggestion that the effectiveness of the analysis should be the conducting logic of any study, rather than the narrow loyalty to one single paradigm or method. Therefore, more often than not, we need to combine concepts and methods from different paradigms in order to provide a more substantial account of the phenomenon under scrutiny. This has been facilitated by my implication in Translation Studies, which is an area of research especially prone to multidisciplinary pollination and to assuming other discipline's paradigms as its own as long as they are fruitful to analyze and explain the plethora of dynamics implicated in any translation initiative.

In order to identify the conditions and mechanisms that allow intellectual products to circulate translocally in a context of (symbolic) power imbalances, my research, while standing on the discipline of Translation Studies, dialogues with two main critical constellations: (1) the critical outlook of Postcolonial Studies, for its ethical focus on unequal configurations of power and its analysis of the impingements of power with the production and reproduction of knowledge; and (2) the Sociology of Culture, with its focus on the social mechanisms that influence how knowledge is constructed, circulated, and valued as relevant for specific contexts.

Hereafter, I will present the insights, theoretical and conceptual tools that I borrow from these areas and how I put them in use for my analysis.

2.1. Hierarchies of Difference in European Modernity

In 1835, Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859), a British historian who served as a member of the supreme council of the East India Company, could feel so culturally confident as to claim:

> I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanskrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. […] It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But, when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. (Macaulay, 2006 [1835]: 1610)

His fellow countryman Charles Trevelyan (1807–1886) could also state that "owing to the vastly superior means now at our disposal," the ancient Arab and Sanskrit records of India were "worse than useless, considered as a basis of popular education", and merely valued them "as a medium for investigating the history of the country, and the progress of mind and manners during so many ages" (Trevelyan, 1838: 182).

The two previous statements are only two examples of an order of things that began to take shape in Europe between the end of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth century as European nations rose to global economic, technological, and political prominence, in a historical process that Pomeranz has termed as "the Great Divergence" (Pomeranz, 2000). This newly gained sense of self-confidence had a strong

effect upon the Europeans' perception of themselves and of others, as well as of their respective positions within a new narrative of History dominated by a linear conception of progress in human societies.

But things hadn't always been that way. Few cases can illustrate this shifting mentality better than the history of European perceptions of China. As Hayot points out, China has played an important role in European cultural history as "a generic ideal of the ethnic other" (2009: 8). He explains this consistent role as the product of two historical facts: on the one hand, China's position as "the first contemporaneous *civilizational* other" (emphasis in the original) and "an actively competing civilizational model" in contrast to other nations which Europeans perceived as displaying a "comparative lack of culture, technology, or economic development"; and on the other hand, China's economic and technological advantage over Europe for much of the early Modern period (2009: 9).

Since the late-sixteenth century, commercial and cultural contacts between Europe and Asia grew in intensity. The stable presence of Jesuit missionaries in China and the knowledge about the Chinese empire that they sent to Europe led European thinkers to review their ideas about their own social constituencies. Knowledge about China during this period showed first a rather descriptive tendency in the form of accounts of the characteristics of Chinese society and government. This then led to a contrastive approach in which European societies and their institutions were evaluated against their Chinese equivalents as described by those accounts. Within this orientation, "China" became a kind of method in which European society and institutions were put in front of a mirror.[14]

In these discussions, elements of non-European societies were often posited as "superior" or worthy of emulation by European societies. However, towards the 1790s, as Europe's technological and scientific development, and its grip on world trade became more and more asserted, European societies grew in their self-confidence and began to think of themselves as the dominant civilizational model (Brook & Blue,

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[14] Depending on the authors in question, this comparison could shed a positive or negative view on the Chinese examples. The result was the debate between "sinophilia" and "sinophobia" that pervaded the European Enlightenment across languages and countries in the eighteenth century, implicating the most prominent European thinkers of the time such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, Leibniz, and Hegel. For an analysis of these debates, see Millar (2017).

1999). Differences were increasingly measured against a hierarchy of civilizations, that is, an asymmetrical conception of human and social development at different societies of the world. Other social and cultural systems were increasingly judged by European thinkers according to a scale of assumed evolution with regard to a European standard. Such a standard was considered as "universal", a model of civilization toward which all other cultures should converge. These hierarchies of human and social development claimed to be based on the emergent new scientific mindset which was increasingly applied to the growing body of information and knowledge about other societies that was supplied by European travelers and traders roaming across the world. The newly elaborated principles of "natural evolution" and its application to the realm of the social provided an all-encompassing justification for European nations to claim themselves as the "natural" forbearers of a lineal conception of social and cultural development, which would eventually provide a "scientific" and even "moral" patina to colonial enterprises. As noted by Osterhammel,

> [t]he decades around 1800, the European "saddle period," witnessed a change in the mental map of the world as well. It was around this time that there first formed a sense of Europeanness as we know it today, which was just as much an awareness of Europe's position among the world's continents and civilizations as it was one of what the postmedieval nations of the West had in common. Exclusion and self-definition went hand in hand. Europe projected itself on the screen of the non-European. It did so, above all, as the only culture that had instituted systems claiming universal validity. The closer the contact with foreign cultures —whether in India, Egypt, or the Caucasus— the greater the challenge to the European sense of order. It was no accident that scientific colonization followed on the heels of military invasion. (Osterhammel, 2018: 490)

In sharp contrast to a certain sense of commonality that had dominated European approaches to non-European cultures in earlier times, thinkers began to separate themselves from other peoples and to establish allegedly insurmountable schisms in terms of civilization, and of intellectual and cultural production. A hierarchical order of difference (racial, cultural) emerged, based on a specific conception of human development that was used to legitimize the emerging colonial order (McCarthy, 2009: 1). This order entailed not only an economic and political dimension, but also "the

elaboration of modern forms of representation and knowledge" (Mitchell, 1989: 289) that were central to its maintenance and that were to dominate globally for centuries with claims to universality.

All of these dimensions were characterized by an asymmetric relation between the metropolitan and the colonial locations. Said was one of the first scholars to point to the effects of colonial asymmetries in the modern production of knowledge. In his seminal work *Orientalism*, he portrayed the links between power and the production of knowledge in the context of colonialism, through the analysis of Orientalism taken not merely as an academic discipline developed in Europe since the end of the 18th century, but as a whole European way of "coming to terms with the Orient," a cultural and ideological expression incarnated in a mode of discourse with its own supporting institutions, vocabulary, doctrines, and scholarship, among other elements, "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (Said, 2003 [1978]: 1–2). Said put into evidence the configurations of power underlying ideas, cultures, and history, and the forms of hegemony that understream the production of knowledge and which had hitherto been regarded as devoid of political implications. Instead, Said showed that Orientalism entailed "a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts" and "above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power" (Said, 2003 [1978]: 12, emphasis in the original). Among those various kinds of power, Said mentions

> power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what "we" do and what "they" cannot do or understand as "we" do). (Said, 2003 [1978]: 12)

The marriage between power and stances of knowledge production generates intellectual authority, i.e., the capacity to produce statements, and legitimize views.

Intellectual authority is far from being natural; it is historical and personal, "formed, irradiated, disseminated; it is instrumental, it is persuasive; it has status, it establishes canons of taste and value; it is virtually indistinguishable from certain ideas it dignifies as true, and from traditions, perceptions, and judgments it forms, transmits, reproduces" (Said, 2003 [1978]: 20). As for the irradiation and dissemination of intellectual authority, the historian Jürgen Osterhammel has described how European forms of knowledge were expanded throughout the world via the creation of institutions such as universities and the insertion of European languages, the scientific worldview, and several disciplines (such as medicine, and the fields of inquiry of what would eventually be called the social sciences and the humanities) into the non-Western and colonial world (Osterhammel, 2014, Chapter. XVI). Within this configuration,

> [t]he Oriental lived in a different but thoroughly organized world of his own, a world with its own national, cultural, and epistemological boundaries and principles of internal coherence. Yet what gave the Oriental's world its intelligibility and identity was not the result of his own efforts but rather the whole complex series of knowledgeable manipulations by which the Orient was identified by the West. [...] [T]he Oriental is depicted as something one judges (as in a court of law), something one studies and depicts (as in a curriculum), something one disciplines (as in a school or prison), something one illustrates (as in a zoological manual). The point is that in each of these cases the Oriental is contained and represented by dominating frameworks. (Said, 2003 [1978]: 40)

This epistemological divide in which Europeans monopolized the means of judgment, pushing aside non-European intellectual producers into the margins of knowledge production was also based on a new conception of reason and rationality that arose through the nineteenth century. The Europeans' alleged "rationalism" and non-European's "irrational" thinking began to be taken as axioms and cultures were separated between those of dynamic nations, and those of static and backward nations. This divide had consequences in the kind of knowledge that Europeans expected from others, as "[a]ll that traveled in an east-west direction was aesthetic and religious impulses" (Osterhammel, 2014: 811). Sought after by artists and philosophers with a thirst for mystery and exoticism, Chinese or Indian thought (under the label "Eastern

Wisdom") increasingly circulated in Europe via translations since the late eighteenth century. As the nineteenth century approached, those works became a counterpoint against scientific rationalism, turning Asia into "a projection screen for European irrationalism that seemed to leave it with no opportunities for development of its own" (Osterhammel, 2014: 813–814).

Along with the rational/irrational divide, the epistemological schism between European and non-European knowledge was also defined in chronological terms. Dirlik points out that the distance between the metropolis and the colonized, apart from the obvious geographical separation, "was hierarchized in a temporality in which Euro-American economic, political, social, and cultural norms represented the teleological end of History" (2007: 39–45). Within this hierarchy, the metropolitan centers considered themselves as the meridian of civilization and forerunners of a univocal historical path of development, while other nations and civilizations were considered located in the rear tracks of progress, that is, in the "past" or in a position that aspires to become "present". Consequently, within this chronological configuration, from the alleged "vantage point" in which Europeans considered themselves to be located, the "Others" could not possibly contribute from their "past" experience to the spearheading position of European experience. The assumption of this hierarchical chronology implicated what Fabian (2014) calls a "denial of coevalness" to knowledge producers from non Euro-American constituencies, that is, thinkers in constituencies who considered themselves as the spearheads of a linear History of human progress were unlikely to become interested in knowledge produced in other locations since, from their perspective, such knowledge was already superseded by the European present.[15] The accumulated effect was the impression that "everything that seemed of value in Asia lay deep in the past" (Osterhammel, 2014: 817).

Another related, overarching consequence of this order of things was an "ideology of exteriority" (Said, 2003 [1978]: 21). Produced within the metropolitan configurations of power/knowledge and aimed for an also metropolitan audience, this "ideology"

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[15] Addressing the specificities of this chronological break of imagination between in the literary field, Casanova uses the metaphor of the "Greenwich Meridian" (Casanova, 2008: 135) as an arbitrary, historically settled, and socially sustained standard that unilaterally establishes an imbalanced standard to measure and evaluate relevance, establishing for cultural production a time hierarchy between what belongs to "the present" and to "the past", what is contemporary and what is not coeval.

represented the colonial as an alien entity whose experience could not be linked to the experience of the metropolitan audience. Huggan offers a thorough analysis on how the colonial order uses mechanisms of "exoticization" and "otherness" in order to represent the "Other" in a dialectical relation to the metropolitan "Self." Such inflicted otherness, however, is based on "a kind of semiotic circuit that oscillates between the opposite poles of strangeness and familiarity" that represents the Other as recognizably strange, its otherness supplied in a comprehensible version for the metropolitan public to consume while keeping the Other ecstatic and at a distance (Huggan, 2001: 13–14).

The overarching epistemological view means that knowledge producers began to receive a different consideration according to their location and they were granted different status within an emerging global division of intellectual labor. Addressing this division, Sakai (2001) differentiates between a core—which he roughly formulates as "the West"—for the creation, critical assessment and reformulation of theories, and a periphery—"the Rest"—providing rough data to be submitted to the theoretical tools produced exclusively at the core. This geographically-inflected hierarchy of knowledge production had a bearing upon the degree of relevance given to intellectual production in accordance with a certain geography of power. Thus, while ideas and theoretical knowledge produced in the core/West are invested with a universal applicability, the periphery/Rest is reduced to a mere supplier of locally-specific raw data ready to be submitted to the theoretical and analytical tools produced by the "core." This epistemological divide became consolidated in the processes of modern canon formation that sprang between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a discipline like Philosophy, it led to the exclusion of African and Asian thinkers from the philosophical canon, even denying them their very capacity to produce proper philosophy (Park, 2013). With regard to translation and circulation, that exclusion had as a consequence a lesser degree of translations of works by those authors, and a more localized, contextual reception. Their works tend to be ascribed to area (Chinese or East Asian, African, Latin American, etc.) studies rather than to general, non geographically-defined disciplines such as philosophy.

This exclusion actually pervades the very existence of Area Studies in European and North American contexts, understood either as a fully institutionalized academic discipline or as an approach to the study of non-European contexts. Area Studies

incarnates that very epistemological divide in terms of knowledge production between Euro-American thinkers as producers of *theory* and universal propositions, and non-Euro-American thinkers whose production, when circulating in Euro-American contexts, is most frequently reduced to an object of interest for Area Studies. Dutton (2002) notes that the works of a European thinker whose empirical ground is based on European present or past experiences can reach widespread circulation and a high level of prestige beyond Europe, and his theoretical constructions can be widely applied to the analysis of phenomena in the most diverse locations. The same, however, barely occurs if the theoretical contributions are made by African or Asian thinkers based in non-Euro-American locations and working on African or Asian societies. While they may be fully engaged and in dialogue with paradigms and debates emanating from "general" or "non-geographically" bound disciplines such as Philosophy or Sociology, the non-European empirical grounding of their research tends to keep their findings and their contributions away from the centers of theoretical production. Most strikingly, this asymmetrical judgment privileges Euro-American thinkers to the point that it even erases the chronological contextuality of their intellectual production, as if they were indeed producers of a universal, context-less, time-less thought. Chakrabarty asserts that

> [i]t is only within some very particular traditions of thinking that we treat fundamental thinkers who are long dead and gone not only as people belonging to their own times but also as though they were our own contemporaries. [...] South Asian(ist) social scientists would argue passionately with a Marx or a Weber without feeling any need to historicize them or to place them in their European intellectual contexts. (Chakrabarty, 2000: 5)

Here Chakrabarty addresses an important aspect of this asymmetrical economy of knowledge, that is, the function of Euro-American thought as a provider of intellectual legitimation. Bhabha referred to the "disproportionate influence of the West as cultural forum, in all three senses of that word: as place of public exhibition and discussion, as place of judgment, and as market-place" (1994: 21). Addressing this very issue, Hountondji (1995) uses the term "extroversion" to refer to the need of intellectuals in the non-Euro-American world to refer to sources of authority external to their own contexts. With specific regard to Chinese thinkers such as Wang Hui, it is frequent to

find mentions to European and North American thinkers, both classical and contemporary, in their works and, as we shall see, these explicit references are one of the factors that help to connect an author with the Euro-American reception of his/her works. As Sakai notes, this situation "continually reproduces imbalance or extraordinary one-sidedness [...], so that the West is regarded as the source of the global flow of commodities, ideas and institutions" and "the source of spontaneity, whose initiative must be received by its subordinates" (2010: 449–450).

Sakai provides a concrete instance of that epistemic imbalance in his analysis of the relation between "theory" and "Asian humanity" (ibid.) and the effects of that relation upon knowledge produced in Asia and by Asian scholars and intellectuals—such as our study case Wang Hui. Sakai departs from Foucault's notion of the "empirico-transcendental doublet" that pervades the production of knowledge in the humanities and juxtaposes it with the context of colonial modernity (Sakai, 2010: 451). Through this analysis, he asserts the lesser consideration given to the intellectual production of locations beyond Europe and North America. The empirico-transcendental doublet establishes a distinction between two ideas of humanity: humanity as the subject of knowledge (*Humanitas*) and humanity as the object of knowledge (*Anthropos*). *Humanitas* corresponds to a "universalizing" and "self-referential" form of humanity, while *Anthropos* refers to a "localized" and "empirical" humanity. Thus, for Sakai the colonial order projected *Humanitas* and *Anthropos* geographically, assigning *Humanitas* to "Europe" (or "the West" in Sakai's wording) as producer of theoretical and universal knowledge with the attributes of modern rationality, scientific reason, commitment to rigor, and universal openness; on the other hand, *Anthropos* was made to correspond to the colonized locations (what Sakai calls "the Rest"), which were considered either producers of empirical raw data to be retrieved and analyzed by the "universal West", or producers of propositions relevant only for the context of their production, with no universal validity. Relying on Wallerstein's "world system" approach, Sakai refers to this configuration as "a historically specific division of intellectual labor" (Sakai, 2010: 456).

Following this configuration as posited by Sakai, the ideas and propositions produced by scholars, intellectuals or thinkers from certain European and North American locations are often applied to very different contexts beyond Europe and

North America. Meanwhile the propositions produced, for instance, by Asian scholars and thinkers are rarely extrapolated to be applied to European contexts. Instead, they tend to be considered (from the perspective of Euro-American reception) as specific, locally valid propositions that do not transcend their ethnic particularity nor attain the order of theoretical universality.

The analysis of the intellectual asymmetry between European and North American contexts of the so-called "Global South" is one of the most long-standing objects of postcolonial and decolonial critique (Ngũgĩ, 1993; Spivak, 1994; Gruzinski, 1999; Mbembe, 2001; Dabashi, 2015; Dussel, 2015; Van Norden, 2017; De Sousa Santos, 2018; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, to mention just a few). In different ways, these authors share a similar critique of eurocentrism and a reassessment of the project of Modernity at different degrees. These critiques have paved the way for an increased ethical awareness of these imbalances. This dissertation shares this ethical concern about the imbalances of knowledge and the unequal consideration that ideas are given according to their place of production. Notwithstanding this, as I have previously pointed out, the postcolonial and decolonial critiques of the asymmetries of knowledge production and circulation have mainly lingered on the genealogy and the historical instances of the epistemic asymmetry between the "West and Non-West" or "Global South and Global North", as well as the contemporary persistence of that imbalance.

Some interesting steps have been already taken in order to move forward. Within the field of comparative political theory, for instance, regarding Chinese thought, Leigh K. Jenco explores "how, and under what conditions, so-called non-Western traditions of thought can serve to inspire and structure more generally applicable social and political theory" (2016: 1–2). By doing so, she claims that "Western-trained scholars must learn to treat engagements with foreign others as more than just case studies whose particularities present evidence for interrogating the lapses of existing theories but not for posing original ones that are relevant or meaningful to 'us'" (Jenco 2020: 68). Therefore, instead of delving into the analysis and the critique of regimes of colonialism and epistemic asymmetry, Jenco engages with the work of modern Chinese thinkers by effectively translocalizing their ideas and arguments and applying them to wider political theory.

On the other hand, besides the historiographical and epistemological issues that constitute the main concern of the aforementioned critiques, there are other factors and dynamics that may appear as more "mundane" and are usually overlooked. However, they constitute a fundamental aspect in the translocal circulation of knowledge and ideas. For instance, Altbach (2005) has underscored the importance of certain material conditions, such as the availability of technical facilities for book production, transportation facilities, the means for distribution, and reader density as factors that also bear upon the production and circulation of knowledge, besides the asymmetrical distribution of symbolic capital among locations. As noted by Jackson:

> By remaining at the epistemological level of critique, they [post- and decolonial critics] have overlooked the increasingly powerful extra-epistemological effects of the imbalances in the global geography of academic quality that condition the production of even these critical theories. Solely theoretical critiques of Euro-Amerocentrism fail to address the fact that the geographical location of an intellectual in the contemporary world system and, just as importantly, the location of the home offices of the journals and publishing houses in which her/his work is published, have a direct relationship to the international impact and influence of that person's ideas. The extra-epistemological and extra-theoretical character of the forces that now constitute the conditions of possibility for all theoretical production, including the production of critical theory, means that strategic critical responses must also come from outside the fields of epistemology and theory as such. (2017: 38–39)

In the case of this thesis, I intend to supplement those critiques by identifying other dynamics that, in addition to the lasting effects of colonial legacies, drive the fate of intellectual products in their translocal circulations. I will do so by relying on translation as a privileged tool for the translocalization of ideas. Furthermore, my interest will be focused on the socio-intellectual dynamics of translation and circulation, which tend to be equally overlooked when dealing with translations from less translated languages into Euro-American contexts. I contend that the analysis of those socio-intellectual dynamics can illuminate how certain ideas get to circulate sometimes despite the aforementioned asymmetries. More importantly, I believe, the recognition and understanding of those dynamics can provide more practical clues about how to

facilitate the translation and circulation of works from contexts beyond Europe and North America.

2.2. Translation between Subservience and Contestation

Translation as a translingual and transcultural practice plays a fundamental role in the circulation of knowledge and in the valorization and intellectual legitimation of ideas and authors throughout the different locales that I have summarized in the previous section (Sapiro & Bustamante, 2009; Schögler, 2018). This function equally applies when knowledge is translated and circulated between locales that occupy asymmetric positions in the global distribution of intellectual labor. In this respect, the role of translation in the historical configurations of the economies of knowledge has been double-edged: on the one hand, translation has been a key element in the construction and reinforcement of intellectual asymmetries and, at the same time, translation has also been a key element in the contestation of such configurations. As noted by Tymoczko,

> [w]ithin a more complex paradigm of power, translation is seen as an activity where discourses meet and compete; translation negotiates power relations, shifting in complex ways to meet the imperatives of specific historical and material moments. In such complex negotiations, as perspectives from historical studies of translation illustrate, no single strategy of translation has a privileged position in the exercise of power or resistance. (2010: 45)

Asymmetrical relations of power shape and get shaped by translational practices. Willingly or not, translation initiatives—both outbound and inbound—can equally participate in the construction of a certain knowledge economy within the colonial context. This question has been widely addressed by Postcolonial Translation Studies through analyses of translations initiatives and translated texts in colonial settings. Sherry Simon, for instance, refers to how translations of European authors into Bengali served to display a recognized canon into the colonized reception context, projecting certain tastes and materializing "modes of interpretation whose terms were rarely

questioned" (2000: 9–10). At the same time, some translation initiatives to bring the textual production of colonized constituencies into European languages can be seen as "strategies of containment" through its modes of representing the colonial other and objectifying the culture that is being represented (Niranjana, 1992: 2–3). For Cronin, translation thus became a strategy of information gathering to nurture the Imperial Archive and allow the colonizer to retain power by co-opting local knowledge (2000: 34). Moreover, there is a tendency toward the objectification of the culture that is being represented by using translation strategies that underscore difference and the radical otherness of the source culture, creating a gap between the reader and the text. For instance, Jacquemond identifies "philological translation" and "exoticizing translation" as two main modes of translation from Arabic into French (1997: 155). The former prioritizes a narrow reproduction of the original language that produces a text with low readability, thus reinforcing the orientalist idea of a "complicated Orient", while the latter takes delight in stereotyped images of "the other" sometimes even adding images that were not present in the original text. Besides this othering effect, there was also the denial of coevalness: by choosing only to translate ancient texts, French translations from the Arabic projected the impression of a backward culture and "imposed the idea that Arabic culture had produced its best centuries ago and that it would not produce anything worthy of export anymore" (1997: 156, my translation).[16]

But translation can also play a countering, subversive role with regard to such asymmetries. There is a considerable number of case studies in Translation Studies that empirically attest to that transformational potential (see, for instance, the works cited in Tymoczko, 2000a, 2010a; Rafael, 1992, 2005; Simon & St-Pierre, 2000; and Lin Pei-Yin, 2012). In such cases, translation appears as a way to modify discourses, engage in geopolitical shifts, or advance ideological agendas (Tymoczko, 2000a). In this respect, translation relies on the dialectical logic that underpins any kind of communication, which opens a space for the creation of meaning (Asimakoulas, 2011: 9).

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[16] There is considerable research attesting for this predominant "documentalistic", "ethnographic" and "othering" tendency when cultural productions from non-Euro-American locations are translated and circulated in European and North American contexts, even in recent times (Waring, 1995; Brouillette, 2007; Kluwick, 2009; Marín-Lacarta, 2018; Ponzanesi, 2015). These studies, nevertheless, focus mostly on fictional literature or poetry, and there are scarce incursions in non-fictional texts to detect the same phenomenon.

This contestatory and transformational potential of translation is closely related to the "agency" of those implicated in translational initiatives. To begin with, the decision whether to translate or not to translate an author or a text is already a significant statement of purpose. For Simeoni, a translation "always occurs for particular reasons in a particular context" (1998: 2) and is carried out in particular ways, therefore it is necessary to pay particular attention to the translator as a decision maker. Similarly, Gentzler and Tymoczko underscore that

> [t]ranslators must make choices, selecting aspects or parts of a text to transpose and emphasize. Such choices in turn serve to create representations of their source texts, representations that are also partial. This partiality is not considered to be a defect, a lack or an absence in a translation; it is a necessary condition of the act. (Gentzler and Tymoczko, 2002: xviii)

The centrality of agency within translation and its bearing upon configurations of power and transcultural representation lay bare a set of mechanisms and conditions that go beyond the textual dimension to encompass sociological aspects. However, the analyses of structural imbalances in translation flows rarely take into consideration this sociological dimension. My analysis intends precisely to bridge these two dimensions in an explicit way by paying attention to both the sociological and intellectual dynamics at work in the translation and circulation of non-Euro-American works in European and North American contexts of reception. Later on, I will introduce in detail the sociological tools that I will involve in this analysis.

2.3. Two Modes of Translation and Their Implications

Sakai's aforementioned distinction between *Humanitas* and *Anthropos* can be correlated to two modes of approaching the translation of an author's work: "documentary" and "instrumental" translation. These notions were coined by Christiane Nord who, taking a functionalist perspective of translation, defined a translation as "an offer of information about the (offer of information of the) source text" (Nord, 1991: 72). A translation is

therefore a textual (re)presentation of a preexistent communicative action (also in the form of a text). Nord then distinguishes between two modes of relationship between the target text and its source (con)text:

(1) *Documentary translation* is the mode of translation that focuses on the source context and its aim is to reproduce aspects of the source text in the source context for the receivers of the target text. In this mode, the target text is conceived as a document of a previous communication between a source author and a receiver in the source context. In this case, the readers of the translation in the reception context are "conscious of 'observing' a communicative situation of which they are not a part" (Nord, 1991: 72–73, emphasis in the original). As examples of documentary translations, she cites "literal translation", "philological translation", and "exoticizing translation" as a translation that "tries to preserve the 'local color' of the source text" (Nord, 1991: 73). Documentary translation therefore produces a distance between the receiver in the target context and the original context, in which the receiver becomes a distant observer of an "other" situation in which the receiver plays no part.

(2) *Instrumental translation*, on the other hand, is intended to fulfill a new communicative purpose *in the target context* directly addressed to the receiver of the target text, that is, as if the author was originally addressing the reader in the target context, "without the receiver being aware of reading or hearing a text which, in a different form, was used before in a different communicative action" (Nord, 1991: 73). An instrumental translation is conceived as "a communicative instrument in its own right" with "the same or a similar or analogous function" as the original text (Nord, 1991: 72).

As I have already pointed out, documentary translation produces a distancing, othering effect, an epistemological cleavage between the reader and the original author/context since, under this approach, the author becomes an object of knowledge (*Anthropos*), as if she/he was speaking from a location and time different from the reader's, instead of a knowledge-producing subject whose utterances have a bearing upon the reader's own context (*Humanitas*). To bring this perspective into the specific case that I present

here—i.e., the translation of works of contemporary Chinese thought into European languages—, we may imagine the work of a contemporary Chinese intellectual writing on social, political, and economic issues. Supposing his/her work gets translated into English with a documentary approach, the resulting text may be a document *about* Chinese intellectual history that describes intellectual conditions in China, its propositions and analyses relegated to China's own context, without extrapolation. Such a translated text would primarily interpellate cultural or intellectual historians of China. The instrumental approach, on the other hand, would result in a text in which the location of production of the original text is not a primary concern. The translated text would be not so much about social, political, and economic issues *in China*, but a text about social, political, and economic issues, period.

A similar distinction was also suggested by Tymoczko. Highlighting the historicity of translational practice, Tymoczko has been one of the main proponents of a translational practice that embraces its full potential and agency. For Tymoczko, translation historically plays an ambivalent role in the construction and the contestation of power, and considers that certain translation strategies can produce different effects with regard to the representation of the other. In this respect, Tymoczko emphasizes the idea of "transculturation" (2010b: 125), i.e. how certain performative types of translation can function primarily to insert elements from one culture into another, allowing the receptors to appropriate the text, even if the process implies adjustments and adaptations to prevalent conventions in the receiving context:

> [T]ransculturation requires the performance of the borrowed cultural forms in the receptor environment. [...] [F]orms from one culture are appropriated by another and integrated with previous practices, beliefs, values, and knowledge. They become part of the life ways of those on the receiving end of transculturation [...] Such elements then become part of the performative repertoire in the receiving culture's speech, literature, music, politics, economic system, religion, and so forth. (121)

To this kind of performative translation, she opposes translation as transmission or representation, that aim at conveying a text as "an artifact of its own system" (125), that is, a translation that takes as its primary task the representation of the text in the

conditions of the source context, without establishing any connection between the propositions contained in the text and the reality of the context of reception, where the reader of the translation is a mere witness to a discussion about *another* social reality.

In my analysis of the translation and circulation of contemporary Chinese thought and, more specifically, of Wang Hui's work, I contend that the significant reception of Wang Hui's work in European and North American contexts is related to the fact that a considerable part of the translation initiatives of his works has been undertaken with what I will call "interventional mode of translation", that is, a mode in which Wang Hui's social, political, and economic analysis was made to interpellate similar concerns in European and North American contexts. Therefore, Wang Hui's essays were not simply offered in English, Italian, Spanish, or German as a window through which the reader could sneak into China's development or intellectual debates from a distant position. On the contrary, some of Wang Hui's essays selected for translation addressed topics that could be easily connected to translocal predicaments. And even when he addressed more specifically Chinese events, they were presented in a way that established meaningful linkages with wider, "global" phenomena. The effect is "transculturation" in Tymoczko's terms or, as I will prefer to term it, a "translocalizing" effect in which ideas produced in a specific locale find significance, analytical relevance, or even applicability in another locale. Interventional translation implies awareness and activation of the socio-intellectual dynamics that play into the circulation of texts and authors. Below I will explain further my idea of "interventional translation". But first, I will delve into the sociological dynamics in the production and circulation of ideas and explain a set of conceptual tools that help us understand how those dynamics work.

2.4. The Sociological Dynamics in the Production and Circulation of Ideas

So far, I have attended to the intellectual factors and dynamics that mark the circulation and make it possible for a text to become integrated in the intellectual dynamics of the new context as a coeval and homologous proposition, instead of a mere document about conditions in an "external" context.

As I have previously mentioned, the interventional model of translation aims at positioning the translated text (or author) as homologous within the reception context, making it to interpellate the intellectual field of reception. For this purpose, an interventional translation should attend not only to the epistemological and historical conditions, but also to the sociological factors and other mechanisms that determine the legitimation of certain authors and works within and between different languages and contexts, which tend to be obliterated by post- and decolonial criticism. Such factors and mechanisms include various aspects such as the conditions of the publishing sector and the interpersonal affinities between the different agents implied. In this thesis I use the case of Wang Hui as an example of interventional translation of non-Western humanities and social sciences into Euro-American contexts in which this double dimension can be see at work.

Mannheim (2003) [1956] was one of the first scholars to conceive of the social nature of cultural and knowledge production. Authors such as Collins (1998), Bourdieu (1977, 1984a, 1998), or Burke (1998, 2000) have in different ways shown that intellectual production and its translocal circulation is motivated by sociological conditions and mechanisms. Moreover, these authors have shown how those sociological factors have affected the movement of ideas in very different periods of history and in different locations, independently of the specific modern configurations of power. Therefore, in order to obtain a more complete account of the dynamics that determine the circulation of non-European cultural products in European and North American contexts, while we must keep attending to structural historical configurations in the macro-level, we should also pay attention to the social dynamics in the micro-level, since the latter can help us explain how and why some "peripheral" authors still get to circulate in European and North American contexts and even attain considerable intellectual legitimation. For that purpose, in the study case of this thesis, I will attend to both macro- and micro-level factors: on the former, I will address the lingering asymmetries and geopolitical dynamics relevant for the translation and circulations of cultural and intellectual products between Chinese and European and North American contexts; on the latter, I will analyze the socio-intellectual factors that intervene in the translation and circulation of the works of Wang Hui, and how the intellectual and interpersonal affinities between Wang and various agents in the

target—Anglophone and Italophone—contexts can explain how Wang has attained translocal intellectual legitimation.

I previously referred to Lamont's definition of intellectual legitimation as "the process by which a theory becomes recognized as a part of a field—as something that cannot be ignored by those who define themselves, and are defined, as legitimate participants in the construction of a cognitive field" (Lamont, 1987: 586). Elaborating on that definition, Lamont contends that

> the legitimation of interpretive theories does not proceed from their intrinsic value but results from coexisting, highly structured interrelated cultural and institutional systems. I also argue that legitimation results from two distinct but simultaneous processes: (1) the process by which the producer defines himself and his theory as important, legitimizing and institutionalizing this claim by producing work meeting certain academic requirements, by making explicit his contribution to a cognitive field and by creating research teams, research institutes, journals, and so forth; and (2) the process through which, first, peers and, second, the intellectual public define and assess a theory and its producer as important and, by doing so, participate in the construction of the theory and the institutionalization of that theory and its author. (Lamont, 1987: 586.)

The conditions of legitimation that Lamont identifies here are, on the one hand, epistemological, related to the intellectual field in which an author intends to be put to operate; and, on the other hand, he points to an eminently sociological process determined by different forms of agency, individual or collective/institutional. We must understand these forms of social agency if we are to apprehend more exhaustively why certain authors and ideas get to move across cultural and linguistic borders and become legitimated and consecrated in contexts different from their original locations of production.

As mentioned, the field of translation studies has been moving in the last decades from its previously predominant textual focus on the description of translations towards an approach that goes beyond the text (Pym et al., 2008). In this vein, one of the most fruitful developments of the field has been the "sociological turn" of the discipline that takes on translation as a social practice, focusing on the social factors surrounding any process of translation of a text from one language/context to another. Consequently, a

sociology of translation has emerged in recent years which has been especially fruitful in identifying sociological dynamics of translation initiatives (Simeoni, 1998; Gouanvic, 2005; Inghilleri, 2005; Wolf & Fukari, 2007; Wolf, 2010; Bielsa, 2021). It is precisely this social dimension of translation as a form of knowledge construction what explains how translational agency can be used in order to counter the macro-structural determinants of circulation. That is, despite the fact that power configurations may favor certain dynamics, social agency can potentially act as a counterforce to open up alternative dynamics and alternative spaces of knowledge circulation and exchange.

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has provided one of the most compelling analyses on the social genesis of knowledge and the social mechanisms of knowledge legitimation. In his work, he aims at countering the tendency to think that intellectual products circulate and obtain legitimacy by the force of their alleged "intrinsic" value. As Meylaerts points out, Bourdieu's model "argues for the need to unmask social conditions of intellectual import-export in order to counter people's tendency to think of intellectual life as something spontaneously international when in fact the opposite is true" (2005: 278).

One of the fundamental concerns of Bourdieu's sociology is the study of inequality and power imbalance, and the social mechanisms of their reproduction. For him, one of the sources of the production and reproduction of inequality is the imbalanced distribution of symbolic power. The different fields of culture and their symbolic production (literature, art, etc.) have a central position in the production and reproduction of (symbolic) power and its unequal distribution among agents, institutions, and geopolitical constituencies.

Though many of Bourdieu's analyses are mainly focused on national frames, he later became more interested in what he called the "international exchanges" in the cultural field. His seminal essay "The Social Conditions of the International Circulation of Ideas" (Bourdieu, 2002) is regarded—despite its exploratory and programmatic character—as a seminal attempt at delineating a translocal application of his sociological ideas.

Though, as previously said, Bourdieu made few incursions into the empirical analysis of translocal cultural phenomena, his theoretical framework has been applied and developed in a translocal dimension by several of his disciples (Wacquant, 1993;

Pinto, 2002; Denord, 2002; Casanova, 2008; Sapiro, 2016; among others). The application of his ideas has been especially fruitful in the field of Translation Studies, as exemplify the authors of the "sociological turned" in translation studies that I mentioned before. In my case, I have also found Bourdieu's theoretical approach and conceptual tools useful to account for the sociological aspects of the translation and circulation of contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences in Euro-American contexts.

In this article, he points out that "texts don't bring their context along" (Bourdieu, 2002: 4) when they circulate, which explains why certain texts are subject to unexpected transformations when they are received in another context: "the sense and function of a foreign work are determined at least as much by the receiving context as by the field of origin (Bourdieu, 2002: 4). To understand this, he underscores the "social operations" underpinning any process of transfer of an intellectual product from one field to another. Such operations include the "selection" and "marking" of the work by a series of agents or "gate-keepers" (Bourdieu, 2002: 5) in the field of reception. Those agents, according to Bourdieu, are motivated by "interests," understood as the product of certain affinities and homologies (interpersonal, intellectual, stylistic) derived from occupying a similar position in their respective fields or sharing a certain intellectual outlook or endeavor, so that when someone publishes something she/he likes that publication can be reinforcing her/his position in her/his own field: "It happens very often with regard to foreign authors that what matters is not they say, but what they can be made to say" (Bourdieu, 2002: 5).

Interestingly, Bourdieu feels the need to make it clear in his article that there is "nothing wrong" in such interests and personal motivations (Bourdieu, 2002: 5). It is just natural that one is keen to introduce in her/his own field what she/he finds interesting or worthy of admiration. However, when such operations appear with more clarity, they tend to be disregarded because they are considered irrelevant, or even despised, as if the recognition of certain shared political outlooks and perspectives on reality between scholars or thinkers was something shameful that devalued their work, or as if it entailed a total intellectual alignment between both parts. Indeed, during some of the interviews I conducted for this research, some of my interviewees were not keen on dwelling into these aspects, considering them as "intellectual gossip". Let me stress again: to recognize that there are personal, intellectual or ideological interests and

affinities behind the initiative to translate an author or a work does not mean to diminish the value of the work nor to accuse the importers of hidden intentions. On the contrary, it is a vindication of their essential role as mediators, and a way to highlight the transformation and adaptation of ideas as a driving force in the translocal construction of knowledge. In fact, it could be argued that such social operations based on shared intellectual and personal affinities and interests are the norm—not the exception—in the whole cultural and intellectual history.

While I intend to highlight the sociological underpinnings of the processes of translocal circulation and intellectual legitimation, emphasizing the importance of context and historicity, I seek to display an analysis complex enough as to avoid falling into any of the two extremes that Burke identified: first, to assume that cultural goods (e.g., political ideas or literary genres) circulate and are accepted because of their "inherent" value; second, to take for granted that importing ideas is just a way for individuals or groups to increase their status and power to compete with their (intellectual) rivals. Burke considers the first extreme "too simple-minded" and the second "too reductionist," and consequently calls for the historian to steer between both extremes and avoid falling into a "gross utilitarianism" (1998: 14).

Another important aspect that Bourdieu highlights in the sociogenetic nature of imported intellectual works is the transformation that cultural products experience in their displacement. According to Bourdieu, intellectual products are transformed in the process of transfer, given that "texts circulate without their contexts and they don't carry with them their field of production" (2002: 4). It means that a text (or author) will occupy a different position in the field of reception with respect to its original field after going through such social operations of selection and marking by the importing agents in the field of reception. Thus, the imported work or author may acquire a new, different value and meaning in the reception context according to conditions in that field. As I will show in the coming chapters, the translation and circulation of the works of Wang Hui in European and North American contexts have also been the object of these operations of marking and re-positioning. It is important, then, to envision translation as a process "in the making" rather than a product, something that Bourdieu's sociology of culture is especially well positioned to capture with its conceptual tools (Hanna, 2016: 5).

An important clarification is needed with regard to the idea of agency. There has been a tendency among earlier scholars to highlight the particular agency of the translator. However, as my case study will reveal, translational initiatives are hardly an individual affair; most frequently, they implicate different agencies beyond the translator to include editors, preface writers, etc. Sometimes the translator even plays a secondary role with regard to other agents such as the editor or publisher. Therefore, in order to make a more thorough account of the process of translation and circulation, and its motivations, it is necessary to enlarge the scope of agency. Rather than an individual approach, I will follow Milton & Bandia (2009)'s definition of the agent in translation as any entity involved in the translational process, be them individuals such as editors, translators, publishers, and other promoters, as well as collectives such as journals, publishing houses, or institutions. As we shall see, these agents are not isolated, instead, they are usually inscribed within wider translocal networks based on scholarly, intellectual, ideological affinities, and common interests. These networks can have a more concrete, institutionalized form (universities, associations, research groups) or a casual, sporadic form (casual meetings or conferences on specific topics). As I will show, many of the agents that have taken part in the circulation of Wang Hui's work can be found to be interconnected in this sense across different localities.

With regard to conceptual tools, my analysis will appeal to three of Bourdieu's key concepts: field, capital and habitus. What follows is not intended as a thorough account of these Bourdieusian elements or their implications for the study of translational initiatives (something that has already been carried out by the aforementioned authors). What I present hereafter is the general definition of these concepts and how I apply them in this research.

(1) <u>Field</u>. The notion of "field" (*champ*) is central to Bourdieu's sociological inquiry, to the point that his whole theory is sometimes referred to as "field theory." Field is defined as a space of structured positions related to a certain activity (thus, we can speak of the field of philosophy, the field of politics, the field of critical thought, the academic field, the field of economics, etc.) in which different agents compete among each other for different forms of symbolic capital. In Bourdieu's own definition,

> A field [...] is delimited, among other things, by the definition of specific stakes and interests which cannot be reduced to the stakes and interests of other fields [...]. For a field to work, it needs stakes and people ready to play the game. Those people should have the habitus which implies the knowledge and acknowledgement of the immanent rules of the game, its stakes, etc. (1984b: 113–114, my translation)

A field is, therefore, a space of struggle and competition. An important factor for the field to exist is that those who make part of that field accept to take part in the competition for symbolic capital and that they know and recognize the rules upon which that field (and its internal competition) is based and the principles by which symbolic capital is assigned:

> [T]he literary field is a force-field as well as a field of struggles which aim at transforming or maintaining the established relation of forces: each of the agents commits the force (the capital) that he has acquired through previous struggles to the strategies that depend for their general direction on his position in the power struggle, that is, on his specific capital. (Bourdieu, 1990: 143)

Any translation initiative can implicate more than one single field (the intellectual or literary field, the publishing field, even the political field) which adds layers of dynamics that make the sociological analysis of translations more complex, and prevent any linear, clear-cut account.

The competition aspect is especially prominent in the case of the academic field, where we find Area Studies scholars struggling to overcome their marginal position within the broader academic field. As we shall see, in some cases, they use translation as a way to claim a more central position in the Academia and to be considered by their peers in other disciplines as producers of knowledge that is relevant beyond the restricted geographical scope of their discipline.

Bourdieu also distinguishes between a field of "restricted" production addressed to other producers and specialists of the field, and a field of large-scale production addressed to a wider public. In the case I deal with, the intellectual field can be considered to be one of "restricted" production, since it addresses an audience of producers and experts. In the case of contemporary Chinese thought, we shall see that

the agents implicated in the circulation and translation of works and authors such as Wang Hui belong to differentiated fields: an academic/Area Studies field, and an intellectual/new left field. With regard to the configuration and differentiation of the fields implicated in this case, an important analytical issue has arisen from my analysis as to whether it is possible to distinguish between the "academic/Area Studies" field and the "intellectual/new left" field, since some of the participants take part instinctively of both fields. We find prominent members of the "new left" field who are also academics themselves, and scholars who ascribe to the "new left." However, those who make part of the "intellectual/new left field" are not always scholars or at least don't count academic work as their main occupation. My distinction here between these two fields is based on the fact that those producers, though being in some cases the same, address different publics and do so via different sets of publications. However, there is a considerable degree of overlapping between these fields which would require more specific research that goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

Also, an important feature is that those fields present a high degree of translocality. Even if each field may be determined by the language of communication and publication (in the cases I study, Chinese, English, and Italian), the fluency in English of many of the non-Anglophone participants, due to English's "hypercentral" position in global communications (De Swaan, 2001) (and even more so in academic exchanges) allows for interaction to happen beyond linguistic and national borders and for the emergence of translocal fields in which participants assume a set of common interests and issues that transcend national borders. In that sense, as noted by Gouanvic, the stakes in translation have a double nature as the texts which are "the translated texts belong to several configurations, and each one of those configurations can be linked to specific fields", therefore, it can be considered that the stakes of translational agents belong to the target field, but also to the source field (Gouanvic, 2007: 82, my translation).

(2) <u>Symbolic Capital</u>. As I have just explained, symbolic capital is the object of the competition within fields and its possession in varying forms and quantities determine the positions of the agents within the field (Bourdieu, 1998: 379). Bourdieu defines the notion of capital in terms close to the Marxist definition as accumulated labor or "the

accumulated product of past labor" (2001: 294, my translation). Following this principle,

> the position of a specific agent within the social space can thus be defined by the position that agent occupies in the different fields, that is, in the distribution of powers functioning in each field. Those are, mainly, the economic capital (in its different forms), the cultural capital and the social capital, as well as the symbolic capital, most commonly known as prestige, reputation, renown, etc. These forms are perceived and acknowledged as the legitimate forms of those different forms of capital. (Bourdieu, 2001: 295, my translation)

Bourdieu identifies different forms of capital besides economic capital, in the sense that the accumulation of labor may take immaterial or symbolic forms beyond monetary profit, even if some of those immaterial forms of capital might have the potential to be converted into monetary profit "under certain circumstances" (Hanna, 2016: 37).[17] Among the forms of immaterial capital, Bourdieu refers specifically to cultural capital, understood as "dispositions of the mind and body" that are incorporated in the form of knowledge, competence in a specific field, political and aesthetic preferences, works produced which also reflect that capital.[18] Also, Bourdieu cites academic qualifications, which confers the holder a certain guarantee of competence (1986: 243–248). A second form of immaterial capital is social capital, with which Bourdieu signals the fact of being part of a network of "more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (249). In some cases, those networks can be bearers of a collectively-owned capital. Social capital is "maintained and reinforced in exchanges" (ibid.) and implies "an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed" (250). Similarly, another sociologist of culture, Randall Collins, stressed that intellectuals' symbolic capital circulates not only in writing but also in face to face interactions. He coined the idea of "interaction rituals" to describe lectures, discussions, conferences, and other events in

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[17] Besides the notions of economic, cultural, and social capital, which seem to be the most generally employed forms of capital in Bourdieu's analysis, his work is dotted with other forms such as national capital (Bourdieu, 2000) or linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 2001), which appear as forms of symbolic capital.

[18] He would later rename it as "informational capital" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 19) to avoid its limiting associations with high culture.

which intellectuals come together as sites for symbolic exchange, where personal relations and intellectual coalitions are built (Collins, 1998: 20–33).

In the literary or intellectual fields, the highest forms of symbolic capital entail the recognition and consecration of an author or work. The agents (individuals, collectives or institutions) that have accumulated considerable symbolic capital within the field also possess the power to "consecrate objects (as the effect of marking or signature), or people (by publication, exhibition, etc.), therefore to give value and to obtain profits from such an operation" (Bourdieu, 1998: 247). Symbolic capital in the cultural and intellectual fields can be recognized in certain indicators of recognition vested upon a particular author or work. Those relevant indicators of recognition would include, among others, elements such as the inclusion of the author or the work in rankings and lists; inclusion in anthologies, collections, handbooks or other forms of publication that entail a process of selection and hierarchization; inclusion in academic curricula; invited participation in relevant forums and commemorative events; awards and prizes; dedication of monuments; and, of course, the consideration from critics, reviewers, and peers who may write reviews or specific works about the author or his/her ideas (Bourdieu, 1998: 368–369; Hanna, 2016: 23). Paratextual elements such as the above-mentioned reviews, prefaces and introductions can also be instances in which the symbolic capital is transferred (Bourdieu, 2002: 5–6) when they are by individuals who enjoy a well-established and notorious intellectual position in the intellectual or academic field. For that, it is also interesting to pay attention to the agents and institutions that produce such recognitions and their respective positions within the field (Bourdieu, 1998: 368).

Translation can be regarded in itself as a bearer of symbolic capital and an indicator of recognition (Sapiro & Bustamante, 2009). Through an initiative to translate and introduce the author, the promoters of the translation initiative "confer on the author and on the work a quantity of capital by submitting it to the logic of a target literary field, and to its mechanisms of recognition" (Gouanvic, 2005: 162). Such symbolic capital may obviously be vested upon the translated author, but it may also affect the translator or the editor of the work, who become central players as mediators and "creators of value" (Casanova, 2008: 33).

The value of symbolic capital (with all its implications and benefits) is not fixed and it can fluctuate according to the dynamics of the field. For symbolic capital to exist and to produce its effects, there must be a predisposition on the part of the agents within the field to recognize its indices and signs, and to consider them as important (Bourdieu, 2003: 347). Such predisposition by the agents is what Bourdieu calls *habitus*.

(3) Habitus. In Bourdieu's sociology, this concept allows to bridge structure and agency in a less dichotomous way (Hanna, 2016: 17). The concept of habitus moves away from structural determinism while not totally casting it aside, thus rendering the individual actions as determined by certain structural factors, but recognizing also the potential of agency to challenge and subvert those same factors. Bourdieu defines habitus (in plural) as

> [...] systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them [...] (2013 [1977]: 72)

The applicability of the concept of habitus within translation studies has been explored by Simeoni (1998), Sela-Sheffy (2005), Meylaerts (2008), and for the authors included in Vorderobermeier (2014). The importance of the introduction of the concept of habitus in Translation Studies is that it allows to see translators (and other agents implicated in translation initiatives) not merely as a mechanical appliers of norms under specific systemic constraints, but as agents capable of maintaining, challenging, and changing those norms and determinants through their practice. An important aspect of the notion of habitus is its historicity. The historicity of the habitus is highlighted by Simeoni, who defines the habitus of the translator as "the elaborate result of a personalized social and cultural history" (1998: 32). Simeoni prominently focuses his idea of habitus in the agency of the translator, eliciting the agency of other mediators who do not play a direct intervention at the textual level but do it at the social levels of the circulation process.

The notion of habitus has also been considered in relation to translation norms. Toury has already been clear about "the socio-cultural specificity of norms and their basic instability," their "unstable, changing" nature, as well as the possibility of them being applicable only within specific sectors of society. Also, he importantly highlighted the role that translators play, through their very activity, in shaping such norms (1995: 62). The definition of norms by Toury may ring a bell when juxtaposed to Bourdieu's concept of habitus. For that reason, some scholars (Meylaerts, 2008; Wolf & Fukari, 2007; Hanna, 2014) have pointed to the analytical value of habitus in order to overcome the descriptive emphasis of research on norms, which seems to have ended up in an impasse. Also, for Gouanvic, "the object of research in translation studies ultimately becomes the analysis of the differential relationship between the habitus of translation agents (including publishers, critics, etc.) who have taken a position in a given target field in a given epoch, and the determinant factors of the target field as the site of reception of the translation" (2005: 148). In the case of this thesis, I will use the notion of habitus in the sense that I will observe elements of the intellectual and academic trajectory of different agents within a specific field (academic or ideological) and observe how their trajectories help explaining their role (as initiators or participants) in certain translation initiatives for the introduction of an author and his work into their respective domestic field.

2.5. Interventional Translation

In this section, I define the term "interventional translation" that I will use (as an alternative to "instrumental translation", for reasons I will explain below) to characterize a mode of translation that seeks to connect the translated text (and its author) with the target context. Its goal is to make the propositions included in translated text interpellate the reception field. Interventional translation positions the text (and its author) in a homologous and coeval position with regard to works produced in the reception context. For that reason, I consider this mode of translation to be especially useful for translating from non Euro-American languages (and contexts) into European and North American contexts, as a mode of translation that may help

overcome the view that considers ideas from locations like, for instance, China as "local" knowledge with no wider relevance or applicability beyond China itself. The case study of Wang Hui's translations into English and Italian, which I will analyze in the next chapters, provides an example of this mode of translation.

In section 2.3, I explained the two modes of translation, "documentary" and "instrumental", and how these different modes can have a bearing on the way a translated work is presented and valued in the European and North American contexts of reception, especially when the original work originates from a non Euro-American context. Nord's distinction of documentary/instrumental translation deals mainly with more technical typologies of textual production. However, the translation of texts of humanities and social sciences obviously presents a series of distinctive problematics related to the historical and epistemological issues that I described above, as well as to the specific sociological and intellectual mechanisms in which their validity is asserted. For that reason, interventional translation is also a mode of translation that is aware of the socio-intellectual dynamics that play into the translocal circulation and legitimation of works, authors, and ideas, embraces such dynamics, and strategically activates them to embed the work and its author in the reception context.

My use of the adjective "interventional" is taken from Baert (2012)'s notion of "intellectual interventions". As part of his theorization of the positioning of intellectual products, Baert considers that

> an intellectual intervention—whether as a book, article, blog, or speech—does not have an intrinsic meaning as such; it acquires its meaning in a particular setting; it is dependent on the status, position and trajectory of the author(s) and on the other intellectual products available at the time. (2012: 304)

The translation of works in the humanities and social sciences constitutes a prominent site for intellectual intervention. As such, translations present particular issues for their positioning (Schögler, 2019b) given the translingual character of such intervention. In that sense, as Baert notes, it is important to emphasize that

the reception, survival and diffusion of intellectual products—whether as research programmes, theories, concepts or propositions—depends not just on the intrinsic quality of the arguments proposed or the strength of the evidence provided, but also on the range of rhetorical devices which the authors employ to locate themselves (and position others) within the intellectual and political field. (2012: 304)

The criticisms most often read about the scarce attention given to non Euro-American thinkers in Euro-American intellectual contexts fail to take into account the situatedness and contextuality of knowledge. Those criticisms tend to be formulated in terms of presence or absence, as if the mere publication in another language was enough for an author or an idea to become relevant in the new context. Besides, some scholars reclaiming greater presence of non-Euro-American thinkers and their work seem to favor the idea that translations of Chinese thought should seek to represent the concerns and questions of the source Chinese context, and even represent the linguistic, stylistic, or rhetorical features of the original text (e.g., Davies, 2011). However, we should also take into consideration how the introduced work may relate to or interpellate readers in the reception context.

At this point, it is important to make it clear that I don't conceive of interventional translation as the exclusive or most adequate mode of translating non-Euro-American intellectual products into European and North American contexts. As a response to the erasure of otherness that characterizes translations under conditions of power asymmetry and cultural hegemony, some scholars have suggested translational strategies to counter such tendencies: Venuti (1998)'s "foreignizing translation", Berman (1999) and his idea of translation as "the shelter of the distant" (l'auberge du lointain), or Robyns' translation as a generator of "discursive interference" that enables the "encounter of the alien" (1994: 405–406). However, as some scholars have also pointed out (Gentzler, 2008: 169; Csikai, 2016), the effects of foreignizing or domesticating translation are not intrinsic to those strategies in themselves but depend instead on the specific conditions in which translation occurs. The sort of translation where the "otherness" of the source text is highlighted and where the source context becomes the focus of the translation process can sometimes be counter-productive. The result of those modes of translation might be a display of difference and otherness that

may appeal to those with a previous interest in the locale or the language of the source text, but may end up reinforcing distance and even stereotyping among a more general readership, as noted by Liu Yameng (2007: 62).

For the above-mentioned reasons, in what concerns the translation and introduction of non Euro-American works into Euro-American contexts, I consider that the display of otherness or foreignization strategies of translation are not necessarily the best way for a work or author to obtain translocal recognition, especially in the case of texts from the fields of humanities and social sciences, in which content is generally more central than style, and especially when the purpose is to underscore the translocal relevance of the propositions contained in the source text. As De Sousa Santos, a prominent critic of intellectual eurocentrism, states,

> [t]he quest for the recognition and celebration of the epistemological diversity of the world underlying the epistemologies of the South requires that these new (actually, often ancestral and newly reinvented) repertoires of human dignity and social liberation be conceived of as being relevant far beyond the social groups that caused them to emerge from their struggles against oppression. Far from leaving them stuck in identitarian essentialisms, they must be seen as contributing to the renewal and diversification of the narratives and repertoires of the concrete utopias of another possible world. (De Sousa Santos, 2018: 11–12)

The interventional mode of translation, precisely because of its emphasis in the socio-intellectual mechanisms of legitimation in the context of reception, can be seen at work at different locales, at different historical periods, implicating diverse directionalities among different contexts. Referring to the Chinese translations of "Western theory", Zhang Longxi points out that, "[i]nsofar as Western theory is concerned, Chinese translation is never motivated by a mere tourist interest of sight-seeing in a foreign culture but is rather determined by the need one feels in China" (1992: 107). Focusing on translation initiatives within the context of Hispanic America's struggle for independence, Bastin et al. (2010) have analyzed the translation of French and North American political writings into Spanish by a group of Venezuelan and Colombian intellectuals. Interestingly, they have found out that these translators

used an overtly "domesticating" strategy that included "manipulations" of the source text, such as the deletion of French and North American cultural references and of passages dealing with conditions in the source contexts, together with the frequent and abundant addition of peritextual materials (dedications, footnotes, etc.) with the purpose of making the translated text as accessible as possible to their Hispanic American readership. Bastin et al. interestingly point out that it was "the contents of the translations rather than discursive or textual strategies are here the primary site of resistance, contrary to arguments about resistance in (literary) texts proposed by Venuti" (2010: 60). Referring to this same case study, Gentzler points out that

> [t]he revolutionary war leaders of the Americas were not translating Locke, Rousseau, or Montaigne because they wanted scholars at Harvard to review favorably their translations in learned journals; no, they wanted to introduce new ideas regarding democratic systems and human rights into their cultures that were not free and were still governed by European powers. Many of the translators cared little what the university professors thought about their translations; they wanted common men and women—farmers, sailors, shopkeepers, and craftspeople—to read their translations and think about and incorporate into their beliefs the new ideas being introduced. The purpose was not to better represent European texts but to change the receiving culture, to alter the way people think about politics, liberty, individual freedom, and their relationship to the absent monarchy. (Gentzler, 2017: 2)

My idea of interventional translation relates to these practices, characterized by the prominence of content and the willingness to make such content accessible in another context under the consideration that it can somehow interpellate the target audience and provide them with tools (theoretical, analytical, or practical) to address issues in their own context.

It could be argued that such interventional initiatives of translation may have weaker force when there is an asymmetrical relation in which the target context occupies a more central position in terms of intellectual influence over the source context. But there are cases that run against that hypothesis. For instance, despite the US hypercentral position in cultural production and its proverbially scarce reception of non-Anglophone authors, there are some remarkable exceptions that speak of the

possibility of translocal intellectual engagement even when the distribution of power and cultural/intellectual influence is so imbalanced. In this respect, a most remarkable case is the introduction and reception of the works of French post-structuralist thinkers between the 1990s and 2000s. According to Cusset (2005)'s analysis of this phenomenon, this exceptionally substantial and enduring case of translocal intellectual fertilization is narrowly connected to the socio-intellectual conditions of the North American academic context and its demands during that period, offering a fertile ground in which the propositions of Foucault, Derrida, or Baudrillard, among others, interpellated the concerns of a considerable range of North American scholars and intellectuals at that moment. The other way round, the hypercentrality of US cultural production doesn't always guarantee an easy arrival for its cultural producers in other contexts.[19]

An interventional mode of translation attends to the textual dimension and linguistic means. In my study of Wang Hui's case, I will point to some textual mechanisms such as the selection of specific texts—instead of others—to be translated because they are found to be more related to the discussions and concerns in the target context; or the choice of specific renditions of key concepts to make certain ideas interpellate more directly the contexts where the text is to be introduced.

Notwithstanding this, as I mentioned before, for a translation to be interventional in the above-mentioned sense, it cannot linger in a mere linguistic transfer of the text. The imbalance in the global division of intellectual labor means that when a text from a "less dominant" context is translated and introduced into a "dominant" context, it may encounter resistance, especially if the text aims at challenging and dislocating the paradigms of the receiving context. Tymoczko considers that

> [t]o alter paradigms—or even to present alternatives to paradigms—particularly paradigms of a dominant culture, it is not sufficient, then, for a translator to represent or encode an alternative [...]. It may be necessary for the alternate paradigm itself to be made explicit or presented as an alternative as part of the discourse of change. Both language and metalanguage may need to be spoken. (Tymoczko, 1999: 283).

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[19] See, for instance, Pudal (2012) for an analysis of the difficulties faced by pragmatist philosophical works imported to France.

As part of that metalanguage, Tymoczko singles out the use of paratextual materials such as introductions and notes (Tymoczko, 1999: 283). Paratextual elements (both peri- and epitextual) are optimal tools for interventional translations, as they offer a space for the repositioning of the text and the propositions it contains within the reception context, making explicit the connections between those propositions and the debates into which it is intended to intervene. This use of peritextual elements is also one of the aspects I will analyze.

Last but not least, interventional translation is also attentive to the sociological mechanisms that allow an author and a text to be socially and intellectually embedded in the intellectual and scholarly field of another context. This is the dimension where different social agencies or interpersonal affinities may be at work and enable the insertion of a translated work and author into the new context.[20]

The case of the translation and circulation of works of contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences in European and North American contexts that I will analyze in the coming chapters provides evidence of the importance of conditions in the target context for the reception of the work. The cases of Wang Hui's translation and circulation in Anglophone and Italophone contexts show how the social and intellectual embeddedness of an author and his work can favor his/her translocal circulation and legitimation. It also shows how this socio-intellectual embeddedness can counter to a non-negligible extent the asymmetries in the translation and circulation of ideas.

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[20] It is this social dimension that makes interventional translation more specific with regard to Nord's instrumental translation. Nord's notion, with its functional approach, focuses on the textual aspects of the translation, whereas the interventional mode of translation also attends to extra-textual aspects of the translation and circulation of the text in the target context.

3

The Translation of Chinese Humanities and Social Sciences (1989–2018)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter offers an overview of the works of contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences translated into English between the years 1989 to 2018. It will identify the main intellectual, social, and political dynamics that have been driving the translation and circulation of works in those fields within the aforementioned period. It must be noted that this overview is not intended as a definite, exhaustive account of the translation and circulation of Chinese intellectual productions in the humanities and social sciences, an analysis that would probably require a specific thesis-length research in itself. Instead, it is intended as an account of the broader conditions and dynamics for the translation and circulation of contemporary Chinese thought. Moreover, it is against this wider backdrop that Wang Hui appears as the most translated mainland-based contemporary Chinese thinker. It is therefore an exceptional case worthy of closer attention in order to understand which factors and dynamics can help to explain this phenomenon.

This account is based on our database of translations into English of Chinese works in the fields of humanities and social sciences published in the period 1989–2018. In this database, I have been able to identify a total of 195 translated works published between 1989 and 2018. The complete list of these publications is consigned in Appendix 1.

A graphic representation of the number of translated titles published per year (Figure 3.1) shows that published translations of Chinese works of humanities and social sciences into English remained in modest numbers well into the 2000s. For the period 1989–2009, the total number of publications was 50, with an average of 2.38 titles per year. However, as we get into the 2010s, the number of translations increases significantly, with a very important growth toward the end of that decade. Thus, the total number of published titles within the period 2010–2018 is 145, with an average of 16.11 titles per year. And if we zoom in on the publications in the years between 2015 and 2018, the average further increases to 24.75 titles per year (99 titles in total).

Figure 3.1: Number of volumes of Chinese works in the humanities and social sciences translated into English and published by European and North American publishers (1989–2018).
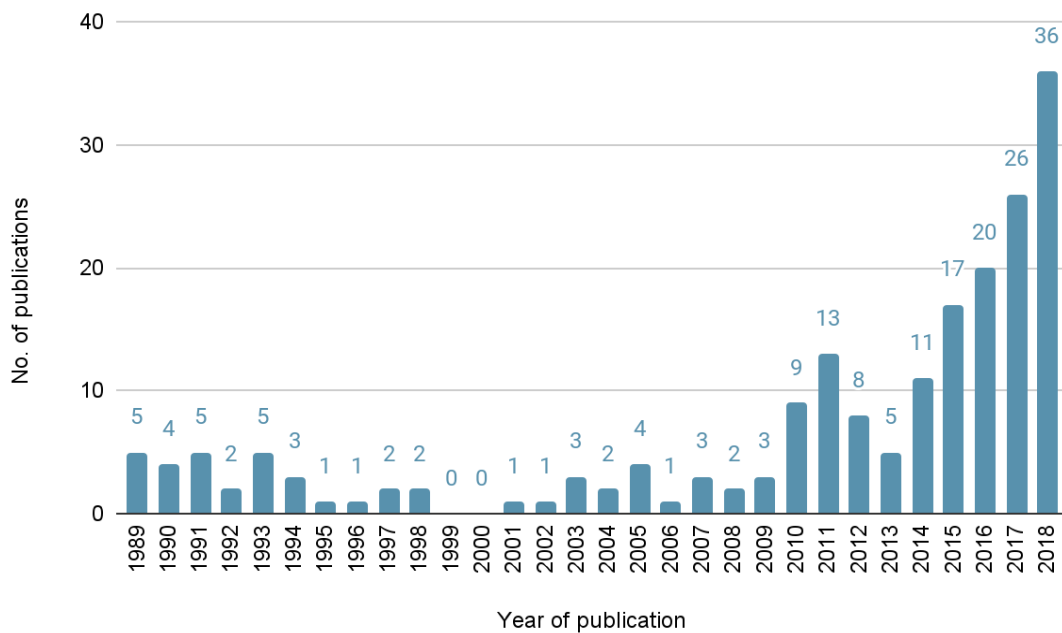
A closer look at the nature of these publications and their paratextual material, together with a consideration about the different social, economic, and (geo)political contexts of those years, makes it possible to distinguish the various dynamics driving the translation and publishing of titles at different periods. It is important to underscore that, though the emergence of such clusters follows a consecutive order in time, this does not imply that the prevailing discourse and dynamics in one cluster are fully replaced by the following one. Instead, they can accumulate and overlap. Thus, I have been able to identify three main clusters of translations corresponding to specific dynamics:

(1) The titles published in the early 1990s are marked by two main topics. On the one hand, we observe a set of titles related to the 1989 Tian'anmen movement and its harsh suppression by the authorities, revolving around the authoritarian nature of the Chinese state against an alleged push for democratization. This is visible in the selection and translation of authors who were related to the events leading to the Tian'anmen incidents or who took part in them, and who appear characterized at different degrees as "dissidents". On the other hand, yet related to the first topic, I identify a considerable number of titles dealing with socio-economic issues. As we shall see, many of these titles bear the influx of "modernization theory", which experienced a comeback in the early 1990s after the closure of the Cold War and which brought along a set of prescriptive assumptions about the economic, social, and political path of development to be followed by countries such as China in their alleged escape from an autocratic system.

(2) In the early 2000s, China's increasing engagement with the global economy, epitomized by its adhesion to the WTO in 2001, and its rising profile in international politics inspired a certain urgency to understand the country in a more complex way beyond the limitations of the modernization paradigm, and on its own terms. The publication of general surveys of China's intellectual field can be seen as a way to account for the internal social, political and cultural developments of China. A few anthologies and collections of essays by Chinese intellectuals published in this period present a repository of names and texts as a way to make up for a perceived lack of knowledge, in a succinct and introductory fashion. These overviews of China's intellectual and academic scene open the gate for a more meaningful engagement with certain authors through this decade and in the following years.

(3) In the 2010s, we witness an unprecedented change in both quantitative and qualitative terms. As I mentioned before, the number of published titles experienced a considerable increase. Moreover, while most of the translation initiatives hitherto emanated from publishers and editors in the target contexts, we observe a growing number of translations and publications that, in different ways, respond to initiatives

emanating from China itself, in many cases even with the financial support of PRC institutions and in cooperation with well-established European and North American publishing houses. These publications are part of broader initiatives seeking to raise the international projection of China's cultural production, as well as to seek ideological legitimation abroad. They point to the consolidated status of China as a geopolitical agent whose newly acquired economic power provides the economic and political capital to fuel this kind of initiatives. In qualitative terms this means a diversification of authors and topics, and also the publication of titles that don't respond to the dynamics and interests of the target context, but rather to China's domestic and international agendas, and its own interests in promoting certain topics.

In the next sections, I will delve in more detail into these three clusters of works. In analyzing the dynamics of translation of these works, I will show the key role that the social, (geo)political and intellectual dynamics of the target contexts—and more recently also in the source context—play in translation initiatives, both in the selection and re-contextualization of the translated works. Besides, I will analyze the recent changes in the dynamics of translation with regard to China's production in the humanities and social sciences, related to China's increasing geopolitical status. I will attend to quantitative terms (the increasing number of Chinese works available in European languages) and qualitative terms (the discourses surrounding Chinese cultural productions and their position vis-à-vis Euro-American production). Thus, I will show how geopolitics also plays an important role in the translation and translocal circulation of cultural and intellectual products.

3.2. Political Dissent and the Modernization Paradigm in the Early 1990s

The list of translations published in the early years of the 1990s reveals a considerable number of publications that relate in different ways to the Tian'anmen protests of Spring 1989 and its subsequent suppression by the authorities. This event left an enduring mark in the European and North American perceptions of China at the end of the twentieth century, causing an increased Euro-American interest in China's socio-political

predicaments, leading some commentators to state that "[t]he struggle for democracy in China is in fashion" (Owen, 1990: 29). This increased interest was noticeable in the publication throughout those years of several examples of China's cultural and intellectual production in the form of literature (narrative or poetry) and nonfiction. The violent suppression of the Tian'anmen protests put political repression in the forefront of European and North American attention about China, adding up to the imaginary of "China as dystopia" (Lee Tong King 2015). This imaginary is reflected in the European and North American publishers' long-sustained preference for Chinese works that bear the marks of political controversy or censorship (Lovell, 2006: 32–34; Marín-Lacarta, 2018: 316; Bruno, 2012: 264–269; Edwards, 2013: 272–275). Thus, in what may concern the European and North American perceptions of China's intellectual field and its thinkers, the post-Mao Chinese public sphere appeared abruptly as an "aborted" public sphere. Vukovich points out that this ulterior reading of the Chinese context "denies agency to Chinese people, who are seen as not just controlled but dominated by the despotic, totalitarian, and pre-modern state," which adds up to the culturalist claims about an alleged atavistic lack of space for rational and critical discourse in China (2012: 34). Besides, as we shall see later on, the Tian'anmen protests as a political trope cannot be separated from the overarching metadiscourse of "modernization" that made a comeback in the final years of the Cold War. The crisis of the Soviet Union and its later demise in the early 1990s appeared to many as evidence of the inherent weakness of socialist alternatives and of the inevitable victory of the US-led liberal order. All these aspects determined the kind of titles that got to be translated and published in English at the time and the attack on socialist alternatives and autocratic rule permeated these works and their reception, as we shall see next.

If we look at the period between 1989 and 1995, of the total of 27 titles I have identified as published within that period, we observe that 8 titles (29.63 percent) are directly related to the Tian'anmen protests and/or their protagonists, some of whom were subsequently forced into exile. All of these titles were published within the 3 years following the protests (1989–1991), a period for which these titles make up 53.33 percent of the total.

One of the first published Chinese authors I have identified is Liu Binyan (刘宾雁, 1925–2005). Liu was a leading journalist in the official newspaper *Renmin Ribao*

(People's Daily), where he became famous for his articles denouncing cases of injustice and exposing corruption. A member of the CPC, he was expelled twice in 1957 and then 1987. That same year, he left China for the US, where he became a professor at Harvard and Princeton. Liu's writings had already appeared in English as early as in 1983 (Liu Binyan, 1983). In the very year 1989 he published another compilation of his writings with a title that directly linked the book to the recent events in China: *"Tell the World": What Happened in China and Why* (Liu Binyan, 1989). Another volume appeared the following year with the title *China's Crisis, China's Hope* (Liu Binyan, 1990). If we consider the blurb of the later volume, we see at work the aforementioned tension between authoritarianism and democratization that were running high at the time:

> The principal force in awakening the people and setting them on the road to struggle, Liu Binyan argues, has been the repeated mistakes of the Chinese Communist Party and the outrageous bureaucratic corruption it has allowed to flourish. Even as he describes the runaway inflation that inflicts unfathomable hardship on all but the elite party officials, the increasing isolation and hypocrisy of the Communist leadership, or the political persecution of intellectuals and the press, Liu's message is one of hope. This book—written in one man's eloquent voice—is testimony to his belief that the need for democratic reform has taken root among the Chinese people and that they will ultimately take steps to transform their nation. (Blurb of Liu Binyan, 1990)

A look at the reviews of these works also show the discourses within which they were received. A review of Liu's later book published in the journal *Foreign Affairs* signals a similar wishful thinking about the imminent democratization of China when it underscores that "[t]he authors predict that increasing social crises and popular opposition will enable the more moderate forces within the party to replace the hardliners in the government" (Zagoria, 1990). Similarly, a double review by Gregor Benton about Liu's two aforementioned books at *The China Quarterly* (1991) starts by underscoring Liu's background as a dissenting voice within the CCP, then engages in a comparison of Liu's views on the prospect of democracy in China with the views of Fang Lizhi (方励之, 1936–2012), another prominent Chinese intellectual recently exiled at the time. Though he lowers the expectations about imminent democratization, the inevitability of such an outcome is still asserted:

> For Fang Lizhi, the prospects for change in China are now grim: democracy will take at least 20 to 30 years to be achieved. Liu Binyan's perspective on the other hand, is far more optimistic and short-term. And whereas Fang looks for change to the elite, Liu sees it brewing among the workers and peasants, whom he knows well from his long years of banishment to the villages; he predicts that a "genuine popular force" will emerge soon from China's discontents. (Benton, 1991)

Fang Lizhi is precisely another Chinese author with a notable presence in our database for that period. Fang was an internationally recognized astrophysicist who became an outspoken social critic in the late 1980s calling bluntly for liberal political reform. Like Liu Binyan, Fang was also expelled from the CCP at different points in the 1950s and 1980s. As a notable figure in the intellectual and activist agitation leading up to the 1989 protests, Fang and his family had to seek political asylum in the US after the suppression of the protests. In 1990 Fang published in the US *Bringing Down the Great Wall: Writings on Science, Culture, and Democracy in China*. This book is a collection of essays, interviews and speeches written from 1979 to 1990. The volume is preceded by a lengthy introduction by the China scholar Orville Schell. In his introduction, Schell delineates the scientific and intellectual profile of Fang, highlighting his long standing criticism of power dating back to the Hundred Flowers Movement in 1957. In the introduction to one of the sections, the editor of the volume, James H. Williams, compares Fang with Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov and Václav Havel (Fang Lizhi, 1990: 88), ascribing him to the pantheon of counter-communist figures of the time.[21] The reviews of the book also tended to highlight Fang's dissident profile and his political misadventures in the People's Republic. For instance, Jonathan D. Spence, a well-known China historian, wrote an editorial for *The New York Times* eloquently titled "A Man of Unspeakable Truths," in which he states:

> Fang Lizhi is now one of China's best-known dissidents. He was accused by the Chinese Government of being one of the ringleaders of the huge spring 1989 demonstrations in

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[21] Similarly, the French edition of the book, *Abattre la Grande Muraille: Science, culture et démocratie en Chine*, published by Albin Michel in 1993, carried a band that characterized Fang as "Le Sakharov chinois" (The Chinese Sakharov), in reference to the famous Soviet nuclear physicist and political dissident.

Tiananmen Square; and, after the mass slaughter of civilians in Beijing on June 4 by the People's Liberation Army, he and his wife sought shelter in the United States Embassy. (Spence, 1991)

His profile as a dissident is accompanied, in this case, by a clear anti-communist stance. In one of his most famous speeches, pronounced at Shanghai Tongji University, translated and included in this collection, he states:

> [...] socialism is in trouble everywhere. Since the end of World War II, socialist countries have by and large not been successful. [...] And the socialist system in China over the last thirty-odd years has been exactly that, a failure. This is the reality we face. No one says it, or at least not outright, but in terms of its actual accomplishments, orthodox socialism from Marx and Lenin to Stalin and Mao Zedong has been a failure. (Fang Lizhi, 1990: 159–160)

Fang's propositions were totally attuned to the spirit of the moment in the Anglophone world and gave an "insider" perspective that supported the premises of modernization theory, that is, that the adoption of Anglo-American political models was the only way forward for China. Fang was very eloquent about his programmatic preferences for China's development, and about his hierarchical, evolutionary vision of cultural development:

> I personally agree with the 'complete Westernizers.' What their so-called 'complete Westernization' means to me is complete openness, the removal of restrictions in every sphere. We need to acknowledge that when looked at in its entirety, our culture lags far behind that of the world's most advanced societies, not in any one specific aspect but across the board. (Fang Lizhi, 1990: 158)

Another publication in a similar vein was *Yan Jiaqi and China's Struggle for Democracy*, a collection of essays by and interviews with Yan Jiaqi (严家其, b. 1942), a political scientist well known in China for publishing, together with his wife Gao Gao, a controversial history of the Cultural Revolution, which would also be translated and published in English a few years later (Yan Jiaqi & Gao Gao, 1996). Having worked

mainly within the system, he became increasingly critical of officialdom and went into exile in 1989. Abroad, he became the first president of a new Front for a Democratic China. In the introduction to the book, the editors juxtapose Yan to other dissident figures already known to English readers; in doing so, they also offer insight into the extent to which Chinese dissidents had become a publishing phenomenon at the time:

> Yan Jiaqi is less well known to Westerners than are such dissident/opposition figures as Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan, and Su Shaozhi. Partly this is because Fang, Liu, and Su were forced to become outsiders earlier than was Yan. Partly this is because the latter figures have had more of their work translated into English. Fang Lizhi's blunt outspokenness captured the interest of foreign reporters and academics. The literary quality and poignancy of the works of Liu Binyan and Wang Ruoshui, another prominent dissident, which forced readers in China and the West alike to confront the nature of communist rule on several levels, attracted much attention. Even Su Shaozhi, whose role in the political system and the reform process most nearly resembles Yan Jiaqi's, was much better known than Yan because of Su's ambitious attempt to redefine Marxism (reformist Marxism with Chinese characteristics) in order to provide the basis for reform in China. (Bachman & Yang, in Yan Jiaqi, 1991: xiii–xiv)

As previously stated, attitudes toward the Tian'anmen protests and its outcomes cannot be separated from the most pervading social, political, and economic discourse at the time: the reappraisal of Modernization theory and its fundamental tenets about democracy and free market as the only viable model of social development. The geopolitical shifts of these years gave way to an open triumphalism for modernization theory or "globalization", a new avatar that became increasingly popular through the 1990s. As Gilman points out, "during the first world economic boom of the late 1990s, there were many who discussed globalization breathlessly as the triumph of the market and democratization, with capitalism delivering all things to all people as efficiently as possible" (Gilman, 2007: 260). This triumphalism found its most eloquent epitome in Fukuyama's "end of history" thesis (1992) in which modernization theory's claim to inexorability acquired the demeanor of a new theology.

Since the late 1970s, China had embarked in a program of economic reform that seemed to point in that direction too. The Tian'anmen protests and its suppression

marked a hiatus, but the orientation toward economic reform was reinforced shortly after in 1992 with Deng Xiaoping's famous southern tour. For Lucien Pye, one of the main observers of China's state of affairs at the time, a "great transformation" was happening worldwide and he held that "developments as economic growth, the spread of science and technology, the acceleration and spread of communications, and the establishment of educational systems would all contribute to political change" to an even greater extent than predicted by modernization theory in the 1950s and 1960s (Pye, 1990: 7). Economic issues were one of the main focus and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that an important number of the books translated from the Chinese at this period were related to China's (political) economy: *An Economic History of China*, by Zhou Jinsheng (1989); *The Asiatic Mode of Production*, a collection of translated essays edited by Timothy Brook (1989); *New Labour theory of Value: The Basic Theory of Economics and Guide to the Development of Human Society*, by Zhao Ziyuan (1991); *The Poverty of Plenty*, by Wang Xiaoqiang and Bai Nanfeng (1991); *An Economic History of the Major Capitalist Countries: A Chinese View*, by Kang Fan et al. (1992); *A Monetary History of China*, by Peng Xinwei (1993); *Marxism and Reform in China*, by Su Shaozhi (1993); *Reform and Development in Rural China*, by Du Runsheng (1995); or *The Principles of Desirable Society*, by Wu Jingfu (1998).[22] In total, of the 30 publications identified between 1989 and 1999, nine (30 percent) deal with economic issues.

After the tragic events in Tian'anmen it was inevitable to feel a certain skepticism about the outcome of such reform movements in authoritarian contexts, which led Pye to argue that "our understanding of the likely outcome of the various crises of authoritarianism calls for a breakthrough in theory building so that we can better understand the problems of the interrelationship of the universal world culture and the particularistic national cultures" (1990: 12–13). This questioning of the previous understandings of modernization and democratization paradigms and the reassessment of cultural factors involved is visible in Goodman's review of Yan Jiaqi's previously mentioned book, in which he refers to Yan as "[o]ne of the few Chinese voices who has been prepared to argue for a radically different politics based on openness and accountability throughout the 1980" (Goodman, 1991: 852). However, he warns:

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[22] See Appendix 1 for full references.

> [...] this is still not to suggest that Yan has embraced western [sic] ideas of democracy. On the contrary, his interpretation of that concept owes perhaps more to a Chinese emphasis on social harmony and he appears to have little understanding of democracy as process, and particularly of conflict resolution. (Ibid.)

Another focus of inquiry in this period was the question of whether development was determined by culture/cultural factors, though the understanding of these factors tended to be less stiff and less essentialist than in previous decades. Towards the 1970s, a more empirical approach began to erode the paradigm of "national character" that was hitherto common in comparative social sciences to explain diverging development paths in different areas of the world. Some scholars (e.g., Almond, 1994: vii–viii) began to accuse that paradigm of a propensity to psychological reductionism. Notwithstanding these nuanced approaches, the alleged influence of cultural differences in shaping paths of development in Asia in general and in China in particular was still reappraised by a number of scholars in the late 1980s and the 1990s. Scholars such as Pye (1985) reverted Weber's famous thesis about Confucianism, seeing the patterns of China's "Confucian" tradition as a productive force conducive to distinct forms of modernization in East Asia, what would be later conceptualized as "Confucian modernity".

Some of the Chinese works translated at the time were related to this focus on the cultural foundations of social development. One of the most important translations of this period was *From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society* (1992), a translation of Fei Xiaotong (费孝通, 1910–2005)'s classical *Xiangtu Zhongguo* (乡土中国) [Rural China]. Fei is widely regarded as the father of modern Chinese sociology, and this work, originally written in 1947, retained a considerable influence within China's sociologists. In their foreword, the editors and translators of the book clarify their motivations for publishing it, linking their translation initiative to their own research interests and, more broadly, to the ongoing debates in Chinese Studies at the time. They consider that the book

> may be even better suited to today's climate of opinion than to the earlier one [when the book was originally published], because Fei addresses the structural foundations of social

pluralism and cultural diversity. By describing the fundamental differences between Chinese and Western societies, Fei helps us to understand the distinctiveness of Chinese society and to look at Western modernity in a new way.

We decided to translate this book because we were engaged in a similar pursuit. We, too, were contrasting China and the West in order to understand the distinctiveness of Chinese society. (Hamilton & Wang, 1992a: vii)

Further on, in their introduction, the translators also point out that "Fei's sociology of Chinese society runs directly counter to a Chinese Marxist interpretation of Chinese society. It offers a very different view of the society and recommends a very different course of action for facing China's economic and social problems" (Hamilton & Wang, 1992b: 4).

They are referring, precisely, to another trope of comparative social and political sciences that became the object of increased reassessment at the time: the "Asiatic mode of production" (AMP) famously commented upon by Marx, as well as the discussion around "oriental despotism" which had become a recurrent focus of discussion for Marxist scholars such as Wittfogel (1957). Earlier modernization scholars saw in the AMP and "oriental despotism" a structural feature that could offer explanations about contemporary authoritarian rule in Asia. However, scholars in the 1970s were increasingly wary of the AMP as an explanatory tool for modern social, economic, and political developments in the region.[23] As a contribution to this discussion, Timothy Brook published in 1989 the volume *The Asiatic Mode of Production in China*, a collection of translated essays by Chinese scholars. Brook intended this volume as an intervention upon the AMP debate: "[t]he Chinese voices in the debate on the AMP have largely gone unheard in the West, although some of the writings of their Soviet and European counterparts have been made available in English. Since China is one of the candidates for "Asiatic" society, it behooves us to bring Chinese perspectives on the AMP into the debate" (Brook, 1989: 3).

The issue of cultural factors weighting on China's modernization was also clear in another translation published at the time which presented a harsh indictment upon Chinese culture for allegedly inhibiting China's modernization: *Deathsong of the River:*

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[23] For a discussion of these controversies, see Jones (2001: 168–169).

A Reader's Guide to the Chinese TV Series Heshang, by Su Xiaokang and Wang Luxiang. Published in 1991 mainly as a teaching reference material for university-level Chinese culture courses, this volume includes the script of the famous Chinese TV series *Heshang* (河殇) [River Elegy]. This series was broadcasted on China Central Television in June 1988. Its script, authored by Su Xiaokang (苏晓康, b. 1949) and Wang Luxiang (王鲁湘, b. 1956), together with several notable intellectuals of the time, was a harsh indictment upon Chinese traditional culture. In line with the culturalist and Weberian visions about China's historical development that ran amok in the Chinese mainland in the 1980s, the documentary addressed the problem of modernization and China's alleged incapacity to attain that goal. According to its authors, China's delay in the path of modernization was due to the weight of Chinese traditional civilization, inward-looking and self-centered, in contrast to a supposedly open, outward-looking "Western" civilization. The broadcast sparked an intense debate and catalyzed the ongoing discussions about reform and modernization. Following the spirit of the moment, the blurb of the English translation of the script doesn't miss the chance to link the documentary explicitly with the 1989 events: "[p]erhaps the most daring TV documentary series ever produced in mainland China, which directly affected the thinking of Chinese youth on the eve of the 1989 democracy movement" (Su Xiaokang & Wang Luxiang, 1991).

As I have shown, the English translations of Chinese intellectual productions in the late 1980s and well into the 1990s are charged with titles that respond mainly to the pool of interests and discussions about China in Anglophone contexts, with the issue of Modernization as the overarching metadiscourse. Notwithstanding the booming interest in China's society and history in these years, it is paradoxical that the number of works authored by contemporary Chinese scholars translated during the late 1980s and early 1990s was so scarce in comparison to published research on China authored by European and North American scholars. It can only hypothesize here that such a situation could be due to the lack of access to source texts and the insufficient socio-intellectual networks between Chinese and foreign scholars in those years, though this hypothesis would require a more specific inquiry.

3.3. Making up for the delay in the 2000s

Starting in the early 2000s, as China's rising status in the global arena was becoming clearer, the scarcity of knowledge about the new rising power in Europe and North America became blatant. After decades of mainstream indifference, the new powerhouse of the world economy seemed to have emerged out of the blue. From policy makers to the general public, China became the object of a wide interest so as to trace the genealogy of such astonishing historical trajectory. In this juncture, knowledge about Chinese intellectual discourse was also in demand as a way to discern the ideological foundations of the new power and to decipher its goals and future trajectory. Since the early 2000s, a number of agents and institutions began to make up for such a delay. These initiatives were especially related to the fields of social and political sciences, but also more broadly in the humanities.

Among the earliest titles published between 2000 and 2010 I have identified edited collections of essays by Chinese intellectuals in translation; *Voicing Concerns: Contemporary Chinese Critical Inquiry*, edited by Gloria Davies (2001), and *One China, Many Paths*, edited by Wang Chaohua (2003). As Chan suggests, translation anthologies and collections, that is, compilations of translated texts arranged according to more or less concrete criteria, are especially convenient when there is a need to introduce several authors in a short period of time to provide an informative picture in order to fill a knowledge void in the reception context. Moreover, anthologization as a method of introduction of a whole cultural field constitutes in itself a symptom of the marginality of the cultural field being anthologized (Chan, 2015: 47). Seruya et al. have underscored the production of anthologies and collections as relevant practices for "the creation, development and circulation of national and international canons, and the process of canonization of texts, authors, genres, disciplines and sometimes even concepts" (2013: 4). Moreover, they detected that anthologizing as a publishing practice was especially common in the 1990s and 2000s (2). Indeed, the anthologies edited by Davies and Wang offered some of the earliest overviews of the intellectual field in contemporary China. Both collections act as "survey anthologies" intended to serve as "representative repositories" (Seruya et al., 2013: 5) of Chinese authors and intellectual trends. In that sense, as translation initiatives, Davies' and Wang's anthologies show a

clear documentary approach visible in the editors' lengthy introductions to their respective volumes (plus an extra chapter in the case of Davies's volume). That is, the editors present the contents of their volumes as a panoramic view on mainland China's intellectual scene and as contextual information about the particular intellectual debates in China regarding China's own development and its recent intellectual history.

Davies, a scholar based at Monash University's Faculty of Arts (Australia), specializes in Chinese modern and contemporary intellectual and literary history, edited her volume with a prominent interest in presenting the "differences between Chinese and Western modes of critical inquiry" (2001: 2), in the sense that Chinese intellectuals would be characterized by producing knowledge with an immediate social relevance that provides solutions to China's problems and by their positivistic usage of terms, unlike the more "self-reflexive problematizing of language and thought" (4) and the "existentialist or ontological tenor" (7) that she ascribes to knowledge production in the Anglophone context. In her peritexts, Davies contextualizes the intellectual field in China in the late 1980s and 1990s, and pays attention to the linguistic and discursive features in the writing of contemporary Chinese thinkers. Among the eleven essays included in the volume, seven correspond to translations of essays originally written by Chinese mainland-based thinkers (ten of them translated by Davies herself, and one conversation among four Chinese intellectuals translated by Geremie Barmé). The function of this collection as a documentary survey of the contemporary intellectual field in China is also clear from the selection of essays translated, all of them dealing with problems related to China's intellectual history, the conditions of Chinese intelligentsia in the face of Western intellectual production, and China's modern history.

Table 3.1: Translated essays included in *Voicing Concerns* (Davies, 2001).

Author(s)	Title	Translator
LIU Qingfeng	The Topography of Intellectual Culture in 1990s Mainland China: A Survey	Gloria Davies
LIU Dong	Revisiting the Perils of "Designer Pidgin Scholarship"	Gloria Davies, Li Kaiyu
YUE Daiyun	On Western Literary Theory in China	Gloria Davies
TANG Yijie	Some Reflections on New Confucianism in Mainland Chinese Culture of the 1990s	Gloria Davies

WANG Hui	On Scientism and Social Theory in Modern Chinese Thought	Gloria Davies
JIN Guantao	Interpreting Modern Chinese History through the Theory of Ultrastable Systems	Gloria Davies
XU Jilin, LIU Qing, LUO Gang, XUE Yi	In Search of a "Third Way": A Conversation Regarding "Liberalism" and the "New Left Wing"	Geremie R. Barmé

In her peritexts, Davies linguistic and rhetorical focus keeps her away from making overall demarcations of the Chinese intellectual field into intellectual or ideological trends and interests, a feature that some reviewers of the volume considered as producing "a sense of incoherence" and a lack of editorial clarity with regard to the politics that underpin the selection (Karl, 2003: 184). Indeed, as also noted by the same reviewer, Davies's anthology is explicitly conceived in contrast to other contemporary anthologizing initiatives (e.g., Xudong Zhang's special issue for *Social Text* in 1998), which Davies considers to produce a forced alignment between Chinese intellectual debates and the "now well-developed theoretical concerns of Western thought in its contemporary postmodern moment" (Davies, 2001: 2). Notwithstanding this, the final "discussion" does explicitly address the main intellectual divide in the 1990s between "liberalism" and the "new left Wing", and I find essays by authors who can be ascribed to the rising nativistic trends at the time, as noted by another reviewer (Dirlik, 2002: 514). However, apart from the mentioned "conversation" chapter, the distinction between "liberalism", "new left", and the nativist "New Confucianism" that has become the canonical structure of the Chinese intellectual field in the late 1990s and 2000s is not explicitly developed in this volume.

In the case of Wang Chaohua's anthology, though, the editor's politics of selection are prominently manifest. Wang devotes the whole final section of her "Introduction" to explaining her criteria for the inclusion of the authors, and points to the "liberal vs. new left" divide as the range upon which the included thinkers are positioned with numerical balance—five in the new left, five in the liberal ranks, and three non-aligned (Wang Chaohua, 2003: 40). Also unlike Davies's collection, the essays included by Wang, while not ignoring the intricacies of intellectual life and production in China, deal most prominently with social, economic, and political issues.

Table 3.2: Translated essays included in *One China, Many Paths* (Wang Chaohua, 2008).

Author(s)	Title	Translator
PART I		
WANG Hui	The New Criticism	NM
ZHU Xueqin	For a Chinese Liberalism	Shengqing Wu
CHEN Pingyuan	Scholarship, Ideas, Politics	NM
QIN Hui	Dividing the Big Family Assets	Yao Peng
PART II		
HE Qinglian	A Listing Social Structure	NM
WANG Yi	From Status to Contract?	NM
LI Changping	The Crisis in the Countryside	NM
HU Angang	Equity and Efficiency	NM
PART III		
XIAO Xuehui	Industrializing Education?	NM
WANG Anyi	Tales of Gender	Gao Jin
GAN Yang	The Citizen and the Constitution	NM
WANG Xiaoming	A Manifesto for Cultural Studies	Robin Visser
QIAN Liqun	Refusing to Forget	Eileen Cheng
PART IV		
WANG Dan, LI Minqi, WANG Chaohua	A Dialogue on the Future of China	Xiaoping Cong, Joel Andreas, Li Minqi, Wang Chaohua

The social, economic, and political concern of many of the essays included can be linked to the fact that this initiative was published by Verso, the imprint of *New Left Review*. In fact, some of the essays are longer versions of articles that had previously appeared on the pages of the *NLR*. Notwithstanding these ideological premises, Wang's book is not exclusively consecrated to kindred Chinese left-wing thinkers. For Wang, the aim of her book was "to give English-speaking readers a sense of how many original and forceful minds now find expression in China" (Wang Chaohua, 2003: 40).

Besides these two volumes, the late 1990s and early 2000s saw the publication of collections of translated essays by Chinese intellectuals in other formats, such as the aforementioned special issue on "Intellectual Politics in Post-Tiananmen China" edited by Xudong Zhang for the influential journal *Social Text* in 1998, a collection which was expanded and re-edited as a volume in 2001 with the title *Whither China?*, also edited by Xudong Zhang, or "China Reflected", a special of *Asian Exchange*, the outlet of the Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives (ARENA) based in Hong Kong, edited by Lau Kin Chi and Huang Ping in 2003, which was later published as a book in French and Spanish translation.[24] For the object of research that concerns this thesis, it is interesting to observe which authors were featured in all these anthologies of contemporary Chinese thought:

Table 3.3: Authors featured in translation anthologies of contemporary Chinese thought.

	Bai Nansheng	Chen Pingyuan	Chen Xin	Cui Zhiyuan	Dai Jinhua	Feng Tongqing	Gan Yang	He Qinglian	Hu Angang	Huang Ping	Jin Guantao	Li Changping	Li Minqi	Liu Dong	Liu Qing	Liu Qingfeng	Luo Gang	Qian Liqun	Qin Hui	Tang Yijie	Wang Anyi	Wang Dan	Wang Hui	Wang Shaoguang	Wang Xiaoming	Wang Yi	Wen Tiejun	Xiao Xuehui	Xu Jilin	Xue Yi	Ye Xiaoqing	Yue Daiyun	Zhu Xueqin
Zhang (1998)				■			■																■										
Lau Kin Chi (1998)	■		■		■					■																	■						
Davies (2001)											■			■		■			■				■						■	■	■	■	■
Zhang (2001)*				■			■																■	■									
Wang (2003)		■					■	■					■	■				■	■			■	■		■	■	■		■				■

*Expanded re-edition of Zhang 1998.

As it can be observed from the above table, Wang Hui was the only Chinese thinker to be included in all of these publishing initiatives, with obvious implications in terms of visibility and notoriety, followed by Gan Yang with three features including Wang Chaohua's volume besides Zhang's two volumes.

The increasing interest about China's rise and the intellectual foundations of its development in the 2000s was also visible in publications edited or authored by European and North American scholars and journalists and addressed to a wider audience beyond the academic field of Chinese or Asian Studies. Two prominent examples are Mark Leonard's *What Does China Think?* (2008), and Martin Jacques'

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[24] My database has only collected publications in the form of book volumes. For this reason, I have not included other translation initiatives that were published in different outlets. However, I will refer to them in more detail in chapter 5 for my analysis of Wang Hui's Anglophone circulation.

When China Rules the World (2009), which obtained an editorial success that also accounts for the commodification of the "China Rise" as a topic in the publishing market of these years. But besides those second-hand accounts from the lenses of non-Chinese scholars, the increasing interaction with China made it necessary to access "insider" accounts of China's trajectory by Chinese authors and scholars. For this, translation came to the forefront as a necessary tool to make available in English the analyses and ideas of Chinese intellectuals and scholars about their country and its position in the international context. For instance, Leonard edited a follow up to his successful 2008 book with the title *China 3.0* (Leonard, 2012). Though his first volume claimed to be an account of China's intellectuals and their ideas about China and the world, this time the volume contained a collection of essays written by Chinese thinkers, scholars, and activists themselves translated into English. According to Leonard, the book's purpose is to

> get beyond the speculation about quarterly growth figures and who is up and down in the party hierarchy—and instead to shine some light on some of the big debates that are taking place within the Chinese intellectual, political, and economic elites about the future of China's growth model, its political system, and its foreign policy" (Leonard, 2012: 5).[25]

In knowledge fields such as Public Policy, Governance, and International Relations, China's global rise was a topic to be dealt with urgency, even more so in the midst of the global financial crisis of 2008, after which Chinas' imminent status as a global power became a widely acknowledged fact.[26] Consequently, a number of translation initiatives emanated from these fields in this period focusing on issues such as policy and governance, geopolitics, diplomacy and international relations. In this sense, it is

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[25] Some of the essays are explicitly credited as translations by Chang Yang and Zhang Hui, research assistant and an intern at ECFR, respectively. Both are credited in the "Acknowledgements" section (p. 7) but not in the cover of the publication, which only credits Leonard as the editor of the volume, and François Godement and Jonas Parello-Plesner as the authors of the afterword.

[26] For instance, in an interview for *The Guardian* published in May 2009, the then British foreign secretary David Miliband stated that "over the next few decades China would become one of the two 'powers that count', along with the US". The editor termed that statement as "the most direct acknowledgement to date from a senior minister, or arguably from any Western leader, of China's ascendant position in the global pecking order" (Borger, 2009). This assertion, which may sound as a bland truism read from today, shows to what extent China's global power status, even as late as in 2009, was not yet a *fait accompli* for Western policymakers .

noteworthy that many of these translation initiatives were supported by institutions and think tanks devoted to research and analysis on international politics, global governance, and policy design. For instance, Leonard, at the time of publication of his books, was a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), an international think tank promoting Europe's global role. Leonard's research and publications are inscribed within the ECFR's "China Programme." This program and its ensuing publications, such as *China 3.0,* are supported by private institutions with an interest in policy and diplomacy, such as the Robert Bosch Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and the Stiftung Mercator.[27]

Another noticeable case within this trend is the John L. Thornton China Center, ascribed to the Brookings Institution in Washington D.C. Toward the turn of the first decade of the twenty-first century, this institution launched a book collection under the title "Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series" offering the English translation of works by selected Chinese thinkers. The editor in charge for this series is Cheng Li, director of research at the John L. Thornton China Center, director of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and as a member of the Academic Advisory Team of the Congressional US–China Working Group, among other positions. Once again, the documentary approach of this book series (i.e., the series focus is the particular situation *in China*) is clear in the words of the editor, who considers these translations as a way to establish an observatory upon China's development for "Western" observers: "English-language studies of present-day China have not adequately informed a Western audience of the dynamism of the debates within China and the diversity of views concerning its own future" (Cheng Li, in Hu Angang, 2011: xvi). The collection was published by the Brookings Institution Press. Before launching this series, this institution was also responsible for the translation and editing of a collection of speeches by Zheng Bijian (郑必坚, b. 1932) (Zheng Bijian, 2005), the proponent of the

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[27] The Robert Bosch Foundation is a German charity whose main shareholder is the engineering multinational Bosch; it supports projects in the areas of health, education, and global issues such as inequality, migration, democracy, and climate change. The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung is a foundation affiliated to the Social Democratic Party of Germany; they claim social democratic values as the core of their work. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation is a private Portuguese charity founded by with projects in the areas of art, education, and science; until 2019, it was the single owner of the oil company Partex. The Stiftung Mercator is a German foundation, originally funded by a family of business owners, the Schmidt family; it works in the areas of peacekeeping and environmental protection. Based in Essen (Germany), it also has branches in Berlin, Istanbul, and Beijing.

idea of "China's peaceful rise" and one of the most notable and influential intellectuals under the Hu Jintao administration, which speaks of the preference of this institution for thinkers who are considered close to officialdom or whose ideas are likely to reach decision-making instances.

The Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series includes so far the titles *Democracy Is A Good Thing: Essays on Politics, Society, and Culture in Contemporary China*, by Yu Keping (2009), *China in 2020: A New Type of Superpower*, by Hu Angang (2011), *In the Name of Justice: Striving for the Rule of Law in China*, by He Weifang (2012), and *Social Ethics in a Changing China: Moral Decay or Ethical Awakening?*, by He Huaihong (2015).[28] The interests underlying this translation and publishing initiative are clearly stated in the series' presentation:

> The John L. Thornton China Center at Brookings develops timely, independent analysis and policy recommendations to help U.S. and Chinese leaders address key long-standing challenges, both in terms of Sino-U.S. relations and China's internal development. As part of this effort, the Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series aims to shed light on the ongoing scholarly and policy debates in China.
>
> China's momentous socioeconomic transformation has not taken place in an intellectual vacuum. Chinese scholars have actively engaged in fervent discussions about the country's future trajectory and its ever-growing integration with the world. This series introduces some of the most influential recent works by prominent thinkers from the People's Republic of China to English language readers. Each volume, translated from the original Chinese, contains writings by a leading scholar in a particular academic field (for example, political science, economics, law, or sociology). This series offers a much-needed intellectual forum promoting international dialogue on various issues that confront China and the world. (see "Series' Presentation" in Yu Keping, 2009: ii; Hu Angang, 2011: ii).

This policy-oriented approach is salient in the choice of authors and texts to be included in the collection. All of the selected authors were scholars working near official organs or at top-level institutions in mainland China (Peking University and Tsinghua University) in fields related to Governance, Public Policy and Law, and in some cases

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[28] See Appendix 1 for full references.

had close contact as advisors to policymakers and even top level officials. Moreover, they are all conversant with the ideas of the European and North American tradition of political thought, with most of them having spent considerable time at foreign academic institutions. Terms like "democratization," "rule of law," or "constitutionalism" appear prominently in the paratextual elements of the books, pointing to a certain convergence with liberal standards of political order. In this sense, it is worth mentioning that, besides the selected authors, the names of Chinese intellectuals that pop out in the paratextual elements of the series (such as Xu Jilin or Xu Youyu, among others) are generally ascribed to the "liberal" camp of the Chinese intellectual field. Only Hu Angang couldn't be clearly located in such a camp, since he is more frequently labeled as a figure of the Chinese new left, but this label is downplayed in the introduction and he is rather portrayed as closer to the poorer sectors of society, as well as an unapologetic nationalist and advocate of Chinese exceptionalism (Cheng Li, in Hu Angang, 2011: xxvi–xxvii).

The case of Yu Keping is probably the most eloquent example of the kind of authors and ideas sought after by the Thornton series and a think tank such as the Brookings Institution. At the time of publication of his essays, Yu Keping kept a double profile as scholar and guest professor in several Chinese institutions, and official as the deputy director of the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, an organ with ministerial rank and one of the main bodies of theoretical production for China's officialdom (Cheng Li, in Yu Keping, 2009: xxii–xxiii).[29] Similarly, Hu Angang, the second author included in the collection, is introduced by John L. Thornton as a fellow professor at Tsinghua University who "has advised the Chinese leadership directly and is frequently consulted by a wide range of senior officials at both the central and provincial levels" (Thornton, in Hu Angang, 2011: vii). He stresses the importance of Hu's writing based precisely on the "measurable impact" of his ideas upon Chinese decision-makers:

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[29] A considerable number of Yu Keping's essays have been translated into English and other languages, published both by Chinese or publishers in other countries. He was also co-editor, along with Kenneth Lieberthal and the already mentioned Cheng Li, of a collection of essays by Chinese scholars in English translation under the title *China's Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives* (2014).

[N]o scholar in the PRC has been more visionary in forecasting China's ascent to superpower status, more articulate in addressing the daunting demographic challenges that the country faces, or more prolific in proposing policy initiatives designed to advance an innovative and sustainable economic development strategy than Hu Angang. (Thornton, in Hu Angang, 2011: vxi).

He Huaihong, a Philosophy professor at Peking University and expert in Ethics, would seem to remain without the primary concern of the collection with politics and governance. But Thornton's foreword points the readers' attention toward two specific subjects among the "broad" interests addressed by He Huaihong in his book, both subjects directly related to issues of governance: on the one hand, his discussion on the "selection society" that points to the possibility of "a combination of the Western modern election system and the Chinese traditional selection system [imperial exams]" in order to "produce a better solution to the challenges of modern governance" (Thornton, in He Huaihong, 2015: ix); the second subject is corruption, which He Huaihong addresses in a specific essay in the volume, considered by Thornton as "prescient in anticipating many of the issues that confront President Xi Jinping and the unprecedented anti-corruption campaign he is leading" (ix). Therefore, despite the volume's apparent philosophical focus on ethics, the paratext reinscribes that focus within the topics of governance that constitute the main topic of the whole collection.

As we can see from the above cases, the 2000s were marked by China's incontestable rise to the first ranks of global politics. This led to a sudden realization among European and North American observers that there was an important gap in knowledge about this new global power. The translation initiatives of this period all had in common this willingness to overcome that gap in common knowledge and to provide a closer look into the agents (policymakers, thinkers, advisors) responsible for China's development path. Anthologies provided a fast-track overview of China's intellectual field in the early 2000s, followed by an increasing number of more specific, single-authored works that served to make available a set of Chinese thinkers to a translocal English-language readership.

3.4. A Change of Paradigm from the 2010s

As we get into the 2010s, I have identified a significant increase in the number of translations. In the last years for which I have collected data, we observe an unprecedented number of translations. A more detailed look at the bibliographical information of the titles published in the course of the 2010s reveals an increasing diversification of titles. Most important, a considerable number of those publications are related to initiatives and agents from within the PRC, including official organizations and academic institutions financing different programmes of outbound translation. More precisely, among the 145 published translations that I have identified in the period between 2010 and 2018, a total of 60 volumes (41.38 percent) acknowledge funding from Chinese institutions. This is a remarkable shift of paradigm with regard to what we have observed so far: while most translation and publishing initiatives related to China's production in the humanities and social sciences were promoted by agents and institutions in European and North American contexts and driven by target-context interests, we witness a growing number of Chinese-initiated publications that, though appearing under European and North American outlets, respond to source-context interests. If the geopolitical transformations of the 2000s led to a growing interest in European and North American contexts for "what China thinks," in the 2010s we witness Chinese organizations leading many of these translation initiatives in an attempt to make Chinese production in the humanities and social sciences "go abroad" to acquire greater global visibility. This "outbound translation" (Chang, 2017: 594) push is part of a government-led "going-out strategy" ('走出去' 策略 *zouchuqu celüe*) that aims at placing China's cultural production on par with its economic might, a goal that is related to China's increasing concern in recent years about soft power and its own international projection (Deng & Zhang, 2009; Zhao Yuezhi, 2013).

This participation has taken the form of initiatives of promotion and funding of the translation and publication abroad of the works of Chinese intellectuals and scholars, as an outsource of a more general strategy to reinforce China's production in the humanities and social sciences, as well as its literary production.[30] As Sapiro points

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[30] The "going-out strategy" deployed in literary translation has also been broadly analyzed by An Dongyang (2009); Geng Qiang (2014); Xie Tianzhen (2014), and Chang (2017), among others.

out, "as the international market of translation becomes free and global, some state representatives begin to act as literary agents promoting national authors to be translated by publishers in the target country" (Sapiro, 2008: 163). This is especially necessary in the case of research works, which belong to the "restricted pole of production" and for which translation expenses are high while selling rates are usually low (Sapiro, 2019). Translation efforts in this respect speak of an increased capacity of agents within the PRC to promote their own translation agendas and their interests.

Outbound translation initiatives in the PRC are far from being a novel phenomenon. Similar initiatives have been undertaken throughout the twentieth century, such as the multilingual translation campaigns regarding the writings of Mao Zedong during the 1960s and 1970s (see the collection of essays in Cook, 2014), or the several initiatives for the translation of Chinese fiction literature throughout the post-Maoist period (Hegel, 1984; Kinkley, 2000: 243–249). In the case of Mao Zedong's works, it can be argued that a certain degree of demand existed in some contexts of reception (for instance, in the late 1960s, Maoism became a political trend among leftist intellectuals in Western Europe).[31] Besides, it is worth noting that the outbound promotion of a country's cultural and intellectual production is not exclusive to China and we can find similar initiatives from non-Euro-American countries to export their cultural products to Europe and North America.[32] Notwithstanding these precedents, outbound translation campaigns taking place in China today are set against an unprecedented context of rising geopolitical status. These initiatives are made possible thanks to the increase of China's financial resources (for translation and publication) and its enhanced international leverage, all of which makes publishers and other agents abroad more receptive to collaboration with Chinese institutions and organizations.

The genealogy of these translation initiatives can be traced back to as early as March 2004, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published a document under the title "Suggestions with regard to the further burgeoning development of Philosophy and Social Sciences" (关于进一步繁荣发展哲学社会科学的

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[31] *Citations du président Mao Tsé-toung* was published in French first by the Chinese publisher Foreign Languages Press in 1966. The local demand led the prestigious Éditions du Seuil to re-publish it in 1967 (Bourg, 2014: 228).
[32] For instance, Jamoussi (2015) offers a very interesting case study of source-initiated translations in the Arab context, which reveals surprising coincidences in certain features and dynamics with the Chinese initiatives.

意见, *Guanyu jinyibu fanrong fazhan zhexue shehui kexue de yijian*).[33] In very generic terms, the document signaled the need for the development of these academic fields as a question of national interest, and pointed to the international diffusion of Chinese Philosophy and Social Sciences as a desirable goal: "We must carry out with the utmost strength the 'going out' strategy for Philosophy and Social Sciences, employing all sorts of measures to extend the world influence of our country's Philosophy and Social Sciences" (Zhongguo Gongchandang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui, 2004, my translation).[34]

A step for further concretion toward those goals came on September 13, 2006, when the Chinese government published the "Scheme for the National Plan of Cultural Development during the 11th Five-Year Plan". Among the enumerated goals, in its section 8, point 36, the document stated as one of it goals:

To carry out the program of the fundamental "going out" project. To compile resources, identify highlights, carry out the program of the important "going out" project, accelerate the steps for "going out", broaden the reach of our country's culture and [its] international influence. (Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Zhongyang Renmin Zhengfu, 2006, my translation)[35]

In the following years, the plans for the development of the international diffusion of China's Philosophy and Social Sciences gained in concretion and outbound translation began to appear explicitly a key part of the overall strategy. A 2011 document by the Central Committee of the CCP under the title "Decision of the Central Committee concerning some important questions in the deepening of the reform of the cultural system and the impulse to the great development and great burgeoning of socialist culture" (中央关于深化文化体制改革推动社会主义文化大发展大繁荣若干重大问题的决定) was already able to detect the shortcomings of the strategy so far, pointing to the weakness of the "going out" strategy and the need to push forward the international

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[33] At some points in this section, the expression "philosophy and social sciences" appears instead of "humanities and social sciences", since the former is the denomination usually used by Chinese institutions (哲学社会科学). As pointed out by Wang Hui, within the academic system set up in the Reform period the humanities were considered a specific category of the social sciences (Wang Hui, 2017: 173).
[34] "要大力实施哲学社会科学'走出去'战略，采取各种有效措施扩大我国哲学社会科学在世界上的影响 。"
[35] "实施'走出去'重大工程项目。整合资源，突出重点，实施'走出去'重大工程项目，加快'走出去'步伐，扩大我国文化的覆盖面和国际影响力。"

influence of Chinese culture (Zhongguo Gongchandang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui, 2011: section 1). Among the specific measures to solve those problems, the document identified the need to renew the modes of cultural going out and "to organize the translation of selected excellent academic and cultural products to foreign languages" (section 7).[36] The first steps of this "going out" strategy were taken under the presidency of Hu Jintao, but his successor Xi Jinping has also made explicit the need to continue forward in this strategy to increase China's cultural soft power and the international influence of Chinese culture (Yang Qingcun, 2014: 5; Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenxian Yanjiushi, 2017: chap. 8). At the same time, the ideological outlook of these initiatives has become even sharper under Xi, as we will see later on.

Since the very beginning, competition has been a driving force beneath this broader strategy of cultural promotion within which academic production is an important component. Former president Hu Jintao, in his report to the 18th Party Congress in 2012, reaffirmed the need to reinforce the "competitiveness of China's culture under the consideration that "cultural power and competitiveness are important signs of the country's wealth and power, and the nation's vitality" (Hu Jintao, 2012: section 6.4, my translation).[37] On a similar vein, Xi Jinping views the humanities and social sciences as an incarnation of "a country's overall strength and international competitiveness" and underscored that "a country that doesn't have a thriving field of Philosophy and Social Sciences cannot walk in the forefront of the world" (Xi Jinping, 2016, my translation).[38] Scholars delving into the international projection of China's cultural production, such as An Dongyang, consider that

[a]t the same time that we learn from other nations, we must understand how to better translate and introduce classical works of the Chinese nation to foreign countries, so that the world can understand China better. Only in this manner, can we compete in better conditions with other Nations. (An Dongyang, 2009: 143, my translation)[39]

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[36] "组织对外翻译优秀学术成果和文化精品。"
[37] "文化实力和竞争力是国家富强、民族振兴的重要标志。"
[38] "体现了一个国家的综合国力和国际竞争力。[...] 一个没有繁荣的哲学社会科学的国家也不可能走在世界前列。"
[39] "我们在向其他民族学习的同时，也应该懂得更好的[sic]将中华民族的典籍作品译介到国外，让世界更好的了解中国，惟有如此，我们才能更好的与其他民族竞争。"

As I mentioned before, within all this impulse to increase the international outlook of China's production in the humanities and social sciences, translation has been accorded a major role with an array of different programs and projects to allow for the international dissemination of China's publications. As mentioned before, 42.07 percent (61 out of 145) of the volumes included in the database that were translated between 2010 and 2018 acknowledge funding by some institutional program. I have found acknowledgements to the following programs:

Table 3.4: Institutional funding programs acknowledged in published translations (2010–2018).

Program	Acknowledgments
Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences	27*
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Innovation Translation Fund	11
China Book International (supported by the General Administration of Press and Publication and the Information Office of the State Council)	13*
China Classics International Programme	5
Fudan University Press	2*
China-US Exchange Foundation, funding provided to the China Center for Comparative Politics and Economics	1
Confucius Institute at Stanford University	1
Shanghai Century Literature Publishing Company and Shanghai Culture Development Foundation	1
Shanghai Jiao Tong University and Shanghai Translation Grant	1
Tsinghua University's Humanities Publication Fund	1

*Some titles acknowledge simultaneous funding by two or more of these programs.

As we can observe, more than half (28) of the publications that acknowledge funding by a Chinese institution mention the Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (the official English rendition of 国家社会科学基金, hereafter CFHSS) as their only or one of their funding institutions. The CFHSS is currently the main official organ responsible for funding academic activities in its related disciplines. It was established by China's State Council as early as in 1986. In 1991, it was put under the administration of the National Office for Philosophy and Social Sciences (全国哲学社会

科学工作办公室, hereafter NPOPSS), an organ within the Central Propaganda Department responsible for formulating national strategies of research in the fields of humanities and social sciences.[40] The translation initiatives promoted by the CFHSS belong to the "Chinese Program for Academic Translation" (中华学术外译项目). Created in 2010, this programme allows Chinese agents (mostly publishing companies and individual researchers) to apply for financial support for the translation of academic works of Chinese scholars into foreign languages.

As for 2018 there were a total of 882 approved translation projects (Ma Yumei, 2019: 65). The programme has funded translations toward an increasing number of languages, both Asian and European, including Arabic, French, German, Japanese, Korean, Russian, Spanish, English, and Kazakh. However, English is by large the most common target language (Zhang Yan & He Liyun, 2018: 18) and Anglophone publishers the main receptors of the CFHSS's sponsorships (Ma Yumei, 2019: 65), which denotes the program's acknowledgment of English as the unavoidable global lingua franca.

The priorities of the programme are clear when we observe the main areas for funding translation: (1) works on Marxism, especially those dealing with theories of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics; (2) works that delve into the "Chinese Path" or the "Chinese Model" and the Chinese experience; (3) works that reflect the frontline research of China's Social Sciences; (4) works related to China's traditional culture and its values; and (5) works that address common problematics of Humankind, international, and regional issues. It is important to note, as Ma Yumei does, that the identification of the topics was thoroughly adjusted in 2015. That year, for instance, "China's development path" was changed into "China's path, the Chinese Model, and the Chinese experience," and the "works that address common problematics of Humankind, international, and regional issues" was newly added, a change that can be seen as a signal of an increasing will to have a say on issues beyond China and to portray the country as a responsible power (Ma Yumei, 2019: 64). The distribution in terms of disciplines is also telling: the top six of disciplines with the highest number of projects approved is led by Economics (137 projects), followed by Chinese History (112), Philosophy (105), Chinese Literature (70), Law (66), and Sociology (65). It is

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[40] For an overall analysis of the NPOPSS and its functions, see Holbig (2014).

interesting to note that Economics is by far the most promoted discipline, which appears to be in line with international attention to China's position as an global economic powerhouse. Zhang Yan & He Liyun, (2018: 17)'s report, though it only covers until 2017, provides more detailed data about the distribution of disciplines. For instance, it allows us to observe that, within the discipline of History, translations of works dealing specifically with Chinese History amounted to 81, while only 14 works about World History written by Chinese historians were selected for the program, despite their potential for higher translocal appeal. The same happens in the field of Literature: 51 works about Chinese Literature against only 4 related to Foreign Literature. Moreover, the political and ideological underpinnings of some of the translation initiatives within the program are visible not only in the eligible disciplines and the selection of titles to be translated, but even in the traductological decisions made at the micro-textual level like deletions or re-elaboration of specific sentences (Fan, 2017).

This offers a sharp contrast from what we have observed in the 1990s, when the post-Cold War triumphalism led to a reappraisal of modernization theory, with the conviction that China was meant to move sooner or later in the direction of market economy *and* liberal democracy. As noted by Mahoney,

> [u]ntil the early 2000s, Chinese academic discourse was being driven substantially by its attempts to assimilate and debate Western liberal and leftist positions, and struggling to do so under the Party's gaze. In other words, Chinese scholars on the left and right were convinced that a better form of government was possible, and many looked overseas for models and inspiration. Liberals were dissatisfied with lagging political reforms, while leftists were unhappy with decreased political activism among the masses and growing inequality. Today there is a growing belief that such alternatives are perhaps more distant, if not difficult to find. After 1999, 9/11, Iraq, the global Financial Crisis and the US's pivot towards China, Western—particularly American—liberalism no longer enjoys the same cachet it once had, even among Chinese liberals. (Mahoney, 2014:61)

Chinese intellectuals see themselves as rising in parallel to their social constituency and acquiring a greater "discursive power"[41] to have their own say about Chinese and world

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[41] The enhancement of China's "discursive power" or *huayuquan* (话语权) is one of the key terms that pop out in guidelines and analyses of the official "going out" strategy (e.g., Zhongguo Gongchandang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui, 2011; Xi Jinping, 2016).

matters, and to apply their own analytical categories and establish development models on an equal basis, not just to act as acolytes waiting to be validated by the European and North American academia (Zheng Hangsheng, 2011). For the officialdom, this also means the possibility to promote and claim legitimacy for alternative ideas about governance. Together with this new capacity to articulate and produce discourse comes the will to communicate and spread that discourse beyond China itself, considered by some authors as an urgent necessity in order to avoid Chinese culture being "submerged" by "Western thought" (Wang Yuechuan, 2004).

We must stress once again that this newest dynamic in the circulation of Chinese works of humanities and social sciences does not supersede the dynamics that I have analyzed in previous periods. Publications from the earlier periods continue to exist and to circulate (and continue even to be re-edited), overlapping with the newest publications, even though they correspond to distinct dynamics of circulation.

As impressive as the above figures may seem in terms of translation projects, we must remain cautious about the real outcome in terms of effective publication and translocal circulation. According to Ma Yumei (2019: 66), from a total of 356 projects approved between 2010 and 2015, only 58 were ultimately published. Moreover, the actual books often appeared at Chinese publishing houses without international distribution, which means that these works have a very limited distribution and circulation abroad (67). As noted by Nam Fung Chang, China's "going-out" strategy may rather be seen as an instrument to "enhance the auto-image of (official) Chinese culture rather than to improve the position of Chinese culture in the polysystem of the world" (Chang, 2017: 599-600). That is, these translation initiatives seem to attend primarily to factors and motivations of the domestic political and intellectual field in the PRC, rather than seeking to engage the intellectual and scholarly fields in the reception contexts.

An important step toward overcoming these limitations in the actual circulation of translations beyond China has been the signing of collaboration agreements between Chinese publishers and institutions and foreign outlets. In addition, since the beginning of earlier "going out" projects, Chinese publishers and institutions have been inviting foreign executives and personalities from the publishing sector as experts (Wu Na, 2012). The agreements between Chinese publishers and foreign counterparts usually

include the funding of the translation costs and, in some cases, they even cover the printing and marketing costs of the book (Zhang Hongbo, 2014). As a result of this policy, an important number of translations sponsored by the CFHSS have been released by well-established and prestigious academic and university publishers such as Springer, Routledge, Brill, or Cambridge University Press. This mechanism allows the translated works and authors—we can even say that the whole project altogether—to be invested with the symbolic capital accumulated by those well-known publishers (Casanova, 2002: 19; Sapiro, 2015: 341). However, as Jamoussi points out in his analysis of similar outbound translation initiatives emanating from the Arab world, concluded that "projects that integrate all agents within the export circuit [source context] are doomed to failure. The recipient culture matrix cannot accommodate projects that are carried out externally and only export projects which establish solid links with import [target context] agents have a chance to succeed" (Jamoussi, 2015: 183). Besides, these initiatives have also raised concerns about the funding conditions and whether the publications resulting from these Chinese-foreign agreements are subject to the same kind of censorship prevalent domestically in China. Such was the case of Cambridge University Press' *China Quarterly* journal, which in 2017 was requested by the Chinese State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television to sever access to more than three hundred research articles and reviews from within China (Wong & Kwong, 2019). What is more, censorship was also found to be applied even to allegedly "international" publications. A prominent case was the journal *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China*, published by the Netherlands-based publisher Brill in association with the Beijing-based Higher Education Press, which edited the "sensitive" contents of several articles and rejected another one on political grounds. As a consequence, Brill terminated its association with the Chinese publisher (Redden, 2019).

In the case of Chinese projects, the inclusion of foreign publishers in the initiative has already meant that, unlike earlier initiatives, the translated books actually arrive to the intended contexts of reception and are available in those markets. Whether this model of collaboration between publishers helps the translations emanated from those programs attain a more significant reception, however, is a question that would require further research. This research could be based, for example, on gathering sales data,

checking the availability and borrowing data of these books at libraries, and tracking down the publication of reviews or the inclusion of these works at university syllabi.

As far as the way in which such works are marketed, it is worth noting that from the 145 translations identified in our database as published by European and North American outlets between 2010 and 2018, a total of 124 (85.52 percent) were published within specific China-related collections; and if we look at the translations sponsored by Chinese initiatives, 55 out of 61 (90.16 percent) are published within such collections. These collections include "Brill's Humanities in China Library," "China Academic Library" (Springer), "Issues in Contemporary Chinese Thought and Culture" (Brill), "China Policy Series" (Routledge), "Cambridge China Library" (Cambridge UP), "China Perspectives Series" (Routledge), "Modern Chinese Philosophy Series" (Brill), or "Ideas, History, and Modern China Series" (Brill), among others.

This tendency to frame the works of Chinese intellectuals and scholars within an Area Studies perspective may occur even when the work is not originally China-focused. A case in point is Wang Min'an's monograph *Lun jiayong dianqi* (论家用电器, literally, "On Electric Household Appliances"). The original work makes no reference to China and the author's intention was precisely to provide a discussion without referring to any specific geopolitical location (Wang Min'an, personal interview, September 14, 2016). However, the title of this book was rendered in the English version as *Domestic Spaces in Post-Mao China: On Electric Household Appliances* (Wang Min'an, 2018).

If, as I have shown for the immediate post-1989 period, the circulation of Chinese cultural products in Euro-American context was motivated by the dynamics at the reception context, the burgeoning of China's outbound translations since the 2010s has inverted the trend, turning the source context into the main driver of translation initiatives, which at the theoretical level seems to run against Toury (1995: 29)'s famous claim that translations are facts of the target culture. However, as we have seen, the actual circulation of these translated works present certain limitations related to the location of publishers and the prevalent "area studies" framing of these works. Hence, though the outbound tendency has had obvious quantitative effects upon the dynamics of translation, it remains to be seen whether such impulse will also have an effect in

qualitative terms upon the European and North American reception of China's production in the humanities and social sciences.

The increase of translations after the 2010s, with the prominence of China's state-sponsored initiatives, and the fact that several European and North American publishers are willing to participate in such initiatives is eloquent about how the PRC is further becoming an important geopolitical actor and agenda-setter, and how China is further perceived as fundamental constituency. One of the consequences of this is also the further attention being paid to its intellectual producers, as I have shown, since the early 2000s and also increasingly so after the 2010s. This geopolitical factor also offers one fundamental backdrop for the recent circulation of Wang Hui's works in translation.

A final conclusive note that takes us to the next chapter: the data compiled allowed me to identify Wang Hui as the Chinese author in the fields of the humanities and social sciences with the highest number of books translated and published. Moreover, he is the only author featured in all of the anthologies published during the early 2000s, and his works have continued to appear in Anglophone publishers until recently (his most recent volume, *China's Twentieth Century*, was published in English in 2016). Most importantly, the translations of Wang's work into English and Italian are the result of initiatives that arose in the target context, and these initiatives did not receive any official sponsorship from China (which is also eloquent about the interest of Anglophone and Italophone publishers in Wang's work).

In the next chapters, I will analyze the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work in order to identify the dynamics that explain why Wang Hui's work has been the object of such interest in European and North American contexts and why his work has been subject to sustained translation and circulation.

4

Wang Hui and the Intellectual Field of Mainland China

4.1. Introduction

The database of translated volumes presented in the previous chapter shows that Wang Hui has been the most translated Chinese thinker and scholar in terms of published volumes. A closer look at the circulation of his works in English (as well as other European languages) reveals an uncommon degree of reception for a mainland Chinese non-fiction author in terms of the number of publications in book format (see Appendixes 2 and 3) but also articles and essays (see Appendix 4). This raises the question about the conditions that made his work attain such a degree of circulation.

In this chapter, I will trace Wang Hui's career as a scholar and public intellectual within the intellectual context of China in the 1980s until the late 1990s and early 2000s, when his work began to be the object of considerable circulation in European and North American contexts. This section is not intended to be an exhaustive intellectual biography or exposition of his ideas, but rather a way to identify the key aspects of his academic and intellectual endeavors that entailed an accumulation of symbolic or social capital important enough to trigger interest about his work by agents in European and North American contexts. That is, the Chinese intellectual context and its evolution since the 1980s will be dealt with insomuch as it clarifies such aspects in Wang Hui's development as an intellectual and his eventual translocal circulation.

With that in mind, I will first present Wang Hui's early academic career in China. His early prominence came as a scholar in modern Chinese literature and a specialist in

Lu Xun, which offers the first indications of the political underpinnings of his research interest that would become more evident in later stages of his career. I will also address his implication in the 1989 Student Movement. This implication provided him later with an important political capital activated during the circulation of his work in Euro-American contexts.

Secondly, I will deal with the conditions of the intellectual field in mainland China after 1989, the new dynamics of intellectual activity triggered during this period, and how Wang Hui took part in intellectual debates that developed in this new context. This period is important in the development of Wang Hui's thought as he undertook a critical reevaluation of the paradigms of the New Enlightenment movement of the previous decade, especially the movement's enchantment with "modernization" as its central paradigm. Wang Hui's revision of the previous period resulted in a shift away from an univocal project of "modernization" and into the nature of "Modernity". This aspect of his work was an important highlight in his translocal circulation in a context when the critical reassessment of modernity and the formulation of alternative claims on modernity became a central topic in debates worldwide.

Third, I will address Wang Hui's role as an editor of scholarly journals and in the "normalization" of academic production in China. This aspect of his activity was determinant for his first exchanges with the European and North American academic and intellectual fields, since his first major engagements especially with the Anglophone academia were related to his role as a journal editor.

Fourth, the year 1997 marked an important milestone in Wang Hui's intellectual career. The publication of his essay "Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity", a condensation of his rethinking of modernity, triggered an unexpected debate about the social development that China had experienced in the previous decades. This essay and the ensuing debate put him on the map for a growing translocal collective of scholars and intellectuals engaging in the critique of the post-Cold War neoliberal order. Wang Hui's work was taken into this debate and, hereafter, his scholarly endeavor took a turn that reshuffled him into the left-ish "global" public intellectual that he has been best known as beyond China at least until the late 2010s.

Lastly, I will further delve into the double profile that has characterized Wang Hui's intellectual production since the late 1990s, as both a scholar specializing in

intellectual history and a social critic. I will end the chapter by looking into the "returned effect" that his translocal prominence had for the reception of his work back in China.

4.2. Wang Hui's Early Academic Career

Wang Hui (born October 1959) is currently professor and Changjiang Scholar[42] at the School of Chinese and the School of History at Tsinghua University (Beijing). He is also director of the Tsinghua Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (TIAS). His work deals with the intellectual history of China, modern Chinese literature, and social theory.

After working in a factory between 1976 and 1977, Wang entered the Chinese Language Department at Yangzhou Normal College (扬州师范学院). He was part of the first generation of Chinese students who took the examinations to re-enter higher education after the long hiatus of the Cultural Revolution. He was awarded his undergraduate degree in 1981 and pursued a master's degree at Nanjing University, which he obtained in 1985. He subsequently enrolled as a Ph.D. candidate at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing. He was awarded his Ph.D. in 1988 after completing a thesis on Lu Xun (鲁迅, 1881–1936), a major literary and intellectual figure from the first half of the twentieth century in China. After this, Wang Hui remained at the CASS as a teacher and researcher until 2002, when he joined his current position at Tsinghua University. His Ph.D. advisor was Tang Tao (唐弢, 1913–1992), himself a disciple of Lu Xun regarded as a scholarly authority in the study of this author. As I will show later, these early interests were far from a detached literary scholarship. Wang's early research on Lu Xun showed signs of a deeper political and social concern, and of an incipient critique of the idea of Modernity that would later

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[42] Established in 1998, the Changjiang Scholars Program is a strategic national plan to foster and support leading figures in the academic field in China, comprising the hiring of top scholars (Chinese or foreign) and support of their academic activities. It has been administered by the ministry of Education of the PRC and the Li Ka Shing Foundation and its ultimate goal has been to strengthen China's global position in the academic arena (Changjiang, 2007).

become one of the central themes of his work and eventually an important aspect of his translocal renown.

Wang Hui completed all his academic training up to his doctoral studies in mainland China and, though he has frequently been abroad as a visiting scholar since the 1990s, his main institutional affiliation has always remained in mainland Chinese institutions. It would be easy to overlook this detail as a minor issue lest we take into consideration the intellectual context of the 1990s and 2000s in mainland China, when the reception of postcolonial theory and the rise of nativism in mainland China's cultural and intellectual fields triggered a heated debate about the positionality of scholars and their legitimacy to speak on Chinese issues. In response to this debate at that time, Xu Ben considered that, "[c]ompared to Western or other Third-World countries' postcolonial critique, the core of China's Third-World criticism is 'nativism' (本土性 *bentuxing*) rather than the contestation against oppression" (Xu 1995: 17).[43] Under these premises, some mainland postcolonial critics vehemently questioned the legitimacy and validity of the views and analyses about China expressed by Chinese scholars working at foreign institutions. This criticism was often expressed in essentialist and even telluric terms. For instance, the critic Zhang Kuan expressed that, "being mostly trained at Western colleges, the so-called Third World critics lack the authentic knowledge of the Third World and remain remote from the cultural tradition their ancestors once lived in." (Zhang Kuan, 1999: 66). Considering this juncture, Wang Hui's academic training and affiliation *in* China may have spared him the risk of being questioned on the basis of his legitimacy to speak about Chinese issues. At the same time, his condition as a Chinese intellectual "from the inside" has been an added value in the translocal circulation of his work. For instance, in a review of the edited volume *Whither China?* (Zhang Xudong, 2001), which included essays by Wang Hui and other Chinese scholars, Shiping Hua highlights the fact that Wang Hui was trained in China, contrasting him to the other authors included in the volume, who were "formerly educated or located in the West", which brings him to affirm that Wang Hui is "the only real voice from China" (Hua, 2003: 153–154). Similarly, in a review of Wang Hui's first volume-length English translation, Sun Yan writes:

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[43] Examples of these claims are Zhang Fa et al. (1994); Zhang Kuan (1999); and Liu Dong (1995). For countering reactions to these claims, see Chun (1996); and Chow (1998). For an overview of the issues at stake in the whole debate, see Jiang (2004).

Wang's voice is especially valuable because he is a homegrown intellectual thinker. Advocates on the new left, such as Wang, are often accused by their opponents of being idealistic Chinese trained and reimported from liberal Western campuses. But, Wang has firm footing in Chinese reality and can hardly be accused of being naïve about it. (2004: 1116)

During the student protests that stormed Beijing and other cities in the Spring and early Summer of 1989, Wang Hui took part in the movement with his students at Tian'anmen square. He recounts this involvement in the preface to his first volume-length English publication: "In the early morning of June 4, 1989, as I departed from Tiananmen square in the company of the last group of my classmates, I felt nothing but anger and despair" (Wang Hui, 2003: viii). Wang Hui's participation in the protests and his subsequent experience of being sent down to reeducation in a rural area are frequently mentioned in his profiles and blurbs included in his works, a display of what Hockx has termed as the "political capital" that, as Hockx suggests, is often required from Chinese authors when published abroad (2011: 52–33). In the European and North American political imagination, the 1989 Tian'anmen events appear as an epitome of dissent and even as a kind of stamp for political and moral legitimacy. This political mark appears insistently in different discussions of Wang's work, both epi- and peri-textual: in the earliest review of Wang Hui's first single-authored English book in the *The New York Times* ("A Lonely Voice in China Is Critical on Rights and Reform"), he is introduced as "a participant in the 1989 pro-democracy movement" (Schell, 2004). Similarly, in an interview with Pankaj Mishra for *The New York Times Magazine*, it is said that "Wang himself was one of the last protesters to leave the square on the morning of June 4, 1989, as the tanks of the People's Liberation Army closed in" (Mishra, 2006). The blurb in the back cover of *Il nuovo ordine cinese* states: "Wang Hui is one of the most nonconformist Chinese intellectuals. […] After participating in the Tian'anmen movement, he published several studies both in China and abroad" (Wang Hui, 2006a: blurb, my translation).[44] Also, in his profile on the November 2011 *Falling Walls* event website, he is presented as "[o]ne of the protagonists and critics of those tumultuous

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[44] "Wang Hui è uno dei più anticonformisti intellettuali cinesi. [...] Dopo aver partecipato al movimento di Tien An Men, ha pubblicato numerosi studi in Cina e all'estero [...]."

days" (Falling Walls, 2011). When nominated to the Luca Pacioli Award in 2013, the biographical profile for his candidacy underscored: "He took part in the 1989 Tian'anmen protests and was subsequently sent for one year of reeducation in the mountainous regions of Henan and Hubei" (Commissione valutatrice di Ateneo per l'assegnazione del Premio Luca Pacioli, 2013, my translation).[45] An almost identical point is made in a more recent publication, Wang's first book-length publication in Portuguese, which states: "He took part in the Tian'anmen protests in 1989, which caused him to be punished with mandatory reeducation in Shaanxi, an impoverished province in China's interior" (Wang Hui, 2017b, my translation).[46]

It is interesting to note that one of the main topics in the first translated writings of Wang Hui (particularly, Wang Hui, 1998a, 2003) was precisely his analysis of the 1989 social movement and subsequent market reforms in China as a key global event in the 1990s. In these writings Wang also questioned the mainstream Euro-American reading of the Tian'anmen movement as reclaiming a representational multi-party democracy against one-party rule. Instead, Wang offered a more complex and socially-aware assessment.

After the suppression of the protests, as a consequence of his implication, he was sent to the rural hinterlands of the Qinling mountains in Shaanxi province, where he spent most of the year 1990. This experience made him aware of the imbalances between urban and rural areas (personal interview 2, August 5, 2016). Moreover, as we shall see, this perception of social reality became an underlying basis for his whole academic projects. As he later recalled:

> that brief experience left a lasting and indelible impression on me—I suddenly realized how far my life in Beijing was from this other world. In the months and years that have followed, I have endeavored to create a link between these two worlds [...], a critique based on a sense of the need to reconstruct the historical relationship between the world of the intellectuals and the other world outside it. (Wang Hui, 2003: viii-ix)

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[45] "Partecipò alle proteste di Tiananmen del 1989 e in seguito fu inviato per un anno di rieducazione nelle regioni montane dello Henan e dello Hubei."
[46] "Em 1989, participou nos protestos de Tiananmen, o que lhe valeu uma punição, com reeducação compulsiva, em Xianxim, província pobre do interior da China."

Yet, the social and political underpinnings of his scholarly work had been visible from early on. In the late 1980s and early 1990s Wang Hui was mainly known in the Chinese-speaking context as an outstanding young scholar on modern Chinese literature and as one of the main specialists in the work of the contemporary writer Lu Xun, to whom, as I previously mentioned, he devoted his Ph.D. dissertation. His particular focus on the figure and the work of Lu Xun was not without political and ideological implications in the first place. Modern and contemporary Chinese literary historiography had mostly considered Lu Xun as a left-wing activist writer boasting a strong social and political commitment in his writings. Furthermore, the research focus on Lu Xun was even more politically connoted in the 1980s, when this author started to be the object of heated debates about the importance of his writing and his historical status in Chinese literature. In the years of high Maoism, when access to literature and other forms of cultural production were restricted, Lu Xun was one of the very few authors whose work could be openly read, as well as the only officially respected cultural icon during the Cultural Revolution, hailed by the officialdom as a revolutionary author and praised by Mao himself. In contrast to the strong politicization of literature in the preceding decades, China's literary field in the 1980s brought forward the theoretical separation of literary aesthetics from the emphasis on sociopolitical aspects (Wang Jing, 1996: 159–162).

In such a juncture, Wang Hui's focus on Lu Xun could not be considered a matter of literary scholarship alone. In a postface to his early book on Lu Xun, published in the mainland in 1991,[47] he positioned himself against the separation between intellectual pursuits and social concerns, stating that "[t]hrough my reflection on the mentality and destiny of intellectuals, I try to understand and gain perspective on the problems of China's social reality" (Wang Hui, 1999a [1988]: 403, my translation).[48] In another appendix, under a subsection titled "Research on Lu Xun and political ideology" (401), Wang points to some of the then prevalent problems of previous analyses: on the one hand, he underscores that Lu Xun was considered as an "absolute" (绝对) or as "sacred"

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[47] The book appeared first in Taiwan in 1990. It is worth noting that for mainland Chinese authors, especially in the 1990s, Taiwan and Hong Kong played the role of cultural mediators and exhibition forums for the wider audience of the Sinophone sphere, and even for an international audience beyond the Chinese-speaking context (Huot, 1999: 207).

[48] "我试图通过对知识分子的心态、命运的思考来理解和透视中国的社会现实问题。"

(神圣); on the other hand, he points out that more recent scholarship had downplayed the radical character of Lu Xun as something that belonged to the past, more specifically the revolutionary past, therefore far from what China's new era of reforms required. Wang criticized the scholarship of the time for having neglected its relationship with the problematics of contemporary life, and reappraised the political and ideological value of the study of Lu Xun's writings. (406–407).

After the completion of his Ph.D. dissertation, Wang Hui shifted his scholarly interests toward intellectual history. According to his own account, this shift was a natural outcome of his research on late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century literary history, especially Lu Xun, a fiction writer but also an active intellectual whose literary concerns were inseparable from the social and political reality of his time. In these social concerns, Lu Xun was deeply influenced by earlier thinkers such as Kang Youwei (康有为, 1858–1927), Yan Fu (严复, 1854–1921), Liang Qichao (梁启超, 1873–1929), and, especially, Zhang Taiyan (章太炎, 1869–1936).[49] For this reason, Wang Hui found it necessary to continue his research into the intellectual history of late Qing to gain perspective of the broader context (Wang Hui, personal interview 1, December 1, 2015). Such as reorientation toward intellectual history and sociopolitical issues can be seen very much in line with a more general trend in the intellectual and academic field of mainland China in the 1990s, as noted by Lei Qili: for Chinese intellectuals after the 1980s, the fields of Social Sciences and Anthropology replaced Literature as the most favored areas from which to observe the self, history, culture, and society, and it was within these areas that the main intellectual debates developed during that decade (2007: 108). Thus Wang Hui critically engaged with the ideas of Weber, Habermas, Amin, and many other thinkers, as I have previously mentioned.

4.3. China's Intellectual Politics in the 1980s and 1990s

The 1989 social protests and their violent suppression marked a watershed in China's recent history. Their immediate consequences also affected the intellectual field and

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[49] On the influence of Zhang Taiyan's ideas upon Lu Xun and Wang Hui, see the "Conclusion" chapter in Viren Murthy's study on Zhang's thought (Murthy, 2011: 223–243).

defined the conditions for intellectual activity in China in later decades. In order to understand the importance of Wang Hui's work in the Chinese context, it is essential to take into consideration the intellectual field of the time. His intervention in that context at specific moments of its configuration put him in the spotlight and, later on, made his work the object of translocal attention.

After Mao's death, around 1978 the Chinese authorities initiated a series of reforms seeking to abandon the legacies (especially in the economy) of the previous period and to open the path of market reforms. This was the period of the so-called "liberation of thought" (思想解放), which had consequences in China's economic paradigms but also in its cultural and intellectual fields since the late 1970s, when the harsh limitations on intellectual activity had been lifted to a considerable extent. In the cultural area specifically, this period came to be known as the "Culture Fever" (文化热) and it was characterized by the arrival of new forms of discourse and an important flow of ideas that entered China via the translation of foreign works of fiction and also works from the fields of humanities and social sciences (Wang Xiaoming, 2018).

In the intellectual field, this era is often referred to as the "New Enlightenment" (新启蒙) or "New Enlightenment" movement. It was characterized by the appraisal of "modernization" (现代化) as the fundamental paradigm to be followed by China with the implicit goal of putting Chinese society on a par with "Western" societies. Despite some underlying discrepancies —which would eventually become dramatically apparent in the 1990s— the unanimity surrounding the "modernization" paradigm among Chinese intellectuals in the 1990s was almost complete (Xu Jilin, 1998: 7-8). For Chinese intellectuals this was a "New" Enlightenment because, in their own self-representation, they considered themselves as heirs to a previous Chinese "Enlightenment" movement: the May Fourth Movement and the New Culture Movement of the 1920s.[50] Just like then, the critical juncture China was going through

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[50] The May Fourth Movement was a period of intellectual and political effervescence. It was unleashed around May 4th, 1919, following the Chinese students' protests against the unfavorable resolution of the Treaty of Versailles, that handed the Shandong peninsula over to defeated Japan. From a movement in defense of national dignity in the face of what students considered an unfair resolution (China was supposed to be, in fact, in the "winning" side of the war), it led to a wider call for national renewal through cultural change (the New Culture Movement), in which the ideas of "Science" and "Democracy" were hailed as the recipe for China's strengthening. The movement led to the reform of language and literature as ways to build up a stronger nation to face the challenges of the modern world. The ideas of Anarchism and Communism arrived in China in this context. The writer Lu Xun (Wang Hui's early topic of research) is regarded as one of the leading figures of this period.

gave way to a reassessment of China's past and a discussion of the prospects for its development. Within these discussions, the East/West dichotomy played a central role in imagining China's future. "Complete Westernization" was put forward by prominent intellectuals as the only way forward for China if it was to survive within the new world setting it had been forced into. A dark vision about China's past and its prevailing ideological foundations —most prominently ruism— came forth, and Chinese tradition was portrayed as a hindrance for its future. This same idea became common in the 1980s, as reflected in *The Ugly Chinaman* (丑陋的中国人), a book by Bo Yang (1986) widely discussed at the time; or in the celebrated TV series *River Elegy* (*Heshang* 河殇) broadcasted in 1988, in which "the West" was portrayed as outward-looking, enterprising and dynamic against an inward-looking, stagnant Chinese traditional culture marred by feudalism and conservatism (Su Xiaokang & Wang Luxiang, 1991). Notwithstanding the usage of the same dichotomous tropes, a noticeable divergence between the 1920s and the post-Maoist period was that many intellectuals in the 1980s shifted their discourse from the spatial binary East/West to the temporal binary tradition/modernization, though this was mostly a mere change of terms with no substantial difference in its implications and ultimate goals as a project (Wu Guanjun, 2014: chap. 2). In both cases, the gist of these discourses was a teleological and deterministic vision of development as a one-way, unavoidable path to be followed. As Xu Jilin notes, despite differences among intellectual contenders of the 1980s, there existed a wide agreement around the social and economic benefits of modernization defined in terms of democratic politics, market economy, and individualism, presented as the core of universal values (Xu Jilin, 2007: 14). However, the specific meaning of such items remained vague and under-discussed during this period. As I shall show, one of Wang Hui's main contributions with regard to these discussions was precisely the shifting of terms from "modernization" as a process to "modernity" as the more specific ideal such a process was aspiring to.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Marxism was subject to new interpretations that moved away from Maoist orthodoxy. Intellectuals called for a Marxist humanism that would discard what was perceived as the "radicalism" of the previous period, bidding "farewell to revolution", as Li Zehou & Liu Zaifu (1995) famously wrote. In relation to the dark portrayals of the Chinese past and its traditions, several thinkers of this period,

such as the famous US-based scholar Yü Ying-shih presented Maoism, particularly the Cultural Revolution, as the latest avatar of the ancient "feudalism" that had characterized China's pre-modern condition (1993).

The demonstrations of Spring 1989 can be regarded as the epitome of the cultural fever and the atmosphere of intellectual opening that marked the 1980s. In his analysis of that period, Chen Fong-ching considers that after 1988 some intellectuals became increasingly vocal about political prospects (2001: 81–82) and this might have created a certain pressure to take public stands among intellectuals and cultural activists. However, it is difficult to establish direct links between intellectuals' increasing public claims and the student movement. Whatever the genealogies of the movement may have been, the violent crackdown in Spring 1989 meant a stricter official control over intellectual activity. Intellectuals were forced to step away from the fuzzy limits of allowed politics. By the time restrictions were softened in 1990, intellectual activity resumed, but it did so under very different conditions.

Wang Chaohua (2003: 13–14) has highlighted two structural transformations in the post-1989 intellectual landscape. The first transformation was that intellectual debates within mainland China became increasingly internationalized. This tendency was visible in the participation of overseas Chinese scholars (some of whom had left the country after the suppression of the 1989 movement) into the discussions of the domestic intellectual field, as well as in the arrival (via translations or other mediated introductions) of authors and theoretical innovations from abroad, such as postcolonialism or the critique of Orientalism, to name but two of the most prominent examples. The second transformation was the intellectuals' loss of social and political influence, as they ceased to be regarded by both officialdom and the wider society as providers of blueprints for social development. State funding of cultural and intellectual activities was reduced. This implied, on the one hand, a reconfiguration of the relationship between intellectuals and the state and, on the other hand, an increasing professionalization and even commodification of intellectual activity. Now reduced to a marginal role in society and far removed from the central stage they occupied in the previous decade, intellectuals found shelter in the publishing industry —which had already been a major vector of intellectual initiatives in the 1980s— and in an increasing number of new non-governmental intellectual organizations (Gu & Goldman,

2004: 8–9). Universities and other institutions of the burgeoning academic sector were another sheltering space and became henceforth a major location for intellectuals. In contrast to their self-image as Protean figures in the 1980s, Chinese intellectuals in the 1990s had no choice but to enter into "hibernation" and a "self-reflexive" mode, directing their activities toward predominantly academic concerns (Xu Jilin, 1998: 9). Yet some other intellectuals decided to engage directly with the commercial spirit of the times and became entrepreneurs, some of them within the cultural field, but some others created their own companies in areas completely unrelated to culture or scholarship. The gesture of shifting from scholars to businessmen was famously named as "going down to the sea" (下海) and, for the intellectuals who opted for that path, doing business was a means for guaranteeing or improving their livelihoods under the new circumstances (Zhang Zhizhong, 1994).

The evolution of the intellectual field (parallel to the evolution of the whole country) found expression in a series of consecutive, sometimes overlapping debates that in many cases embodied the intellectuals' nostalgia for their lost social status. These discussions were best epitomized by the debate on the "Humanistic Spirit" (人文精神) that developed between 1993 and 1995, with its laments about the vulgarization and commercialization of culture. Another of those early debates was centered on the discussions about "academic standards" (学术规范), which I will further explain below.

In his analysis of the debates of that period, Strafella (2017) has argued that these discussions had the effect of depoliticizing the intellectual field and estranging it from social issues. As previously mentioned, a central impulse of Wang Hui's intellectual endeavor, especially after 1989, was to renew the link between intellectual activity and social problems. Thus, the increasing depoliticization of the public sphere in China was precisely one of the points of Wang Hui's criticism in his later assessment of China's post-1989 intellectual field. For Wang Hui, the delinking of intellectual activity vis-à-vis social reality left the gates wide open for neoliberal-minded reforms to proceed apace in China without any major contestation. The consequences of this neoliberal turn became apparent later in the 1990s, with an increasing social inequality that became the object of analysis and criticism for a set of scholars (Wang Hui among them) who would be labeled as "new left", as we shall see.

4.4. Wang Hui as Journal Editor in 1990s China

As previously explained, the Chinese intellectual field after 1989 became increasingly professionalized following the state's diminishing role as funding agent of intellectual and cultural activities. One of the consequences of this professionalization of the intellectual field was the proliferation throughout the 1990s of an array of intellectual outlets which, given the aforementioned conditions, had to function as commercial media in an increasingly competitive market. Outlets such as *Xueren* (学人, *The Scholar*), *Ershiyi Shiji* (二十一世纪, *Twenty First Century*), *Dushu* (读书, *Readings*), *Tianya* (天涯, *Frontiers*), and *Zhanlüe yu Guanli* (战略与管理, *Strategy & Management*) became major channels for intellectuals to publish and debate their ideas and opinions.[51] Some of these outlets (e.g., *Xueren*) were newly founded, while others (e.g., *Dushu*) had already been in circulation for years but adopted a new outlook under the new situation. The foundation or renewal of these journals came forth in the midst of a wide consensus about the necessity to rebuild the foundations of intellectual activity after the perceived failure of the 1980s (Zheng Guoqing, 2007: 88). Scholarly journals were forebearers of an important impulse for the standardization of scholarly practices as well as for the renovation of the language of intellectual inquiry. In some remarkable cases, they also acted as the introducers of a plethora of new critical paradigms and intellectual trends from abroad, such as postmodernism, postcolonialism, or communitarianism, among others. As I mentioned earlier and will explain in detail below, Wang Hui would eventually play a main role in this renewal of the field of intellectual publishing and its usages. And even more importantly for what concerns us here, it was his role as a prominent journal editor that first put him on the map of China's intellectual field for certain scholars and intellectuals in the Anglophone context.

In 1991, Wang Hui, together with literary scholars Chen Pingyuan (陈平原) and Wang Shouchang (王守常) founded the journal *Xueren*. He remained a member of its

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[51] The rise of the Internet in the late 1990s further changed this situation, and online platforms and blogs provided a major base of intellectual production and exchange among Chinese intellectuals. Despite pervading government control, the Internet as a site for intellectual activity still allows blindspots that escape, albeit sometimes briefly, the limitations of official censorship (see Barmé & Davies, 2004; Cheek, 2016: 274–275; Veg, 2019: 216 ff.).

editorial team until 1999, and the journal published its final issue in 2000. The publication of this journal was funded by a Japanese institution, Japan's International Friendship Research Foundation, in cooperation with Jiangsu Literature Press, and took the history of scholarship as its main field of interest (Chen Pingyuan, 2003: 112). Since its earliest issue, *Xueren* also played a key role in one of the main debates of the intellectual field in the early 1990s: the debate about the establishment of academic norms and the concern with the quality of intellectual production. The journal was conceived by its founders as a catalyst for the normalization and standardization of academic writing and practices in mainland China (Wang Hui, 1996: 128–129).

The debate about academic norms was not unrelated to the increasing professionalization and marketization of intellectual activities after 1989. Under the pressure of decreasing governmental funding, intellectual, research and teaching activities were progressively subsumed into a logic of production not different from the market logic that was beginning to pervade all aspects of social life. This led, as noted by the prominent cultural critic Deng Zhenglai (2004), to serious problems of corruption in which academic ethics were overseen in favor of direct gains in terms of material benefits or social and political status. Because of that situation many intellectuals and scholars saw at this point an urgent need to establish for China its own set of norms and standards of academic activity . Chen Pingyuan, one of the founders of *Xueren*, blamed precisely the lack of norms for the "impetuous" and "empty" style of intellectual life in the 1980s and, while acknowledging the "passion and imagination" that characterized that period, he considered that the 1990s needed intellectual discipline in order to produce solid scholarship (Chen Pingyuan, 2003: 112–113). Critics such as Lu Xueyi & Jing Tiankui, (1997), and Yang Yusheng (cited in Jing Jianbin, 2000: 240) identified several shortcomings of intellectual practices in mainland China, most prominently the lack of a consensual use of concepts, which hindered the development of disciplinary dialogue and of a constructive exchange among Chinese intellectuals. Moreover, there was a tacit pressure at the time to converge with academic models from abroad in a time when Chinese scholars were increasingly in contact with North American and European academic institutions and counterparts (Liu Qing, 2007: 266). The adoption of foreign models of scholarship led some scholars such as Liu Dong (刘东) to denounce it as a

form of "pidgin scholarship" (洋泾浜学风) unsuitable for addressing China's issues (Liu Dong, 1995).

In another vein, for many scholars, in their attempt to assess the previous decade, it was precisely the lack of sound academic standards for intellectual critique what led to the radicalism of the 1980s. The emphasis on academic norms and on the history of scholarship displayed by journals such as *Xueren* was perceived as a replacement for the "radical" political tendencies of the previous decade, a way "to publicize the detached nature of 1990s mainland intellectual activities and to contrast them with the movement for radical critique of the 1980s" (Wang Desheng, cited in Liu Qingfeng, 2001: 59), with the ultimate purpose of showing a disconnection between intellectuals and politics. Recalling his participation in the editorship of *Xueren*, Wang Hui recalls how the journal was the object of criticisms for his alleged disregard for political issues. However, he argues that there were indeed direct political intentions in the publication of the journal, but the sort of "cultural attitude" generated behind such intentions was not clear yet at that moment. Moreover, he argues that the publication of *Xueren* would have been "objectively" impossible had it touched directly upon political issues. The editors' will was precisely to provide culture and scholarship with their own autonomous space vis-à-vis politics (Wang Hui & Su Wei, 2020).

Wang Hui was also a central figure in the renewal of another powerhouse of intellectual publishing: the journal *Dushu*, one of the most prominent intellectual outlets in mainland China. Founded in 1979, *Dushu* was central to a series of debates that defined the intellectual field throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. It played a major role during the Cultural Fever of the 1980s, and it was one of the earliest publications in mainland China to introduce critical paradigms and debates that were developing abroad, such as discussions surrounding modernization theory—which, as I previously mentioned, was especially in vogue during the 1980s—and later the critique of Orientalism, and postmodernism, among others. Since its inception, *Dushu* also regularly published focus articles about specific authors from different locations and perspectives. This, as Zhang Yongle noted, "provided a sort of pantheon through which the Chinese intelligentsia could construct a new collective identity" (Zhang Yongle, 2008: 6). Wang Hui himself had been contributing to the journal well before becoming its chief editor, publishing his own work but also reviewing the work of foreign

intellectuals and translating essays by authors such as Charles Taylor, John Rawls, Jürgen Habermas, Arjun Appadurai, Masao Miyoshi, and Michel Foucault (Wang Hui, personal interview 2, August 5, 2016).

In 1996, Wang Hui and the economist and social scientist Huang Ping (黄平) were invited to become chief editors of *Dushu*. Following the track initiated with *Xueren*, Wang Hui and Huang Ping's editorship consolidated *Dushu* as one of the most intellectually influential publications of mainland China in the late 1990s and early 2000s, diversifying its topics to include social and natural sciences. Also, the new editors moved the journal away from the commercial drive it had taken in the early 1990s in an attempt to cater to a wider readership, and took it back to intellectual discussions (Wang Hui, 2000b: 70). Moreover, Wang and Huang made the journal address the political and economic issues of the time, though their editorial line tried to cautiously focus on intellectual and theoretical perspectives to address such issues, and to avoid direct intervention on policy debates (see *Dushu* editorial statement, cited in Shi Zaizhong, 2013: 110). For instance, under Wang and Huang's editorship, the journal opened debates about rural society, feminism, nationalism, and finance, among others. Wang Hui described the orientations of *Dushu* as an "attempt at pushing for reflection and criticism of social divisions, hegemonic relations, and monopolistic power, as well as the theories and forms of knowledge that legitimize those relations and that power" (in Yang Min, 2007: 53). Also under their editorship, *Dushu* boasted an international intellectual outlook, not only by reinforcing its role as port of entry for new theoretical and critical paradigms, as it had been doing almost since its foundation, but also by increasing the journal's implication with intellectual communities beyond mainland China and beyond the Chinese-speaking world. During Wang and Huang's editorship, the journal's pages hosted articles by Perry Anderson, Mark Selden, Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, Jürgen Habermas, and Jacques Derrida, among others. This was also a reflection of Wang Hui's growing interpersonal network, which I will refer to in the upcoming sections.

Wang Hui's role as journal editor is important because it reveals the social and political underpinnings of his whole intellectual endeavor and his willingness to link scholarship and social reality, a feature that made his work appealing for scholars in the left beyond China. Moreover, his profile as journal editor was one of the main catalysts

(but not the only one, as we shall see) for his earliest contacts with certain scholars and publications in the Anglophone context with which he began to cooperate regularly. In the early 1990s, the academic discipline of Area Studies in the US was increasingly in search of new paradigms to leave behind the identity crisis that the Cold War had inflicted upon it because of the implication of scholars in the field with US foreign policy. In contrast to that implication, the early 1990s saw how some scholars working in, for instance, East Asian Studies found new outlets to break away from the ethnographic outlook and the model of the "native informant" that had characterized much of Area Studies research in the Cold War period. A prominent example of this new approach was the journal *positions: east asia cultures critique* (hereafter, *positions*). In its statement of purpose, the journal determined to seek collaboration with scholars and critics from different locations (Barlow, 1993: v). Its founding editor, Tani Barlow, recalls visiting editors from Asia seeking to establish direct collaboration with peers prior to the journal's formal publication. Wang Hui (at that time chief editor of *Xueren*) was one of them (Karl et al., 2012: 356). The involvement with *positions* was Wang's earliest substantive engagement with a Euro-American publication. Some of Wang's essays were translated and published in *positions*, and he took part in other publishing initiatives related to the journal's editorial collective, e.g., the collective volume *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, edited by Barlow (1997).[52] Moreover, Wang Hui's profile as editor featured prominently in his first appearance on the pages of *New Left Review*, in an interview by Perry Anderson (Wang Hui, 2000b) which addressed precisely Wang Hui's position as editor of *Dushu*. At the turn of the century, Anderson had resumed his editorship at the *NLR* and was searching to include more contents related to East Asia and China in particular (Anderson, 2000: 17). Years later, the history of *Dushu* would feature in a *NLR* review essay by Zhang Yongle (2008) who reviewed the publication of a six-volume anthology of *Dushu* articles published in China the previous year. The publication of this article in *NLR* was an inadvertently timely matter, since Wang Hui and Huang Ping had been dismissed as editor chiefs of *Dushu* in July 2007. According to Zhang's account, Wang and Huang's

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[52] I will delve further into Wang Hui's engagement with scholars in the Anglophone context in the next chapter.

dismissal may have been ideologically motivated. I will further explain this in the next chapter.

4.5. "Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity"

In May 1997 Wang Hui's position in mainland China's intellectual field experienced another turning point after the publication of the essay "The Intellectual Conditions of Contemporary China and the Question of Modernity" (当代中国的思想状况与现代性问题, also translated as *Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity,* hereafter *CCTQM*) (Wang Hui, 1997a). The article was originally intended as "a set of notes on my thinking process" (Wang Hui, 2003: 212) and was not intended for publication in mainland China. In fact, its earliest version appeared first in a Korean translation published by the South Korean journal *Changjag gwa bipyeong* (창작과비평) in 1994 (issue no. 86) with the title "Chinese socialism and the question of modernity". But at the end of 1996, while he was in Hong Kong as a visiting scholar, Wang Hui received a request for a contribution to the journal *Tianya* (天涯), then a relatively minor journal edited in the southern insular province of Hainan. As Wang Hui himself acknowledges, he had been warned by certain colleagues never to publish that essay in the mainland. But he thought that the publication in a peripheral journal such as *Tianya* of an old essay written a few years before would not be a big issue (Wang Hui, 2000a: 2–3). However, things turned out very differently from his expectations.

In *CCTQM*, Wang Hui offered a thorough critique of the tenets of modernization theory and questioned the development path of economic reforms taken by China since the 1980s and their negative social effects. Moreover, he pointed to Chinese intellectuals as responsible for accepting this turn of events and even for legitimizing it uncritically since the 1980s. Wang's essay triggered —or acted as a catalyst for— a qualitative step in an ongoing discussion about the future of China's economic and social development. Given the controversy and its echoes beyond mainland China, what was initially conceived of as a sideline reflection ended up putting Wang Hui on the spotlight and he was somewhat reluctantly drawn to those contemporary concerns (Wang Hui, personal interview 2, August 5, 2016). The shockwaves caused by Wang Hui's article would

continue to agitate the Chinese intellectual arena in the years to come and led to a new division of the intellectual field in mainland China in two roughly aggregated camps: the "liberals" and the "new left", with Wang Hui being ascribed to the latter. At the same time, for what concerns the translocal reach of Wang Hui's work, the controversy inadvertently increased Wang Hui's symbolic and political capital in the eyes of certain strands of American and European leftists thinkers who saw in Wang Hui's assessment of China's reforms an ally in their questioning of the modernization paradigm and neoliberal globalization.

To understand why Wang Hui's 1997 essay was so epochal and why it unleashed such a controversy, we need to understand the context in which it was published. As previously explained, during the 1980s, the intellectual field in mainland China showed an overwhelming unanimity around the "modernization" paradigm. In the 1990s, it was "globalization" that increasingly replaced "modernization" as the key concept for China's development. However, as Lei Qili (2007: 94) points out, the economic and social transformations in mainland China during the 1990s became increasingly distant from what people imagined and expected in the 1980s: economic reforms were producing side effects such as the privatization of public resources, new social stratification, concentration of wealth, increasing inequality, growing disparities between urban and rural areas, and environmental damage.[53] For the first time since the 1980s, the consensus about modernization as the main goal for China, hitherto uncontested, began to be questioned and the common spirit that had characterized the New Enlightenment in the previous decade began to split up (Xu Jilin, 2007: 8).

Breaking away from the tacit acceptance of the orientation of economic reforms, a number of young Chinese scholars like Wang Shaoguang (王绍光, b. 1954), Hu Angang (胡鞍钢, b. 1953), Gan Yang (甘阳, b. 1952), and Cui Zhiyuan (崔之元, b. 1963) began to publish analyses of the situation in China in which they scrutinized the social and political outcomes of market reforms. Many of these scholars had been trained or were even based at US universities at that moment. They boasted a familiarity with the debates and the theoretical, conceptual, and analytical tools of Euro-American critique, which allowed them to venture the connection between the rising problems of inequality

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[53] For data and analysis of the socio-economic evolution of China in the 1990s, see, Sun Liping (2004).

in China and the wider global context of neoliberal expansion.[54] Their publications triggered a heated controversy in China and sparked an intellectual debate of almost unprecedented scale and intensity. Their publications unleashed a decade-long discussion that observers such as Johnson consider "arguably the most coherent discussion of China's future since the founding of the People's Republic¡—indeed, perhaps since the epochal May 4th Movement of 1919" (Johnson, 2020: 46). Prominent examples of these new positions were Wang Shaoguang and Hu Angang's *Report on China's State Capacity* (中国国家能力报告) (1993) in which they criticized the increasing decentralization of the Chinese State's power and claimed the necessity of a strong central state in terms of taxation and control in order to build up a democratic regime. Cui Zhiyuan's "Institutional Innovation and the Second Liberation of Thought" (制度创新与第二次思想解放) (1994) was another important contribution. Cui upheld the legitimacy of the socialist outlook in the new context of post-Cold War globalization. These publications were followed by an exchange of replies and counter-replies, notably in the Hong Kong-based journal *Ershiyi Shiji*. The split of the intellectual field in two antagonistic positions mentioned above was one of the effects of such debates: the "liberals" (自由主义) were in favor of pursuing further market-oriented reforms toward the reduction of the state's role in the economy; the "new left" (新左派) was concerned with growing inequality and considered that the state should keep a central role in the economy to contend the negative social side effects of economic development. This division was probably the clearest sign of the end of the consensus around the goal of "modernization" that had existed among Chinese intellectuals throughout the 1980s and early 1990s.

The publication of Wang Hui's *CCTQM* in *Tianya* in May 1997 gave these discussions a new momentum. While the critiques of Cui Zhiyuan, Wang Shaoguang, and Hu Angang were limited to the fields of policy making and institutional reform, Wang Hui's article pointed to the broader theoretical, cultural and historical

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[54] Wang Shaoguang obtained his Ph.D. at Cornell University and taught at Yale; Hu Angang has held different positions as postdoc, guest lecturer, and visiting scholar at Yale, Murray State University, and the MIT; Gan Yang, who played an important role in translation and publishing during the 1980s, left for the University of Chicago after 1989 and moved to Hong Kong in 1999; Cui Zhiyuan, who obtained his Ph.D. at Chicago and held teaching positions at the MIT and Harvard, boasts an important translocal activity: he edited an anthology of the writings of Roberto Mangabeira Unger for the British publisher Verso (Mangabeira Unger, 1997), and contributed to the volume *Sustainable Democracy* edited by Adam Przeworski (1995).

underpinnings of China's modernization. Wang Hui's essay revisits the Enlightenment ideas and their inherent ideology of modernization prevalent in China since the 1980s and for the first time relates China's situation with the wider context of global capitalism (Wang Hui, 1997a: 146). In this sense, Wang expands the meaning of the Tian'anmen incidents of 1989 and presents them as an event of global importance that triggered the beginning of the triumphalist neoliberal parade—political and intellectual—of the 1990s. For Wang, post-Maoist China had set on a path for reforms that moved the country toward a market-oriented modernization to be converged with global capitalism. Moreover, he underscored the role played by the Chinese state in pushing forward market reforms and privatizations. In Wang's analysis, the Enlightenment ideology that was prevalent in the 1980s and lingered in the 1990s was complicit with the state's market reforms, despite the claims by enlightenment thinkers that they were in opposition to the state. Wang pointed out that Chinese intellectuals had naively assumed the core tenets of "Western" modernization, that is, to consider global capitalism as the goal for national modernization (ibid.). He Guimei has highlighted the fact that, while liberal thinkers thought of themselves as being "against the system" and as holders of a critical stance vis-à-vis the government, Wang Hui showed them that, on the contrary, they were necessary collaborators in supplying ideological legitimacy to the government's economic and social reforms, and they had actually become part of the dominant power and legitimizers of its agenda (He Guimei, 2014: 266). Wang Hui considered that, by focussing on modernization as a process and founding their analyses on binaries such as China/West or tradition/modernity, Chinese intellectuals had regarded the failure of modernization as the source of China's problems. However, under the new conditions many problems in Chinese society were arising precisely from the process of modernization itself (Wang Hui, 1997a: 134). As Zhao Xun (2007) pointed out, instead of lingering on with the idea of "modernization", which by then was almost inevitably understood as synonymous with marketization and economic liberalization, Wang Hui was the first to reorient the discussion toward the nature of "modernity" itself, to question its assumed meaning and to reconsider its contents, thus getting rid of its teleological presumptions and opening up a space of possibilities in search for alternatives.

Another controversial aspect in *CCTQM* was Wang Hui's reappraisal of certain aspects of the revolutionary era under Mao Zedong. The prevalent view among Chinese intellectuals since the 1980s was to regard Marxism and Mao's revolutionary practice as an obstacle in China's modernization. But in Wang Hui's view, they failed to see that Marxism had been an ideology of modernization in Chinese history, though a different kind of modernization not totally consistent with modernization theory, since China's socialist modernization incorporates socialist contents and values such as an aspiration to equality. Against the prevalent current of the previous decades, marked by the dismissal of the Maoist period as a feudalistic cum utopian velleity and the "farewell to revolution", Wang Hui praised certain elements of the socialist legacy under Mao, which he defined as "an antimodern ideology of modernization" (Wang Hui, 1997a: 136). By this he meant an ideology of modernization that seeks an implicit (socialist) teleology through revolution while, at the same time, deploying a critique of Euro-American capitalist modernization. It was precisely this appraisal of Maoist-socialist legacies that earned him the label of "new leftist" and turned him into a leading voice within the growing critiques of China's market reforms. It is important to consider that such a label was put upon Wang Hui by liberal intellectuals who opposed Wang's views as a way to delegitimize his ideas as radical and backward. I will delve further into the connotations of the "new left" label within China and its implications for the translocal circulation of Wang Hui's work later on.

The intense controversy that *CCTQM* sparked in the months following its publication in mainland China (and whose consequences can be said to be still lingering in the Chinese intellectual field today) focused especially on Wang Hui's appraisal of elements from Mao's era, as well as on his criticism of New Enlightenment intellectuals as the necessary collaborators of the government's market-driven agenda. Ripostes followed even from beyond the Chinese mainland, with Hong Kong- and Taiwan-based journals also echoing the controversy.[55] Interestingly, a common object of criticism was Wang's use of Western theoretical references. His analysis was dismissed as an attempt to force upon the Chinese situation a "Western" analytical framework. For instance, Xu Youyu lambasted new left thinkers like Wang Hui for presenting China's situation in a

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[55] See, e.g., the follow-up discussion in the pages of the Hong Kong journal *Ershiyi Shiji* (August 1997) in which Wang Hui delved into the notion of "liberalism" in China (Wang Hui, 1997c), with responses by Xu Youyu (1997), and Xu Jilin (1997).

"deformed" and conveniently "tailored" shape that suited the analysis of the Western new left and neo-Marxism (1999). Similarly, Zhu Xueqin asserted that, "in the name of the people, they [the new left] quote extensively from translated symbols of Western avant-garde theory, yet their theoretical style does not draw inspiration from the Chinese folk, much less speak to the lower folk, but is rather flipped outward to connect with the Western academia" (1999: 392). Indeed, Wang Hui had been working and studying in several institutions abroad in the previous years, which allowed him to become acquainted with ongoing debates in other contexts. For instance, in 1995 he published in *Dushu* an article about the Egyptian thinker Samir Amin after listening to one of his conferences while on an academic visit to Sweden. Wang paid special attention to Amin's critical theory of globalization, in which he found a whole new perspective that he considered relevant for the ongoing discussions in China about globalization (Wang Hui, 1995b: 107). However, what some critics considered as a flaw of Wang Hui's analysis, was precisely seen by others as one of its main contributions. He Guimei, for instance, praised Wang Hui's analysis because it managed to overcome the narrowness of the nation-state as analytical framework, and made an explicit connection between China's complex situation and the global predicaments under transnational capitalism (2014: 265), linking China's situation within a broader universe of discourse and presenting China's juncture and problematics as relevant not only from the perspective of China itself, but from a translocal level of inquiry. In that sense, Wang's writing was bestowed with a potential for translocal appeal, especially from European and North American contexts. In the intellectual field, controversies function as "strong moments of a permanent symbolic competition" (Bourdieu, 1984a: 26); thus the controversy surrounding *CCTQM* also turned Wang Hui into a central figure from China's intellectual field with uncommon political significance, which made him an object of interest for observers beyond China.

As Wang Hui acknowledges, *CCTQM* was intended as a rather oblique reflection, "a little self-reflection to provide a basis for understanding the complex and changing reality" (Wang Hui, 2000a: 2). At that time, his research interests and efforts were focused on the intellectual history of late-Qing and early-republican China, far from contemporary social and political issues. Recalling this episode, Wang Hui has even expressed his regret about his decision to publish it in a mainland venue, and that he

should have continued instead to focus on his research and self cultivation (3). However, paradoxically, that sideline digression in his academic trajectory became the central focus of the European and North American circulations of his work, taking him to engage further in contemporary social critique on a transnational scale, which ultimately led him to become a "global intellectual". Moreover, as previously mentioned, the controversy led to the configuration of a new division in the mainland Chinese intellectual field between two camps, the "liberals" and the "new left". Wang Hui found himself labeled as a leading figure of the latter, and this label would not be without consequences for the translocal circulation of his work, as I will explain further below.

Timing was another factor that unexpectedly increased the significance of Wang Hui's analysis in China and abroad, investing it with an epochal, almost prophetic aura: not long after the publication of *CCTQM*, the outburst of the Asian financial crisis in July 1997 seemed to confirm some of the concerns put forward by Wang Hui and other authors under the "new left" label in the previous years. The 1997 Asian financial crisis brought market triumphalism to an abrupt stop and unleashed a wide interrogation of the hitherto orthodoxy about modernization and the relations between the state and the market.[56]

In the following years, Wang Hui engaged further with this originally unintended profile as a social critic. The reactions to his 1997 article and the debates it unleashed in the Chinese intellectual field convinced him to pursue that kind of critique. In 1999 Wang co-edited, together with Hui Pokeung (许宝强), a collection of essays entitled *Developmental Illusions* (发展的幻象) intended as "a critique of the rising trends of neoliberalism and developmentalism" (Wang Hui, 2009b: xvii). The volume included essays by well-known social critics of the time, such as Immanuel Wallerstein, Giovanni Arrighi, Arjun Appadurai, Tariq Banuri, and Frédérique Apffel-Marglin, among others. At this time, Wang Hui was convinced that any intellectual critique could only be truly persuasive if they presented "an analysis of growth that differs from the neoliberal one" (Wang Hui, 2009b: xvii). Later in 2000, Wang published the article "The Historical Roots of Chinese Neoliberalism: A Further Discussion of the State of Contemporary Mainland Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity" (中国"新自由主义"的历

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[56] See, for instance, the contributions in Beeson et al. (2000).

史根源——再论当代中国大陆的思想状况与现代性问题), in which he expanded the analysis that he had opened up with *CCTQM* in 1997 and extended his critique of China's social and economic situation. That article was already written under request from abroad, more precisely, by Perry Anderson, then editor of *New Left Review* (Wang Hui, 2003: vii). Wang Hui wrote that article while he was a visiting lecturer at the University of Washington in Seattle, where he witnessed the massive 1999 anti-globalization protests against the WTO summit hosted by the city. The translocal outlook of that article was very clear. Indeed, it was first published abroad in 2001 in the Taiwanese journal *Taiwan Shehui Yanjiu Jikan* (台湾社会研究季刊, *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, by its official English name), and in English translation in 2003 in a special issue by the Hong Kong journal Asian Exchange (Lau & Huang, 2003), translated by Rebecca Karl and re-published in *positions* one year later (Wang Hui, 2004b), and in Wang Hui's volume *China's New Order* published by HUP also in 2003 (retranslated by Theodore Huters). What is more, the version of that essay published later in mainland China in 2008 was edited and did not include politically sensitive sections and references to "the 1989 social movement" or "the year 1989" that appeared prominently in the title of the English translations (Wang Hui, 2008a: 98–160).

As previously mentioned, one of the central aspects of *CCTQM* was its critique of modernization as an ineluctable process and its inquiry into the contents of modernity. In the previous chapter I explained how the paradigms of modernization theory made a comeback in the aftermath of the Cold War. In the midst of neoliberal triumphalism, the new modernization paradigm was not without contestation from the ranks of the European and North American left. In this sense, Wang Hui's explicit criticism of the idea of modernization, that had made their way into the Chinese intellectual consensus during the 1980s, also stroke a chord among those ranks, all the more if we consider (as I will explain in the next chapter) that China's ascendance in the global economy was increasingly seen by European and North American scholars and intellectuals as a privileged social "laboratory" for the world's future. Because of that, the contestation of modernization paradigms voiced from within the most "modernizing" nation was considered a hopeful, powerful signal that backed up their own claims.

Related to the contestation of modernization theory in different contexts, Euro-American critique also saw the emergence of the so-called "multiple modernities" or "alternative modernities". For Eisenstadt, one of the main analysts of this subject, these multiple claims on modernity

> [go] against the view of the "classical" theories of modernization and of the convergence of industrial societies prevalent in the 1950s, and indeed against the classical sociological analyses of Marx, Durkheim, and (to a large extent) even of Weber, at least in one reading of his work. They all assumed, even if only implicitly, that the cultural program of modernity as it developed in modern Europe and the basic institutional constellations that emerged there would ultimately take over in all modernizing and modern societies [...]. (2000: 1)

Against that view, "alternative/multiple modernities" asserted that modernization didn't lead to "the cloning of societies after a 'Western' model, which is itself an imaginary abstraction" (Dirlik, 2013: 8), but instead "[gave] rise to multiple institutional and ideological patterns" (Eisenstadt, 2000: 1–2). Therefore, Wang Hui's critique of modernity was also concomitant with an ongoing translocal (including European and North American) discussion surrounding the idea of modernity in the 1990s and 2000s. Wang Hui's critique of the homogenizing and hegemonic views of modernity is prominent in several of the essays he published since the early 1990s, in which he inquired into key ideas of modernity such as "science" or "the individual", or addressed dichotomies such as modernity/tradition or China/West that were common in discussions in China at the time. For instance, in one of his main essays of this period, "Weber and the Question of Chinese Modernity" (韦伯与中国的现代性问题) (Wang Hui, 1997b: 1–35, originally published in 1994) he attacked the tenets of modernization theory by criticizing Max Weber's work on Chinese religion, which identified rationalization —or rather the lack of it— as the general pattern to analyze Chinese social problems (in contradiction, as noted by Wang Hui, with Weber's very own critique elsewhere of the perverse effects of rationalization). Weber's analysis of Chinese society had been translated and was widely circulated and discussed by Chinese intellectuals at that time as a plausible explanation of China's problems with

modernization. From there, Wang Hui expanded his critique to the "Western" field of China Studies for adopting those same assumptions in their analyses of China's predicaments. Against that, he called for greater awareness of "cultural autonomy" (文化自主性) and "intersubjectivity" (主体间性) when considering China's modernity. It is worth quoting in extension the conclusions and prospects in *CCTQM*:

> The upshot is that the teleology of modernization that has dominated Chinese thinking for the past century must now be challenged. We must reconsider our old familiar patterns of thought. Even though there is no one theory that can explain the complex and often mutually contradictory problems that we now face, it nevertheless behooves Chinese intellectuals to break their dependence on time-honored binary paradigms, such as China/West and tradition/modernity, and to reconsider China's search for modernity and its historical conditions by placing these questions in the context of globalization. This is an urgent theoretical problem. Socialist historical practice is part of the past; the future designs of global capitalism, by the same token, do not promise to overcome the crisis of modernity that Weber wrote about. The modern era, as a historical phase, continues. This provides the impetus for the continued existence and development of critical thought; it may prove for Chinese intellectuals to be a historic opportunity for theoretical and institutional innovation. (Wang Hui, 1997a: 148, translation by R.E. Karl in Wang Hui, 2003: 186–187)[57]

For Wang Hui, one of the sources for the quest for "theoretical and institutional innovation" was intellectual history, especially in the pre-modern and early modern period. Notwithstanding this, he warns that "simple reliance on traditional conceptions and paradigms is not necessarily effective, because these concepts and paradigms usually take on meaning only in light of modern thinking and theories" (Wang Hui, 2008b: 115). Therefore, when drawing on concepts from the past, he claims it is

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[57] "这一切表明：自上个世纪以来在中国思想界普遍流行的现代化的目的论世界观正在受到挑战，我们必须重新思考我们习惯的那些思想前提。尽管没有一种理论能够解释我们面对的这些如此复杂而又相互矛盾的问题，但是，超越中国知识分子早已习惯的那种中国 西方、传统 现代的二分法，更多地关注现代社会实践中的那些制度创新的因素，关注民间社会的再生能力，进而重新检讨中国寻求现代性的历史条件和方式，将中国问题置于全球化的历史视野中考虑，却是迫切的理论课题。社会主义历史实践已经成为过去，全球资本主义的未来图景也并未消除韦伯所说的那种现代性危机。作为一个历史段落的现代时期仍在延续。这就是社会批判思想得以继续生存和发展的动力，也是中国知识界进行理论创新和制度创新的历史机遇。"

important to examine those concepts within the framework of the worldview of the time before simply reducing them to economic, political, or social categories (118).

Wang Hui's take on the redefinition of modernity, both in its genealogy and in its contents, was condensed in what remains to date his major work, *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought* (现代中国思想的兴起, hereafter *Rise*) (Wang Hui, 2004a),[58] a four-volume monograph in which he searches for traces of what he terms "recurrent modernities" at different moments of Chinese history since the Song dynasty (960–1279) until the late nineteenth century and the first encounters and contestations of "Western" modernity.[59] Wang Hui offers no clear definition of modernity as a project. Instead, he seems to focus precisely on the conditions of possibility for a critique of a teleological or deterministic definition of development. What appears from his historical analysis seems to be rather an aspiration to put the social form on a pair with ethical principles (e.g. as embodied by the immanent principle *li* 理) so that it is rooted in a quest for a just social order. Indeed, this can be further explained by the nature of Wang Hui's intellectual quest: an open project in quest for alternatives, though these alternatives are never systematically described and there are no normative propositions to be found in his work. This has led in fact to a sometimes ambivalent reception of some parts of Wang's work. Notwithstanding this, Zhang Yongle notes that, though the "alternative" may not be clearly presented in Wang Hui's work, "in the long run his undertaking may be more durable in clearing the ground for effective construction" (Zhang Yongle, 2010: 50).

4.6. Formal Aspects or Wang Hui's Writing and Consequences for Circulation

Wang Hui's writing style and mode of inquiry had consequences for the reception of his work both within the Chinese intellectual field and abroad. Bourdieu speaks of the "symbolic efficacy" of specific modes of argumentation, rhetorics, and stylistics. This means that a discourse—and therefore the person who produces it—is more likely to be recognized as "legitimate" within a specific field (e.g., an intellectual field) when it

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[58] Published in English translation after the closing of this research (Wang Hui, 2023).
[59] Murthy (2006), Wang Ban (2007), and Zhang Yongle (2010) have elaborated thorough reviews of *Rise*.

displays specific features in terms of syntax, lexic, or the use of certain references that are conventionally recognized as signs of a legitimate discourse within that field (Bourdieu, 2001: 346). Similarly, Baert writes that the circulation and reception of an intellectual product can be determined not just by the "intrinsic quality" of its arguments or the evidences it presents, but also on certain "rhetorical devices" employed by the author to locate his/her work within the field of reception (2012: 304). It is important to note, as Bourdieu explains, that the principle of the symbolic efficacy of certain forms does not lie in the forms themselves, but rather in the social and institutional conditions that produce and reproduce those principles (Bourdieu, 2001: 165). Thus, for Hyland,

> [s]uccessful academic writing depends on the individual writer's projection of a shared professional context. That is, in pursuing their personal and professional goals, writers seek to embed their writing in a particular social world which they reflect and conjure up through particular approved discourses. (2004: 1)

This idea of a legitimate discourse is also relevant for translation. As I mentioned in the introduction, the humanities present a wide diversity in its modes of legitimate discourse depending on the different (often national) contexts. Therefore, when the work of an author from a specific source context is taken to a different context, these mismatches may affect the perception of that work and the degree of legitimacy it is accorded in the receiving context. Likewise, if a work presents a mode of discourse that is closer to the modes of discourse in the reception context, its translation and circulation may be facilitated. To a certain extent, this has been the case for Wang Hui's work in European and North American contexts.

With regard to the contemporary Chinese intellectual field, some scholars, from a comparativist approach and through extensive reading, have identified a set of features that define the modes of intellectual discourse in mainland China, in contrast to the prevalent modes of Anglophone or even "Western" intellectual discourse. For instance, Metzger sees a contrast between a pervading "epistemological optimism" among Chinese thinkers versus the "epistemological pessimism" of their "Western" counterparts. Such optimism gives some Chinese intellectual discourses a positivistic outlook that allows to make formulations based also on "inherent" virtue, or that claim

access to "essences" and "ultimate truths" (2005: 93–94). Similarly, Davies identifies a specific "poetics" of Chinese critical discourse that is endowed with moral and affective tones "even as the discourse itself aims to promote an otherwise purely analytical or interpretive rigor" (2009: 193). Such tones are rooted in a personal feeling of responsibility and "worrying" for one's nation that "operates as a tacit moral criterion to validate a given argument, insight, or proposition as authentically critical" (Davies, 2011: 126). Both Metzger and Davies provide a plethora of examples to prove the relevance of their analyses. Notwithstanding the pervasiveness of such modes of discourse, it is hard to argue that contemporary Chinese intellectuals produce their work exclusively within these modes. In fact, the production of some contemporary Chinese thinkers would more easily fit within the modes of inquiry that Metzger tends to characterize as "Western". Wang Hui's characteristic writing style and certain formal aspects of his essays have been the object of attention and criticism within the Chinese intellectual field, which proves the existence of an open tension about the legitimate or acceptable forms of discourse among mainland Chinese intellectuals and scholars.[60]

Wang Hui's writing has often been described as complex and obscure among Chinese critics. This feature has been singled out by his intellectual opponents to discredit or downgrade his work as well as that of the so-called "new left". For instance, Zhu Xueqin (朱学勤, b. 1952), a major figure of the "liberal" camp in mainland China, accused the "new left" intellectuals of using an "abstruse and veiled" (晦涩隐蔽) style of writing that required considerable effort to interpret (1999: 391).[61] Another liberal, Li Shenzhi (李慎之，1923–2003) referred to the common writing features of "many Western and Chinese new left scholars" as "reiterative and difficult to read" (环回往复, 诘屈聱牙) (Li Shenzhi & He Jiadong, 2000: 258). When in 2010 the literary scholar Wang Binbin accused Wang Hui of plagiarism, he made similar objections about his "impenetrable" usage of the language (文理不通) and accused him of deliberately

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[60] Wu Guanjun points to several writings of Wang Hui to argue that Wang himself also falls into that moral and affective mode of writing. However, the examples that Wu provides do not correspond to proper essays, but rather to opinion pieces, personal reflections or memoirs—e.g., Son of the Jinsha River (金沙江之子 *Jinsha jiang zhi zi*), written as an homage to Xiao Liangzhong (萧亮中, 1972–2005), a young anthropologist that had recently passed away— or texts in which Wang responds to criticisms. In his essays, Wand Hui usually displays a more neutral tone.

[61] Though Zhu Xueqin's criticism is directed at "new left" authors in general and he doesn't mention Wang Hui explicitly, this sort of criticism had already been a common currency within the riposte to Wang Hui's controversial 1997 article. In contrast, Zhu praises another new left intellectual, Han Yuhai (韩毓海, b. 1965), for his clear writing style.

conveying simple ideas in complicated, "tongue twister" sentences in order "to appear as profound and enigmatic, so as to make people look up at him and inspire an inescapable sense of awe" (2010: 128).[62] Less confrontational scholars have also expressed similar reservations about Wang Hui's writing style, such as Li Xiaojiang (李小江 b. 1951), who has as well characterized Wang Hui's writing style "abstruse" (晦涩) and "postmodern" (后现代) (2014: 15).

These features correspond to what is usually termed as "translationese" (翻译体), that is, a mode of writing (in Chinese) that introduces syntactic or even morphological aspects closer to European languages and which are not natural in Chinese.[63] Michael G. Hill, translator of Wang Hui's *China from Empire to Nation-State*, considers Wang's writing style as representative of such "translationese" and recalls Wang's use of long sentences with relatively complex syntax. Hill recalls that, when translating them: "I had some conversation with the copy editor who asked me to break up sentences, paragraphs, use fewer quotation marks, these kinds of things, and my response was almost always that [...] we were going to reproduce what was in the Chinese as closely as possible" (Hill, personal interview, May 16, 2016).

However, it is interesting to note that the formal aspects of Wang Hui's writings generally do not appear as problematic when translated and published abroad. Commenting on the proverbial complexity of Wang Hui's writing style in China, Zarrow writes that "Western scholars will have relatively little trouble with the prose, for it reflects the original style that might be termed a Chinese dialect version of global pomo (not a thick Lyotardian brogue but the BBC version)" (Zarrow, 2015: 265). Similarly, Ownby notes that "Wang's approach is post-modern; it could hardly be otherwise, given the nature of his project. Happily, he avoids the sneering 'holier than thou' tone of some post-modern writings" (Ownby, 2016). Notwithstanding these views, another of his English translators, Theodore Huters, has nevertheless pointed to difficulties in conveying Wang's ideas in translation because of their "complexity" and

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[62] "会显得高深莫测，会让人不由得仰视、敬畏。"
[63] Some morphological and syntactical features of so-called "translationese" in Chinese are, to name just a few, the creation of nouns by adding "性"(*xing*) to adjectives (similar to the English suffix -ness or -ty), the addition of "化" (*hua*) to convey a sense of process (akin to the English suffix -zation), or the use of sentences with long attributives (定语 *dingyu*) before a noun, similar to the use of subordinates in the syntax of European languages. About the phenomenon of "translationese" in modern Chinese, see the descriptions and critiques in e.g. Wang Kefei (2002) or Wang Yan (2008).

because of his writing style, to the point that he had to "normalize" (规范化) the original wording (quoted in He Jixian & Zhang Xiang, 2014b: 67).[64]

Another formal aspect of Wang Hui's work is his impressively familiarity with and abundant use of references from European and North American authors. This use sometimes entails a critical assessment of these sources as Wang Hui engages with their ideas, sometimes praising them, sometimes countering them with arguments and analyses of his own in an attempt to make evident the analytical limitations of certain (Western) categories in order to understand Chinese or global issues. As I previously mentioned, Bourdieu (2001: 346) considered the use of certain references as one of the signs of a legitimate discourse. Situating one's own research within a certain scholarly tradition and establishing a dialogue with certain authors can act as a facilitator for the acquisition of prestige and diffusion (Lamont, 1987: 593–594), allowing for an increase in "symbolic intellectual power" (Espagne, 1999: 24). In the case of Wang Hui, affiliating his intellectual endeavor with a tradition of European and American historians and thinkers—even when sometimes engaging with their ideas in an overtly critical way—by incorporating themes, concepts, and references reinforces his symbolic capital and recognition within that translocal field and produces an "effect of erudition" (Boltanski, 1975: 195). In this regard, as I have already said, an interesting aspect is that in Wang Hui's case this happens even when (or arguably precisely because) his work questions elements of such intellectual traditions.

Wang Hui's extensive use of references to foreign authors and works has also been used by his critics to question the relevance of his work within the Chinese intellectual field. Referring specifically to the use of foreign references in Wang's work, the already-mentioned Zhu Xueqin, for instance, accused new left authors in general of being elitist for their "abundant use of translated Western avant-garde theoretical symbols" and brandished this point to argue that Wang Hui's work is not addressed to the common Chinese reader, but rather seeks "to converge with the Western academia"

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[64] As Wang Hui's writing style was frequently regarded as exogenous, it is interesting to notice how writing conventions and style can relate not only to the intellectual but also to the (geo)political evolution and self-image of social constituencies. In an analysis of intellectual discourses in China, Mahoney writes that many Chinese intellectuals "are abandoning Western styles of writing and are employing a new type of academic [written vernacular] (白话 *baihua*), partly in an effort to attract a broader readership and secure their positions as public intellectuals while shucking off the old associations that left them feeling like the academic equivalent of second-class colonial subjects" (Mahoney, 2014: 61–2).

(1999: 392). Xu Youyu, as already mentioned, criticized the new left for linking the global capitalist system to the Chinese context and for forcing Western new left and neo-Marxist analyses into the analysis of the Chinese situations (1999). More vehemently, Wu Jiaxiang (吴稼祥, b. 1955) lashes out at new left authors, citing explicitly Wang Hui as a case in point: "it seems that they are unable to say anything unless they quote the words of some foreigner, often just a series of quotes, and after reading them, I wonder what they are trying to say" (2000).[65] Xu Jilin also made a similar point against using Western left critique of capitalism to analyze China's juncture (cited in Gao Like, 2007: 203). Also Li Xiaojiang underscores the fact that Wang Hui's works "feature research mostly from Western [scholars] while research results from today's China appear scarcely" (2014: 44).[66]

For the Anglophone reception, Wang Hui's use of references and approaches familiar to Euro-North American readers is also highlighted by reviewers of his several works published in English. Zarrow points out that Wang Hui's work may be less obscure to "Western" readers given that Wang "works as much within English-language scholarship as Chinese" (2015: 265). Zarrow also connects Wang Hui's work with two lineages of scholarship, one in Asia and one in Europe, namely "the long Asian search for some kind of modernization program that would be substantively distinct from the Western pattern" and "the neo-Marxian or Frankfurt school critique of late capitalism" (ibid.). With regard to his use of Western references, Wasserstrom underscores that "[h]e ponders the ideas of everyone from Hannah Arendt to Karl Marx and considers their relevance to China's current dilemmas" (2010). Sun Yan praises Wang Hui for approaching "Western theories [...] with a refreshingly independent mind" that, according to her, avoids other Chinese scholars' "infatuation" with such theories (2004: 1116). We also find explicit mentions of Wang Hui's work as being related to thinkers such as Edward Said and Jacques Derrida (Murthy, 2012: 179; Frenkiel, 2012), or to Carl Schmitt (Tu, 2016: 245). The abundance of Euro-American references and the comparatively scarcity of references to contemporary Chinese scholars is also noted by non-Chinese reviewers. For example, in his review of Wang Hui's *China from Empire to Nation-State*, Ownby also writes:

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[65] "他们如果不引用某个外国人的话似乎就开不了口，常常是连篇累牍的引语，读完之后，不知道他们想说什么。"
[66] "汪晖书中引文多半出自西方而少见来自当下国人的研究成果。"

The context for his inquiry is essentially sinological and historical discourse on China as practiced in Japan, the United States, and Europe over the past few decades (the introduction suggests that Wang pays less attention to his Chinese colleagues, which may be one reason that he is not universally appreciated there). [...] (2016)

Therefore, as we can observe from these different considerations about Wang Hui's writings, there are divergent and even contradictory expectations among different intellectual fields which cause the same feature of an author's work to be perceived differently at different contexts. Notwithstanding this, and in spite of criticisms, Wang Hui has been able to navigate differentiated intellectual contexts and to become a well-established author within the intellectual field of mainland China as well as in translocal intellectual fields that I will describe later on.

Wang's usage of certain concepts from European and North American social critique is also a point of contention for his critics in China. At the same time, these concepts also help position Wang's work within translocal strands of social critique. A prominent example is Wang's use of "neoliberal(ism)" (新自由主义). This term was not common in Chinese intellectual discourse when Wang began to apply it in the late 1990s to his socio-economic analyses of China. On the one hand, he used the term "neoliberal" to label his opponents in China, instead of using the more usual "liberal", which conveyed a mostly positive currency and enjoyed wider consensus in Chinese debates of the time (Wu Guanjun, 2014: 215); on the other hand, by using that concept, Wang connected China's domestic conditions with translocal conditions and creates a correspondence with a globally used terminology, thus inserting his own work within critical-intellectual discussions abroad.[67] Similarly, Wang Hui's well-known use of the notion of "depoliticization", which was being widely used and discussed in fields such as political philosophy, governance and public policy since at least the 1990s, came after exchanges with Italian scholars Alessandro Russo and Claudia Pozzana during a

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[67] An example of criticism from another Chinese scholar directed at Wang's usage of "neoliberalism" is Wang Sirui (2002).

research stay in Bologna in 2004 (see Wang Hui's acknowledgment in Wang Hui, 2007: note 5).[68]

Finally, I should mention the "open" or preliminary nature of Wang Hui's intellectual endeavor as a feature that arguably played in favor of his translocal circulation. This lack of definition has been seen as a limitation that dilutes the strength of his ideas. Zhang Yongle, for instance, pointed out that Wang "is better at dismantling the theoretical structures of others than erecting his own" (2010: 82), this lack of definition has been presented as "a profoundly tactful sort of deconstruction—breaking down pre-existing discourses on China rather than trying to rush in with new solutions" (Huters, 2011: 6). In this sense, rather than undermining the reach and attraction of his ideas, the "openness" of Wang Hui's intellectual project may in fact have favored the circulation of his work, since that openness allows his work to be more readily re-positioned in new contexts.[69]

4.7. "New Left" as a label between China, Europe and North America

As previously mentioned, the label "new left" or "new leftist" (新左派) was applied to Wang Hui by intellectual opponents soon after the publication of *CCTQM*. It has accompanied him and his work since then in his translocal circulation, allowing access to a certain intellectual arena in Europe and North America.

For Bourdieu, among the social operations at work in the transfer of ideas from a national field to another national field, labeling (*marquage*) plays an important function as "a typical act of transfer of symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 2002: 4–5). This labeling is determined by factors such as which publishing house publishes an author's work, in which series it appears, who writes the preface or introduction, etc. More importantly, Bourdieu considers that labeling also entails an act of appropriation that annexes the transferred author/work to the discoverer or introducer's vision, or assimilates it to a

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[68] An early formulation of the concept of "depoliticization" can be found, for instance, in Rancière (1995). For a broad account of its use in different disciplines, see Flinders & Buller (2006: 293–295).

[69] Santoro et al. (2020), in their analysis of the circulation of Gramsci, have also pointed out that the openness of an author's work can act as a major factor for its circulation, by allowing his ideas to be creatively used to articulate new perspectives (2020: 212).

"problematic inscribed in the field of reception." Within this act of appropriation, the introducer shows a scarce interest to "rebuild the field of origin" (ibid., my translation). Besides, when labels circulate transnationally, they give way to interesting paradoxes. A label can bear a certain meaning within a specific context or community of meaning but, when raised by agents belonging to a differentiated field in another context, it can suffer totally different, sometimes unexpected shifts. The use of labels, Pinto reminds us, allows intellectual agents in the reception context to intervene upon ongoing debates by altering the balance of power among different "competing" tendencies. Intellectuals are thus able to "identify essential objective positions with a certain volume of theoretical capital, and to mobilize symbolic instruments for expression and classification [...] that can be used to produce and display fundamental choices that are not reducible to a mere cognitive content" (Pinto, 2002: 21, my translation). This may explain the readiness and even haste with which some agents in the reception contexts may want to relate and translocalize authors and/or works with which they may have a shared ground. Baert warns that "the introduction of labels can facilitate the dissemination of ideas, but once many others adopt the same label (sometimes expressing different ideas), they may undermine the clarity of its meaning or the distinctiveness of those associated with it" (Baert, 2012: 311).

The term "new left" in contemporary China carries a very heavy background. It first appeared with prominence in mainland China's intellectual debates in an article published by Yang Ping in *Beijing Youth* on July 21, 1994, (Wang Ban & Lu Jie, 2012: ix–x) intended as a response to a previous article by Cui Zhiyuan, a Public Policy scholar also related to the "new left" for his statist ideas on institutional reform. In fact, in its earliest usage, the term was originally coined to designate a number of intellectuals like Cui, working in the field of economics and public governance who had been mainly trained at US institutions. The addition of "new" was intended to differentiate them (chronologically at least) from the older generations of Maoist intellectuals. Whether old or new, the label "left" or "leftist" had overtly pejorative connotations in the public usage of the 1980s and early 1990s China, when modernization, reform and opening up enjoyed an uncontested favorable consensus in the country. To be a "leftist" at that time was therefore perceived as being against reforms and advocating a return to the radical politics of the Maoist era, especially the

Cultural Revolution, which in the post-Mao period was regarded by many intellectuals as an epitome of suffering and suppression. In that juncture, the label "leftist" was used with the intent to damage someone's reputation (Dai Jinhua, in Dai Jinhua et al., 2010: 5). Gan Yang, one of the intellectuals upon whom the label was put, even coined an alternative term, "liberal left" (自由左派 *ziyou zuopai*), in order to keep the principles of statism and a critical stance toward economic reform and support while dissociating it from prevalent autocratic and radical connotations: "Mainland China had been for a long time a 'far left' society, and the 'reform' in China departed from an 'anti-left' stance. For this reason, in the mainland, 'left' was a totally derogatory term, while 'anti-left' boasted the highest moral legitimacy" (Gan Yang, 2003: 110–111).[70]

On the other hand, in the European and North American contexts, notwithstanding national differences, the "new left" refers to critical leftist intellectuals who appeared mainly in the 1960s and 1970s and began to adopt a heterodox approach to theoretical Marxism. Besides theoretical issues, the new left was a consequence of the disillusionment with Stalinism and Soviet centralism that led to a thorough critique of Soviet socialist practice regarded as a "deviation" of original socialist principles, and a rejection of the ambivalent position of traditional communist parties towards Stalinism (Berg, 2016: 45).

Thus, while the "new left" label was intended to be a delegitimizing device by his critics in mainland China, the implications of this label in the Euro-American intellectual and political contexts created certain expectations around Wang Hui for some readers in these locations, especially during the first stages of Wang's work circulation abroad and when access to his work and ideas in translation was more limited in number and scope. As the scope of the translations of his work broadened, we will observe a tension between these early expectations held by some of his readers in Europe and North America and certain parts of Wang's work that were translated and introduced in later stages.

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[70] Sustained discussions surrounding this collective and its members have ended up producing a new sense for this label evolved from its original pejorative connotations. In the definition that has become standard nowadays when categorizing the Chinese intellectual scene, the term "Chinese new left" commonly points to a collective of thinkers and scholars that "share an intellectual consensus based on their fundamental concerns with social inequality, justice, and China's neoliberal model of developmentalism" (Wang Ban & Lu Jie, 2012: x).

As for Wang Hui, he has maintained an ambivalent relationship with this label. He has refused the term "new left", preferring to be called "critical intellectual". Though he does not refuse the term "left" nor the existence of an ideological breach between "left" and "right", he has considered this label as a product of certain "media intellectuals" seeking to relate Wang's discussions to the Cultural Revolution, thus undermining his legitimacy to take part in contemporary discussions (Cai Rupeng, 2013: 36). Notwithstanding this, despite Wang Hui's frequent expressions of reluctance toward it, the "new left" label has been insistently used in the Euro-North American context to designate Wang Hui's intellectual standpoint. In Wang Hui's 2000 interview for *New Left Review,* which would be the first of his appearances on the pages of this publication, it is especially interesting to observe that the term "new left" and its implications were indeed a key issue addressed at several moments of the interview. In that regard, Wang Hui clarified the reasons for his unwillingness to accept that designation, though he seemed to somehow accept with resignation the fact that it was already widely used to refer to him:

> Actually, people like myself have always been reluctant to accept this label [new left], pinned on us by our adversaries. Partly this is because we have no wish to be associated with the Cultural Revolution, or for that matter what might be called the 'Old Left' of the Reform-era CCP. But it's also because the term new left is a Western one, with a very distinct set of connotations—generational and political—in Europe and America. Our historical context is Chinese, not Western, and it is doubtful whether a category imported so explicitly from the West could be helpful in today's China. This feeling was strengthened by the Balkan War. So many Western intellectuals describing themselves as on the 'Left' supported the NATO campaign that one couldn't much wish to borrow the word from them. So rather than a new left in China, I still prefer to speak of critical intellectuals. But the term has probably come to stay. (Wang Hui, 2000b: 77)

Years later, in the profile that the *New York Times Magazine* devoted to him in 2006 (Mishra, 2006), Wang was saliently referred to as "China's New Leftist" in the headline of the article. Furthermore, he has participated in activities where the term has been prominently used. For instance, the talk that Wang Hui (together with David Kelly) gave at Stanford University in March 2009 was titled "What is 'Left' about the New

Left in China?" (Stanford Center for East Asian Studies, 2009). Given these shifting meanings through different contexts, the initially pejorative *xinzuopai* label, in its English rendition as "new left", came to associate Wang Hui and his intellectual endeavor with a specific ideological arena in European and North American contexts. That association was further reinforced by different social operations sustained in time, such as Wang Hui's exchanges with prominent Euro-North American new left intellectuals; the publication of essays about/by him in landmark outlets like *New Left Review* and its imprint Verso; or his participation in public events such as the fourth edition of the biannual conference "The Idea of Communism" in Seoul in 2013 hosted by Alain Badiou and Slavoj Žižek. These different mechanisms had the effect of locating Wang Hui within the "Left" ideological sphere for European and North American audiences.

4.8. Translocal Networks: Ideas Made in Circulation

As previously mentioned, Wang Hui's role as the editor of prominent intellectual journals in mainland China during the 1990s served as an important catalyst for his interactions with other academic editors and scholars from different locations outside of mainland China, in East Asia and beyond. Besides, Wang Hui has been moving and working translocally since very early in his academic career, and his curriculum boasts a considerable number of visits and fellowships at universities and research institutions worldwide, not only in Asia but also in Europe, North America, and Africa.[71] In the course of such interactions, Wang became increasingly entangled within a translocal network of intellectuals sharing similar approaches, diagnosis, propositions, and scholarly interests. At the same time, as we shall see in the next chapters, Wang Hui became a referent for China-related issues, not only for institutions specializing in China but, more importantly, for more general institutions and political organizations seeking to engage with China as an emergent intellectual powerhouse. This can be explained by his accumulation of, on the one hand, symbolic capital from his position

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[71] See Wang Hui's academic curriculum on the website of the Tsinghua Institute for Advanced Study in Humanities and Social Sciences (TIAS, 2015).

within the Chinese intellectual field (especially after the 1997 controversy) and, on the other hand, the social capital acquired through his numerous interactions with institutions and agents abroad.

Wang Hui's translocal interactions with peers began very early in his academic career. For instance, during his Ph.D. research in the 1980s he established contact with other Asian scholars, especially with Japanese specialists in Lu Xun such as Itō Toramaru (伊藤虎丸, 1927–2003). It wasn't until the early 1990s when he made the first academic visits to North American and European institutions. Between 1992 and 1993, he was a visiting scholar at the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), where he held a postdoctoral fellowship and encountered China specialists such as literary scholars Leo Ou-fan Lee and Haun Saussy, and intellectual historian Benjamin Elman. In the following years up until today, Wang Hui has visited a considerable number of foreign institutions, be it as a fellow, invited lecturer, or advanced researcher. Besides, he has also held short-term teaching positions at institutions outside of mainland China such as Columbia University, Heidelberg University, Tokyo University, New York University, Bologna University, Stanford University, or National Chiao Tung University (Taiwan). In Figure 4.1, we can observe the distribution by country of his institutional visits and positions as they appear in his curriculum at the website of the Tsinghua Institute for Advanced Study in Humanities and Social Sciences (TIAS).[72]

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[72] We have counted institutional visits as postdoctoral researcher, fellow, visiting lecturer or professor, as well as short-term teaching positions. We have not included conferences, talks or keynote speeches at academic conferences. The document was published online in 2015 and the data consigned cover until the year 2013.

Figure 4.1: Wang Hui's institutional visits and positions outside mainland China (until 2013). Source: TIAS (2015).
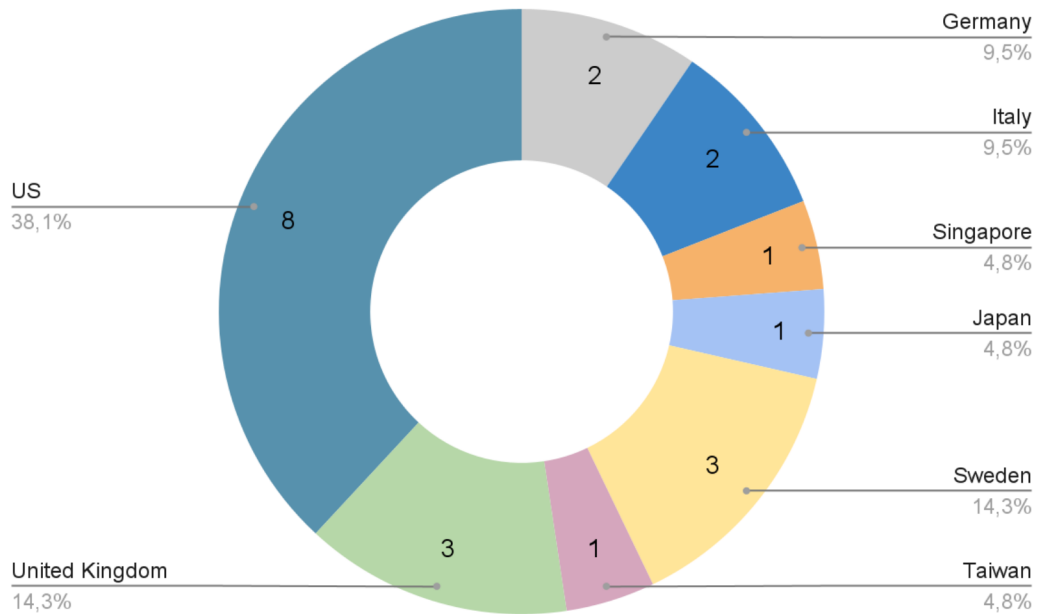
As the graphic shows, Wang Hui's visits have been especially frequent to the US (the aforementioned Harvard and UCLA, the University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University), followed by the UK (London School of Economics, Cambridge University, University of Edinburgh) and Sweden (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies of Stockholm University, Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study), as well as Germany (Heidelberg University and Wissenchaftskolleg zu Berlin) and Italy (University of Bologna). We can observe that, at least until 2013, his engagement with Anglophone institutions has been the most important in terms of number of visits.

Wang Hui's increasingly frequent visits abroad in the early 1990s coincided with the stronger institutionalization of cultural studies and postcolonialism at Euro-North American universities. This implied an increased ethical sensitivity toward "subaltern" voices and readiness on the part of Euro-North American scholars to engage with peers and intellectual production from previously neglected locations. In 1995, Wang Hui was invited to participate in the Second International Conference on Humanistic Discourse held at the University of California, Irvine, in 1995. Among the participants at this event were Joseph Hillis Miller, Jacques Derrida, Wolfgang Iser, Leo Ou-fan Lee, and Karatani Kojin. Wang Hui presented a paper that was introduced by the literary critic

Miller.[73] The conference was funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in Germany and the University of California, Irvine. Its first edition took place in 1992. It was intended to be a series of three yearly workshops, as stated in the introduction to the records of the event:

> A core group of Western and East Asian scholars are planning the creation of an International Conference for Humanistic Discourses, a conference concerned with bridge-building between Western and East Asian cultures, and primarily devoted to the comparative study of the discourses of the humanities as they play their role in constituting each of the cultures. Funding from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in Germany and the University of California, Irvine, will support annual meetings for three years. Our first meeting will be held in April 1994 at UCI. There will be a second meeting at Irvine in March-April 1995 and a third in Munich in September 1996. The three workshops are meant to intensify the scholarly cooperation between the United States and Germany as scholars from these countries interact with those of East Asia. (International Conference for Humanistic Discourses, 1994)

This statement shows an increasing awareness among Euro-American scholars of the need to expand the geographic limits of their scholarly interests and interactions. As Wang Hui himself recalls about this conference, "they were deconstructionists, but Postcolonialism gave them pressure, since they were all Western. So they invited Asian scholars" (Wang Hui, personal interview 2, August 5, 2016).[74]

Wang Hui's international academic visits increased after the 1997 controversy. From the perspective of Chinese and East Asian studies in Euro-North American academic institutions, Wang became a central figure of mainland China's most interesting and heated intellectual debate at the moment. From a broader left wing perspective, Wang was someone who had diagnosed a global predicament departing from the specific social, political, and economic conditions of mainland China. In that regard, he was a potential ally in the battle against neoliberal triumphalism and the "end of history". *CCTQM* was soon translated into English and published the following year

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[73] Wang Hui's paper at the conference was later published as Wang Hui (1995a). Miller's introduction as well as an account of the ensuing discussion can be found in Miller (1995).

[74] An insightful account of the postcolonial critique of canon formation and the pressure it put on US universities and scholars in the 1990s is Guillory (1993).

in the journal *Social Text* (Wang Hui, 1998a), one of the main theoretical powerhouses of Euro-American Academia at the time. In the following years up until the beginning of the 2000s, Wang Hui was invited to an array of US and European universities to speak about the ongoing intellectual debates in China (Wang Hui, 2003: xi).

This takes us to discuss the importance of social and interpersonal networks in the translocal circulation of an author's work, a factor that is generally overlooked in favor of more systemic aspects when considering the circulation of non Euro-American authors in European and North American contexts. A salient feature óf Wang Hui's trajectory is the vast network he has established with an important number of scholars and institutions throughout the world. These visits and contacts reveal what the cultural sociologist Randall Collins termed as "coalitions in the mind" (Collins, 1998: 19), that is, a set of shared interests, common goals, and intellectual affinities that ultimately bear upon the translocal circulation of an author's work. These kinds of networks exist mostly informally, but can be visible in, for instance, paratextual elements such as the "acknowledgements" section of publications or in footnotes in which the author acknowledges specific contributions. They also become evident in specific events and occasions in which different participants meet with a common focus. These occasions also act as a way to build up and/or display intellectual or ideological affinities that ascribe oneself to specific groups.

In the case of Wang Hui, one of such events was the fourth edition of the conference series "The Idea of Communism". These conferences, arisen from Alain Badiou's "Communist Hypothesis" and hosted by the philosopher Slavoj Žižek, intended to reunite thinkers from different contexts to debate and reevaluate the relevance of "Communism" as a critical concept in the twenty-first century. The conference celebrated four editions in London (2009), Berlin (2010), New York (2011), and Seoul (2013). Besides the promoters Badiou and Žižek, among the participants were prominent leftist intellectuals and scholars like Jean-Luc Nancy, Antonio Negri, Michael Hardt, Jacques Rancière, Gianni Vattimo, Terry Eagleton, and Étienne Balibar, among others. Wang Hui was invited as a speaker at the 2013 edition held in Seoul, focusing on the Asian experiences of Communism.[75] Despite Wang Hui's reluctance

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[75] He later contributed to a collective volume gathered around the themes of the conference and bearing the same title as the event, with essays by its participants (Lee & Žižek, 2016).

toward the "new left" label within China, his participation in a prominent event such as this one reinforced his adscription to a translocal field of left-wing intellectuals critical with existing social, economic, and political conditions under globalization.

These networks of interpersonal and intellectual affinity are activated and visible in critical moments. For example, when a member of that network is the target of ideologically-motivated attacks. The network of interpersonal affinities and intellectual alliances that Wang Hui had accumulated during many years came to the forefront in a moment of difficulty. On March 25, 2010, the prominent literary journal *Wenyi Yanjiu* published an article by Nanjing University professor Wang Binbin (王彬彬, b. 1962) in which he accused Wang Hui of plagiarizing some parts of his thesis-based book *Fankang juewang* (反抗绝望, *Resisting Despair*) written twenty years earlier.[76] These charges showed what was later considered as a case of deficient quotation by Wang Hui in a time when academic writing standards in China were still not as strict as they would become in the 1990s. These accusations caused a considerable storm in the Chinese academic field in which prominent intellectuals and scholars were prone to take positions. Furthermore, as mass media began to focus on the issue, the ideological stakes in the controversy were more and more obvious, surpassing a mere debate on academic writing standards to become a war between politically opposed factions. It was at this juncture, as I said, that the social capital accumulated by Wang Hui became visible: an open letter signed by eighty international scholars was sent to Tsinghua University's president in support of Wang Hui's academic integrity (Fenghuangwang, 2010). Among the signatories, we find those scholars who had been implicated in the circulation of his work as editors or translators: his translators Rebecca E. Karl, Theodore Huters, Sabrina Ardizzoni Christopher Connery, and Gloria Davies, and editors, collaborators, and colleagues such as Lindsay Waters, editor at Harvard University Press; Tani E. Barlow, editor of *positions;* and Claudia Pozzana and Alessandro Russo, who were key in introducing his work in Italy. The letter was also signed by China Studies scholars as well as prominent scholars from other academic fields and critical intellectuals such as Gayatri Spivak, Slavoj Žižek, Frederic Jameson, Michael Hardt, and Tariq Ali. Another action of support came in the form of a symposium, under the title "Wang Hui and the trajectory of contemporary Chinese

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[76] For an account of the case, see Custer (2010).

thought", held at Peking University on July 17 of that same year and organized by Dai Jinhua (Dai Jinhua, personal interview, August 23, 2016), Chinese cultural critic and professor of Cultural Studies at Peking University. In this symposium, more than forty scholars from Chinese and international institutions engaged in a discussion about the value and the contributions of Wang Hui's work to the contemporary Chinese intellectual field.[77]

Besides the sociological aspects I have analyzed so far, Wang Hui's translocal mobility also had important intellectual effects on his work. Wang Hui's participation in these translocal networks reinforced his contact with intellectual discussions developing abroad, and put him in touch with authors, topics, questions, concepts, and references from diverse locations. (As we have seen in a previous section, Wang's wide use of "foreign" references was taken by Chinese opponents to attack his writings). Wang later introduced these theories, concepts, and paradigms in China, either by translating them, channeling them via the different publications he collaborates with, or applying them into his own work.

An example of the intellectual effects of this translocal mobility is the following: in 1993 Wang did a short-term stay (forty days) at the Center for Transcultural Studies at the University of Chicago, where he met Charles Taylor, Craig Calhoun, Arjun Appadurai and Leo Ou-fan Lee, among others. As he recalls, many important philosophers at the time were discussing questions such as the politics of recognition, communitarianism, or liberalism. In 1998, Wang Hui together with Chen Yangu (陈燕谷) edited *Wenhua yu Gonggongxing* (文化与公共性, Cultures and Publicity), a book based on the notes he had taken during that time (Wang Hui, personal interview 2, August 5, 2016).

Travels and visits therefore imply exchanges and coming into contact with new ideas, concepts, and propositions, a process of giving and taking between different agents and contexts. Wang Hui's case shows that we must not think of intellectual circulations as taking place in one single direction between two clearly defined nodes. As Espagne suggests, we need to rethink influence and reception within processes of cultural circulation as multi-directional, that is, as happening in two or even several

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[77] Accounts of the interventions within this symposium can be found in Luo Gang, et al. (2010), and Dai Jinhua et al. (2010).

directions, and taking place not sequentially, but simultaneously. Thus, Espagne challenges the idea that the context at either node of the circulation ever remains fixed in the process of the transfer. The notion of a direct exchange between cultures is inadequate to comprehend the complex relationship or reciprocal effects (what they call "Verflechtungen" or interconnections) that take place between two cultures (1999: 20).

In this sense, Wang Hui's thought appears to be "made in circulation,"[78] incorporating a wide array of intellectual stimuli as an effect of his translocal networks and activities. The innate translocal character of Wang's intellectual production, which incorporates paradigms and concepts from locally diverse sources even when dealing with mainland Chinese problematics, may be seen as an important factor for the consecration of his work in the intellectual field of mainland China and, at the same time, its translocal circulation abroad, since Wang Hui's ideas about the Chinese context can be related to conditions in other locations. Therefore, the circulation of Wang Hui's works in European and North American contexts cannot be conceived as the convergence of two isolated source and target contexts. Rather, Wang's case shows how the borders between one context and the other may be so blurred as to render impossible to differentiate between them. In our view, then, Wang Hui's thought can be considered to be made in circulation.

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[78] I borrow the notion of knowledge "made in circulation" from Keim et al. (2014).

5

The Anglophone Translation and Circulation of Wang Hui's Work

5.1 Introduction

Wang Hui is the most translated contemporary Chinese thinker into English, and his work has also been translated into other European languages such as Italian, Spanish, German, French, Slovenian, and Portuguese. Apart from publications, other indicators attest to Wang Hui's unusual intellectual recognition in Euro-American contexts. He was listed as a political theorist among the top 100 global thinkers in 2008 by the US magazine *Foreign Policy*. In 2013 the British magazine *Prospect* included him as a political scientist among the world's 65 top thinkers. In 2018, he was also awarded the Anneliese Maier Research Award by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in Göttingen (Germany). Besides, it is interesting to note that Wang Hui's interactions with the Euro-American intellectual field are not exclusively ascribed to the academic field of Asian or Chinese Studies. For instance, in November 2011 he took part in an event organized by the Falling Walls Foundation in Berlin about the social divide with an intervention in which he tried to formulate a concept of equality beyond the limits of nation-states. That same month, he also addressed members of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany to speak about inequality and the degradation of political representation. These indicators of international presence and of intellectual legitimation transcend Wang Hui's identity as a *Chinese* thinker. Moreover, this recognition beyond

the academic discipline of Area/China Studies was —at least at that moment— highly unusual for a Chinese scholar.

In this chapter, I will analyze the main social and intellectual conditions that underpinned the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work in the Anglophone contexts of Europe and North America, and the mechanisms that led ultimately to Wang Hui's recognition in those contexts as an important intellectual. With regard to social factors, I will identify the diverse agencies (individual and collective) that have driven the Anglophone circulation of Wang Hui's work, while describing the motivations and affinities that led them to make Wang Hui's work circulate in translation, and the intellectual projects within which Wang Hui's works were (re)positioned in the importing contexts. I will observe how certain aspects of Wang Hui's intellectual endeavor interpellated the intellectual interests and agendas of those agents in the European and North American contexts, and how those aspects of his thought were "appropriated" by those agents and made to relate with concerns and debates in their respective contexts. More precisely, in its European and North American circulations since the 1990s, Wang Hui's work will be related to different critical debates among scholars and intellectuals, such as the postcolonial critique of Eurocentrism, the reassessment of "Modernity" and the vindication of "alternative modernities", the post-1989 critique of the "End of History" thesis and neo-liberal triumphalism, and the analyses of the relationship between the state and the markets.

Before delving into the specifics of the Anglophone circulation, I must refer to three overarching aspects that are relevant to understand the circulation of Wang Hui's work in European and North American contexts.

5.1.1 A Double Circulation

Scholars Claudia Pozzana and Alessandro Russo (also important promoters of Wang's work in Italy) have pointed to a double direction in Wang Hui's thoughtwork: "one historical, reflected in his main work *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought*; the other, focused on the critical analysis of economic, social, and political transformations of contemporary China, in particular of neoliberalism" (Pozzana & Russo, 2009: 14, my

translation). Indeed, the intellectual and scholarly endeavors of Wang Hui show a "double character" in thematic terms and in approach, lending his writings to a "twofold use" in its translocal circulation.[79] These two profiles as literary/intellectual historian, and social critic have not replaced one another but, on the contrary, coexist up until today in Wang Hui's work, developing in a complementary way.

This double orientation is reflected in the circulation of Wang Hui's work in European and North American contexts, notably in the Anglophone context, where we can identify a double reception of his work within two different fields: on the one hand, the academic field of Area/East Asian/Chinese Studies, with an important implication of scholars with a specialist knowledge on the Chinese context; on the other hand, the broader field of the intellectual left with no primary adscription to Area Studies. In the former we can observe an earlier and more sustained engagement with Wang Hui's scholarly production about modern Chinese intellectual history, with publications featuring in Area Studies outlets and (in the case of books) in academic publishers. In the latter, however, we observe an interest primarily directed toward Wang Hui's social critique, with publications in outlets with a broader readership, most notably *New Left Review* for articles, and the publisher Verso for books.

Notwithstanding this, I cannot establish a neat separation between both fields. We find cases in which one same article is published by two different outlets, though with differences in format and extension. For instance, Wang's essay "Depoliticized Politics" was published by two different venues, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* (Wang Hui, 2006b) and *New Left Review* (Wang Hui, 2006c) within a short time. However, in the latter case the essay was considerably abridged due to the outlet's length requirements.

Besides, many of the identified agents are difficult to ascribe to one single field, since they tend to participate in both, though intermittently and with different degrees of frequency and implication. Therefore, instead of portraying those two fields of reception as two totally separate fields, we would do better in imagining them as two open buildings connected by airy bridges and subterranean passages. For instance Christopher Connery, a professor of Chinese Studies at the University of California at Santa Cruz, has been the translator of some of Wang Hui's articles (2006a, 2006b) both

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[79] Gemperle (2009) also observed a similar phenomenon in the case of the German reception of Bourdieu. The terms "double character" and "twofold use" were both coined by Gemperle.

for *NLR* and *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*. At the same time, he has also contributed as an author to *NLR*. Similarly, Rebecca E. Karl, professor of Modern Chinese History at New York University, translated Wang Hui's works for *Social Text* and for Harvard University Press (1998, 2003), while also being herself a contributor to *NLR*. Therefore, many of the agents implicated in the translation and publication of Wang Hui's work move constantly along those bridges and passages. Furthermore, as we shall see in later sections, the 1990s was also a time of introspection and transformation for Area Studies as an academic discipline, since many scholars in the field (notably many of those implicated in the translation and publishing of Wang Hui's work) were promoting further disengagement of the discipline from the advisory role it had played for governments (especially in the US) during the "Cold War".

Wang Hui himself seems aware that his profile as social critic is a key part of the popularity of his work abroad. For instance, for the Spanish edition of *China's New Order* (Wang Hui, 2008c), published later than the English and Italian editions, he specifically asked for the translation and inclusion of an article entitled "Change of Property Regime and the Historical Destiny of the Chinese Working Class",[80] a report about the movement of the workers of a factory in his home city of Yangzhou against the denationalization of the factory in 2005 (Wang Hui, personal interview, December 1, 2015).

5.1.2 Between Internationalism and Nativism

Wang Hui has also nourished a certain political internationalism in his writings. In this regard, the English translation of his essay "The 1989 Social Movement and the Historical Roots of China's Neoliberalism" included in *China's New Order* (2003) as translated by Theodore Huters, included an additional section in which he explains, among other questions, the conditions of possibility for what he calls a "new internationalism" (Wang Hui, 2003: 124). Interestingly, that section does not appear in the Chinese version published in the mainland (Wang Hui, 2008a: 157) nor, for that

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[80] In Spanish, "Cambio de régimen de propiedad y el destino histórico de la clase obrera de China". The original article in Chinese, titled "改制与中国工人阶级的历史命运——江苏通裕集团公司改制的调查报告"，can be found in Wang Hui (2008a: 275–317).

matter, in another English version of the same article translated earlier by Rebecca Karl (Wang Hui, 2004b).[81]

As for Wang Hui's profile as intellectual historian, his intellectual and political internationalism (both in his analysis and his references and interlocutors) contrasts with what we can consider as his vindication of a certain Chinese nativism traceable in his written production as intellectual historian. In an early analysis of modernity, he called for the need to "seek out the fundamental language and categories that describe China's society and culture. Such fundamental language and categories are established in the interaction practices of a particular linguistic community" (Wang Hui, 1997b: 33).[82]

Nativism in the Chinese intellectual context of the 1990s was very closely related to the reception of postcolonial ideas. The contestation of the "discursive hegemony of the West" was theorized in milestone articles/manifestoes such as "From 'Modernity' to 'Chineseness': In Search for New Forms of Knowledge" by Zhang Fa et al. (1994), in which the authors vindicated "Chineseness" as a totalizing model of knowledge different from the models of modernity. As Lai notes, nativism refers to "beliefs and practices against imported modernity under global capitalism", and "what comes to define the native depends on perceived differences from received notions of the outside and the foreign" (Lai, 2008: 4). In the case of Chinese nativism as presented by the above-mentioned authors, it is interesting to note that "Chineseness" is not so much defined in terms of content as in chronological terms: "Chineseness" is defined in opposition to "Modernity" and, for these authors, modernity in China has a very specific chronology that begins in 1840 with the first Opium War.

In his critique of modernity/capitalism, Wang Hui also assumes this chronology and considers the arrival of "modern" notions of the "world", the "nation-state", and the "science worldview" in the late Qing dynasty as indicators of a fundamental transformation in society and in Chinese thought (1999b: 54, 57). However, Wang Hui does not call for a complete breakup with regard to Modernity, but rather to better understand the genealogy of Chinese modernity and identify the continuities of the

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[81] Though translated earlier, the article was not effectively published until 2004 (Karl, personal interview, July 15, 2016).

[82] In reference to this contrast, Frenkiel has pointed out an apparent contradiction: "while the author demands a re-appropriation of Chinese history by his compatriots, references to Chinese concepts and works are quite rare in his book, and whereas he rightly criticises the binary opposition between the East and the West, he fails to depart from it" (2012: 76).

pre-modern within it. This relates to his deep interest in the thought of Yan Fu or Zhang Taiyan, as examples of late-Qing thinkers in an in-between position who, grounded in China's intellectual tradition, engaged with the new ideas flowing into China from Europe in a very critical way, using "traditional" Chinese thought to debunk ideas such as evolution or the individual, among other tenets of that newly arrived modernity.

But for Wang Hui, the search for the roots of Chinese modernity in the late Qing is just a first step. The worldview of the late Qing was already "degraded" (退化 *tuihua*) and he therefore seeks to go further back in time in order to find the intellectual basis of a new modernity different from capitalist modernity. In this respect, his major example to date is his major work, the above-mentioned *Rise* (2004a), in which he takes his quest for alternative intellectual sources as far back as the Song dynasty (960–1279).

On another level, Wang Hui's quest for alternative native intellectual resources to define a Chinese modernity is not unrelated to a certain emotional link with the nation. We find the traces of this emotional underpinning as he writes:

> I am glad that I was born in China, because what can be more painful and at the same time more joyful than the great renaissance of a decaying civilization, this dream of so many generations? And what can be more stunning than observing and experiencing every detail and the process of this collective dream? (Wang Hui, 1994: 21, my translation)[83]

In that sense, early on, he has identified his intellectual endeavor as part of a broader national project of historical significance: "I believe that the great renaissance of Chinese civilization relies on the rational work of several generations, and for a rootless generation such as mine, this work constitutes in itself an arduous 'search for roots'" (Wang Hui, 2000a: 473, my translation).[84]

We must keep in mind that this nativism is not in direct contradiction with Wang Hui's social critique. As I have previously explained, Wang Hui's criticism of capitalist globalization ultimately points to the necessity to find alternative modes of social

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[83] "我庆幸自己生在中国, 因为有什么事情比衰败文明的伟大复兴这一多少代人的梦想更令人痛苦心碎又更令人无比欢欣的呢? 又有什么比观察和体验这一集体梦想的每一细节和过程更让人震撼的呢?"

[84] "我深信中国文明的伟大复兴有赖于几代人的理性的工作, 对于我这样的无根的一代而言, 这项工作本身就是一次艰难的'寻根'。"

development. It is in this quest for alternative ideas that Wang Hui calls for a reappraisal of China's traditional thought as a source full of potential for such alternatives. Notwithstanding this, as we shall see in the next chapter, peers and readers in the Euro-American contexts who were hitherto only aware of Wang Hui's profile as a "new left" social critic were at odds with Wang Hui's profile as an intellectual historian making appraisal of Chinese traditional thought (particularly Confucianism).

In the next chapter, we will have the opportunity to observe in more detail how this "double character" of Wang Hui's work was significant in its circulation and reception in European and North American contexts, with two more or less separate strands of circulation that were clearly distinguishable during the early years of circulation.

5.1.3 China as Laboratory

As previously shown in my overview of the translation of Chinese production in the humanities and social sciences, China's rise in the global scenario and the narratives about its astonishing economic development, along with its portrayal as bearer of global economic stability and growth after the convulsions of the 2008 financial crisis, attracted an increasing international attention, especially in the fields of international relations, governance and policy making.

But not only in these areas. In fields related to critical theory, confronted with the "war on terror" and US military interventions in the Middle East, the early 2000s were characterized by a strong pessimism about the possibilities of theory and concern about its powerlessness. While the end or even the death of theory was being discussed in the US context, scholars at the 2004 Symposium on Critical Inquiry that was held precisely in Beijing looked at China as "a promising alternative" setting for critical theory (Venturino, 2006).

On similar lines, China's condition as "the factory of the world" and as a new center of capitalist accumulation has driven many European and North American left intellectuals to direct their attention to China in search of critical voices that could provide new ways for analyzing and understanding the configurations of the global

political economy emerging in the horizon. In the midst of this search for intellectual referents in the new centers of global power, Wang Hui's critical assessment of China's transition to the market economy struck a chord among European and North American left intellectuals who saw in him and his ideas an evidence that supported their own intellectual endeavors in their own contexts. This perceived intellectual and ideological affinity is one of the factors that explains the translation and prominent circulation of Wang Hui's work in the European and North American contexts. To some European and North American perceptions, China's present appears "as the World's future" (Dowdle, 2016), a premonition or experiment, a "laboratory" in which the contradictions of capitalist development and the future of production relations appear with acute clarity for analysis. For instance, in their major book *Empire,* Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri consider that

> the collapse of the socialist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, along with the opening of the Chinese economy in the post-Mao era, has provided global capital access to huge territories of non-capitalist environment—prefabricated for capitalist subsumption by years of socialist modernization. Even in regions already securely integrated into the world capitalist system, there are still ample opportunities for expansion. (Hardt & Negri, 2000: 271)

Thus, as an emergent center of the global economy, China takes the central stage for many of these thinkers and Chinese events are invested with new translocal meaning, which also leads to a new reading of recent events. For instance, Hardt & Negri, assuming Wang Hui's interpretation of the 1989 social movement in China as a contestation of the rising inequality brought about by market reforms, describe the Tian'anmen events as one of "the most radical and powerful struggles of the final years of the twentieth century" (Hardt & Negri, 2000: 54). On a similar vein, Perry Anderson declares that "if the twentieth century was dominated, more than by any other single event, by the trajectory of the Russian Revolution, the twenty-first will be shaped by the outcome of the Chinese Revolution" (Anderson, 2010: 65). Anderson's statement is also revealing of a wishful tendency among some left thinkers to consider the trajectories of post-Maoist China as still embedded in the revolutionary logic of the previous century.

Giovanni Arrighi has been one of the most vocal thinkers in considering China's recent developments as a breeding stock of alternatives to global capitalism, most notably in his book *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the 21st Century* (2007). Even earlier, Arrighi considered that, as a result of its increasing industrial, commercial and financial weight in the global economy, China and East Asia in general would become the "arbiters of the egalitarian and nonegalitarian tendencies that confront one another in the ongoing hegemonic transition to a yet unknown destination" (Arrighi, 2004: 88). With regard to these confronting tendencies and their eventual outcome in the region, Arrighi states:

> At the present stage of the confrontation, it is impossible to tell which tendency will eventually prevail. The outcome largely depends on the kind of social conflicts that will emerge out of the growing inequality within countries and on the kind of regional order/disorder that will emerge out of these conflicts. Whatever the outcome, however, it is hard to believe that states will not actively intervene in the struggles—not just in support of particular social groups but also as their substitutes, thereby exercising some kind of Piedmontese function. It is unlikely that in exercising this function, any individual East Asian state can become hegemonic globally. However, it is not just possible but likely that, individually or collectively, East Asian states will play a decisive role in shaping the social contents of any future world order. (89)

Against that background, the emergence of a "new left" group of critical intellectuals in China was seen as a cracking spot in market-oriented reforms that offered lessons on a global scale. Lisa Rofel considers the transnational value of critique as a "vital aspect" of China's new left. For Rofel it is necessary not to draw national or identity boundaries around that critique or "restricting the parameters of the relevant genealogy of political critique in China" (Rofel, 2012a: 44). Furthermore she explains the distinctiveness of recent global interest upon China's social development as the combined effect of the end of "Maoism's heady dreams" caused by the contradictions of Maoist socialism, and the growing momentum of quests around the world for alternatives to global capitalism (ibid.).

China's economic emergence is therefore a key factor in the increasing circulation and reception of contemporary Chinese thought. The expectations about China's global

role have been a wave upon which the production of Chinese intellectuals have been traveling in recent years outside China. Intellectuals carrying the "new left" label such as Wang Hui are a case in point. The increasing interest in what Chinese thinkers have to say cannot be candidly equated to a consequence of the recognition of the postcolonial assessments on the imbalances of knowledge flows, as if these assessments had happily led to a sincere will to overcome them. It is rather the geopolitical circumstances that turn "China" once again into a central token for European thought. China is now perceived as an economic, social, and political constituency whose predicaments within capitalism bear a transnational significance. Therefore, we must keep in mind the rising widespread attention toward China as one of the forces that allowed interest in Wang Hui's work to exit from the limits of Area Studies specialists. The willingness of left intellectuals in European and North American contexts to contest the expansion of neoliberal policies, together with the conversion of China in the most powerful metaphor of that expansion, settled a fertile ground for the reception of Wang Hui's work in those locations where intellectuals were simultaneously involved in critical analyses of the social, political and economic conditions created by the unbridled expansion of neoliberalism after the Cold War.

In the following sections, I will trace the circulation of Wang Hui's works in English, identifying the main mechanisms and agencies that enabled the circulation of his works in the Anglophone context, and the intellectual discussions within which his works were introduced.

My analysis identifies three main clusters of circulation through which the work of Wang Hui has been introduced in the Anglophone context. They show the imbrication of Wang Hui's thought with the socio-intellectual conditions of the reception context, and how certain translation initiatives of Wang Hui's essays were conceived as interventions in the intellectual context of reception. These clusters are: (1) the field of Area Studies, more specifically, East Asian and Chinese studies; (2) The journal *Social Text* and Harvard University Press; and (3) The journal *New Left Review*.

In the following sections, I will offer a more detailed cartography of the mechanisms and the processes involved in each of the three aforementioned clusters. I will proceed in an approximately chronological order. However, it must be noted that

these clusters do not represent not self-contained circulations, but instead they overlap and conflate as they unfold.

5.2. Cluster 1 - The field of Area Studies

In the 1990s the field of Area Studies, including East Asian/Chinese Studies, was in the midst of a disciplinary crisis and a reconfiguration of its premises and goals. Following the end of the Cold War, there was a strong critical awareness among Area Studies scholars of the collaboration between some sectors of their discipline and the US intelligence organizations throughout the Cold War, and the role their discipline had played as a tool for foreign policy and ideological warfare.

Area Studies and International Studies were established as disciplines in US higher learning institutions in the context of World War II during the 1940s. The creation of these disciplines was accompanied by the creation of organizational settings such as the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), founded in 1943. The end of the war did not mean the end of these disciplines. Quite on the contrary: as Wallerstein notes, "[i]f the need to know about the non-Western world was already felt during World War II, it of course became all the more urgent after 1945 when the world-system rapidly became structured in geopolitical terms by what came to be called the cold war" (Wallerstein, 1997: 200). In a world transformed into a geopolitical chessboard, the US turned to Area Studies as a pool of knowledge for its strategy of containment against the Soviet Union and the ideological challenge it represented. Dutton points out that toward the end of the 1940s "[i]ncreasingly, and much more explicitly than in the past, the new field of area studies would turn to the social sciences for explanations of global developments, for in these, it was hoped, a way would be found to counter the universalizing Marxist revolutionary accounts of development" (Dutton, 2005: 119). Those ideological interests turned Area Studies into "an overt weapon of the cold war" lacking "any sense of its own intellectual identity" (ibid.). Within this framework, a section of Area Studies became narrowly associated with the assumptions of modernization theory and devoted itself to scrutinizing the processes of development in their respective areas of study. As for the specific effects within China studies, the country became the object of "obsessive attention as a pathological example of abortive

development. The key processes were things like modernization, or what was for many years called 'political development' toward the explicit or implicit goal of liberal democracy" (Cummings, 1997: 8).

The premises of this disciplinary configuration came increasingly under fire in the 1960s.[85] The field of Asian Studies precisely played a central role in the questioning of Area Studies, as the increasing opposition movement against the Vietnam War became one of the vectors of the contestation. In that juncture, a group of scholars working in the discipline made a step forward and established the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (CCAS). They also began the publication of an affiliated *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* (BCAS) which became a venue for disciplinary self-criticism. Many of the CCAS promoters had been implicated in the various social movements of the 1960s. The CCAS' original criticism was directed at the reluctance of the AAS to engage in public issues (Selden, 2018: 4) and more generally at the discipline's advisory role in US military intervention, as made clear in the "CCAS Statement of Purpose":

> We first came together in opposition to the brutal aggression of the United States in Vietnam and to the complicity or silence of our profession with regard to that policy. Those in the field of Asian Studies bear responsibility for the consequences of their research and the political posture of their profession. (CCAS Statement of Purpose, March 1969, cited in Selden, 2018: 3)

As the Cold War unfolded and new theoretical insights upon knowledge production appeared (such as Said's *Orientalism* and the whole range of postcolonial critique, which would play an important role in galvanizing the ethical implications of Area Studies), the question of the epistemological and political consequences of the global division of intellectual labor and their consequences upon academic knowledge production came under the limelight. Under the prevalent scheme, the role of Area Studies had been to provide raw empirical data for other "more general" disciplines to process theoretically. As Palat argued,

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[85] See, for instance, Levin (2013) for a historical account of U.S. universities during the Cold War and the emerging new left, focused on the case of the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

though area studies scholarship has considerably increased the pool of empirical information on the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Pacific, it has not contributed to an assimilation of their distinct historical experiences and contemporary realities into our theoretical categories which continue to remain mired in their narrow Euro-North American referential bases. (Palat, 1996: 272)

On a similar vein, Dutton points to the difficulties experienced by Area Studies' scholars in order to be read as theoretical interventions on a pair with interventions empirically grounded on European and North American realities. He laments that Area Studies was a field dominated by descriptive "social translators" subservient to other disciplines whose scholarly production was considered as derivative "applied theory" (Dutton, 2002: 516). Against that current, the *BCAS* pushed forward a strategy of closeness with regard to Asian realities in general and China in particular by producing

scholarship that looked at China as a subject of its own history and politics but also—and because of that—as a crucial participant in the development of global historical trends and in the solution of global political problems. [...] [B]y looking at China, historically and coevally, the Concerned argued that they were also dealing with issues that were relevant to different realities and different temporalities, including their own present. (Lanza, 2017: 180)

But, as previously explained, the end of the Cold War and the rise of economic powerhouses in the East Asian region made for a comeback of the paradigms of modernization theory. Against this ideological backdrop, a new generation of Area Studies scholars appeared that, following the path set by the CCAS in the sixties, established new publications paved the way for new movements and vindications within and without the discipline.

The BCAS, which had been the flagship of progressive scholars in the field, changed its name to *Critical Asian Studies* in 1992. The same year saw the foundation of a new journal in the field, *positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* (hereafter, *positions*).[86] Under that spirit of critical and political engagement, the journal was founded by a group of scholars of a Left critical wing inside area studies influenced by

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[86] The official name of the journal is written in lowercase.

"the Left intellectuals at *Bulletin of Concerned Asia Scholars* (BCAS), the antiwar movement, various nationalist communisms from Asian countries, but also the Marxist scholarship of the Subaltern Studies Group" (Barlow, in Karl et al., 2012: 346) who were committed to carry on "the Left tradition of Asia scholarship with an increased emphasis on conceptualization and on diverse sites of political contestation" (351). Since the foundation of *positions*, Wang Hui has been related to this journal both as an author and as a member of its editorial board.

The senior editor and founding member of *positions* is Tani E. Barlow. The political grounds of Barlow's academic endeavor have deep roots in her personal trajectory. She was born in a politically engaged family to "eccentric political radicals" parents with a rural background (Barlow, personal interview, June 12, 2016). Her direct involvement with East Asia dates back to when, as a 13 year-old, she stayed in Japan and began learning Japanese, though she ultimately decided to major in Chinese at college. After entering graduate school, she spent one academic year in China (1981–1982) as a "foreign expert".[87] Later she completed her dissertation on the leftist feminist writer Ding Ling (1904–1986). During her year in China, she worked as an English teacher at Shanghai Teacher's College, in which she gained a close knowledge of China's post-Cultural Revolution landscape through her students.[88] With regard to her academic trajectory, she states: "in my scholarship there is both a China-focused as well as this kind of prevalent U.S. radicalism or leftism. I came by both of these very naturally" (ibid.).

One of the explicit aims of *positions* was to confront the aforementioned division of intellectual labor. In that sense, it determined to engage authors beyond European and North American contexts as coeval interlocutors, highlighting the theoretical implications of their writings, a principle that echoes the ideas of the *BCAS* in the sixties: "In seeking to explore how theoretical practices are linked across national and ethnic divides, we hope to construct other positions from which to imagine political affinities across the many dimensions of our differences" (*positions* Editorial Collective,

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[87] "Foreign expert" was the category given to foreigners who went to China to engage in professional activities generally within official organizations and state-owned companies.
[88] Her experience during that year was the object of her *book Teaching China's Lost Generation: Foreign Experts in the PRC* (Barlow & Lowe, 1987).

1993). For the members of the editorial board, Asia had to be projected as a ground for theoretical production with the potential to ground a translocal political practice:

> East Asia scholarship faced a crisis because [the] collapse of the old Cold War dualism meant it became difficult to ground progressive politics in actually existing state policies or institutions. And this fact needs to be underlined because it helps to explain the mission that the initial *positions* group took so seriously. (Barlow, in Karl et al., 2012: 350)

For this purpose, the journal sought to establish collaborations with scholars, critics and activists across different locations, becoming "the first Western scholarly journal to consciously invite non-Western scholars to join in editorial work, and the only journal to engage the process of translation and publication of the theoretical work of Asian-based scholars" (Wang Hui, 2012c: 386–387). It was under this impetus that Wang Hui came into contact with Barlow and the *positions* collective. By that time, Wang Hui was one of the founding editors of the Chinese journal *Xueren* which, as we have already seen, was a flagship of new forms of scholarship and academic norms in mainland China, and it was in his condition of *Xueren*'s editor that he first met Barlow and Donald Lowe, associate editor of *positions*, in Spring 1993 in California, and Wang Hui became a corresponding editor for *positions*, along with peers from other East Asian locations. As of 2021, Wang Hui is still a member of the advisory board of *positions*.

The journal *positions* has been the outlet in which Wang Hui's articles have most frequently featured, with a total of six contributions (Wang Hui, 1995c, 1998b, 2004b, 2011c, 2012b, 2012c). A look at these articles reveals a variety of topics, but still reflects the publication's main background as an outlet for area studies more likely to interest specialists in the field: a majority of articles deal with modern Chinese intellectual history (1995c, 1998b, 2012b), which was Wang Hui's main are of research interest at the time, followed by social and political critique (2004b, 2012c),[89] and one about Chinese cinema (2011c).

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[89] One of Wang Hui's landmark articles, "The Year 1989 and the Historical Roots of Neoliberalism in China", translated by Rebecca E. Karl, was intended to be featured earlier in *positions*. However, the publication by *positions* took longer than expected and it ultimately appeared earlier in the volume *China's New Order* (2003) by Harvard University Press (Karl, personal interview, July 15, 2016).

Table 5.1: Wang Hui's authorial contributions to *positions*.

Title	(Year) Issue: pages
The Fate of "Mr. Science" In China: The Concept of Science and Its Application in Modern Chinese Thought	(1995) 3 (1): 1–68
PRC Cultural Studies and Cultural Criticism in the 1990s	(1998) 6 (1): 239–251
The Year 1989 and the Historical Roots of Neoliberalism in China	(2004) 12 (1): 7–69
Jia Zhangke's World and China's Great Transformation: A Revised Version of a Speech Given at "The Still Life Symposium" at Fenyang High School	(2011) 19 (1): 217–228
A Dialogue on *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought*: Liberating the Object and an Inquiry into the Modern	(2012) 20 (1): 287–306
Is a New Internationalism Possible?	(2012) 20 (1): 385–388

Wang Hui's engagement with *positions* led him to engage with US China scholars, and to be part of other initiatives led by members of the editorial collective. For example, he participated in some activities of the 20th-Century Chinese History project led by Barlow, together with other China scholars such as Rebecca Karl, Claudia Pozzana, and Alessandro Russo.

We have mentioned (and will further describe in the upcoming sections) the unusual level of recognition that Wang Hui has enjoyed beyond the field of Area Studies. Even though our analysis is especially interested in that unusual sort of broader and "trans-disciplinary" recognition, it is necessary to underscore that the translation and circulation of his writings has made Wang Hui's work important *also* within the field of Chinese Studies. Against the reappraisal of modernization paradigms in the post-maoist and post-Cold War period, that pushed China and the Chinese back into the position of "an empirically knowledgeable object that could be mined for information and scrutinized from the safe position of the knowledgeable observer" (Lanza, 2017: 176), initiatives such as *positions* attempted to shift that scheme, turning China and the Chinese into the subjects and producers—and not just the objects—of knowledge. It is in the critique of such a scheme that Wang Hui's intellectual contributions became important to the field of Area Studies. Wang Hui's research into the intellectual history

of China offered precisely an outright questioning of conventional historical and developmental paradigms associated with modernization theory. As Barlow describes, "somebody like Wang Hui is accepted as so important that one must debate him, that is, as a peer. [...] [H]e presents —particularly in his major work— a position that is so much identified with him that we have to include him in our bibliographies" (Barlow, personal interview, June 12, 2016).

5.3. Cluster 2 - The Journal *Social Text* and Harvard University Press

I will refer here to the translation and publication of Wang Hui's essay *CCTQM* in the journal *Social Text* in 1998, and the publication of *China's New Order*, Wang Hui's first volume-length publication in English, by Harvard University Press in 2003, which was later followed by two more volumes by that same publisher: *The Politics of Imagining Asia* (2011) and *China from Empire to Nation-State* (2014).

The two initiatives within this cluster of circulation have in common that mediating character: they allowed Wang Hui's work to move beyond the disciplinary field of Area Studies into broader academic and intellectual fields. One important feature of these initiatives is that they are driven either by agents that occupy an equally intermediate position between those fields (Area Studies and the broader academic and intellectual fields), or by the collaboration of different agents, each one related to either of those fields.

An important landmark in the circulation of Wang Hui's work in the Anglophone context was the publication of the English translation of his controversial essay *CCTQM* in the North American journal *Social Text.* The essay was translated by Rebecca E. Karl with the title "Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity". *Social Text* was a prominent venue for cultural studies and critical theory with a broad, transdisciplinary audience. *Social Text* published a special issue in Summer 1998 under the title "Intellectual Politics in Post-Tiananmen China". It was edited by the US-based Chinese scholar Zhang Xudong (张旭东).

A Beijing native, Zhang is currently Professor of Comparative Literature and East Asian Studies at New York University (NYU). He was among the students who

attended Fredric Jameson's historic 1985 lectures at Peking University. These students would later become prominent promoters of postmodernism in China, though under very different premises. From Zhang's perspective, one of Jameson's most significant contributions to the Chinese intellectual ferment at the time was his Marxist hermeneutic stance toward social and cultural phenomena (Zhang Xudong, 1994: 151). Zhang upheld this Marxist-infused critical approach through his trajectory, even after leaving for the US in 1990, one year after the Tian'anmen events.[90] He obtained a PhD in Literature at Duke University in 1995. After arriving in the US, Zhang had to deal with the misconceptions and presumptions that some held about a Chinese scholar who had left China after 1989. Moreover, he had to confront the prevalent division of academic work in the US academia, according to which, as a Chinese native, he was set to become a Chinese Studies scholar. As Zhang recalls,

> when I arrived in the US people assumed that I would be reasonably anti-communist and go Western, right? And they offered their help very generously, until they realized I was not there to study Western Area Studies [i.e., the discipline of Area Studies as practiced in Western institutions]. I was there to study critical theory. Therefore, I bypassed the entire China-watching establishment. Instead, I ended up with Fredric Jameson at Duke, with a whole bunch of Western postmodern theoreticians. This kind of cutting the corner by their standard turned out to be very disappointing to them. (Zhang Xudong, personal interview, July 11, 2016)

Though established in the US, Zhang moves between the US and China, and he has consciously played a role as an intellectual intermediary between the US and China, though under different premises in each context. As Zhang himself explains,

> I always write in a bilingual fashion, and I do have a presence in the Chinese world. I think that I also helped define the debates in the Chinese world, at least in these issues of new left and postmodernism, Western theory, especially Western Marxism, I guess I do

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[90] There is a clear contrast between Zhang's position and some other of Jameson's students at PKU who a decade later, according to Wang Chaohua, took up the notion of postmodernism and applied it to Chinese conditions leaving out "the caustic edge of Jameson's theory" in favor of "a contented or even enthusiastic endorsement of mass culture, which they saw as a new space of popular freedom" (Wang Chaohua, 2003: 21). Wang Hui noted that this application of postmodernism would ultimately play into the hands of conservatism, nationalism and even ethnocentrism (Wang Hui, 1997a: 142–143).

have made an impact, at least serving as a counterweight. Because I had an extra advantage of being in the Western academia, at least Chinese liberals could not dismiss me as intellectually unqualified, since they still worship the Western academia. In the American academia, I'm just a professor, but in China I do wish to consider myself—I do wish that I'm considered—a Chinese intellectual, because it's my country, I do care about its social development and its intellectual state, I have a political stake in this place, […] I think I have a different political, social role to play. […] So it's my decision to be just an academic in the U.S. and a more engaged intellectual in China. (Zhang Xudong, personal interview, July 11, 2016).

This mediating role was obvious when Zhang acted as editor for *Social Text*'s special issue on Chinese intellectual politics. At that time he was working as an assistant professor of Chinese and Comparative Literature at Rutgers University (New Jersey), whose Center for the Critical Analysis of Contemporary Culture was the sponsor of *Social Text*. Fredric Jameson, who had been Zhang's advisor at Duke University, had been a member of the *Social Text* editorial collective until its number 46/47 (Spring-Summer 1996). Jameson provided comments on most of the articles, as acknowledged in the notes to Zhang's introduction (Zhang Xudong, 1998: 8). Another early reader and pre-publication reviewer was the British Marxist thinker and historian Perry Anderson, equally acknowledged in the same note as Jameson. Anderson would eventually play a key role in the publication of Wang Hui's work in *New Left Review* shortly afterwards, as I will describe in the next section.

The special issue, under the already mentioned title "Intellectual Politics in Post-Tian'anmen China", included the following essays:

Table 5.2: Contents of *Social Text*'s special issue "Intellectual Politics in Post-Tiananmen China" (1998).

Autor	Title	Translator
Xudong ZHANG	Introduction	*
WANG Hui	Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity	Rebecca E. Karl
GAN Yang	A Critique of Chinese Conservatism in the 1990s	Xudong Zhang
Zhiyuan CUI	Whither China? The Discourse on Property Rights in the Chinese Reform Context	*

Rey CHOW	King Kong in Hong Kong: Watching the "Handover" from the U.S.A.	*
Xudong ZHANG	Nationalism, Mass Culture, and Intellectual Strategies in Post-Tiananmen China	*

Originally in English.

The issue included three Chinese scholars working in China (Wang Hui, Gan Yang, Zhiyuan Cui) and two scholars located in the US (Rey Chow and Zhang himself). Only two of the contributions, however, were translations from a Chinese original. The other contributions were originally written in English by their authors.

To understand the intellectual and political underpinnings of Zhang's editorship, we must consider the context in which it took place, that is, the end of the Cold War, the 1990s saw the resurgence of the teleological master narratives of modernization and a self-congratulatory celebration of marketization as the natural path of development, as encapsulated by Fukuyama's "End of History" thesis. It is in the face of this self-congratulatory mode of global capitalism that Zhang undertook the editorship of the *Social Text* special issue as a way to confront such dominating narrative precisely from China, perhaps the most hopeful examples of modernization in waiting for many intellectuals at the time. Zhang's intellectual and political stakes for this special issue perspire throughout the publication, from the selection of the authors and their essays, and even more obviously in the peritextual elements of the issue. With regard to the reasons why he selected these authors, Zhang explains that he selected them

> because of their intellectual substance. Remember, in the 1990s the Chinese left was defined almost exclusively by their opposition to the neoliberal onslaught, the neoliberal conquest of the domain of Social Sciences, social life and intellectual life. So they are confronting… they were confronting neoliberalism from different perspectives. (Zhang Xudong, personal interview, July 11, 2016)

Zhang's introduction to the book is equally eloquent about the political underpinnings of his selection. On the one hand, he points to the insufficiency of "triumphant doctrines of the free market" but also of "orthodox Marxism" to account for the reality of China's increasing incorporation into global capitalism: "in their different ways, they [the authors selected] see a common interest in questioning and disrupting the existing

doctrines, canons, and mythologies that predetermine the way the Chinese situation is perceived and understood" (Zhang Xudong, 1998: 2).

Beyond his intention to "address the appalling discrepancy between theory and practice" (ibid.), his introduction also points insistently to an intention to refract the discussion on China's predicament toward "global" concerns, that is, to present the Chinese case as an instance of a more general translocal predicament, where the analyses and suggestions produced may bear a more general applicability beyond the immediate context of production:

> The Chinese problematic is for them [the authors] not merely a problem for China but fundamentally a theoretical challenge of our time. (Ibid.)

> […] the nebulous time-space called China is not only a place where problems old and new accumulate, but also a brewing ground for alternatives—alternatives not only in abstract or utopian terms but in the most concrete, material, and mundane sense, as forms of life. (Ibid.)

> [T]he following group of articles […] intends to create a platform for further theoretical discussion that retains some relevance in the ongoing collective struggle to bring about a new social system. (2–3)

> The following group of essays is prepared on the assumption that, more than ever before, the Chinese problematic is an integral part of an international cultural and political struggle for experience, vision, and alternatives. (5–6)

The critical outlook of the selection was further reinforced in the re-publication of this essay collection as a volume three years later under the title *Whither China?* (Zhang Xudong, 2001). The same essays featured in *Social Text* were included in the volume. This time, the contributions by Chinese authors were reunited as part one of the volume under the epigraph "Against the Neoliberal Dogma: Four Arguments from China". We also find the addition to this section of a new essay, "The Changing Role of Government in China", by Wang Shaoguang, another prominent "new left" author. Besides, the

volume included a second part with contributions by North American or US-based China scholars.

Table 5.3: Contents of *Whither China* (Zhang Xudong, 2001).

Autor	Title	Translator
Xudong ZHANG	The Making of the Post-Tiananmen Intellectual Field: A Critical Overview	*
Part I. Against the Neoliberal Dogma: Four Arguments from China		
GAN Yang	Debating Liberalism and Democracy in CHina in the 1990s	Xudong Zhang
Ziyuan CUI	Whither China? The Discourse on Property Rights Reform in China	Xudong Zhang
Shaoguang WANG	Whither China? The Discourse on Property Rights in the Chinese Reform Context	*
WANG Hui	Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity	Rebecca E. Karl
Part II. In the Global Context		
Rey CHOW	King Kong in Hong Kong: Watching the "Handover" from the U.S.A.	*
Rebecca E. KARL	The Burdens of History: *Lin Zexu* (1959) and *The Opium War* (1997)	*
Peter HITCHCOCK	Mao to the Market	*
Louisa SCHEIN	Chinese Consumerism and the Politics of Envy: Cargo in the 1990s?	*
Xudong ZHANG	Nationalism, Mass Culture, and Intellectual Strategies in Post-Tiananmen China	*
Michael DUTTON	Street Scenes of Subalternity: China, Globalization, and Rights	*
Harry D. HAROOTUNIAN	Appendix - In the Tiger's Lair: Socialist Everydayness Enters the Market Economy in Post-Mao China	*

*Originally in English.

The aforementioned features clearly position Wang Hui being within a specific universe of discourse characterized by the critique of modernization theory, neoliberalism and capitalist globalization. At the same time, the peritext of the *Social Text* 1998 special issue also highlights Wang Hui as Marxist theoretician: Wang Hui's contribution is introduced in the cover of the journal as an author who "confronts Marxist generalities about modernity and modernization with the specificity of Chinese conditions". Furthermore, in his introduction to the special issue, Zhang underscores again the

contribution of Wang's article to the ongoing reassessment of Marxism, with special attention to the modernist discourse that underlied certain prevalent strands of Marxism:

> Wang points out the problematic relationship between orthodox Marxism's notion of modernity and the prevailing ideology of universal progress […]. Wang envisions a new socialist culture that moves beyond the ideology of modernization and development, a culture that addresses the productive coexistence of different social and historical experiences. (Zhang Xudong, 1998: 6)

These paratextual spotlights acquire clearer sense if we consider that the theoretical and analytical power of Marxism fell in a deep crisis after 1989, even among Marxist thinkers, who engaged in an intense debate on whether Marxism retained its theoretical and political legitimacy in the new juncture. However, the increasing problematic effects of post-1989 marketization became visible shortly afterwards, when the Asian financial crisis of July 1997 brought triumphalism to the ground. The Asian predicament appeared to salvage certain aspects of Marxism as a social critique (e.g., Ungpakorn, 1999; Glassman, 2003). Thus, we argue that these peritextual strategies helped position Wang Hui's essay as an intervention into that debate within the Anglophone context.

Another milestone in the Anglophone circulation of Wang Hui's works was the publication of his first English volume *China's New Order* by Harvard University Press (hereafter, HUP) in 2003. This was to be the first of a long collaboration between Wang Hui and HUP, which has produced to date a total of three volumes under this imprint: the already mentioned *China's New Order*, *The Politics of Imagining Asia* (2011), and *China from Empire to Nation-State* (2014).

As an Anglophone academic publisher, HUP has published works of some of the most fundamental names in contemporary humanities and social sciences, such as John Rawls or Charles Taylor, among many others. HUP occupies a remarkable position and boasts an important symbolic capital that is conferred to the authors who appear in its catalog.[91] Moreover, since the early 1970s under the direction of Arthur J. Rosenthal,

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[91] As another example, Brissaud & Chahsiche (2017) have also pointed to the role that HUP played in the international intellectual consecration of the French economist Thomas Piketty.

HUP succeeded in attracting "a readership beyond the Academy", which means that publication under their name gives authors a wider visibility.[92] In that sense, HUP can be considered to play the role of an intermediary between limited academic circles and a wider public. This also allowed a Chinese author like Wang Hui to obtain a readership beyond Chinese Area Studies, as can be seen from the fact that *China's New Order* was eventually used as a reference by authors such as David Harvey (2005) and Naomi Klein (2008).

A fundamental agent in the publication of Wang Hui's work by HUP was Lindsay Waters, executive editor for the Humanities at HUP from 1984 up until 2020. A well-experienced academic editor with a special interest in literary studies, Waters has made very clear his vision of publishing, which he considers to be a work with deep intellectual and ethical underpinnings. In a 2001 article titled "The Age of Incommensurability", Waters highlights the responsibility of a publisher as disseminator and "handler of ideas" (134). Waters takes on the understanding of cultures and identities as incommensurable and monolithic, which "legitimates our giving up on the effort to seek out what makes us similar with others" (163). Against that vision, Waters upholds translation precisely as a way, if only provisional, "of coming to terms with the foreignness of the world" (171) and to seek commonality and connection.

Waters wrote those reflections shortly before the publication of Wang Hui's *China's New Order*. From early on, he had established interactions with scholars and intellectuals in mainland China. He mentions an early interest in Asia and China in particular after watching the 1989 protests, and his willingness to visit the country. He finally did so in 1996 to participate in a workshop in Nanjing organized by a Swiss foundation (Waters, 2002). It was the first of several visits to the country that led him to establish connections with academics and intellectuals such as the philosopher Tang Yijie (汤一介, 1927–2014) and the literary scholar Yue Daiyun (乐黛云, b. 1931). Waters recalls that, in his exchanges with Yue, she considered that "China is too important to be left to the Western specialists in China, the Sinologists" and that such an idea was close to his own perception, "my frequent sense as a publisher that any field of study I know about is too important to be left as the exclusive preserve of the

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[92] See "A Brief History of Harvard University Press" in HUP's website: https://www.hup.harvard.edu/about/history.html (accessed July 4, 2022).

specialists" (ibid.). Through the mediation of Yue, Waters eventually published a book in Chinese, *Against Authoritarian Aesthetics* (美学权威主义批判), at Peking University Press in 2000. The following year, he engaged in a series of lectures in Nanjing, Shanghai, Beijing, and Hong Kong to present the book. Waters' engagement with the Chinese academic and intellectual milieu has been steady through these years. For instance, in March 2010, he co-organized the "Humanistic International: Humanism, China, Globalism" conference at Harvard, with participants such as Wang Hui, Theodore Huters, Eric Hayot, Tu Weiming, Jonathan Spence, and Paul A. Bové. The conference was even featured in the *New York Times* (Tatlow, 2010), thanks to his connections with the newspaper, which, as we shall see later on, were to be also important for the promotion of Wang Hui's first English volume with HUP.

As the interactions between China and the world became more intense at the turn of the century, Waters corroborated the lack of contact with China when he stated that the US "have extensive and living links with almost every place in the world except China" (Waters, 2002). This led him to consider that "we [in the US] need to cultivate new China specialists, including scholars who will guide us from their Mainland birthplace. Despite politically motivated sabre-rattling on both sides of the Pacific, we have no cold war. Yet. It is time to make connections" (ibid.). The publication of Wang Hui's work by HUP fits into this project that seeks to enhance contacts between the US and China's intellectual and academic contexts and to increase the availability of knowledge from China in the US.

Another key agent in this publishing initiative was Theodore Huters, who eventually edited Wang Hui's two first volumes and translated some of his essays for HUP. Professor emeritus at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), where he taught at the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures since 1994, he is a specialist in late-Qing and twentieth-century Chinese literary and intellectual history. Huters met Wang Hui personally around 1992 when Wang Hui visited UCLA, invited by professor Leo Ou-fan Lee. "Through that connection I looked him up when I was in Beijing four years later, and began to read some of his work then" (Huters, personal communication, December 20, 2019). Huters also referred Wang Hui to Waters when the latter visited Beijing in the late 1990s. As for his participation in the translation and editing of Wang Hui's book for HUP, Huters recalls that

> Lindsay [Waters] became seriously interested in a China list—to his credit, mostly on scholars writing in Chinese—and in 2001 or 2002 asked if I would be interested in translating something by Wang Hui; I accepted, thinking that would be essays dealing with the late-Qing period, but Lindsay responded with the two essays that were eventually published as *China's New Order*. I was a bit dismayed, contemporary political economy not being my field at all, but I could see the logic of publishing current, so I stayed in. (Ibid.)

As Huters notes, *China's New Order* had a clear focus on contemporary socio-economic issues, which was attractive to a wider audience beyond Chinese Studies. The volume includes two essays, "The 1989 Social Movement and the Historical Roots of China's Neoliberalism", translated by Huters, and "Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity", translated by Rebecca E. Karl and previously published in 1998 in *Social Text*. The first essay, as Wang Hui recounts in the preface, was the product of a request by Perry Anderson, then editor of *New Left Review* (another cluster of circulation we will analyze in the next section), who asked Wang Hui to explain the 1997 controversy, "which led me to formulate a systematic explanation of the ten years following 1989 and the ensuing split in the Chinese intellectual world" (Wang Hui, 2003: vii). As previously mentioned, the essay "The 1989 Social Movement and the Historical Roots of China's Neoliberalism" was originally written not only for a Chinese audience, but already with a wider translocal readership in mind, unlike "Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity". Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier, that essay was written during Wang Hui's stay in Seattle, where he witnessed the November 1999 anti-WTO protests. This experience would also leave a mark in his interpretations of the recent Chinese past and would provide him with further evidence of a social continuum linking the 1989 protests in China with a global juncture defined by the global expansion of "neoliberal" forms of economic and social development. It is important to remember that China's entry into the WTO became a reality in 2001, which made the Chinese economy more obviously entangled with global flows of capital. In his preface to the volume, Wang Hui is also explicit about the commonalities between China's condition and the global political economy: "[...] I have

attempted to see the predicament facing China and the crises afflicting the rest of the contemporary world—including the so-called democratic Western world—as different facets of an interrelated historical process" (Wang Hui, 2003: x). Within the essay, Wang further explicits these connections, presenting the 1989 protests in China as an actual precedent of what happened in Seattle. In doing so, his critical analysis of social and economic developments in post-Mao China leads into the very same discomforts expressed by protestors in the US and Europe in the early 2000s against neoliberal globalization, making explicit the value of his analysis for a translocal critique of that common juncture:

> If we examine the 1989 social movement from the perspective of the expanding system of internal and international markets, then the demands of the movement in many respects have internal links to the protest against the WTO and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that took place in Seattle in November 1999 and Washington, D.C. in April and May of 2000, since they all were directed against a comprehensive system of political provisions having to do with ordinary life, a systematic program aimed at creating and expanding a comprehensive market society. [...] These movements, in fact, exemplify a close unity between the values of democracy and freedom and a movement to protect social security. [...]
>
> The discourse of the "end of history" that followed upon 1989, however, provided a clear-cut explanation of the events of that year: namely, that it represented the final victory of the Western social system, with China as merely an isolated and incomplete historical instance. The dual significance of the 1989 social movement has been understood as being merely unidirectional. As far as I am concerned, once this single understanding becomes the world's predominant narrative, once it becomes ironclad proof of the superiority of the present system, once protest becomes merely praise for that system, then its true meaning, its critical potential, and its historical significance will all be lost. (Wang Hui, 2003: 64–65)

The volume includes an introduction by Huters. In a statement that dovetails with Waters' ideas against incommensurability, Huters states that "China remains remote and alien to us [...] as a result of our own lack of serious attention given to it", and further argues that "we have a difficult time imagining that anything that happens there can have any relevance to our own lives" (Huters, 2003: 3). The peritextual elements, once

again, are used to position Wang Hui's work with regard to what the editor considers relevant for the target readership. After referring to Wang Hui's "complex summary of the social and economic changes China has undergone over the past twenty years" and his "detailed account of the debates that have been ongoing in Chinese intellectual circles since the early 1990s" (5), Huters' introduction points out that "his argument also speaks to issues affecting the entire global community, and offers theoretical insights that are widely applicable" (7). In that direction, for example, he explicits the ways in which Wang's analysis of market reforms in China offers new perspectives for a more general understanding of global transformations under globalization:

> Wang's account focuses on what are most often taken in the West as the contradictions of the process, notably rapid economic deregulation conjoined with a still highly intrusive state.
>
> Unlike most of the Western commentary, however, Wang Hui does not take these features to be inherently paradoxical, but rather simply as elements that are characteristic of the new global order as a whole, in which considerations of economic growth and development have trumped every other concern, particularly those of democracy and social justice. (Huters, 2003: 6)

Huters introduction also highlights the way in which Wang Hui's analysis challenges the conventional understanding of the relationship between state and market within the "neoliberal" paradigms, presenting the state as the necessary promoter of, rather than an obstacle for, the markets:

> At its heart the essay is an impassioned plea for economic and social justice and an indictment of the corruption brought on by the explosion of "unregulated" markets, a phenomenon that had become evident in China long before it did in the United States. The core of Wang's argument is his important observation that terms like "free" and "unregulated" are largely ideological constructs masking the intervention of highly manipulative, even coercive, governmental actions on behalf of economic policies that favor a particular scheme of capitalist acquisition, something that must be clearly distinguished from truly free markets. (Huters, 2003: 6)

Huters' introduction also dedicates considerable effort and length to position another important feature of Wang Hui's arguments that may appear as problematic for an European and North American reader, especially if the implied reader is considered to hold a left-leaning position: the role of the state in general and the Chinese state in particular within any project of emancipation and social justice. The importance attached to this matter vis-à-vis the target readership is visible shortly into Huters' introduction, where he was particularly interested in highlighting the discussion of this issue as a special contribution of the translated book: "The final section of the essay, 'Alternative Globalizations and the Question of the Modern,' with its crucial discussion of the functions of the nation-state in the contemporary world, was, however, written specifically for this book" (Huters, 2003: 6; Huters, personal communication, December 20, 2019).

Left-leaning European and North American generations that were ideologically active in the 1960s and 1970s usually hold a wary distance with regard to the state, a suspicion that emanates from the memories about the practices of Stalinism and, later, the Cultural Revolution. Thus, while signaling Wang's "determination to hold on to the nation-state as the basic unit of political and economic policy" (32), Huters adds that "Wang Hui is well aware of the malignant potential of the state (as a matter of both theory and personal experience), which explains why he takes such pains to explain his defense of what he sees as its necessary functions" (33). He further develops this idea arguing that

> his [Wang Hui's] defense is pragmatic, based on the notion that there really is no other agency that can be mobilized for popular purposes. As he says in section 3, for instance, in regard to labor rights: "The logic of transnational capitalism demands the globalization of labor movements, but the reality we are facing is this: a global labor movement has yet to take shape, while the evidence of cooperation and collusion between transnational capital and the nation-state is visible everywhere." He thus views the state as the only entity that could exercise any popular leverage, one that could be worked with as long as it is understood that the definition of the state is not something "in collusion with monopolistic, coercive, and unequal systems, but is instead [something] taking up [its] social responsibilities…; this is the principal task of all social movements that have as their goal domestic and international democracy. (Huters, 2003: 33)

Wang Hui's discussion of the nation-state has subsequently become an important focus of attention in the European and North American readings of his work. For instante, Keucheyan (2013)'s panoramic of contemporary critical theory,[93] Wang Hui is featured in a section under the title "The Nation-State: Persistence or Transcendence?", which covers other thinkers on the topic such as Benedict Anderson, Tom Nairn, Jürgen Habermas, Étienne Balibar, and Giorgio Agamben, besides Wang Hui. Keycheyan focuses his discussion of Wang's ideas on his concept of "consumerist nationalism" in China and the fact that market-oriented reforms in China had been implemented in an authoritarian fashion by the state: "Those reforms are not the consequence of increased freedom in the economy, attributable to the state's withdrawal and the emergence of an autonomous civil society. They have been implemented in authoritarian fashion by the state" (130). Besides, Kucheyan also refers to Wang Hui's focus on an "Asia-wide international solidarity" (134) as his favored framework for an alternative path to modernity. Therefore, Wang Hui Wang's ideas appear as an example of the difficulty to answer the question pointed at in the title of the section: whether the nation-state will persist or be superseded by other social formation(s) in the coming future.

Similarly, Wang Hui's vindication of certain legacies of Maoism and pre-1979 politics may also appear problematic for certain readers. For that reason, Huters seeks to neutralize any possible reading of, for instance, Wang Hui's vindication of China's pre-1979 position as leader of the Third World as "yet another lament about lost Chinese glory, or as simply another offshoot of the nationalism that has been a major current on the contemporary Chinese intellectual scene" (34). He again links Wang Hui's arguments to the ongoing debates of the day surrounding modernization narratives when argues that, when he rescues certain aspects of pre-1979 China,

> his concern is part of his general effort to overthrow the hegemony of the idea of "the end of history," which he sees as reducing the world to an unjust, relentless, and sterile uniformity. It is an expression of regret for the diminution of political alternatives represented by the collapse of the nonaligned movement, which—weak as it most often was—was committed theoretically to working out modes of existence that diverged from

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[93] Originally published in French in 2010.

the unitary model for the future provided by the rich and powerful capitalist nations clustered around the shores of the North Atlantic. (Huters, 2003: 35)

As it is visible from the above analysis of epitextual elements, the translation and publication of Wang Hui's work by HUP entailed a clear operation of positioning in which his arguments and propositions were explicitly made to interpellate the intellectual and political concerns of the reception context and readership. In a later section of this chapter, I will further explain how the contents of this volume (as well as the other English-language volumes by Wang Hui) related to then-ongoing debates in the North American and European contexts.

Both the volume *CNO* and the *Social Text* special issue introduced Wang Hui to a wider readership beyond the academic field of Area Studies. In the case of HUP, the publication of a single-authored volume by a prestigious academic publisher also conveyed a considerable degree of intellectual legitimation. Furthermore, given the role of English as a pivotal language and of the Anglophone context as mediator and gatekeeper, the availability of Wang Hui's work in English translation published by outlets with considerable translocal recognition, visibility and readership also put Wang Hui's work in the map for readers beyond the Anglophone context. After its publication, *CNO* was translated from the English into Italian and published as a book, *Il nuovo ordine cinese*, in Italy in 2006; it also served as the basis for a Spanish-language volume, *El nuevo orden de China*, published in Spain in 2008.

5.4. Cluster 3 - *New Left Review*

The intellectual leverage of *Social Text* in the field of cultural and social critique helped place Wang Hui in the map for a more general readership not limited in scope to the field of Area Studies. As previously noted, in a note at the end of his introduction to the *Social Text* special issue, Xudong Zhang acknowledges his former supervisor Fredric Jameson and Perry Anderson for having read "most of the articles included here" and commented on them (see "Notes" in Zhang Xudong, 1998: 8). Anderson would play a very important role in making Wang Hui and his writings reach a wider audience.

As previously noted, the case of Wang Hui's circulation is particular precisely because of the fact that it has not been concealed to the field of China Studies but, instead, has also entered into a more general field of inquiry where purely national concerns blend into concerns of a more general scope. We previously mentioned how China's predicaments within globalization have become a matter of translocal interest beyond the geopolitical limits of the PRC, especially for the European and North American Left. This section analyzes the social and intellectual dynamics that have marked the circulation of Wang Hui's writings within that field.[94]

In the preface to *China's New Order*, his first book translated into English, Wang Hui writes: "For this book to be published in English is entirely a matter of chance" (2003: vii). In the history of knowledge and the circulation of ideas, chance is a generally overlooked factor, disregarded since it disrupts with uncertainty an account that should be based on clear-cut dynamics and mechanisms. However, chance in the form of personal encounters, for example, has played an undeniable role in the circulation of knowledge throughout history (see Collins, 1998: 68; Burke, 2000: 53). Indeed, some personal encounters have been decisive in the circulation of Wang Hui's works in certain contexts, as I will explain hereby for the case of the Anglophone new left and, as we shall see later, in the case of his Italian translations.

The encounter in question happened in Hong Kong in July 1997, in the days surrounding the British handover of the city to the PRC. Perry Anderson was in Changsha (Hunan province) and went to Hong Kong to witness the historical event. Around the same time, Wang Hui was also in Hong Kong as a visiting fellow at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), where he took some distance from the intense debate that his article had unleashed.[95] They met and, during those days, according to Wang Hui's account, they had conversations about Britain and China. Before Anderson's departure, Wang Hui suggested holding a dialogue between the two

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[94] This section is not intended as a detailed survey of the intellectual history of the British new left or the *NLR*, nor of Anderson's life and intellectual trajectory. Its object is to identify elements which are relevant to understanding the genesis and nature of the interest and interaction with Wang Hui's work by agents within the field. For more general, in depth surveys of the European/British and American new left, see Lin Chun (1993); Keucheyan (2013); and Berg (2016). For a history of *New Left Review*, see Thompson (2007). About Anderson's biographical and intellectual trajectory, see Elliott (1998) and Blackledge (2004).

[95] Wang Hui refers to the encounter in his preface to *China's New Order* (2003) and his "Preface to the English Edition" in *The End of the Revolution* (2009).

of them at the Institute of Chinese Studies at CUHK. Their conversation revolved mainly around three topics: the origins of the British new left, the relation between liberalism and socialism, and the question of nationalism and internationalism.[96] In that conversation, Anderson lamented the retreat of Chinese intellectuals from internationalism precisely when China's economy and society were increasingly enmeshed in globalization (Wang Hui, 2009a: 137). Wang Hui acknowledges those exchanges witn Anderson as "an immense encouragement for me to explore the question of the modern" (Wang Hui, 2009b: xvii). In the coming years, Wang Hui's ideas would feature in the pages of *NLR* in the form of interviews, translations of his essays, and reviews of his work. Together with publications in HUP, these publications in *NLR* would further reinforce Wang's visibility for a wider readership beyond the academic field of Asian Studies, (which had hitherto framed most of his previous publications in English) and particularly for the Euro-North American intellectual left.

With an influence well beyond the Anglophone world, *NLR* as well as its ascribed imprint Verso (founded as New Left Books) have been key agents behind the circulation of Wang Hui and his ultimate transnational intellectual legitimation in the European and North American contexts. Since its foundation in 1960, *NLR* has featured some of the most prominent names in left-wing thinking.[97] *NLR* was established with its current name in 1960 and, since then, Anderson has acted as its editor in two separate periods: between 1962 and 1986 (together with Robin Blackburn and Tom Nairn); and again between 2000 and 2003. Anderson occupies a historically determinant position in the *NLR* to the point that the publication and Anderson come to be seen as inseparable. As Berg points out, "*New Left Review*'s (and Anderson's) position has traditionally functioned as a political compass: positioning oneself in relation to *New Left Review* (and to Anderson) has always served the purpose of making a point about one's own political perspective—more than would be the case with most other publications" (2016: 51–52).

Given its symbolic capital accumulated throughout decades of publishing some of the most prominent names in Marxism and critical thought, *NLR* has become an

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[96] A record of this conversation is published in Wang Hui (2009a: 120–139).

[97] The plethora of prominent intellectuals that have appeared in the pages of the *NLR* is recounted in the history of the journal published in its website: https://newleftreview.org/pages/history (accessed July 2, 2022).

instance of consecration for authors ascribed to the political and academic left. By publishing interviews, articles, and reviews of Wang Hui's works, as well as the publication of single-authored books, *NLR* and Verso have incorporated him and his ideas in a more general, translocal debate about neoliberal expansion, the prospects of socialism, and the search for alternatives. Besides his own work, Wang Hui has featured in general surveys of critical thought and left intellectuals such as Keucheyan's *The Left Hemisphere* (2013) or in an additional chapter to McKenzie Wark's *General Intellects* (2017), also published by Verso. These publications also positioned Wang Hui's thought on the map of the global left.

A look at Anderson's trajectory, his intellectual commitments and editorial interests throughout the years helps understand his eventual interest in Wang Hui's work. Anderson was born in 1938 in London, the son of an agent at the Imperial Maritime Customs of China, where he spent part of his childhood. He studied at Eton—one of Britain's most prestigious schools—and later Philosophy at Oxford's Worcester College. Anderson recalls a Chinese connection reduced during his teenage years to "a world of objects" at home inherited from his father's years in China, "familiar and incomprehensible, recalling a past to which we otherwise had no relation" (Anderson 2005, 345). His biographer George Elliott (1998: 1) points to this geographically spread family memories as a key vector of Anderson's refusal of a nationally-constrained Marxism and his consequent engagement with issues from a proverbially broad array of geographic locations, and, for instance, the internationalization, anti-colonial stances, and attention to Third World developments (including revolutionary nationalisms) adopted by the *NLR* editorship since his arrival at the reins of the journal in 1963 with Blackburn and Nairn. They had the clear intention to move beyond what they considered the excessive Britain-focused framework of the previous editorial line. In Anderson's words: "[w]e did not believe in Marxism in one country" (Elliott, 1998: 10). It is also important to consider that Anderon's generation that took in charge the editorial direction of *NLR* was forged in the anti-imperialist movements of the 1960s, which marked their difference with regard both to the previous generation forged in the antifascist movements of the 1930s and the generation that came intellectually of age in the cold War.

In the course of the 1960s, Anderson, and the *NLR* with him, like many other left intellectuals and publications of the time, became increasingly disenchanted with the Soviet Union, especially after the Prague Spring in 1968, and increasingly turned their attention to developments beyond the Soviet bloc in quest for a more promising model. In that juncture, Perry showed a certain sympathy for China's Cultural Revolution as the incarnation of an alternative to the already discredited Stalinist model. But support turned into disillusion at the end of the decade. A 1974 internal editorial document of the *NLR*, "A Decennial Report", recognized this misstep, as if "the record of the Chinese Revolution now functioned as a kind of absolution for the disasters of the Russian Revolution" (cited in Thompson, 2001: 22).

The demise of revolutionary emancipation became more strident towards the end of the 1970s and 1980s. The global configuration of political forces became more and more disillusioning for the prospects of left intellectuals, and socialist ideas became increasingly associated to future potentialities than to actually existing realities. Another 1980 internal document, a *NLR* quinquennial editorial report for the years 1975–1980, acknowledged the weakening of labor movements in Western Europe and capitalist restabilization of the time. Nevertheless, the document signals to the hope that the already ending century would witness the failure of "capitalist restoration" somewhere and directed attention specifically to China (together with Yugoslavia) as a clear candidate to present such a case of capitalist failure (cited in Elliott, 1998: 142).

After the multiple, far-reaching events of 1989 and the turn of the 1990s, with the demise of Socialist states in Eastern Europe and the grounding of economic reform in China, Anderson's (as well as a good section of his generation's) intellectual attitude shifted from militant activity toward a sense of defeat and bitterness toward the socio-economic reality of the moment and the prospects of the Left, giving in to what Achcar (2000) has termed as "historical pessimism", acutely ascribed to Western Marxism.

Toward the end of the 1990s, Anderson incremented his interest in Asian contexts. This interest was partly related to the presence of important China historians at UCLA, where he was teaching (Anderson, 2005: 346). Visiting several Asian countries towards the end of the decade, he witnessed the effects of the economic policies of previous decades, a vision he recounted in an article in the *London Review of Books* (Anderson,

1998). In the summer of 1997, as I have already mentioned, he visited China and stayed in Hong Kong, where he met Wang Hui and became aware of the debate surrounding liberalism that dominated the Chinese intellectual arena at the moment, of which Wang Hui was one of the protagonists. In the course of his exchanges with Wang Hui in Hong Kong, he expressed the hope that China might become the most important force for changing the configuration of the global economy (Anderson in Wang Hui, 2009a: 129).

Toward the end of the millennium, Anderson was about to take over, once again, the editorship of the *NLR*. He would remain in that position until 2003. Anderson's historical pessimism was salient in his editorial for the first issue of the new *NLR* in January 2000, titled "Renewals" (Anderson, 2000). In this editorial, besides an analysis of the contemporary predicaments of the Left and its prospects, Anderson underscores the need for the Western Left to pay more attention to peripheral cultural producers (17). In that sense, it is worth noting how Anderson's editorial acknowledges the pivotal role that *NLR* plays as a platform for visibilization and consecration of intellectuals and cultural producers, and how it fully embraces the *NLR* agency as a mediator to counter such asymmetry:

> *NLR* has always enjoyed an undeserved comparative advantage in the language in which it is published, since English has a world-wide audience that no other idiom possesses. By way of compensation, it should try to bring to the notice of its readers important works that are not published in English, as well as those that are. (Anderson, 2000: 19)

A similar point is made, as a conclusion to the editorial, about the geographic origins of the contributors to the journal:

> The scope of *NLR* has always been wider than this Western base-line. But while the journal has covered the rest of the world—Third and Second, as well as First, while these terms still held—for better or worse according to period, its writers have continued to come essentially from its homelands. This we would like to change. The time should come when the contributors to *NLR* are as extra-Atlantic as its contents. For the moment, that is out of reach. But it is a horizon to bear in mind. (Anderson, 2000: 20)

With regard to China, *NLR* tried to make up for the hitherto "weak" coverage of the country. In a 2010 historical account of the NLR, the "extensive" coverage of "the rise of China as a major power" was highlighted as a main outcome of the publication after its 2000 renewal.[98] This outcome was presented, interestingly, as a counterpoint to the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.[99]

The task of increasing the visibility of peripheral producers (including Chinese authors) was also undertaken by Anderson himself by interviewing leading voices of the Chinese intellectual field. The first of such interviews was precisely with Wang Hui.[100] As previously mentioned, between the fall of 1999 and the summer of 2000, Wang Hui was staying as a visiting scholar at the Critical Asian Studies Program at the University of Washington, and teaching the intellectual history of the Qing dynasty (Wang Hui 2003, vii). Anderson, just about to begin his editorship at *NLR*, invited Wang Hui to visit him at UCLA, where the interview took place.

The result of that interview appeared in the November-December 2000 issue under the title "Fire at the Castle Gate" (Wang Hui, 2000b). The interview, of considerable length, deals with an array of topics, from Wang Hui's role as editor (as we previously saw, by this time Wang Hui was editor of *Dushu*), the conditions of intellectual debate in China, social and economic problematics, cultural developments, and Wang Hui's work on Chinese intellectual history. In addressing the recent developments of intellectual debates in China, the interview pays particular attention to the controversies about liberalization and marketization, the splitting of the intellectual field between liberals and "new left", and the different implications of the term "new left" in the Chinese and European contexts.

Topics related to social and economic critique are prominently featured. Even when asked about his work as an intellectual historian, Wang Hui is prone to highlight the need to relate scholarship to the reality of social concerns, and the connections between intellectual history and social history (90). For instance, he relates his

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[98] An increasing interest about China's situation was already visible toward the end of the 1990s, with contributions by Wang Chaohua, Wang Dan, and Li Mingqi on the legacy of Tian'anmen and the future of China (*NLR* I/235, May-June 1999), and Zhang Xudong on the Chinese reception of postmodernism (*NLR* I/237, September-October 1999).

[99] "A Brief History of New Left Review, 1960-2010." *New Left Review*. https://newleftreview.org/history (accessed June 29, 2022).

[100] Another Chinese intellectual interviewed by Anderson was Qin Hui (秦晖, b. 1953) in the March-April 2003 issue of *NLR*.

incursions into Song and Ming dynasties as "a way of criticizing the claims capitalism makes for itself, as if it were the absolute origin of everything new" (91).

Wang Hui's profile as a critic on social and economic problematics would be at the forefront of his following contribution to *NLR*, the article "Depoliticized Politics, from East to West" (Wang Hui, 2006c). The article was originally written for the journal *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* (hereafter, *IACS*) with the title "Depoliticized politics, multiple components of hegemony, and the eclipse of the Sixties", and translated by Christopher Connery. Wang Hui recounts that Anderson read the article for *IACS* and became interested in publishing it in *NLR*, which *IACS* eventually agreed to (Wang Hui, personal interview 2, August 5, 2016). The essay was published almost simultaneously by both outlets at the end of 2006.

The article was the product of Wang Hui's participation in a panel on the "Asian Sixties" at the National University of Singapore in August 2005, focused on the legacy of the radical movements of the 1960s in Asia. The earliest version of the article was written at the end of 2004 after Wang Hui's stay as a visiting scholar at the University of Bologna in 2004, invited by Italian scholars Alessandro Russo and Claudia Pozzana. As Wang Hui mentions in his article, Russo is a sociologist who has been conducting extensive research on the Cultural Revolution and its implications. It was, therefore, an article originally conceived to be engaged with a translocal readership.[101] The concepts of "depoliticized politics" and "depoliticization", which are central to this article and which came to be seen in China as one of Wang Hui's main analytical contributions, were suggested to Wang Hui during his exchanges with Russo and Pozzana in Bologna, as Wang Hui acknowledges in endnote 1 of the *IACS* essay, and in a footnote on page 32 of the *NLR* version. [102]

Wang Hui's original essay starts with the observation that Chinese scholars were absent from discussions about the implications of the 1960s movements, despite the fact that China's Cultural Revolution had a central role in those years, not only regionally but even globally. That absence illustrates, for Wang Hui, to which extent the legacy of

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[101] A second version was finished in July 2006; a final version was finished in October 2007 and was published in Chinese for the first time by the journal *Kaifang Shidai* (2007/02 issue). It is worth noting, then, that it was not until 2007 that the article was formally published in a Chinese language journal.

[102] Wang Hui's circulation in Italy, as well as Pozzana and Russo's agency in it, will be the object of a specific analysis in the next chapter.

the Cultural Revolution and the 1960s in China has been the object of a complete rejection as a period of excessive radicalism, and how that rejection is the cause and consequence, at the same time, of the depoliticization of politics that affects societies globally. From this, the article delves into the idea of hegemony and the ideological underpinnings of such depoliticization. It claims for the necessity to reconstruct the meaning of the political and spaces for real political struggle in order to build up future alternatives.

The essay published in *NLR* is an edited extract of the version in *IACS*, and bears some interesting differences which suggest that the version for *NLR* is aimed at a more general intellectual readership, while the text for *IACS* appears more directed to the journal's Area Studies readership. The first and most obvious shift takes place in the title: by adding "from East to West" to the key topic of "depoliticized politics", the essay claims a more general interpretation beyond the specifics of the Chinese context. That orientation is reinforced in the body of the text by the inclusion of a specific section under the epigraph "Hollowing of Western democracy", in which Wang Hui, by way of Alessandro Russo's analysis of the Cultural Revolution, links his analysis of the depoliticization of the Chinese context with the problematics of Western parliamentary democracies. He therefore identifies a common problematic around depoliticization equally shared by multi- and single-party systems (Wang Hui, 2006c: 32). Though this point was present in the *IACS* version, including it under a single epigraph, together with the title of the article that points to a reading "from East to West", highlights such translocalization of the analysis beyond the Chinese context.

Another interesting detail is to be found in the references that Wang Hui's essay uses. In his analysis of depoliticization and its hegemonic dominance as a global ideology, he brings into discussion the ideas of mainly three thinkers: Althusser, Gramsci, and Schmitt. In the *IACS* version, both Althusser's "ideological state apparatuses" and Gramsci's "hegemony" are discussed in the main body of the texts (2006b: 695 ff.), while Schmitt's concept of "neutralization" appears only as an endnote (700: note 2). However, in the *NLR* version of the essay, the reference to Schmitt and his concept of "neutralization" is given more prominence by moving it into the main body of the text (2006c: 37). In contrast to this, Wang Hui introduces a brief discussion of the idea of cultural hegemony with reference to Chinese ancient history and to the Chinese

classics *Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋) and *Master Zuo's Commentary* (左传), referring briefly to their differentiated concepts of "ducal authority" (伯权) and "hegemonic authority" (霸权). These references occupy only one single paragraph in the *IACS* version of the essay (696), and yet this reference is further reduced to a sideline comment subsumed at the end of a paragraph in the *NLR* version (41–42).

Though his 2006 essay was Wang Hui's latest authorial contribution to *NLR* proper, he has been featured as the focus of other articles that I will analyze hereafter, besides the publication of two volumes of collected essays translated into English by the *NLR*'s imprint Verso in 2009 and 2016 that I will discuss later on. This attests to Wang Hui's sustained relationship with the sphere of the *NLR*.

In 2008 and 2010, *NLR* published two review essays authored by Zhang Yongle (章永乐, a.k.a. Haiyi 海裔, b. 1981) with the titles "No Forbidden Zone in Reading? *Dushu* and the Chinese Intelligentsia" (2008) and "The Future of the Past: On Wang Hui's *Rise of Modern Chinese Thought*" (2010). The initiative for these publications falls under Anderson's stated intention that the *NLR* "should try to bring to the notice of its readers important works that are not published in English", as we previously mentioned (Anderson, 2000: 19). Zhang Yongle is currently a professor at the School of Law at Peking University. From 2002 to 2008 he went to the US to study a PhD at UCLA with a dissertation on Graeco-Roman historiography, supervised by Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg, also a frequent contributor to *NLR*. Zhang's field of specialization is political theory, constitutional history and intellectual history, having written about Chinese political reform and thought in the late-Qing period (late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries), an object of inquiry that he shares with some of Wang Hui's works in the field of intellectual history. In fact, Zhang considers Wang Hui, along with other thinkers also frequently labeled as "new leftists" such as Gan Yang (甘阳) and Liu Xiaofeng (刘小枫), as one of the main intellectual influences for the generation of young scholars who began their academic careers in the 1990s. A key aspect of that influence, according to Zhang, was Wang Hui's critical position vis-à-vis the "neoliberal" turn of China's reform, a very rare position to uphold at that moment that, however, in Zhang's view, gained further saliency after the economic and social turmoil of the 2008 financial crisis in Europe and North America (Zhang Yongle, personal interview, March 28, 2016).

Zhang's two contributions on Wang Hui for *NLR* were the products of requests by Perry Anderson, Zhang's teacher at UCLA at that time (ibid.). The first essay, "No Forbidden Zone in Reading? *Dushu* and the Chinese Intelligentsia" was intended as an overview of Wang Hui's decade-long work as editor of *Dushu*. The article was published in the January-February 2008 issue of *NLR*, few months after Wang Hui and Huang Ping had been dismissed as editors of *Dushu*. The essay addresses this issue, stating how their dismissal "provoked a storm of controversy among Chinese intellectuals" in which Wang Hui and Huang Ping's detractors "argued that the two had turned the journal, 'universally recognized' by the Chinese intelligentsia in the 1980s and early 1990s, into a platform for a small 'new-left clique'" (Zhang Yongle, 2008: 5). Moreover, the essay offered an account of the history of *Dushu* and the role that the journal had played in the Chinese intellectual field during Wang Hui and Huang Ping's years (1996–2007), becoming a major instigator of intellectual debates and theoretical renewals in mainland China. Furthermore, the article presents a review of the contents of a six-volume collection of *Dushu*'s most outstanding contributions during those years that account to the journal's intellectual reach. Zhang also refers specifically to the inclusion of essays (in volume 6) by some of *NLR*'s contributors, such as Habermas, Derrida, Perry Anderson, Selden, Hardt and Negri, as proof of the international outlook that Wang Hui and Huang Ping had brought to the journal while, at the same time, underscoring the journal's left-leaning publications.

Zhang Yongle's second contribution, "The Future of the Past: On Wang Hui's *Rise of Modern Chinese Thought,*" was a lengthy review essay of Wang Hui's major work to date, the four-volume *Rise*. By that moment, that extensive work remained untranslated into English, which meant that readers with no access to the original Chinese had to rely on these reviews to get an idea of its content. Notwithstanding this, several reviews of that work had already appeared in other venues. Perry Anderson became interested in it and requested Zhang to write a comprehensive review analyzing the work. Throughout the writing of the essay, both Zhang and Anderson maintained communication and, according to Zhang, some paragraphs and sentences of the essay arose from some of Anderson's questions and comments (Zhang Yongle, personal interview, Beijing, March 28, 2016).

As previously mentioned, *Rise* poses the quest for alternative elements for modernity by looking at China's pre-modern history. A fundamental driver of Wang Hui's quest in this work is the relation between the concrete political order of reality and an ethical essential principle (as defined by classical Chinese thought). By analyzing the changing relations between those two elements throughout history, Wang seeks to explain processes of (de)politicization in society at different periods. To do so, Wang Hui uses an array of concepts extracted from China's pre-modern intellectual traditions like Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism, such as "heavenly principle", "rites and music", etc. Up until 2010, the readership of *NLR* had mainly known Wang Hui's profile as a social critic. For a readership more accustomed to contemporary itineraries for the criticism of neoliberalism, the discovery of Wang Hui's profile as an intellectual historian reappraising pre-modern Chinese thought, especially Confucianism, came as a surprise.

In this regard, the comments of a *NLR* anonymous reviewer upon a draft of Zhang Yongle's review essay offer an illuminating insight into the expectations of the *NLR*'s readership about Wang Hui, according to internal agents of the journal.[103] As we shall see, these comments exemplify the clash between Wang Hui's double profile as both an intellectual historian and a social critic for a readership more accustomed to reading Wang Hui only as the latter.

First, the anonymous reviewer assumes in a non-problematic way that Wang Hui's use of pre-modern "Confucian" sources makes Wang Hui part of the "New Confucian" trend in today's China.[104] The reviewer praises Zhang's essay as a "deeply impressive essay [that] very helpfully locates Wang Hui's work in the context of the broader Confucian revival". Under the assumption that the "Confucian revival" is the main intellectual trend within which to locate Wang Hui's thought, the reviewer signals three aspects that Zhang should address in the revised version of the essay: (1) The relationship between the "Confucian revival" and official Party ideology; (2) A comparison between the contemporary appraisal of "Confucianism" and the early twentieth-century criticism of it; and (3) The specific position that Wang Hui occupies

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[103] The reviewer's written comments that were generously provided to me by Zhang Yongle (personal communication, Beijing, 2016). All quotations from the reviewer refer to this source.
[104] For an account of the so-called "Confucian revival", see the volume edited by Hammond & Richey (2015).

within the revival, more precisely, "[w]as he among the pioneers in this field, in the early 90s?"

The alleged conflation between Chinese "new left" intellectuals and "new Confucianism" has been suggested by critical commentators both in mainland China and abroad. Hammond, for instance, has underscored the "shared concerns between thinkers associated with the new left and the political ethics of Confucianism" and considers that "Confucianism as a political ethical order has a central place in Wang's thought" (Hammond, 2015). Deng and Smith have also pointed to the "overlap in textual references", and consider that the new left's criticism of "Eurocentrism" and its quest for alternatives to modernity overlaps with concerns and discourses within New Confucianism (2018: 305). However, their analysis also identifies important divergences between both tendencies, namely, that "New Confucians" equally criticize the liberals and the "new left" as followers of "Western" value systems (304) or that, "unlike the New Confucians, they [new left intellectuals] do not limit themselves to the Classics of Confucianism, and their goal is not the reconstruction of classical politics or cultural traditions" (305–306) but rather "returning to Chinese traditions such as Confucianism in order to solve today's problems through a revitalization of socialism" (305). Suspicions about the "Confucian" reappraisal in contemporary China as a form of political and cultural conservatism have also been expressed by Marxist scholars like Dirlik, who views it as an "ideological pitfall" of global postcolonial discourse due to its "ideological complicity in the very structure of power that is the object of criticism" and its instantiation of ahistorical cultural essentialism (1995: 230–231).

These concerns also seem to underpin many of the comments made by the anonymous *NLR* reviewer for Zhang Yongle's essay. For instance, as I have already pointed out, the reviewer shows an interest in clarifying Wang Hui's use of "Confucianism" and his potential convergence with officially-sanctioned thinking: when asking for a definition of the term "thought", the reviewer explains: "To many on the left—not just in the West—the extent to which this is synonymous with 'official doctrine' is one of the most difficult points about the book to grasp." Also, the reviewer expresses his/her preoccupation for the apparent absence of concern for social issues in Wang Hui's work, since, in his/her view, Wang Hui "leaves out the influence of Buddhism and Taoism, as well as any 'popular' thought—the voices of the people, as

expressed in songs, stories, deployed by Yeats, Mariategui [sic], etc." The reviewer then adds: "Readers may think that, in Wang Hui's account, Chinese thought has nothing to say about hunger, cold, corruption, overwork, cruelty or exploitation; its focus is solely on how to rule, or how to re-install order when the old ways no longer work. Would they be wrong?".

The final version of Zhang's essay did address these concerns explicitly. For instance, he states that "[Wang Hui] is less interested in promoting any given strand of the past in the present than in describing the trajectory of major paradigmatic changes from antiquity to the contemporary world" (Zhang Yongle, 2010: 50). And later on, he further notes: "[Wang Hui's] sympathy for Confucianism can even give the impression of a cultural conservatism. But, as we shall see, such sympathy is likely to be more methodological than substantive—his own attachments remaining closer to the most radical revolutionary ideas of the twentieth century" (56).

Other noticeable aspects of the reviewer's assessment of Zhang's essay are his/her requests for a broader contextualization of certain historical and epistemological elements related to China's intellectual history. For instance, the reviewer complains that "the differences between 'old' and 'new text' Confucianism remain a bit obscure" and requests further explanations about the intellectual context of late Qing, a necessary note for a readership like the *NLR*'s, who is not necessarily well versed in Chinese intellectual history. Similarly, further explanations are also required for the concepts of "temporality" and "propensity of time" used by Wang Hui, considering that they "are not clear to an uninitiated reader". Finally, it is interesting to note the reviewer's requests concerning the inclusion of comparisons and juxtapositions with the ideas of other thinkers that might be more familiar to the readers, helping positioning Wang Hui's work within a broader, translocal field of references. In the reviewer's view: "[Wang Hui's] integration of knowledge, system of rule and moral practice reminded me of the categories in Foucault. In fact, *RMCT* [i.e., *Rise*] sounds much like a genealogy of the reigning categories of 'science' and 'democracy' […] not unlike *Discipline and Punish* or *History of Sexuality*". Then, the reviewer suggests that "[a] methodological explanation (perhaps a comparison to Foucault) could be helpful in clarifying the underlying purposes". In response to this latter concern, Zhang Yongle includes a passage in which he suggests that Wang Hui's procedure in the book is

similar—"allowing for all due differences"—to the procedure of Foucault in the sense that Wang also focuses on broader intellectual frameworks "analogous to the epistemes of *Words and Things*" (Zhang Yongle, 2010: 57). In addition to this, throughout his review, Zhang also establishes further links between Wang Hui's work and European and North American references by highlighting Wang's critical engagement with the ideas of Max Weber, Jürgen Habermas, or Raymond Williams, among others.

For that purpose, Zhang practices a very interesting exercise of double positioning of Wang Hui's work. On the one hand, he connects Wang Hui's work with intellectual initiatives from colonial and post-colonial locations and "the political impulse to recover traditional cultural resources to resist the pretensions of a supposedly universal 'modernization' sprung from the West", and cites the likes of "Yeats and the Gaelic Revival [mentioned by the *NLR* reviewer], Ziya Gökalp, José Carlos Mariátegui [another suggestion of the reviewer], Jamal-al-din Al-Afghani and Vinayak Savarkar, Mahatma Gandhi and Kita Ikki" (48). On the other hand, he makes clear that Wang Hui's work goes beyond the (post)colonial strands of inquiry and considers that "*Rise* is in some ways closer to critical works produced within the West itself, resembling Raymond Williams's effort to reconstruct the line of English romanticism, and its sequels, as resources for the critique of industrial capitalism in *Culture and Society*" (ibid.). Zhang deploys here a very interesting strategy: by presenting Wang Hui's work as cognate with Williams's, he dilutes the "nativistic" character that some Euro-North American readers may be tempted to inscribe Wang Hui's endeavor, re-inscribing it instead under the rubric of a more general social critique, lest the reader consider Williams's work as an instance of British intellectual nativism.

Despite Zhang Yongle's thorough and multi-angled portrayal of Wang Hui's appraisal of "Confucian" sources, certain strands of the European and North American Left have usually seen "Confucianism" as conservative or even reactionary. This view interfered with how some leftist thinkers read Wang Hui's work. For example, during a roundtable in Beijing attended by Wang Hui, Slavoj Žižek, Zhang Yongle, and Alessandro Russo, Žižek referred to Zhang's review essay in *NLR* and insistently asked why Wang had to opt for "Confucianism" instead of Legalism as a source of critique. In their respective responses to Žižek, Wang and Zhang manage to contextualize Mao's pejorative rendition of Confucianism and the historical inaccuracy of the distinction

between Confucianism and Legalism in post-Han thought (Wang Hui & Wang Zhongchen, 2012). Wang Hui considers that the dichotomist vision of Ruism/Legalism that some European scholars hold about Chinese history is inaccurate, and relates that vision to the longstanding influence of Mao's attack on Confucianism and his appraisal of Legalism that was popularized in the context of the Maoist trend among the European Left in the 1960s (Wang Hui, personal interview, August 5, 2016).[105]

Zhang's review introduces other elements that reinforce the character of Wang Hui's work as social criticism. For example, the discussion of Wang Hui's critique of Hayek at the end of *Rise*, which criticizes the Austrian economist's use of the distinction between "science" and "scientism" in justifying the market economy as a "spontaneous order." Zhang refers to Wang Hui's questioning of "a series of binary oppositions dear to neo-liberalism—state/society, market/plan, nature/culture" (Zhang Yongle, 2010: 70-71). This critique of neoliberal tenets is, for Zhang, a "crucial" aspect of Wang Hui's project (ibid.).

Finally, the appraisal of *Rise* as a work with social implications in response to the anonymous reviewer's comments is especially salient in the final section of Zhang's essay. In that section, intended as a conclusive critical assessment of *Rise*, Zhang points to a series of "shortcuts and omissions" (72) in Wang Hui's work, though he immediately provides some notes that seem to downgrade such criticisms. For instance, he addresses Wang Hui's lack of treatment of "non-Confucian", pre-Qin schools of thought and then underscores Confucianism's capacity to "absorb and consolidate" elements from other schools. Another critical point (one that clearly echoes the *NLR* reviewer's concerns) points to the lack of direct social and political intervention of the book: "It is an enigma why the narrative should end in such an apparently depoliticized way" (77). This point is especially eloquent about the clash between Wang Hui's predominant image in the European and North American reception as a social critic, and his original research as an intellectual historian, which is his predominant focus within China but appears as not political enough for readers abroad.

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[105] This dichotomous vision of China's pre-modern intellectual and political history has long ago been overcome and the idea that ancient dynasties were "ornamentally Confucian and functionally Legalist" (*rubiao-fali*) has already enjoyed currency in China (see Qin Hui, 2010). Western scholarship has more recently pointed to this (see Zhao Dingxin, 2015).

5.5. An Ambivalent Translocal Consecration

In our theoretical framework, we explained how the translocal reception of an author and his/her work usually moves in a tension between two poles: one in which author and work are considered valuable in theoretical terms, i.e., his/her ideas, analyses, and propositions are regarded as important and commensurable beyond the location of their production; and another in which the author's propositions are considered as empirically valuable or bearing a documentary value with regard to a local state of things with no theoretical and translocal commensurability. If we attend to this tension, how should we locate Wang Hui's work between those two poles in its European and North American circulation?

As I have shown in the previous sections, we can speak of a certain degree of translocal consecration for Wang Hui as an intellectual and for his work. Besides the number of published translations of his work in volumes and his participation as speaker at conferences and other events, we can also mention other indicators of Wang Hui's translocal consecration:

(1) Prizes such as the Luca Pacioli Prize in 2013 (we will refer to this prize in more detail in the next chapter about the Italian context), and the Anneliese Maier Research Award in 2018 by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in Göttingen (Germany). As for this latter prize, the website of the awarding institution justifies its decision to award Wang Hui as follows:

> Wang Hui is not only one of the most influential intellectuals in China, he also ranks as one of the most important experts on Chinese intellectual history. In contrast to frequent practice in this field, he does not consider Chinese history in isolation, but in its broader Asian and global context. He believes that modernism in China can neither be understood properly by applying Western notions nor from the point of view of Chinese culturalism. Wang Hui, who at one time was editor-in-chief of the influential Chinese magazine *Dushu*, does not just make his mark on socio-political debates within China; his work also finds an exceptionally spirited response internationally. In 2008, for example, the magazine *Foreign Policy* named him as one of the most influential public intellectuals in the world. Collaboration between Wang Hui and the University of Göttingen is supposed

on the one hand to fertilise Sinology in Germany whilst on the other, to expand German research on topics like globalisation and the rise of China to include a Chinese perspective.[106]

This award comprises the support to undertake a research project together with German partners. It is clear in this case that Wang Hui is foremost valued as a scholar and researcher on China, for his "Chinese perspective" on globalization, and his collaboration with the German institution is precisely circumscribed within the field of Sinology.

(2) Recognitions such as his inclusion in the "top 100 global thinkers" list in 2008 by the magazine *Foreign Policy* and in the list of the world's 65 top thinkers by the British magazine *Prospect* in 2013. In both publications Wang Hui was profiled specifically for his activities within China with the same portrayal: "professor of Chinese language and literature at Tsinghua University. Sent to the hinterlands for his role in the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, Wang is a leading member of China's new left movement and a past editor of *Dushu*, one of China's most influential literary journals".

This precedence of Wang Hui's condition as a Chinese intellectual speaking mainly on Chinese issues is also visible if we analyze the reception of his work in the European and North American academic field. If we take into consideration not the volumes, but the articles penned by Wang Hui which have been translated into English and published by Euro-American academic outlets (see Appendix 4), we can observe (Figure 5.1) that the majority of his articles have appeared mostly in Area Studies journals.

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[106] See "Anneliese Maier Research Award 2018: The Award Winners." *Alexander von Humboldt Foundation*.https://www.humboldt-foundation.de/en/entdecken/newsroom/dossier-anneliese-maier-research-award/anneliese-maier-research-award-2018-the-award-winners (accessed July 5, 2022).

Figure 5.1: Essays by Wang Hui translated into English and published by European and North American journals by disciplinary area (1994–2018).
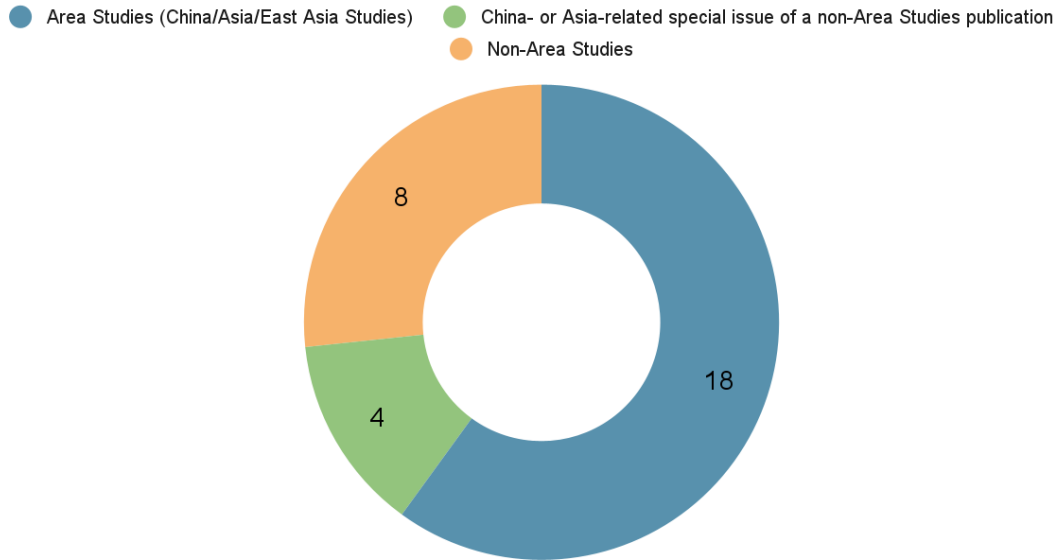
Similarly, if we consider the reviews of Wang Hui's books published by English-language journals (see Appendix 5), we can also observe that a clear majority of such reviews were published in Area Studies journals (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Reviews of Wang Hui's books in English (2003–2018) published in Anglophone journals by disciplinary area.*
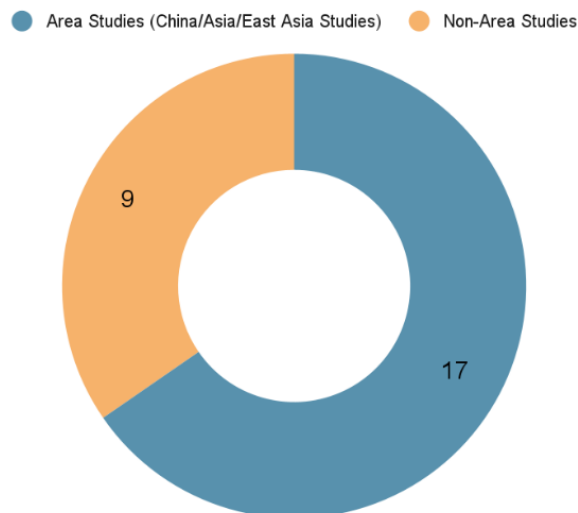
From all the above, Wang Hui's translocal consecration appears as a somehow ambivalent consecration, in the sense that he has become a "global intellectual" and a sought-for speaker for international universities and institutions but, at the same time, his value seems to rest on his condition as a *Chinese* intellectual speaking about Chinese issues, and his contributions are mainly ascribed to China-related issues.

Finally, we have pointed out that the Anglophone translation has played a pivotal role in the circulation of Wang Hui's work. The hipercentrality of English and the concentration of symbolic capital by Anglophone intellectuals, scholars, and publishers has provided Wang Hui with considerable visibility in other linguistic contexts. However, the Anglophone mediation is not inescapable nor necessary in all cases. Again, the social and intellectual dynamics of circulation (i.e., the creation of interpersonal and intellectual affinities with other intellectual and linguistic contexts) can also lead to the overcoming of structural determinants, such as the hipercentral and pivotal role of English and the Anglophone reception, as I will show in the following section about the Italian translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work.

6

The Italophone Translation and Circulation of Wang Hui's Work

6.1. Introduction

As shown in Appendix 2, in terms of the number of volumes published, Italian appears as the second target European language for Wang Hui's work, with a total of three volumes.

Wang Hui's first publication in Italian, *Il nuovo ordine cinese*, appeared in 2006. It was a relay translation into Italian from the English version *China's New Order* published in the US three years earlier in 2003 and it included the same contents. The second of Wang Hui's books in Italian was the translation of the introduction to his magnum opus *Rise* under the title *Cina, Impero o Stato-Nazione?* (China, Empire or Nation-State?). It is important to note that this Italian translation was published in 2009, five years before the publication of the English edition by HUP in 2014. Moreover, the editorial initiatives for the Italian and the English translations were completely independent from one another. The same happened in the case of the third Italian book, *La questione tibetana tra est e ovest* (The Tibetan Issue Seen from East and West), published in 2011. In this case, the corresponding English version was published the same year by HUP (included as a chapter in the volume *The Politics of Imagining Asia*), but, even if they were undertaken simultaneously, each one responded to a separate editorial initiative.

Table 6.1: Comparative chronology of Wang Hui's volumes published in Italian and English.

Italian		Corresponding work in English	
Title	*Year of publication*	*Title*	*Year of publication*
Il nuovo ordine cinese. Transl. from English by Ana Maria Poli. Rome: Manifestolibri.	2006	*China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition.* Transl. from Chinese by R.E. Karl and T. Huters. Harvard University Press.	2003
Impero o Stato-Nazione? La modernità intellettuale in Cina Transl.from Chinese by Gaia Perini. Milano: Academia Universa Press.	2009	*China from Empire to Nation-State.* Transl. from Chinese by Michael G. Hill. Harvard University Press.	2014
La questione tibetana tra est e ovest. Transl. from Chinese by Sabrina Ardizzoni. Rome: Manfiestolibri.	2011	"The Tibetan Question East and West: Orientalism, Regional Ethnic Autonomy, and the Politics of Dignity" (in Wang Hui, 2011a). Transl. from Chinese by Theodore Huters. Harvard University Press.	2011

This chapter will focus on the case of the translation, circulation and reception of Wang Hui's work in the Italian context. From a theoretical perspective, the Italian case is significant about the dynamics of the translocal circulation of intellectual products in two aspects:

(1) The Italian translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work provides further evidence of the importance of socio-intellectual factors, including interpersonal, intellectual and ideological affinities, in triggering the import and reception of an author's work. As I will show, the conditions of the intellectual field in Italy provided a fertile ground for parts of Wang Hui's thought to interpellate specific agents within that field. An analysis of the peritextual materials shows that Wang Hui's works and ideas were intended as an intellectual intervention into the social and political debates within the Italian and broader European context, rather than a mere documentary or state of affairs in China. In that sense, some of the agents implicated in the introduction of Wang Hui's work in Italy show a considerable level of critical engagement with his thought, approaching him as a coeval and homologous thinker. Some of these agents underscore

the global reach of Wang Hui's analyses in an explicit attempt at extrapolating his ideas and concepts, and placing them on a delocalized theoretical ground.

(2) The Italian translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work shows how the socio-intellectual embeddedness within a specific context allows for the work of a foreign author to overcome certain structural dispositions, more precisely, the pivotal position of the Anglophone reception in the translation and circulation of intellectual productions. Considering the asymmetries in the translocal circulation of intellectual products, I will show that the early Italian circulation of Wang Hui's thought followed the conventional path with the Anglophone field as the mediating field. However, as interpersonal and socio-intellectual affinities grew between Wang Hui and agents in the Italian context, the Italian reception became increasingly autonomous with regard to the Anglophone reception. Eventually, as we can observe from the chronology of publications mentioned above, the Italian reception even took the lead in the translation of some of Wang Hui's works. Notwithstanding this, we shall see that in terms of reach and visibility the Anglophone reception still retains a hypercentral role. However, as Bielsa points out, despite the more commonly assumed processes of Anglophone cultural homogenization, "English and the US in particular can now play a crucial role in the universal consecration of autonomous works, and not just in the international commercialization of Americanized culture" (2013: 157), providing also opportunities for a more complex network of translocal circulation for non-European and North American authors and their works.

In this chapter, I will first set out the contemporary Italian intellectual context of the late twentieth century. I will show how Italy developed a lively left-wing intellectual field and how some intellectuals within it have sustained an interest and been engaged with China. Next, I will trace the translation and circulation of Wang Hui's work in Italian and identify the leading agents and most important moments of that process of circulation. I will show that the work of Wang Hui found a receptive audience within the specific field of left-leaning China scholars. Their direct engagement with Wang Hui (both personally and intellectually) can explain the fact that the Italian context has been the most substantial context of reception after the Anglophone.

6.2. "Laboratory Italy": the Italian Intellectual Context

As I have previously shown, the political legacies of the 1960s lingered for decades in the Anglophone academic and intellectual field within which the works of Wang Hui were translated and circulated. Similarly, the Italian intellectual field has also been deeply marked by leftist political experiences of that decade and the following 1970s and 1980s, and it was so in a way unlike any other Western European context.

The exceptional vigor of Italian left-wing politics through the Cold War period was visible in different aspects. One of the exceptionalities of Italy was the strength of the Italian Communist Party (PCI in its original acronym) in terms of its size, its social implantation, and its presence within Italian parliamentary politics. The PCI enjoyed considerable popular support from the 1950s and well into the 1980s, with remarkable electoral results that peaked in 1976 with 34.37 percent of votes in parliamentary elections. During those years, it maintained a solid position as Italy's second political party, only behind the Christian Democrats, but also as the biggest Communist Party in Europe and eventually in the whole capitalist world. The PCI was in itself exceptional as a communist party. Within the global communist movement led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the PCI held somewhat heterodox, more open and autonomous positions that were often at odds with the dictates from Moscow and even with some of its Western European counterparts. Despite this (or precisely because of this), since the end of World War II and well into the 1970s, "the PCI wielded a real influence not only over the whole European left (in the West as in the East, where it attracted dissidents keen on democratic socialism), but also in American leftist intellectual coteries" (Lazar & Giugni, 2021: 181). Besides, as previously mentioned, leftwing politics played a fundamental role in the cultural ferment of Post-War and Cold War Italy. The PCI, for instance, achieved a preeminent position among intellectuals and a capital influence within the publishing sector (Bechelloni, 1973; Chiarotto, 2011), although, as we shall see, this influence decreased throughout the 1960s with the emergence of a new left more critical toward official party (and Soviet) positions.

We must remember that the Cold War was unfolding at the same time, and the social and parliamentary advancements of the PCI in the aftermath of World War II were closely observed by the US government, which acted upon the Italian political

landscape in order to contain the PCI's ascendancy and an potential electoral slide to socialism in Italy (Henninger, 2006: 630).

Another exceptional feature of the Italian context during these years was the vigor of the left beyond institutional and parliamentary politics. During the second half of the twentieth century, Italy can be claimed to be, in Michael Hardt's words, a "laboratory" in which the extraparlamentary Left constituted "an anomaly […] in terms of its size, intensity, creativity, and long duration" (Hardt, 1996: 2). Perhaps the most relevant example of such vibrant activism was the "autonomy" movement that arose in the factories of northern Italy during the early 1950s, and gained momentum toward the end of the 1960s and the 1970s. This movement, which attempted to put into practice the theories of operaismo (workerism), questioned labor relations and vied for new forms of collective organization beyond the conventional unions and parties.

The 1960s were marked in the Italian scenario (like for many other societies worldwide) by political effervescence with student protests and the occupation of universities, including the clashes of police forces and students in the "battle of Valle Giulia" in Rome. It also witnessed workers' mobilization in factories in the industrial Italian north that propelled the search for ways to organize themselves independently of established trade unions. But, as noted by Lotringer & Marazzi (1980: 12), the impact of the social movements of 1968 had a more lasting impact in Italy than in other locations such as France or the US. While in the latter the protests did not crystallize into a durable mass political action, in the Italian context the experiences of the late 1960s led to a "return" of politics with extraordinary political, social, and cultural consequences. Within this increasingly assertive labor movement, new organizations were created, such as Potere Operaio (Workers' Power) and Lotta Continua (Permanent Struggle). The Christian-Democrat governments kept pressing down on leftist organizations, which led to further aggressiveness and radicalization and, ultimately, to the creation of armed organizations such as the Brigate Rosse (Red Brigades), active between 1970 and 1988, which kept an open confrontation with the government and far-right groups. These years of social upheaval and open political insurgency between the late 1960s and 1980s came to be known as "anni di piombo" (years of lead).[107] At the same time, the

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[107] Zavoli (2017) offers an account of insurrectionary leftism during those years. See Henninger (2006) for a synthesized English-language account.

PCI, willing to present itself as a responsible government party, showed an increasing zeal for law and order and made steps toward entente with the Christian Democrats —the so-called "compromesso storico" (historic compromise)—, thus alienating a considerable part of its militant base, including many young members who were actively engaged in the student movement, which had been and still were the object of state repression (Ginsborg, 1990: 380). The increasing left-wing disaffection toward the PCI (which was especially intense among students, workers, and intellectuals) is key to explain the strength of the extraparliamentary left in Italy during the Cold War.

Despite the PCI being —as we mentioned before— relatively autonomous with regard to the CPSU, some of the most intellectually active portions of the PCI went even further in their reservations vis-à-vis Moscow's criteria. This disaffection went back at least to the year 1956, which saw the revelation of the Khrushchev Report (that recognized and criticized the repression under the rule of Stalin) and the Soviet military suppression of the Hungarian Uprising. The PCI's compliant attitude toward the Soviet invasion of Hungary led some members to distance themselves from orthodox party positions which they deemed as too dogmatic and distant from the revolutionary pulse of Marxism, and called for a renewal of the labor movement far from the bureaucratism of Soviet (esp. stalinist) models. In this climate emerged what would be known as the "new left" in the Italian context, a relatively small but intellectually active group of figures that shared a critical stance of the PCI and called for a more radical politics that would distance itself from the dominant order (Di Maggio, 2021: 17).

In the intellectual field, this climate led to the publication of a wave of "heterodox" left-wing journals in which critical members of left-wing parties (mostly related to the PCI but also, yet to a lesser extent, to the PSI, the Socialist Party of Italy) tried to define new theoretical bases.[108] Some early publications such as *Quaderni Rossi*, founded in 1961 by Raniero Panzieri (1921–1964, member of the PSI) and Mario Tronti (b. 1931), or *Quaderni Piacentini*, founded by Piergiorgio Bellocchio (b. 1931) in 1962, were representatives of these "new left" tendencies skeptical of conventional leftist parties for playing too much by the rules of the established political system and for pulling down the aspirations of Italian workers. These ideas would later inspire portions

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[108] For an account of the history and politics of this publishing ferment, see Wright (2021), Scavino (2017).

of the student activism that, toward the end of the decade, would adopt an openly confrontational stance toward the established parties (Fantoni, 2021: 124). The political effervescence of the period was also prone to internal splits within these journals. For instance, *Quaderni Rossi* gave way to groups which called for a more direct political action, such as *Classe Operaia* and *Potere Operaio* (Spini, 1972: 58). The latter was led by former *Quaderni Rossi* contributors Tronti and Antonio Negri (b. 1933), and became one of the main intellectual organs of *operaismo*.[109]

The increasing social mobilizations in the late 1960s and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 accentuated the internal contradictions of the PCI. "Heterodox" members began to further distance themselves with regard to the PCI's leadership for their disagreement with the party's condonation of Moscow's repressive actions and its growing distance with the struggles of students and workers. This group, including figures such as Luigi Pintor (1925–2003), Luzio Magri (1932–2011), Rossana Rossanda (1924–2020), and Aldo Natoli (1913–2010), among others, pushed forward a project for the publication of a new journal intended to voice those dissenting voices and conduct research on the theoretical, political, and organizational possibilities of a communist outlook in the context of an "advanced capitalist society" (Di Maggio, 2021: 148). The result was *Il Manifesto*, originally a monthly journal, first published in June 1969. Despite the journal's openly critical stance toward the party's key standpoints and its strategy of displacement toward the political center, *Il Manifesto* and its members were initially tolerated by the PCI, in line with the party's well-established image as an open organization. However, as positions radicalized and the journal stirred up its criticism of Soviet policies, tensions began to arise on both sides and led ultimately to Rossanda, Pintor, and Natoli, leading exponents of the journal's most dissenting discourse, being expelled from the PCI in November 1969 (Di Maggio, 2021: 153). Notwithstanding this, *Il Manifesto* continued its editorial work, becoming a daily publication in 1972 up until this day. Besides the daily newspaper, a publishing house, Manifestolibri, was created in 1991, specializing mainly in history, politics, philosophy,

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[109] It is important to note that many of the philosophers who would be later associated with the so-called "Italian Theory" had their roots in this intellectual and publishing ferment. As noted by Treiber & Christiaens, "while previous Italian philosophers did not understand themselves as a separate and unique tradition, Italian Theory gained self-awareness of its specificity through the encounter with a unique form of Italian phenomenology formulated in the early sixties with the Operaismo movement" (2021: 122).

anthropology, and sociology. It has published prominent authors ascribed to the political and academic left, such as Antonio Negri, Giovanni Arrighi, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Slavoj Žižek, among others.[110] As we shall see in the following sections, *Il Manifesto* and Manifestolibri have played an important part in the circulation of Wang Hui's work in Italian.

Leftist politics were also noticeable in two of the most renowned Italian book publishers: Einaudi and Feltrinelli. Einaudi was founded in Turin in 1933 under Fascist rule by Giulio Einaudi, the son of Luigi Einaudi, who would later become the first president of the Second Italian Republic after the war. The Einaudi publishing house established itself as a prestigious literary imprint and a leading progressive publisher, boasting strong connections with the Italian left-wing intellectual and political elite of the post-war period. It was closely connected, for instance, with members of the PCI such as its leader Palmiro Togliatti, who entrusted Einaudi with the publication of Gramsci's famous *Prison Notebooks* (Wright, 2021: 166). Einaudi's editorial staff included celebrated authors such as Italo Calvino (1923–1985) and the poet Franco Fortini (1917–1994). Panzieri, the founder of *Quaderni Rossi*, also worked for Einaudi from 1959 to 1963 (Baranelli, 2006).

Feltrinelli, for its part, was founded in 1954 by Giangiacomo Feltrinelli (1926–1972), the son of a wealthy aristocratic family from Lombardy. Feltrinelli also founded the eponymous bookstore chain (that still exists under his name), where leftist books and journals could be easily found. He was a committed member of the PCI until 1958, when he published the Italian translation of Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*. The PCI tried to persuade Feltrinelli not to publish the book after receiving, in turn, pressure from the Soviet authorities. But Feltrinelli carried on the project and was ultimately expelled from the PCI in 1958. Nevertheless, out of the PCI, Feltrinelli continued his political activism and, in the 1970s, became a founding member of Gruppi d'Azione Partigiana (GAP), one of the clandestine armed leftist groups active at the time. In contrast to Feltrinelli's radicalization, Einaudi, as Wright notes, began to distance himself and his publishing house from the PCI after 1956 and "assumed a more generically leftist stance" (Wright, 2021: 170).

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[110] See "About" in the publisher's website: https://manifestolibri.it/ (accessed July 2, 2022).

Finally, we cannot conclude this historical and intellectual contextualization without referring to the historical synergies that existed between the Italian left and China. The Italian case offers clear instances of the prominence that "China" as a political imagination has played within the European left in the second half of the twentieth century, both at the political-organizational level and the popular ferment. Key agents behind the translation and publication of Wang Hui's works in Italy can be related in different ways to this lingering intellectual attraction.

An early and rather exceptional example of the connections between China and the Italian left at the organizational level were the open written exchanges between the PCI and the CCP in the context of the Sino-Soviet split, after the then PCI leader Palmiro Togliatti had sided with Moscow and criticized Mao openly for opposing de-Stalinization. The CCP responded with a famous editorial published by *Renmin Ribao* on December 31, 1962, "The Differences between Comrade Togliatti and Us" (陶里亚蒂同志同我们的分歧) (CPC, 1962).

After the invasion of Hungary in 1956 and, later on, of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviet Union became increasingly doubtful as a political and social model for many in the European left in the late 1960s. In that void, Mao's China became the new model and the ideal of a new kind of socialism. During those years, infatuation with the Cultural Revolution was a common attitude among young and not so young leftists across Europe. Their perceived idea of Maoism came to be seen as an alternative against party authoritarianism; and for those Italian students involved in protests in the late 1960s, Mao's call to "bomb the headquarters" had special resonance for their confrontation with the PCI (D'Orsi, 2017).

The circulation of socialist Chinese imaginaries in the Italian political and social climate of the 1960s and 1970s was very well summarized in the idea of "China is near" (*La Cina e' vicina*, the title of a famous 1967 film by Marco Bellocchio). In her analysis of the circulation of Mao's *Little Red Book* in Italy, Kirchner Reill (2014) explains how the political and intellectual dynamics within the Italian context determined the ways China and its socialist practice circulated. More specifically, the circulation of Maoism in Italy among young students and intellectuals was intended as a call for reactivating Italy's insurgent tradition in the face of the PCI establishment's increasing

accomodation with parliamentary politics and against the PCI's rapprochement with the Christian Democrats.

After the end of the Cold War, the 1990s were a period of de-radicalization and depoliticization in Italy that saw the dissolution of the PCI into different political organizations with marginal social implantation. The 2000s, when Wang Hui's work began to be published in Italian, are very far away from the political effervescence of the aforementioned decades. However, the intellectual and publishing fields within which Wang's work was translated and circulated in the Italian context are inheritors of that history and maintain a clear left-leaning, socially critical stance which influenced the reception.

Together with this political ferment, the Italian context can also be considered exceptional in terms of its historical engagement with China as an object of intellectual and scholarly inquiry in many Italian institutions. The oldest academic institution to introduce the study of the Chinese language in Europe was the University of Naples (also known as "L'Orientale" precisely for its historical specialist focus on Asia), whose origins can be traced back to 1732. Another important institution is Rome's Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (ISMEO, or Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East), a pioneering government-supported initiative founded in 1933 that intended to move knowledge about Eastern societies beyond then-prevailing orientalistic literary studies. Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984), one of the initiators of ISMEO, considered those forms of knowledge had produced a "vague, ineffective, literary atmosphere around the Asian world" and advocated instead for a shifting of focus toward contemporary economics and politics (cited in De Giorgi, 2014: 68).[111] Other institutions with a more recent, though well-established tradition of Chinese studies can be found in Rome, Bologna, Venice, and Milan. The existence of these institutions that provided training in Chinese language and culture, enabled the existence in Italy of groups of people with a specialist knowledge about and attentiveness to Chinese issues. In the period between the 1960s and 1980s, this scholarly interest would also merge with the political interest that China, as we explained heretofore, arose during those decades in Italy and in many other European countries. As we shall see in the next section, some of the figures that

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[111] See also the brief history of ISMEO available in its website: https://www.ismeo.eu/chi-siamo/ (consulted: July 5, 2022).

have been implicated, one way or another, in the circulation of Wang Hui's work in Italian, can be related to this intellectual, scholarly, and political setting in Italy.

6.3. Encounters, Engagements, Exchanges

The case of Wang Hui's work in the Italophone context is a clear example of the importance of personal encounters and interpersonal affinities for the translocal circulation of ideas. As Wang Hui recalls, his direct engagement with the Italian academic and intellectual context was a matter of coincidence. It can be traced back to mid 2003, when he was in Heidelberg (Germany) as an invited professor for one semester. Once the semester was finished, he took a holiday and went to Italy. The poet Zhai Yongming, a friend of Wang's, put him in contact with two scholars based at the University of Bologna, Alessandro Russo and Claudia Pozzana.

Pozzana, who holds a Ph.D. in Chinese Language and Literature from Ca'Foscari University (Venice, Italy), is a specialist in contemporary Chinese intellectual history and poetry. She has translated contemporary Chinese poetry into Italian, including works by Zhai Yongming and Yang Lian, as well as by the early twentieth-century writer and revolutionary Li Dazhao (1889–1927). Russo, a doctor in Humanities (Materie Letterarie), is a specialist in Sociology and Philosophy, with a special interest in Education and in the history of the Cultural Revolution. Both Pozzana and Russo have been engaging with Chinese academic institutions since their postgraduate years, with scholarships and research fellowships at Peking University, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Tsinghua University, and Beijing Foreign Languages University. They were beneficiaries of a one-year scholarship provided by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Italian students of Chinese in 1974–1975, and in May-June 1989 they were both visiting scholars at Peking University, and conducted interviews with the students taking part in the social movement of that Summer.

That time Wang Hui stayed in Bologna for only two days but, as he recalls, "we had many talks and realized we had many common topics of interest" (Wang Hui, personal interview 2, August 5, 2016). Pozzana was previously acquainted with Wang's work that had been published in English, especially Wang's essays on the literary and

intellectual history of modern China (Pozzana, personal interview, March 15, 2017). That encounter in Bologna would be the beginning of a sustained and very productive intellectual and scholarly interaction between Wang, Pozzana, and Russo that would have a deep mutual influence on their intellectual and scholarly works, as we shall explain later.

The following Summer, in 2004, Wang Hui was invited by Pozzana and Russo as a visiting scholar to the Institute of Advanced Studies at Bologna. As Wang recalls,

> I stayed there for 4 months in 2004. We had quite deep discussions, since they had also researched the Cultural Revolution. We read articles on the Cultural Revolution every week and discussed them. That was the first time [I went to Bologna]. In 2006 or 2007, the Umberto Eco Institute of Humanities invited me. I went there every year for a month or more. (Wang Hui, personal interview 2, August 5, 2016)

The year 2004 was the first of several years in which Wang Hui was regularly invited to the University of Bologna as a visiting scholar. During those visits, he took part in conferences and round tables on topics such as Modernity, Mao Zedong's thought, and China in the era of the cold war, and exchanged regularly with Pozzana and Russo about politics, their common intellectual interests, and their own scholarly endeavors.[112] Russo recalls that the starting point of their intense year-long exchanges was their open discussions about the 1989 social movement of Tian'anmen, which Russo and Pozzana had witnessed first-hand during their research visit in Beijing that year. Russo had also read Wang Hui's reading of the events in *China's New Order*. From that, their discussions extended progressively to the global contestation movements of the 1960s, a topic of especial interest for Russo (Russo, personal interview, March 16, 2017).

During the period 2008–2010, Wang worked as a guest professor every spring semester in Bologna. These stays allowed him to establish close connections with other agents in the Italian scholarly and intellectual milieu, also beyond the China Studies circle. For instance, in September 2008, he participated in a talk with Umberto Eco (1932–2016) about the possibilities of a new intellectual internationalism of ideas. His

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[112] One product of these exchanges was the essay "Il nuovo ordine cinese e i passati disordini" (Pozzana & Russo, 2006), one of the most thorough accounts of Wang Hui's social thought written to that date. Reference to those exchanges in Bologna is included in the book's endnotes.

regular visits during those years, and the ensuing interactions with Pozzana, Russo, and other Italian scholars and intellectuals would create the conditions for a significant circulation of Wang's work via translation into Italian.

It is important to highlight that Pozzana and Russo are also part of an active translocal network of scholars and intellectuals. It is also a transdisciplinary network, since many of their acquaintances can be located beyond the field of China Studies, in disciplines such as Critical Theory, Sociology, or Philosophy. For instance, they have been part of the collective around the journal *positions* since its inception (Pozzana, personal interview, March 15, 2017; see also Karl et al., 2012) and published several articles therein on the Cultural Revolution, Chinese poetry, international politics, and Wang Hui's work. Moreover, Pozzana, Russo, and *positions'* editor Tani Barlow (as we explained in the previous chapters, one of the earliest importers of Wang's work into the Anglophone context) were also joint members of the "Twentieth Century China" research group. Within the framework of this research project, they organized a series of seminars at different institutions (Rice University in Houston, Washington University in Seattle, and Bologna University in Italy) on topics such as the May Fourth Movement, the Cold War, and the Cultural Revolution.

Besides the Anglophone context, Pozzana and Russo also have connections to other European scholars and intellectuals, particularly French.[113] A case in point is the philosopher Alain Badiou, one of the most important European philosophers in the early twenty-first century and a prominent figure of the reappraisal of communism as a valid working "hypothesis" (see Badiou, 2009). Badiou is one of the promoters, together with Slavoj Žižek, of the conference series "The Idea of Communism" (which we already mentioned in the previous chapter). The 2013 edition of this conference was held in Seoul and revolved around the "pursuit of communism" in the Asian region. Pozzana and Russo were invited as speakers (and so was Wang Hui, who could not attend in person in the end).[114] Even more relevant for our topic here is Badiou's interest in Maoism and the Cultural Revolution, around which he has broadly theorized, considering it a historical event with a universal theoretical and political value. Together

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[113] Russo, for instance, has translated into Italian the works of French sociologists such as Émile Durkheim.
[114] The contributions by Pozzana, Russo, and Wang, as well as by other participants, were published as a book by Verso, see Lee & Žižek (2016).

with Russo, he promoted in 2003 a project aiming at the creation of an "International Center for the Study of the Cultural Revolution" that could deal with the increasingly available materials about that period (Badiou & Russo, 2006). Badiou also uses the notion of "depoliticization" (*dépolitisation*) to refer to the demobilization of revolutionary action, and the suppression of emancipatory horizons under the weight of a "superficial democracy" (*démocratie de surface*), and Russo also applied this idea to his own analysis (Russo, 2006). From that perspective, the Cultural Revolution appears as a social movement that sought to counter the depoliticization and bureaucratization of society and the Chinese state in the 1960s.

The notion of "depoliticization" can be traced back to the controversial German thinker Carl Schmitt (2007). However, this notion, together with other analytical and conceptual elements of Schmitt's work, have been reappropriated in recent years by leading European left-wing political thinkers, reinterpreting them under the optics of current left-wing political interests (see, for instance, the contributions in Mouffe, 1999). It was Russo who presented Wang Hui with this concept of depoliticization, which would eventually become an important component of Wang's own analysis of Chinese predicaments. As previously mentioned, during his stay as a visiting scholar at Bologna in 2004, he established conversations with Russo and Pozzana about, among other questions, the meaning of the Cultural Revolution. Russo introduced the concept of depoliticization during their discussions, as Wang himself recounts (Wang Hui, 2006b: 700, note 1). From this idea, Wang Hui proceeded with his usual juxtaposition of contradictory terms (like in the case of "antimodern modernity") to establish the concept of "depoliticized politics". Interestingly, Wang Hui's use of the concept of "depoliticized politics" for his own analysis of China's socio-political condition has been so notorious that it is sometimes identified by other scholars and commentators of Wang Hui's thought as one of his most important contributions (Zhang Yongle, personal interview, March 28, 2016; Shi, Lachapelle & Galway, 2018: 150). This example speaks further of the importance of circulation and personal encounters in the configuration of ideas, and the translocal nature of intellectual production. It is also telling of the importance of specific concepts and notions as nexuses that enable the insertion of ideas into broader conversations and different systems of thought. Wang's usage of "depoliticized politics" as an analytical notion has been indeed one of the most

prominent elements within his work. It has been featured prominently in the translations of his essays in other languages, such as his essay "Depoliticized Politics, from East to West" in *NLR* (Wang Hui, 2006c), and it also became the volume title of one of his major essay collections in Chinese (Wang Hui, 2008a).

6.4. Early Publications and Discussions

An important outlet for the circulation of Wang Hui in the Italian context were the daily *Il Manifesto* and its related publishing house Manifestolibri. As we explained in previous sections of this chapter, *Il Manifesto* is a daily newspaper historically linked to the PCI, and one of the main publications of reference for left-wing political thinking in Italy. The key agent who linked Wang Hui and *Il Manifesto*/Manifestolibri was the journalist Angela Pascucci. Wang and Pascucci met in Bologna in the Fall of 2004, during Wang's first stay as a visiting scholar. Pascucci, based in Rome, went to Bologna on purpose to attend one of his conferences (Wang Hui, personal interview 2, August 5, 2016). That encounter was the beginning of "an exchange that has lasted for fourteen years" (Wang Hui, 2018) until Pascucci's passing in 2018.

Pascucci, who studied History and Philosophy, worked as a journalist for *Il Manifesto* since the early 1980s. She became chief-editor for the daily's international section. She was also the correspondent and responsible editor for the Italian version of *Le monde diplomatique*, France's new left flagship publication. Her area of expertise was China, and she visited the country on several occasions to conduct research on the country's social transformations. Interviews with people from all walks of life were her main research tool, which is reflected in her articles for *Il Manifesto* as well as in her books *Talkin' China* (2008) —with a prologue by Wang Hui— and *Potere e società in Cina* (Power and Society in China) (2013). Given her interests and her position at *Il Manifesto*, Pascucci was also acquainted and exchanged with many of the Italian China scholars working at Italian institutions, including Pozzana and Russo, among many others.

One of the earliest texts related to Wang Hui in Italian was a translation of his 2000 interview for the NLR, translated and published by *La Rivista del Manifesto*

(henceforth, *La Rivista*), a weekly outlet that sprouted from *Il Manifesto* in 1999 as an attempt to recreate the weekly at the origins of *Il Manifesto* in the 1960s. *La Rivista* was published until 2004, when it was suspended. It must be noted that *Il Manifesto* also held close collaborations, not only with *Le monde diplomatique*, but also with the NLR. For instance, Lucio Magri, one the historical editors of *Il Manifesto*, made contributions to the English outlet, and the NLR even published the farewell article written by Magri to announce the suspension of *La Rivista*. These publications, each one in their specific national contexts, shared however an obvious political and ideological outlook that made them ready for collaboration, exchanges of articles, authors, and references, and mutual observation.

Wang's first book in Italian, *Il nuovo ordine cinese. Società, politica ed economia in transizione*, was published by *Il Manifesto*'s publishing house, Manifestolibri, in 2006. The Anglophone mediation for this publication was obvious from the fact that the book was translated into Italian by Ana Maria Poli from the English version, *China's New Order*, published by HUP in 2003 (Manifestolibri, email communication, July 16, 2019). As we already explained, this volume did not have an original Chinese equivalent, since it was a collection of two essays put together specifically for that edition, and the contents of the Italian volume were the same as the English edition. However, the Italian version added a specific preface authored by sinologist and translator Edoarda Masi.[115]

A leading figure in Chinese Studies in Italy, Masi graduated in Chinese Language and Institutions at the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East (ISMEO) in 1956, and she was among the first Italian students to study in the PRC in 1957. She later taught Chinese literature at Naples and worked for Italy's National Library. She translated into Italian classical works such as Cao Xueqin's *Dream of Red Chambers*, and modern authors such as Lu Xun, among others. Masi was also actively engaged in leftist intellectual initiatives and was part of the editorial team of several of *Quaderni Rossi*, one of the main left wing publications of the time. Similarly to other colleagues

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[115] The contents of the Spanish version of the book published in 2008, *El nuevo orden de China*, translated and reproduced the two essays included in the English version, but added an additional chapter about a labor dispute surrounding the privatization of a factory in Yangzhou, in which Wang Hui was implicated as legal advisor for the workers. It was Wang himself who suggested the addition of this chapter (Wang Hui, personal interview 1, December 1, 2015).

at *Quaderni Rossi* who took a certain distance vis-à-vis the PCI, her political and intellectual positions were neither in line with the party orthodoxy. Indeed, Masi provides an example of the difficulties that many left intellectuals had at the time with such orthodoxy. While in China in 1957, Masi witnessed the second "rectification campaign". Her personal experiences in Beijing led her to a certain skepticism with regard to the social process in Mao's China. This skepticism and distance with regard to official orthodoxy and party doctrine was at the heart of her political and intellectual commitment. An example of her problematic position was the refusal by Einaudi (a publishing house that, as we explained above, was closely related to the PCI) to publish the diaries she kept during her stay in China, in which she described her experiences and expressed criticisms about the state of affairs in China at the moment, although her criticism was done precisely from a socialist point of view. Even if she had the support of Franco Fortini, who appreciated her chronicles, the publishers were afraid that any criticism, even from a common ideological standpoint, could shed an unfavorable light upon China's revolutionary process and "provide weapons to our adversaries".[116]

Masi's reckless and uncompromised political and intellectual positions appear very clearly in her preface to Wang Hui's *Il nuovo ordine cinese*. Though appraising Wang's ideas and analysis, Masi does not refrain from also expressing her criticism on what she considers problematic in Wang's book. More specifically, she is critical of Wang Hui's appraisal of the state as a potential tool for the containment of neoliberalism and for social progressive change, which she considers that falls short of real needs: "A real efficacy against transnational colossi cannot be achieved if it does not create an international front of labor against capital, but instead [Wang Hui] underlines the defensive system of individual nation-states within the framework of global capitalism (which is, indeed, the fundamental line of the current Chinese government)" (Masi, 2006: 12, my translation).[117] Masi goes on to warn that, even if Wang Hui acknowledges the need to globalize the labor movement, "he risks falling into the trap of nationalism", but ultimately concedes to view Wang Hui's statist view as a "positive" proposal with an exclusively tactical validity (ibid.).

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[116] Mordiglia (2009) offers a detailed account of the intricacies of this case of editorial refusal.

[117] "Una reale efficacia contro i colossi transnazionali è irraggiungibile se non si crea un fronte internazionale del lavoro contro il capitale, e si punta invece al sistema difensivo dei singoli stati-nazioni entro il quadro del capitalismo globale (che è poi la linea di fondo dell'attuale governo cinese)."

As we mentioned when discussing the Anglophone reception of Wang Hui's work, an important element within Wang's thought is his emphasis on the role of the state as a key agent for any emancipatory politics. However, as we mentioned, the European (and North American) left has traditionally shown a strong skepticism toward statism and the role of the state. And we showed how the editor of the English volume deemed necessary to highlight in his preface the section of the book in which Wang provides justification for such a stance in order to cater the intended Euro-American audience. The problematic nature of Wang Hui's ideas about the state is also a point of contention in the Italian version and notably in Masi's preface. The contemporary Italian left-wing intellectual tradition is also characterized by a confrontational stance towards the nation-state. It is important to remember the Italian state's sustained persecution against the non-institutional left during the second half of the twentieth century. As I have said, this stance is commonly shared by the new left that arose during the 1960s, especially in Western Europe, yet among Italian leftwing intellectuals we find a "bent on the abolition of the state and the refusal of political representation that we seldom find elsewhere" (Hardt, 1996: 4). This confrontation also explains, according to Esposito, why Italian intellectuals have tended to place their reflections outside the perimeter of the national form (2010: 22–23). The frictions, nevertheless, between Wang Hui's ideas and some existing views of the importing context testify of the intricacies of circulation. The fact that these frictions are directly addressed in the peritextual material also speak eloquently about the willingness of the importing agents to establish explicit linkages between Wang's thought and discussions in the reception context.

The question of the state and its role vis-à-vis emancipatory politics also came to the fore in Wang Hui's second Italian publication, *Impero o Stato-Nazione? La modernità intellettuale in Cina* (Empire or Nation-State? Intellectual Modernity in China, hereafter *Impero o Stato-Nazione?*) (Wang Hui, 2009c). This text corresponds to Wang's "general introduction" to his four-volume *Rise*. The Italian version is preceded by a comprehensive introduction by Pozzana and Russo. In their interpretation, they highlight the political underpinnings of Wang's book by placing the idea of equality at the core of their introduction to the text, making explicit connections with questions of political theory and contemporary political praxis. In doing so, Pozzana and Russo

prevent readers from seeing the text exclusively as a work of Chinese intellectual history. For instance, Pozzana and Russo address the pervading issue of the state and its position vis-à-vis political praxis, a question that is also present in *Impero o Stato-Nazione?*. Similarly to Masi's non-agreeable take on certain aspects of Wang's ideas, Pozzana and Russo also assert that "no logic of emancipatory and egalitarian politics can exist without perturbing the logic of state power" (2009: 28, my translation).[118] They consider that the crisis and demise of socialist states had the effect of completely discrediting the criteria of equality, to the point that "the principle of equality cannot have a stable place within any state form" (27),[119] therefore, equality and politics in general must be reckoned from a distance with regard to the nation-state. However, for that very purpose, they consider it necessary to rethink the mechanisms of the modern state for the purpose of greater equality. It is in that perspective that Pozzana and Russo consider Wang Hui's discussion about the state as relevant, presenting it as an intellectual contribution to a question that "surpasses all national boundaries" and whose relevance extends beyond China studies (28–29).

6.5 The Autonomization of the Italian Circulation

Pozzana and Russo's introduction to *Impero o Stato-Nazione?* constitutes a remarkable example of the use of the peritextual materials of a translation in order to position the translated author within a different intellectual context. Their introduction ends by stating that "[...] Wang Hui's research is welcome as a great contribution of ideas. They are not mere arguments for sinologists. Departing from China's rich political and intellectual vicissitudes, both ancient and modern, it allows for an extraordinary broadening of horizons to think through the present impasse and to move forward" (Pozzana & Russo, 2009: 29).[120]

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[118] "[...] no può esistere alcuna logica di una politica emancipatoria ed egualitaria che non costituisca una perturbazione della logica del potere statale."

[119] "[...] il principio uguaglianza non può avere un posto stabile in alcuna forma statale."

[120] "[...] questa ricerca di Wang Hui va salutata come portatrice di un grande contributo di idee che non si limitano in alcun modo ad essere argomento per sinologi. A partire dalle ricchissime vicende politiche e intellettuali cinesi, antiche e moderne, ci fornisce uno straordinario allargamento d'orizzonte per pensare la presenta *impasse* e per continuare."

Besides the aforementioned discussions about the state from the perspective of emancipatory and egalitarian politics, the authors also emphasize the fact that Wang's thought is not identitary, and even includes in itself considerations on the conditions that make any form of thought universal beyond presumed national identities or essences. This universality is posited by appraising the theoretical value of certain elements in Wang's work. In that regard, the concept *shishi* (时势, translated as "circonstanza temporale" or "time circumstance/juncture") is the object of particular appraisal. In Wang Hui's thought, *shishi* is a conceptualization of temporality as "an ensemble of forces, tendencies, and positions" or *shi* which must be met and confronted by human subjectivities at particular historical junctures (23). It is also a concept of temporality that escapes any form of teleology. As they further explain,

> *shíshì* is a category that allows us to reflect on temporality as a field of subjective singularities. Subjective existence, in fact, is incommensurable either with a linear temporality that prescribes the future phase, or a circularity leading back to a real past. [...] The category *shíshì* does not designate "the current state of things" but the process that articulates temporality as a field of subjective singularities. (ibid.)[121]

Pozzana and Russo salute *shíshì* as a concept "rich in implications, that will certainly engage historiographic and philosophical research in the years to come" (22).[122]

The translation of *Impero o Stato-Nazione?* into Italian was undertaken by Gaia Perini, professor of Chinese language and literature at the University of Bologna and the University of Modena & Reggio Emilia, and a former student of Pozzana's. She has also collaborated with *Il Manifesto* as a contributor and worked as interpreter for Angela Pascucci in China. Perini pursued a masters' degree and her Ph.D. in Chinese Language and Literature at Tsinghua University's School of Humanities and Social Sciences under the supervision of Wang Hui, whom she met through Pozzana and Russo's mediation. It was during her preparation to apply for a Ph.D. scholarship awarded by the Italian

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[121] "[...] *shíshì* è una categoria che permette di pensare la temporalità come campo di singolarità soggettive. L'esistenza soggettiva, in effetti, non si commisura alla temporalità né secondo una linearità che prescriva la tappa futura, né secondo una circolarità che riconduca realmente a un passato. [...] La categoria di *shíshì* non designa dunque lo 'stato presente delle cose', ma il processo che articola la temporalità come campo di singolarità soggettive."

[122] "[...] ricco di implicazioni che certamente impegneranno negli anni a venire la ricerca storiografica e filosofica."

Ministry of Foreign Affairs to pursue her studies in China that she began reading Wang Hui's work. The idea of translating Wang's *Rise* began to take form just before her admission to Tsinghua University: "At first, we discussed which part of the book I could translate; at that time there were no Western translations of this four-volume text and I proposed to start from the Introduction" (导论) (Perini, email communication, May 30, 2022).

Perini was working on this translation project after entering Tsinghua in 2007, while she was following Wang Hui's course on Chinese modern thought. This course, as she recalls, was "incredibly helpful" for her translation work, since it provided the readings and contextual information necessary to grasp the text in a more meaningful way: "We read extensively Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Yan Fu, Zhang Taiyan [Chinese thinkers from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century] and that was incredibly helpful for my work. Moreover, I could count on Wang Hui's direct support whenever I needed it. For instance, I asked him how to adapt in Italian terms like 近代 [*jindai* or early modern], 时势 [*shishi* or time circumstance/juncture] and 天理 [*tianli* or heavenly principles]" (ibid.). In the end, Perini would spend almost three years working on this translation project.

Pozzana and Russo were actively involved in the project and also took part in the discussions about some of the translational decisions. For instance, Perini recalls the discussions she held with Wang, Pozzana and Russo about the possible Italian renditions for the aforementioned key concept *shíshì*. In this respect, it is worth noting that the final decision about the translation of this term into Italian, "circonstanza temporale" (time circumstance/juncture) also reflects a willingness to make Wang's usage of this Chinese concept resonate with the Italian tradition of political philosophy. As Perini recounts:

> In fact, the idea of "circumstance" has its own history in the Italian political and philosophical lexicon, from its Greek and Latin roots, and then going all the way back to modern thinkers such as Machiavelli. The English "propensity of time" is similar to my first translation rendering, which was "tendency of time." This is the literal rendering of the two syllables 时 and 势, taken separately. But why adopt a term that is totally foreign and sounds a bit contrived, when our lexical heritage already contemplates the idea of 时

势, that is, a time that is neither linear nor necessarily circular, but made up of precise moments, of favorable or unfavorable conjunctures, in a word, of "circumstances"? I asked Wang Hui for clarifications, and he did not consider the term particularly esoteric in Chinese. 时势 [*Shíshì*] is indeed common usage, although in the context of Wang's work it is once again, of course, used critically to denaturalize modernity's concept of "empty and homogeneous" progressive time. In Wang Hui's text, *shíshì* and "time" are not the same, and we can even say that they are opposed. (Perini, email communication, 2022, May 30)

Similar considerations were also at work in the translation of the title of the book. As I mentioned, this Italian volume corresponded to only the "General Introduction" to Wang Hui's *Rise*. Therefore, as a "General Introduction" it did not have a title of its own. When translated and published as an independent text, then, it was necessary to give the volume a new title. According to Perini,

I also suggested changing the title into "Empire or Nation-State?", in order to catch the attention of non-Chinese readers through the more explicit and universal question of "what is China? Is it an Empire? Or a Nation-State?" The subtitle "The intellectual modernity of China", that was added later by Russo and Pozzana, mentioned the equally important concept of "modernity". (Perini, email communication, may 30, 2022)

The above considerations on the part of the promoters of the book show how translational decisions at the textual micro-level can also be part of the conscious mechanisms to position the ideas of a translated work within the reception context and to make those ideas interpellate the target intellectual context.

As for the publishing of the book, Pozzana and Russo began looking for an Italian publisher interested in the translation. They would eventually find a small, newly founded publishing house based in Milan, Academia Universa Press. The translation came out in 2009 with the aforementioned introduction by Pozzana and Russo. However, there were limitations in the distribution and advertising of the book which have complicated its availability in Italy (Pozzana, personal interview, March 15, 2017). Although the Italian context has had the conditions to foster an autonomous reception, its limitations in visibility and reach (even within Italy) contrast with the translocal

projection of the main Anglophone publishers. Below, I will refer to an example of the consequences of this asymmetry in terms of reach and visibility that exists also within Euro-American contexts.

An important aspect of the publication of *Impero o Stato-Nazione?* in Italian is that the corresponding English version of this book, *China from Empire to Nation-State* (translated by Michael G. Hill) would only be published by HUP five years later than the Italian version. Wang Hui's third book published in Italian, *La questione tibetana tra est e ovest* (Wang Hui, 2011b), translated by Sabrina Ardizzoni, appeared in the same year as its English textual counterpart (Wang Hui, 2011a). However, the Italian version would also be the fruit of an actually earlier initiative that had developed independently. I will delve into further details of this initiative below. As we previously said, the first essays and the first volume of Wang Hui's work in Italian were relay translations from the English. However, the intellectual and interpersonal affinities established by Wang Hui in Italy, with his regular visits to the country and his participation in intellectual and academic activities there, led to a particular situation in which the Italian reception of his work became autonomous with regard to the Anglophone reception. Wang Hui's interlocutors in Italy (Pozzana, Russo, Perini, Pascucci, and Ardizzoni) were relatively numerous and their exchanges frequent and meaningful enough to produce mutual influences and particular readings of his work.

As I anticipated, Wang Hui's third book in Italian translation, *La questione tibetana tra est e ovest* (The Tibetan Issue between East to West) was also an independent Italian initiative. The book consists of a long essay about the Tibetan problem, the problematic "orientalist" nature of Western perceptions of Tibet, and the tensions between unity and local autonomy within one single state. The impulse to write this essay came during one of Wang Hui's stays in Bologna in 2008, which coincided with the riots in Tibet and the subsequent pro-Tibetan protests that marked the Olympic torch relay in several countries. The translator of the essay, Sabrina Ardizzoni, recalls that during one of Wang Hui's conferences he was inquired about the issue and, afterwards, she suggested that he wrote a brief essay that she could translate and get published, in which he could provide a broader explanation of the issue. Two months later, Wang sent her a first twenty-page draft of the essay. In the following weeks, at some of Ardizzoni's questions about the text, he would reply by sending considerable

modifications and additions that Ardizzoni would then incorporate in her translation. Meanwhile, the text was being simultaneously translated into English by Theodore Huters. Angela Pascucci, who had also attended one of Wang Hui's events in Bologna that year and was told about the essay, suggested the publication for Manifestolibri (Ardizzoni, personal interview, March 23, 2017). The English version of the essay would finally be completed for publication at HUP and incorporated as a chapter of the volume *The Politics of Imagining Asia*, a different translation project underway, which had begun shortly after the commercial success of *China's New Order* (2003). According to Ardizzoni, the English publication seemed to have helped fix a definite version of the original text (ibid.) and the Italian translation of the essay finally appeared in October 2011 as a single 158-page volume.

The autonomization, with regard to the Anglophone reception, of the Italian translation projects concerning Wang Hui's work is not without its limited effects in terms of circulation. The Anglophone context as a site of cultural production maintains a dominant, central position with a large advantage in terms of visibility, reach, and material capacity to promote its products. We must acknowledge that, even among Euro-American contexts, the accumulation of symbolic capital is very unequal, and differences exist on the strength and reach of their respective channels of diffusion. The Italian translation of Wang Hui's work is a case in point: in 2015, Sebastiano Maffettone, a professor of Political Philosophy at the University of Rome and the translator of Rawls's *A Theory of Justice*, published a review of Wang Hui's *China from Empire to Nation-State*—the 2014 English translation published by HUP—in the Sunday supplement of one of Italy's main newspapers, *Il Sole 24 Ore*. In his review, Maffettone observes that "[a]s far as I know, this dense work has not been translated into any Western language" (Maffettone, 2015, my translation).[123] The reviewer was unaware that Wang's book had already been translated into another Western language—more precisely, into his own native language—five years before the English version he had reviewed. This speaks of the incomparable global projection of English-language publications—even at "local" levels that enjoy a well-established publishing ecosystem such as Italy and where English is not the main language. This

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[123] "Questo corposo lavoro, però, che io sappia, non è stato tradotto in lingue occidentali." I thank Prof. Wang Hui for pointing this review to me.

also takes us to consider that translation and publishing can position a work in a given context and make it available, but still present limitations for an effective, substantial reception of the work by a broader readership. As we recounted before, the Italian version, *Impero o Stato-Nazione?*, had a limited distribution by its publishing house. In that sense, this directs our view toward other sets of dynamics that play an important part in the translation and circulation of cultural products, i.e., the publishers and commercial dynamics. While in this thesis we have offered some specific examples of these practices, this complex set of dynamics could definitely benefit from more specific research.[124]

Notwithstanding the limitations in distribution, Wang became a recognizable figure for many in the Italian academic and intellectual fields. As a sign of this recognition, Wang was awarded the 2013 Luca Pacioli Prize. Established by Ca' Foscari University (Venice) in 2010, the prize is awarded to personalities from the sciences, literature, economics, and the arts, "whose contributions in their field of research or for their very interdisciplinary skills have been awarded important international recognitions"[125] [126]. He received this award jointly with the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas. It was the first time that the prize was awarded to a non-Italian intellectual. If we look up the justifications of the prize, the awarding commission highlighted Wang's (and Habermas') condition as "promoters of civil rights at the international level" (Commissione Valutatrice di Ateneo per l'Assegnazione del Premio Luca Pacioli, 2013: 4). The Commission singles out Wang's involvement in the 1989 social movement, his "struggle in favor of society's most disadvantaged people" and his standing up for "the rights of collectives such as ethnic minorities, women, and immigrants" (2). Referring to the international scope of Wang's research, they highlight Wang's contribution to discussions on the concept of modernity:

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[124] The dynamics of the publishing field have been analyzed in, e.g., Bourdieu (1999, 2007); Thompson (2005); Heilbron & Sapiro (2007); Sapiro (2019).

[125] "Il Premio 'Luca Pacioli' viene attribuito a personalità che con il loro contributo nel proprio campo di ricerca o per le proprie competenze interdisciplinari abbiano ricevuto importanti riconoscimenti internazionali."

[126] "Fondo di supporto alle attività di ricerca e internazionalizzazione", in the website of Università Ca' Foscari. http://web.archive.org/web/20171229001741/http://www.unive.it/pag/11028/ (accessed July 5, 2022, my translation.

Prof. Wang Hui [...] offers an innovative interpretation of history and the relation between East and West, confronting the topic of modernity from an unprecedented standpoint by observing the world and history from the Asian perspective. He fully realizes the mission of the historian, one who, while aware of the boundaries of time and space, works to enrich the moral and intellectual heritage of the present with a deeper understanding of its connection to the past. (Commissione Valutatrice di Ateneo per l'Assegnazione del Premio Luca Pacioli, 2013, my translation)[127]

In that regard, it is significant that the prize was awarded to Wang jointly with Habermas, who is perhaps the most important European philosopher in the formulation and discussion of modernity as a problem. The prize, therefore, recognizes the value of Wang's work for the exploration of issues that transcend boundaries of locality.

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[127] "Il Prof. W. Hui [...] propone una innovativa interpretazione della storia e del rapporto fra Oriente e Occidente, affrontando il tema della modernità secondo una prospettiva e punto di vista inedito, guardando il mondo e la storia dalla prospettiva asiatica. Realizza appieno la missione dello storico, colui che, pur consapevole dei confini del tempo e dello spazio, opera per arricchire il patrimonio morale e intellettuale del presente con una più profonda comprensione del suo legame con il passato."

Conclusions and Further Research

Conclusions

In this thesis, I have analyzed the complex set of dynamics at play in the translation and circulation of contemporary Chinese thought in European and North American contexts between the years 1989 and 2018. I have identified dynamics that can be located at different analytical levels.

From a macro-level perspective, I addressed the prevailing global distribution of intellectual labor, rooted in the colonial configurations of power, that produces an asymmetry between different locations of intellectual production. Under that configuration, European and North American locations appear as producers of theory and universally-relevant ideas, whereas other locations (esp. former colonial locations) are regarded as producers of empirical cases and localized knowledge. I referred to different analyses that point to the different value given to knowledge (authors, works) depending on where they are produced. I addressed how translations can also reflect such imbalance, first in the number of translations published (with greater number of North American and European works—especially Anglophone—being translated) and second, in the way translations are presented and commented upon, with works from less-translated languages usually being more ascribed to their context of origin. This differentiation can also have influence in translational practices, leading to a "documentary" mode of translation in which the location of its production is highlighted and the work is translated so as to communicate information *about* that location, and an "instrumental" mode, which highlights the propositions of the work and downplays the location of its production. The post- and decolonial analysis of the reception of

contemporary thinkers from the so-called "non-West" have usually focused on this level of dynamics, attending to the historical roots of that configuration and its contemporary resilience, or to epistemological issues in order to counter and pose alternatives to such configuration. However, these analyses seem to neglect the existence of other factors that are equally important to explain why certain works and authors get translated and circulated, and that could also play a role in changing the prevalent asymmetric flows of intellectual products.

In order to analyze the circulation of contemporary Chinese thought starting from a broader perspective, I created a database of Chinese to English translations of works in the fields of humanities and social sciences in the Anglophone contexts from 1989 to 2016. This database found a total of 195 volumes. I analyzed the main dynamics for the translation and circulation of those works. As a result, I identified three different clusters of circulation according to different prevalent dynamics at different periods:

(1) The aftermath of 1989 and the early 1990s, a period which, in the European and North American perception of China, is marked by the social movement of Tian'anmen and its tragic suppression in June 1989. As a result, a considerable number of Chinese works translated during this period are related to Chinese political dissent. On the other hand, the Tian'anmen protests were portrayed in Euro-American contexts as a demand for democratization, which also struck a chord among the proponents of modernization theory and their idea of an unavoidable turn toward liberal democracy and market economy in socialist countries in crisis. Therefore, among the books translated and published in this period, we also find a transversal interest in China's "imminent" democratization and economic opening-up.

(2) The early 2000s, during which China's ascent role in the global economy and its entry into the WTO triggered an unprecedented widespread attention to the country's economic, political, and social development. China's fulgurant rise created the sensation among European and North American observers of a lack of information about this emergent global player. During this period, we have observed, on the one hand, an increased focus on China by agents in fields such as public policy and governance. Advisor bodies and think tanks become promoters of the translation of works by

Chinese scholars in those fields in order to better grasp China's present and future development and to provide information to policymakers, advisors, and diplomats. On the other hand, also as a result of the increased attention upon China, we observed the publication of several anthologies and collections of Chinese scholars and thinkers that aimed at providing the English-language reader with an overview of China's intellectual field and to categorize the ideas and thinkers within it.

(3) After the 2008 financial crisis, the position of China as one of the main global players has become a widely accepted fact. With its rise in global prominence and the strong growth of its economy to become the second world economy in 2011, China has acquired a new capacity and financial resources to take the reins of the projection of its own image. Since 2010, Chinese organisms have been especially proactive in promoting the translation of its production in the humanities and social sciences into other languages. With that goal, Chinese institutions have established programmes to fund translation efforts of works about strategically selected topics, in an attempt to increase its cultural soft power and discursive power in the global market of ideas. Greater demand for information and the increased willingness of European and North American imprints to publish Chinese works (given the funding advantages provided by China's international programmes) have caused an unprecedented increase in the number of translations from Chinese into other languages, especially English.

The above analysis has reflected the opening of new dynamics for the translation of contemporary Chinese humanities and social sciences: China's rise as an economic and geopolitical power means an increasing interest in China's intellectual production. Besides, while translation initiatives in previous decades were mainly led by the interests and discourses in the reception contexts, in recent years we are witnessing an increasingly active role played by Chinese agents in the translation and translocal circulation of the Chinese cultural production, including works from China's humanities and social sciences. As we have seen, those Chinese-led initiatives respond to interests and dynamics of the Chinese political and/or intellectual field not necessarily coincident with the dynamics and demands of the context to which those translations were apparently addressed. The result is an increasing availability of the works of Chinese

academics and intellectuals in (mainly English) translation in European and North American contexts, which points to a potential reconfiguration of the hitherto prevalent structure of translocal intellectual flows. In that regard, as I mentioned in the introduction, it has become increasingly problematic to consider China as a "peripheral" location. This of course has consequences for present and future analysis of cultural flows that include the Chinese context among their research cases. As Cronin states, "[a]s new centers of accumulation emerge, this leads inevitably to a reconfiguration of center/periphery relations […]. [W]hen the modernizing project of the center weakens, there is a dramatic increase in the political visibility of the cultural identities of the periphery" (Cronin, 2003: 85-6). Thus, the account and analysis of the translations of contemporary Chinese production in the humanities and social sciences in the Anglophone contexts from 1989 to 2018 speak of the complex intricacies between intellectual flows, geopolitics, and the mechanisms for intellectual recognition.

As I said before, besides these macro-level factors and dynamics, the translation and circulation of cultural and intellectual products is also determined by dynamics at other levels. To conduct a more specific, micro-level analysis of these dynamics, I selected a study case based on the information of the previous database. The data revealed that the most translated Chinese author in English was the thinker and literary scholar Wang Hui, with 5 volumes. Moreover, translations of his work were also published into other European languages (12 volumes in six languages), notably Italian, with 3 volumes. In chapters 5 and 6, I analyzed the translation and circulation of his works in the Anglophone (European and North American) contexts and in Italy. As I stated in the introduction, sociological factors are less often considered when studying the translation and circulation of cultural products from less languages such as Chinese into European and North American contexts. From my analysis of Wang Hui's case, I have shown that social and intellectual local dynamics are also essential to understand the circulation of ideas between locations with asymmetric levels of symbolic capital. While the intellectual production from locations with less symbolic capital (like China) tends to have a marginal circulation in locations with more concentrations of symbolic capital (like certain Western European and North American contexts), we can observe how those macro-level limitations can be overcome to a certain degree by social and intellectual operations.

In this regard, from the example of Wang Hui's circulation in European and North American contexts, I have shown how the social and intellectual embeddedness of this Chinese author and his work into the target contexts has been an important feature of his translocal intellectual legitimation. Wang Hui and his ideas have been effectively linked to a translocal network of left-wing intellectuals and scholars. That assimilation has been possible by social operations such as the publication of his works in outlets characterized by a leftist stance, or his participation at events with a specific left-leaning political stamp. These operations have positioned Wang Hui in the European and North American receptions as a left-wing intellectual and created interpersonal and intellectual affinities that have brought Wang Hui closer to the debates and discussions going on in the European and North American intellectual contexts.

It was through those mechanisms of positioning that the work of Wang Hui has enjoyed a comparatively wide attention in the European and North American receptions beyond the field of Chinese Studies, in which his work seemed at first naturally ascribed. In this case, Wang's ideas and essays were explicitly connected to prominent European and North American intellectual debates of the late 1990s and early 2000s, such as the critique of the "end of history" thesis, the challenge to modernization theory, the critique of the concept of modernity and the appraisal of alternative modernities. Wang's work was also connected to the critique of neoliberal models of social and economic development, especially by shattering the divide between state and market when showing (via the Chinese experience) that states do play a key role in the configuration of markets and in their liberalization. Furthermore, I have shown how Wang Hui's ideas about the role of the state in emancipatory action were also the object of particular discussion in the reception at the Anglophone and Italian contexts where the question of the state's role in emancipatory political praxis remains the object of debate within left-wing political thought. In these cases, Wang's appraisal of the state was running against the European and North American left's widespread reluctance toward state- or nationally-framed political action. We have seen how the editors, anticipating the potential misgivings and reservations that target readers might harbor toward this concrete aspect of Wang Hui's thought, resorted to peritextual materials in order to provide justification and contextualization.

In sum, Wang Hui's case is an example of what I called "interventional translation" in the humanities and social sciences. Interventional translation is contrasted with "documentary translation", which focuses on the source context, producing texts as informative documents *about* a situation *somewhere else*, and which make the reader become a distant observer of an "other" situation that does not affect him/her. In contrast, an interventional translation is a translation that positions the resulting text and its ideas in a homologous and coeval relation to the reception context, that is, the text is made to interpellate the interests and ongoing debates of the reception context. In Wang Hui's case, his essays are presented, not merely as providers of information about China's juncture, but as interventions into the Anglophone or the Italian contexts with ideas that may contribute to intellectual debates in North America or Italy.

To that purpose, an interventional mode of translation takes into consideration the importance of the social and intellectual mechanisms I showed previously, in order to position the author and/or the work into the target intellectual field. On the other hand, as a translational practice, this interventional approach also attends to linguistic means and textual features. In Wang Hui's case, I have shown these textual operations. For instance, the selection of certain specific texts to be translated among Wang Hui's wider essay production, such as essays dealing with social, political, and economic issues were most prominently translated and published. As they echo similar issues in European and North American contexts, they had a stronger potential to interpellate a wider readership in the context of reception. On the contrary, Wang's texts dealing with Chinese intellectual history or literary topics had a more limited impact beyond the disciplines of Area Studies. In other cases, the text had specific additions for the translation, such as the section dealing with the state and internationalism in the English version of the essay "The 1989 Social Movement and the Historical Roots of China's Neoliberalism". In the case of the Italian translation of *Impero o stato-nazione?*, the title and the translation of specific concepts was also made to interpellate the lexicon of the Italian political and philosophical field. Last but not least, the inclusion of peritextual materials such as forewords and introductions were intended to explicitly interpellate the target readership and to position the texts as interventions upon discussions *also* in the target contexts.

The aforementioned socio-intellectual and textual strategies that define an "interventional translation" have contributed to translocalize Wang Hui's work by connecting some of his ideas to the issues and debates in the contexts of reception. The considerable degree of intellectual legitimation of Wang Hui within European and North American contexts can be observed from indicators like institutional recognitions (such as the Luca Pacioli Prize and the Anneliese Maier Research Award), his participation as invited speaker at numerous events worldwide, and his inclusion in *Foreign Policy* and *Prospect*'s list of top 100 intellectuals in the world in 2008. Notwithstanding this, we have also seen how the translocal engagement with Wang Hui's work from the field of Area Studies remains very important, as it can be seen in the published reviews of his works.

This case study of circulation also allows us to observe how ideas are "made in circulation". Wang Hui's work was introduced in translation as a challenge to ideas prevalent in the European and North American contexts, such as conceptions about notions such as modernity or the linkages between the state and the markets. Wang's discussion on the position of the state *vis-à-vis* politics of emancipation and equality has also been an object of interest for some authors in the European and North American left. However, we cannot consider that the formulation and development of Wang's ideas emanated exclusively within a self-sufficient Chinese intellectual and scholarly ecosystem from which they were eventually taken abroad. It was in Wang's multiple movements across China, Europe, and America (and also, of course, Asia and Africa) and in his interactions with people and institutions of various contexts that his ideas have also been shaped.

I pointed out that the English translation played a pivotal role in the circulation of Wang Hui's work. Publications by US and UK outlets and publishers such as *Social Text*, HUP, *NLR* or Verso allowed Wang's work to acquire visibility in linguistic contexts beyond the Anglophone. However, as I have shown for the case of the Italian circulation, the mediation of the Anglophone context is not always the dominating force, and circulation in other contexts and other languages can become autonomous and even take a pioneering role in translation initiatives—precisely due to the very same socio-intellectual dynamics previously mentioned: the creation of interpersonal and intellectual affinities with intellectuals and scholars in Italy led to a dynamic of

circulation that was independent to a great extent from the hypercentral, pivotal role of English and the Anglophone context.

Further research

The topic of this thesis and its results can be further developed in several aspects. As I stated in the introductory section, this thesis presents the analysis of an ongoing process, a fixed photography of a situation that may have experienced significant changes by the time I write these lines. Therefore, the study case I have presented herein could be extended to cover the years after 2018 to eventually observe further developments or the emergence of new dynamics. Wang Hui has already become a translocal intellectual, and his work will likely continue to be translated and published for translocal audiences. Further observations in more recent years could evaluate whether that situation remains or whether the reception of his work reaches a broader disciplinary spectrum. Possible additional research methods to be analyzed as well could include gathering sales data, checking the availability and borrowing data of these books at libraries, tracking down the publication of reviews or the inclusion of these works at university syllabi.

As I have shown, the case of Wang Hui's circulation and intellectual legitimation in the European and North American contexts appears as a rather exceptional phenomenon. In order to establish the conditions that I have observed in Wang Hui's case as necessary and sufficient for the intellectual legitimation of a non-Euroamerican intellectual, it would be necessary to undertake a similar analysis on other case studies dealing with other intellectuals from China or from other non-Euroamerican locations. Such studies would offer a more general assessment and add up to the empirical evidence so as to confirm the role played by the dynamics and factors that I have identified in this research.

Likewise, this kind of analysis could be applied to other cases of intellectuals and scholars writing in less translated languages who get to circulate in European and North American contexts.

It could also be revealing to analyze the circulation of knowledge between non Euro-American locations, that is, South-to-South circulation. The analysis of these

dynamics could offer further insight into the potential for the emergence of circulations that are not mediated by the Euro-American reception. Also, it could provide further elements to discern the role of mediating agents and other dynamics in circumventing structural conditionings.

Further research could bring us to analyze how these initiatives are being carried out, the discourses and images they promote, the agents involved, their reception and effects. In this respect, in my postdoctoral research, I plan to turn my database of translations of Chinese humanities and social sciences into an online database in order to include the translations published after 2018 and to facilitate a regular update. This database can be the basis for my further research into the dynamics of translation and circulation of Chinese humanities and social sciences.

We are currently witnessing a rare moment of reconfiguration of the global order and of power distribution. The prevalent political and cultural hegemonies are being subject to unprecedented challenges and new configurations could be taking shape now and in the coming years. Only time will tell whether, with regard to cultural production, these new configurations give way to a more balanced order or whether they produce other imbalances under new names and protagonists. Whatever the case may be, this kind of moment has few precedents in history, and not every generation encounters the opportunity to witness such a "hinge moment" that is showing with unprecedented clarity how geopolitical configurations influence the circulation and legitimation of ideas. We should therefore make the most of this chance to conduct as much research as possible about how geopolitics, intellectual production and translation are interwoven. With it, we would obtain a more complete picture of how translocal ideas are produced and circulated.

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Appendixes

APPENDIX 1: Volumes of Chinese Humanities and Social Sciences translated into English (1989-2018). (26 pages)

APPENDIX 2: List of Wang Hui's books in European languages. (2 pages)

APPENDIX 3: Tables of Contents of Wang Hui's books translated into English. (3 pages)

APPENDIX 4: Table of essays by Wang Hui translated into English and published by European and North American journals, by disciplinary area (1994–2018). (3 pages)

APPENDIX 5: Table of reviews of Wang Hui's books in English (2003-2018) published in Anglophone journals (by disciplinary area). (4 pages)

APPENDIX 1: Volumes of Chinese Humanities and Social Sciences translated into English (1989-2018)

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
1989	Li Xiaojun	The Long March to the Fourth of June	E.J. Griffiths			London: Duckworth		
1989	Liu Binyan, in collaboration with Ruan Ming and Xu Gang	Tell the World: What Happened in China and Why	Henry L. Epstein			New York: Pantheon Books		
1989	Pang Pang	The Death of Hu Yaobang	Si Ren			Honolulu: Center for Chinese Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies, University of Hawai'i	Translation from Chinese	
1989	Wu Dakun; Ke Changji; Zhao Lisheng; Authors of "An Outline History of World Antiquity"; Zhu Jiazhen; Wang Dunshu; Yu Ke; Qi Qingfu; Song Min; Su Kaihua; Hu Zhongda; Ma Xin	The Asiatic Mode of Production in China	Alfred Chan, Ray Dragan, Paul Forage, Emily Hill, Li Anshan, and André Schmid	Timothy Brook	Timothy Brook (introduction)	Armonk (NY, US): ME Sharpe		
1989	Zhou Jinsheng	An Economic History of China	Edward H. Kaplan			Bellingham (Washington): Western Washington University		
1990	Fang Lizhi	Bringing Down the Great Wall	James H. William, Perry Link	James H. Williams	Orville Schell, James H. Williams	H.H. Norton (New York)		
1990	Han Minzhu and Hua Sheng	Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement	NF		Yan Jiaqi (preface); Jonathan D. Spence (Introduction); Editors (foreword)	Princeton: Princeton University Press		
1990	Liu Binyan	China's Crisis, China's Hope: Essays From an Intellectual in Exile	Howard Goldblatt		Merle Goldman (foreword)	Cambridge (MA) and London (UK): Harvard University Press		
1990	Zhu Weizheng	Coming Out of the Middle Ages: Comparative Reflections on China and the West	Ruth Hayhoe	Translator		Armonk (NY, US): ME Sharpe	Chinese Studies on China	
1991	Luo Zhufeng (ed.)	Religion under Socialism in China	Donald E. MacInnis; Zheng Xi'an	Luo Zhufeng	Donald E. MacInnis (introduction); Bishop K. H. Ting (foreword)	Armonk (NY, US) and London (UK): ME Sharpe	Chinese Studies on China	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
1991	Su Xiaokang and Wang Luxiang	*Deathsong of the River: A Reader's Guide to the Chinese TV Series Heshang*	Richard W. Bodman, Pin P. Wang			Ithaca (NY, US): Cornell University East Asia Program	Cornell East Asia Series	
1991	Wang Xiaoqiang, Bai Nanfeng	*The Poverty of Plenty*	Angela Knox			Basingstoke and London: Macmillan	Studies on the Chinese Economy	
1991	Yan Jiaqi	*Yan Jiaqi and China's Struggle for Democracy*	David M. Bachman, Dali L. Yang	Translators	Translators	Armonk (NY, US): ME Sharpe		
1991	Zhao Ziyuan	*New labour theory of value: The basic theory of economics and guide to the development of human society*	NF			Hamburg: Verlag an der Lottbek		
1992	Fei Xiaotong	*From the soil, the foundations of Chinese society: A Translation of Fei Xiaotong's Xiangtu Zhongguo*	Gary G Hamilton, Zheng Wang		Gary G. Hamilton, Zheng Wang	Berkeley (US): University of California Press		
1992	Kang Fan, et al.	*An Economic History of the Major Capitalist Countries: A Chinese View*	Uldis Kruze		Uldis Kruze (translator)	Armonk (NY, US): ME Sharpe		
1993	Hong Qingyu; Tao Jingliang; Wang Chaojun; Economic Construction Group of the Chinese People's Consultative Committee; Qian Ning; Zhang Ren; Chen Zhicong; Fang Zongdai; Wang Shouzhong; Tian Fang; Lin Fatang; Wang Jiazhu; Linig Chunxi	*Megaproject: Case Study of China's Three Gorges Project*	NF	Shiu-Hung Luk; Joseph Whitney		Armonk (NY, US): ME Sharpe		
1993	Hua Qingzhao	*From Yalta to Panmujon: Truman's Diplomacy and the Four Powers, 1945-1953*	NF			Ithaca (NY, US): Cornell University East Asia Program	Cornell East Asia Series	
1993	Ke Yuan	*Dragons and Dynasties: An Introduction to Chinese Mythology*	Kim Echlin; Nie Zhixiong			London: Penguin		
1993	Peng Xinwei	*A Monetary History of China*	Edward H. Kaplan			Bellingham (Washington): Western Washington University		
1993	Su Shaozhi	*Marxism and Reform in China*	NF			Nottingham (UK): Spokesman Books		

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
1994	Dai Qing	*Wang Shwei and "Wild Lilies". Rectification and Purges in the Chinese Communist Party, 1942-1944*	Nancy Liu; Lawrence R. Sullivan	David E. Apter; Timothy Cheek; Song Jinshou (compiler)		Armonk (NY, US): ME Sharpe		
1994	Li Zehou	*The Path of Beauty: A Study of Chinese Aesthetics*	Gong Lizeng			Hong Kong: New York: Oxford University Press	Oxford in Asia Paperbacks	
1994	Qu Geping; Li Jinchang	*Population & the Environment in China*	Baozhong Jiang; Ran Gu	Robert B. Boardman		Boulder (CO, US): Lynne Rienner		
1995	Du Runsheng	*Reform and Development in Rural China*	Staff of the Rural Development Research Center	Thomas R. Gottshang		London: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martin's Press	Studies on the Chinese Economy	
1996	Gao Gao; Yan Jiaqi	*Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution*	Danny Wynn Ye Kwok		Danny Wynn Ye Kwok (translator's preface)	Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press	SHAPS Library of Translations	
1997	Dalin Liu; Man Lun Ng; Li Ping Zhou; Erwin J. Haeberle	*Sexual behavior in modern China : report on the nationwide survey of 20,000 men and women*	Ng Man Lun; Erwin J. Haeberle			New York: Continuum		
1997	Wei Jingsheng	*The Courage to Stand Alone: Letters from Prison and Other Writings*	Kristina M. Torgeson			London/NY: Penguin		
1998	Dai Qing	*The River Dragon Has Come! The Three Gorges Dam and the Fate of China's Yangtze River and its People*	Yi Ming	John G. Thibodeau; Philip M. Williams	Audrey Ronning Topping (foreword)	Armonk (NY, US): ME Sharpe		
1998	Wu Jingfu	*The Principles of Desirable Society*	NF			New York: Vantage Press		
2001	Liu Qingfeng, Liu Dong, Yue Daiyun, Tang Yijie, Wang Hui, Jin Guantao, Xu Jilin, Liu Qing, Luo Gang, Xue Yi	*Voicing Concerns*	Gloria Davies, Li Kaiyu, Geremie R. Barmé	Gloria Davies	Gloria Davies	London: Rowman & Littlefield		

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Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2002	Dai Jinhua	*Cinema and Desire: Feminist Marxism and Cultural Politics in the Work of Dai Jinhua*	Lisa Rofel; Hu Ying; Harry H. Kuoshu; Yiman Wang; Jonathan Noble; Kirk Denton; Edward Gunn; Eileen Cheng; Shu-mei Shih; Jingyuan Zhang; Lau Kin Chi	Jing Wang; Tani E. Barlow	Jing Wang; Tani E. Barlow (introduction)	London: Verso		
2003	Judy Chu	*Junzi, A Man of Virtue*	Ta-Ling Lee			Lanham (MD, US): University Press of America		
2003	Wang Hui	*China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition*	Theodore Huters, Rebecca Karl	Theodore Huters	Theodore Huters	Cambridge (US): Harvard University Press		
2003	Wang Hui, Zhu Xueqin, Chen Pingyuan, Qin Hui, He Qinglian, Wang Yi, Li Changping, Hu Angang, Xiao Xuehui, Wang Anyi, Gan Yang, Wang Xiaoming, Qian Liqun, Wang Dan, Li Minqi, Wang Chaohua	*One China, Many Paths*	Shengqing Wu, Yao Peng, Gao Jin, Robin Wisser, Eileen Cheng, Xiaoping Cong, Joel Andreas, Li Minqi, Wang Chaohua.	Chaohua Wang	Chaohua Wang	London/NY: Verso		
2004	Chen Chaonan; Feng Yiyou	*Old advertisements and popular culture : posters, calendars, and cigarettes, 1900-1950*	Ding Shaohong; Li Shanshan		Zheng Tuyou (introduction)	San Francisco: Long River Press		
2004	Ma Jun	*China's Water Crisis*	Nancy Yang Lui and Lawrence R. Sullivan			Norwalk (CONN, US): EastBridge		
2005	Cao Jinqing	*China Along the Yellow River: Reflections on Rural Society*	Nicky Harman; Huang Ruhua		Rachel Murphy (introduction)	London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon	RoutledgeCurzon Studies on the Chinese Economy	

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Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2005	Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Research Group for Social Structure in Contemporary China, Institute of Sociology	Social Mobility in Contemporary China	Xiaowen Bao			Montréal: America Quantum Media		
2005	Qian Qichen	Ten episodes in China's diplomacy	NF			New York : Harper Collins		
2005	Zheng Bijian	China's Peaceful Rise: Speeches of Zheng Bijian, 1997–2005	NF		John L. Thornton (foreword)	Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press		
2006	Liu Binyan	Two Kinds of Truth	Kyna Rubin, Perry Link, James V. Feinerman, Michael S. Duke, Richard W. Bodman, Madelyn Ross, John S. Rohsenow	Perry Link	Perry Link (Editor's note)	Bloomington (Indiana, US): Indiana University Press		
2007	Chen Guidi; Wu Chuntao	Will the Boat Sink the Water? The Life of China's Peasants	Zhu Hong			New York: Public Affairs		
2007	Hong Zicheng	A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature	Michael M. Day			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	Bureau Three, the State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China
2007	Zi Zhongyun	The destiny of wealth : an analysis of American philanthropic foundations from a Chinese perspective	Yufeng Wang	Lisa Boone-Berry		Dayton (OH, US): Kettering Foundation Press		
2008	He Qinglian	The Fog of Censorship: Media Control in China	Paul Frank		Sharon Hom (Preface)	New York; Hong Kong; Brussels: Human Rights in China		
2008	Yu Keping	Globalization and Changes in China's Governance	NF			Leiden: Brill	Issues in Contemporary Chinese Thought and Culture	
2009	Chen Lai (b. 1952)	Tradition and Modernity: A Humanist View	Edmund Ryden			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	China Book International, supported by the General Administration of Press and Publication and the Information Office of the State Council of China
2009	Wang Hui	The End of the Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity	Andrea Lim, Christopher Connery, Rebecca E. Karl, Hongmei Yu			London/NY: Verso		

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2009	Yu Keping	*Democracy Is a Good Thing: Essays on Politics, Society, and Culture in Contemporary China*	NF		John L. Thornton (foreword); Cheng Li (Introduction)	Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press	Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series	
2010	Cai Dingjian, Wang Chenguang, Zhu Weijiu, Dai Yuzhong, Jiang Huiling, Huo Xiandan, Lin Lihong, Long Weiqiu, Du Xingli, Wu Handong, Wang Canfa	*China's Journey toward the Rule of Law*	NF	Cai Dingjian, Wang Chenguang		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Social Scientific Studies in Reform Era China	
2010	Chen Lai; Liao Kebin; Liu Dong; Liu Xiaogan; Shih Yuan-Kang; Yu Keping; Xu Jilin; Lu Xinyu; He Qing; Tang Shaojie; Han Shaogong; Gong Yuzhi; Cao Tianyu; Lin Chun; Gao Like	*Culture and Social Transformations in Reform Era China*	Adrian Thieret; Ping Zhu; Chloe Garcia-Roberts; Dandan Chen;		Cao Tianyu (introduction)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Ideas, History, and Modern China Series	Financial support from China Book International, supported by the General Administration of Press and Publication and the Information Office of the State Council.
2010	Cheng Tijie	*The Sociology of Gambling in China*	Albert Wong (?)		Ma Rong (foreword)	Reading (UK): Paths International / Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press		
2010	Fang Cai, Chen Xiwen, Chen Jiagui & Wang Qin, Yi Gang, Hu Angang, Justin Yifu Lin & Yan Wang, Wu Jinglian & Fan Shitao, Li Shi, Linxiu Zhang & team	*Transforming the Chinese Economy*	NF	Fang Cai		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Social Scientific Studies in Reform Era China	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2010	Hu Angang	*China in 2020: A New Type of Superpower*	Shaoqing Jin; Xing Wei (?)		John L. Thornton (foreword); Cheng Li (Introduction)	Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press	Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series	
2010	Li Qiang, Wang Xiaoyi, Bai Nansheng, Wang Ying, Li Hanlin, Wang Ning, Qiu Zeqi, Tan Shen, Li Peilin.	*Thirty Years of Reform and Social Changes in China*	NF	Li Qiang		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Social Scientific Studies in Reform Era China	
2010	Li Zehou	*The Chinese Aesthetic Tradition*	Maijia Bell Samei		Maijia Bell Samei (introduction)	Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press		
2010	Yu Keping, et al.	*Democracy and the Rule of Law in China*	NF			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Issues in Contemporary Chinese Thought and Culture	
2010	Yu Keping; Huang Weiping; Chen Jiaxi; Yang Guangbin; Zhou Guanghui; Yang Tuan; Cai Dingjian; Yang Xuedong; Jiang Xiaoping; Lin Shangli; He Zengke	*The Reform of Governance*	NF	Yu Keping		Leiden: Brill	Social Scientific Studies in Reform Era China	
2011	Chen Pingyuan	*Touches of History: An Entry Into 'May Fourth' China*	Michel Hockx, with Maria af Sandeberg, Uganda Sze Pui Kwan, Christopher Neil Payne, and Christopher Rosenmeier			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	China Book International, supported by the General Administration of Press and Publication and the Information Office of the State Council of China.
2011	Liu Xiaobo	*No Enemies, No Hatred: Selected Essays and Poems*		Perry Link, Tienchi Martin-Liao, Liu Xia	Václav Havel (foreword)	Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press		

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Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2011	Luo Yuming	*A Concise History of Chinese Literature. Volume 1*	Ye Yang			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	
2011	Ma Xisha; Lin Wushu; Lin Guoping; han Bingfang; Lu Yao; Zhou Yumin; Yu Songqing; Guo Shuyun; Meng Huiying; Song Zhaolin	*Popular Religion and Shamanism*	Chi Zhen; Thomas David DuBois;	Ma Xisha; Meng Huiying	Thomas David DuBois (Introduction); Mark Bender and Kun Shi (Introduction)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Religious Studies in Contemporary China Collection	China Book International
2011	Wang Hui	*The Politics of Imagining Asia*	Matthew A. Hale; Wang Yang; Chris Berry; Theodore Huters; Zhang Yongle	Theodore Huters	Theodore Huters (Introduction)	Cambridge (US): Harvard University Press		
2011	Wang Ming, Liu Peifeng, Zhu Weiguo, Li Yong, Huang Haoming, Jia Xijin, Tao Chuanjin, Lin Shangli, Kang Xiaoguang, Lu Xianying, Han Heng	*Emerging Civil Society in China*	NF	Wang Ming		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Social Scientific Studies in Reform Era China	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2011	Wang Yizhou, Zhang Yunling, Zhou Fangyin, Liu Hongwu, Tao Wenzhao, Pang Sen, Zhou Hong, Yang Yi, Yu Xiaofeng, Su Changhe, Cai Tuo, Qin Yaqing	*Transformation of Foreign Affairs and International Relations in China, 1978-2008*	NF	Wang Yizhou		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Social Scientific Studies in Reform Era China	
2011	Yan Xuetong	*Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*	Edmund Ryden	Daniel A. Bell, Sun Zhe	Daniel A. Bell	Princeton: Princeton University Press		
2011	Ye Zicheng	*Inside China's Grand Strategy: The Perspective from the People's Republic*	Steven I. Levine; Guoli Liu	Steven I. Levine; Guoli Liu	Steven I. Levine; Guoli Liu (Introduction: Understanding a View from Beijing)	Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky		
2011	Zhang Kaining, Xie Zhenming, Tang Mengjun, Zheng Zhenzhen, Gao Ersheng, Lou Chaohua, Li Jianhua, Li Xiaoliang, Pan Suiming, Huang Yingying, Deng Guosheng, Ji Ying, Liu Minquan, Wang Qu	*Sexual and Reproductive Health in China*	NF	Zhang Kaining		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Social Scientific Studies in Reform Era China	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2011	Zhang Xiulan, Hu Xiaojiang, Qu Zhiyong, Zhang Ying, Zhou Peira, Zhang Qiujie, Chai Chunqing, Cheng Gang, Zhao Xiaohong, Tang Min, Chen Jiao, Wang Li, He Zhen, Wang Qiu, Zhang Mei, Cui Jian, Yang Dongping, Chen Lipeng, Liu Yanqing, Hao Xiaoming, Kong Wei, Ma Ming, Su Yang, Wu Hua, Wen Dai	*China's Education Development and Policy, 1978-2008*	NF	Zhang Xiulan		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Social Scientific Studies in Reform Era China	
2011	Zheng Bijian	*China's Road to Peaceful Rise: Observations on its cause, basis, connotations and prospects*	Sun Miaoyi; Shi Yanhua			Oxon and New York: Routledge.	Routledge Studies on the Chinese Economy	

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2011	Zheng Yisheng, Lin Ling, Liu Shiqing, Li Zhou, Wang Xiaoyi, Ma Jun, Han Wei, Yu Changqing, Zhang Shiqiu, An Shumin, Ren Xiaodong, Huang Xiao, Cai Kui	*Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development in Rural China*	NF	Zheng Yisheng		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Social Scientific Studies in Reform Era China	
2012	He Weifang	*In the Name of Justice: Striving for the Rule of Law in China*	NF		John L. Thornton (foreword); Cheng Li (Introduction)	Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press	Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series	
2012	Ji Wenshun, Zhou Lian, Zhao Tingyang, Zhang Feng, Liu Shuxian, Chen Ming, He Baogang, Ni Peimin, Ci Jiwei, Cui Zhiyuan, Frank Fang, Wang Shaoguang, Chen Guangyun	*Contemporary Chinese Political Thought: Debates and Perspectives*		Fred Dallmayr; Zhao Tingyang	Fred Dallmayr (Preface and Introduction)	University Press of Kentucky (US)		
2012	Li Peilin; Yang Shanhua; Zhang Xiaojun; Hao Shiyuan; Zhou Xiaohong; Cai Fang; Yang Dali; Cai He; Li Qiang; Li Chunling; Guan Xinping;	*Chinese Society: Change and Transformation*	Michael Drake	Li Peilin	Li Peilin (Introduction)	Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Policy Series	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2012	Qing Xitai; Wang Ka; Wang Ming; Hong Xiuping; Li Gang; Wang Zongyu; Tang Yijie; Zhang Guangbao; Ge Guolong; Mou Zhongjian; Chen Bing; Chen Xia; Li Yuanguo; Yin Zhihua; Gai Jianmin; Chen Yaoting; Liu Zhongyu	*Taoism*	Pan Junliang; Simone Normand	Mou Zhongjian	Vincent Gossaert (Introduction)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Religious Studies in Contemporary China Collection	China Book International
2012	Yining Li	*Economic Reform and Development in China*	Zhong Zhilan; Ren Xiaomei; Peng Lin		Sun Laixiang (foreword)	Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press	Cambridge China Library	
2012	Yuan Xingpei; Yan Wenming; Zhang Chuanxi; Lou Yulie	*The History of Chinese Civilization (4 volumes)*	David R. Knechtges			Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press	Cambridge China Library	
2012	Zhang Weiwei	*The China Wave: Rise of a Civilizational State*	Zhang Weiwei (self-translation)			Hackensack, NJ: World Century		

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2012	Zhou Minkai; Hu Daping; Yu Zhengliang & Chen Yugang; Cai Tuo; Wang Xinyan; Yu Keping; he Zengke; Wang Yizhou; Yu Jianxing & Xu Yueqian; Yan Xuedong; Guo Shuyong; Qin Yaqing & Zhu Liqun; Wang Yiwei; Shi Yinhong: Men Honghua; Wang Zaibang; Ruan Zongze; Liu Jinyuan; Han Deqiang	*Chinese perspectives on globalization and autonomy*	NF	Cai Tuo	Arif Dirlik (Series foreword; Preface)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Issues in Contemporary Chinese Thought and Culture	China Book International Programme
2013	Jiang Qing	*A Confucian Constitutional Order*	Edmund Ryden	Daniel A. Bell; Ruiping Fan		Princeton: Princeton University Press		
2013	Rong Xinjiang	*Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*	Imre Galambos			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	China Book International of the Information Office of the State Council of China and China Classics International of the General Administration of Press and Publication of China.

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2013	Wenhu Ye, Zhang Kunmin, Wen Zongguo, Peng Liying, Xiao Wei, Qian Jianxing, Fang Shinan, Zhang Weiping, Pan Jiahua, Xu Chun, Huang Jing, Ren Qing, Xun Qingzhi, Li Ping, Shen Guofang, Liu Sihua, Liu Xiaoying	*Chinese perspectives on environment and sustainable development*	Christopher Heselton	Ye Wenhu		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Issues in Contemporary Chinese Thought and Culture	
2013	Wu Shicun	*Solving Disputes for Regional Cooperation and Development in the South China Sea: A Chinese Perspective*	Wu Shicun (self-translation)			Oxford: Chandos		Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2013	Zhuo Xinping; Duan Qi; Liu Xiaofeng; he Guanghu; Hu Weiqing; Wang Xiaochao; Gao Shining; Kang Zhijie; Liang Gong; Zhang Kaiyuan; Lin Jinshui; Zhang Xiping	*Christianity*	Chi Zhen; Caroline Mason	Zhuo Xinping	Zhuo Xinping (Introduction)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Religious Studies in Contemporary China Collection	China Book International
2014	Deng Yingtao	*A New Development Model and China's Future*	Nicky Harman; Phil Hand		Peter Nolan (foreword); Nicky Harman (translator's preface)	Oxon and New York: Routledge.	Routledge Studies on the Chinese Economy	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2014	Ge Zhaoguang	*An Intellectual History of China, Volume One: Knowledge, Thought, and Belief before the Seventh Century CE*	Michael S. Duke and Josephine Chiu-Duke			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (中华社会科学基金), China Book International from the Information Office of the State Council of China, and Fudan University Press.
2014	Gu Mingyuan	*Cultural Foundations of Chinese Education*	Wang Yuefei, Yao Zhengjun, Teng Jun, Zhu Yun			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Series on Chinese Education	
2014	Hou Renzhi	*An Historical Geography of Peiping*	NF			Berlin: Springer	China Academic Library	
2014	Lü Daji; Zhuo Xinping; Jin Ze; Li Xiangping; Gao Shining; he Qimin; Wang Xiaochao; Gong Xuezeng; Fang Litian; Zhu Xiaoming; Ye Xiaowen; Wang Zuoan	*Marxism and Religion*	Chi Zhen	Lü Daji; Gong Xuezeng	Thomas David DuBois and Chi Zhen (Introduction)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Religious Studies in Contemporary China Collection	China Book International

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Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2014	Ma Hong	*Chinese Economists on Economic Reform - Collected Works of Ma Hong*	NF	China Development Research Foundation		Oxon and New York: Routledge.	Chinese Economists on Economic Reform	
2014	Nan Fan; Li Yunlei; Lu Xinyu; Liao Kebin; Han Shaogong; Han Yuhai; Cai Xiang; Lin Chun	*Culture and Social Transformatins: Theoretical Framework and Chinese Context*	Adrien Thieret	Cao Tianyu; Zhong Xueping; Liao Kebin; Ban Wang	Cao Tianyu and Zhong Xueping (introduction)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Ideas, History, and Modern China Series	Some of the articles were translated into English from Chinese with financial support from the Confucius Institute at Stanford University.
2014	Wang Hui	*China From Empire to Nation-State*	Michael Gibbs Hill		Michal G. Hill (Translator's foreword)	Cambridge (US): Harvard University Press		
2014	Yining Li	*Chinese Economy in Disequilibrium*	Chen Shulang			Heidelberg; New York: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2014	Yu Keping; Wang Changjiang; Shi Hexing; Lin Shangli; Wang Ming; Yan Jirong; Yu Jianxing; Yang Guangbin; Huang Weiping; Jing Yuejin; Zhou Guanghui; He Zengke	*China's Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives*	NF	Kenneth Lieberthal; Cheng Li; Yu Keping	Kenneth Lieberthal and Cheng Li (preface)	Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press		China-US Exchange Foundation, funding provided to the China Center for Comparative Politics and Economics (directed by Yu Keping)
2014	Zhang Yibing	*Back to Marx: Changes of Philosophical Discourse in the Context of Economics*	Thomas Mitchell; Derek Scally (German quotes)	Oliver Corff		Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen		Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences

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Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2015	Fang Litian; Song Lidao; Wang Bangwei; Lou Yulie; Xu Wenming; Zhang Fenglei; Li Fuhua; Wen Yucheng; Zhang Zong; Huang Xinchuan; Lü Jianfu; Fang Guangchang; Pan Guiming; Huang Xianian	*Buddhism*	Pei-Ying Lin	Lou Yulie	Pei-Ying Lin (Translator's Note); Chun-fang Yü (Introduction)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Religious Studies in Contemporary China Collection	China Book International
2015	Fei Xiaotong	*Globalization and Cultural Self-Awareness*	Xiaojing Lynette Shi	Fang Lili	Fang Lili (Introduction)	Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer	China Academic Library	Chinese Fund for Humanities and Social Sciences
2015	Geng Yunzhi	*An Introductory Study on China's Cultural Transformation in Recent Times*	Wang Huimin			Heidelberg; New York: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	Sponsored by Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (本书获中华社会科学基金资助)
2015	He Huaihong	*Social ethics in a changing China: Moral Decay or Ethical Awakening?*	NF		John L. Thornton (foreword); Cheng Li (Introduction)	Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press	Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series	
2015	Liu Xiaofeng	*Sino-Theology and the Philosophy of History A Collection of Essays by Liu Xiaofeng*	Leopold Leeb		Liu Xiaofeng (Preface); Leopold Leeb (Translator's Introduction)	Leiden: Brill		
2015	Luo Zhitian	*Inheritance within Rupture: Culture and Scholarship in Early Twentieth Century China*	Lane J. Harris and Mei Chun			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2015	Ma Licheng	*Leading Schools of Thought in Contemporary China*	Jing L. Liu			Singapore: World Scientific		
2015	Mou Zongsan	*Nineteen Lectures on Chinese Philosophy: A Brief Outline of Chinese Philosophy and the Issues It Entails*	Esther C. Su			San Jose (US): Foundation for the Study of Chinese Philosophy and Culture		
2015	Pan Maoyuan	*Selected Academic Papers of Pan Maoyuan on Higher Education*	Ji Linying, Zhang Xin, Xin Nan, Chen Lijuan			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Series on Chinese Education	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2015	Tang Yijie	*Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity and Chinese Culture*	Yuan Ailing, Yan Xin, Cui Yujun, Li Chengyang, Brian Bruya, Hai-ming Wen, Gloria Davies, Yuk Wong, Yang Hao, Lin Bingwen			Heidelberg; New York: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	
2015	Xu Zhiyuan	*Paper Tiger: Inside the Real China*	Michelle Deeter, Nicky Harman			London: Head of Zeus		
2015	Yining Li	*Beyond Market and Government: Influence of Ethical Factors on Economy*	Yuan Ailing			Heidelberg; New York: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	Sponsored by Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (本书获中华社会科学基金资助)
2015	Yu Keping; Li Xianghai; Zhao Lin; Peng Yongjie; Guo Qiyong, Wang Guangdong; Wang Yao; Zhang Qinghua, Wang Yuechuan; Wang Xiaoming; Wang Mingming; Zhuo Xinping; Dai Jinhua; Pan Jiao; Hu Huilin; Liu Xiangping	*On China's Cultural Transformation*	Christopher Heselton	Yu Keping		Leiden/Boston: Brill	Issues in Contemporary Chinese Thought and Culture	
2015	Zhang Qizhi	*An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture*	LiangHongfei, Yang Yu, Tian Huifang and Paul Harris, Liu Liwen, Liang Hongfei, Long Jingrong, Sun Yan, Zhang Hongrui and Hu Zongfeng, He Jing, Ren Huilian, Zhang Min, Liu Yining and Hu Zongfeng, Gao Yu, Yao Hongjuan, Chen Hanliang			Heidelberg; New York: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	Sponsored by Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (本书获中华社会科学基金资助)

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2015	Zhu Rongji	*Zhu Rongji on the Record The Road to Reform: 1998-2003*	NF		Henry A. Kissinger (foreword); Helmut Schmidt (foreword)	Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press		
2015	Zhu Rongji	*Zhu Rongji on the Record: The Road to Reform 1991-1997 (Vol. 1)*	NF		Henry A. Kissinger (foreword); Helmut Schmidt (foreword)	Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press		
2015	Zhu Weizheng	*Rereading Modern Chinese History*	Michael Dillon			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	China Classics International of the General Administration of Press and Publication of China
2016	Cai Xiang	*Revolution and its Narratives: China's Socialist Literary and Cultural Imaginaries, 1949-1966*	Rebecca E. Karl; Xueping Zhong			Durham (NC): Duke University Press		
2016	Chen Guying	*The Philosophy of Life: A New Reading of the Zhuangzi*	Dominique Hertzer			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	
2016	Chen Pingyuan	*The Development of Chinese Martial Arts Fiction*	Victor Petersen		Michel Hockx (introduction)	Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press	Cambridge China Library	China Book International Programme
2016	Chen Zhaoqi; Song Zhiyong; Zhang Sheng; Zhai Yi'an; He Qinhua	*The Tokyo Trial: Recollections and Perspectives from China*	Luxi Jin, Shuqing Min; Wensheng Qiu		Timothy Brook (introduction)	Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press	Cambridge China Library	China Classics International Programme
2016	Fang Jiangshan	*Non-institutional Political Participation: A Case Study of Chinese Peasants During the Transformation Period*	Shanghai Freelance Translators Team (SFTT)		Kaicheng Jin (Foreword)	Heidelberg; New York: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	
2016	Hao Shiyuan	*How the Communist Party of China Manages the Issue of Nationality: An Evolving Topic*	Tong Xiaohua			Heidelberg; New York: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	Sponsored by Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (本书获中华社会科学基金资助)
2016	Li Jianglin	*Tibet in Agony: Lhasa 1959*	Susan Wilf			Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press		
2016	Li Shulei	*The "States" in Villages: A Look at Schools in Rural China*	Tong Xiaohua			Heidelberg; New York: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	

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2016	Li Song, Jin Weinuo, Xue Yongnian, Zhao Li, Shang Gang, Feng Hejun, Shan Guoqiang, Xiao Yanyi, Yu Hui, Jin Pengfei, Nie Chongzheng, Dong Jianli, Feng Nai'en	*A History of Chinese Art*	NF			Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press	Cambridge China Library	
2016	Mao Haijian	*The Qing Empire and the Opium War: The Collapse of the Heavenly Dynasty*	Joseph Lawson; Craig Smith; Peter Lavelle	Joseph Lawson	Julia Lovell (introduction)	Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press	Cambridge China Library	China Classics International Programme
2016	Wang Hui	*China's Twentieth Century*	Saul Thomas; Chen Xiangjing; Anne Chao; Guo Jin; Yin Zhiguang; Lewis Hinchman; Chris Connery; Yan Hairong	Saul Thomas		London/NY: Verso		
2016	Wang Yizhou	*The Global Threat of Terrorism: Perspectives From China*	Zhang Yidan			Reading (UK): Paths International / Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press		
2016	Wang Yizhou; Tan Xiuying	*Sixty Years of China Foreign Affairs*	Lang Ping; Jiang Fangfei			Reading (UK): Paths International / Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press		CASS Innovation Translation Fund
2016	Wu Xiang	*Contemporary Chinese Rural Reform*	Alice (Ting) Xia		Yu Guangyuan (Foreword to the Chinese edition 2001), Du Runsheng (Foreword to the Chinese edition 2001)	Heidelberg; New York: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	Sponsored by Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (本书获中华社会科学基金资助)
2016	Yan Guorong	*The Mutual Cultivation of Self and Things: A Contemporary Chinese Philosophy of the Meaning of Being*	Chad Austin Meyers		Hans-Georg Moeller (foreword)	Bloomington (Indiana, US): Indiana University Press	World Philosophies Series	
2016	Yang Guorong	*On Human Action and Practical Wisdom*	Paul J. D'Ambrosio, Sarah Flavel			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Modern Chinese Philosophy Series	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2016	Zhang Fa	*The History and Spirit of Chinese Art*	Barbara Cao, Li Tong, Charlie Ng, Phoebe Poon, Yu Lun	Phoebe Poon		Honolulu: Silk Road		
2016	Zhang Weiwei	*The China Horizon: Glory and Dream of a Civilizational State*	Zhang Weiwei (self-translation)			Hackensack, NJ: World Century		
2016	Zhou Xiaochuan	*Chinese Economists on Economic Reform - Collected Works of Zhou Xiaochuan*	NF	China Development Research Foundation.		London and New York: Routledge	Chinese Economists on Economic Reform	
2016	Zhu Ruixi; Zhang Bangwei; Liu Fusheng; Cai Chongbang; Wang Zengyu	*A Social History of Middle-Period China: The Song, Liao, Western Xia and Jin Dynasties*	Bang Qian Zhu		Peter Ditmanson (introduction)	Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press	Cambridge China Library	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2017	Chen Jiagui	*Economic Development and Reform Deepening in China*	Yang Limeng; Wu Yisheng			London; New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund.
2017	Chen Jiagui	*Macro-Control and Economic Development in China*	Wu Yisheng; Yang Limeng	Xia Xia; Yang Yang; Zhou Guanghuan		Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund.
2017	Chen Yunxiang; Qiu Jianwei	*Government Foresighted Leading: Theory and Practice of the World's Regional Economic Development*	Heming Yong; Jing Peng			London; New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences.
2017	Chong-en Bai; Zhang Qiong	*A Research on China's Economic Growth Potential*	Fei Xiaoru; Wang Menghan; Zhao Jingjie			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series/China Focus	
2017	Feng Cao	*Daoism in Early China: Huang-Lao Thought in Light of Excavated Texts*	Callisto Serle, Sharon Y. Small and Jeffrey Keller		Translators' introduction	New York: Palgrave Macmillan		
2017	Fu Xinian	*Traditional Chinese Architecture: Twelve Essays*	Alexandra Harrer	Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt	Preface (???), Editor's Note (Steinhardt)	Princeton: Princeton University Press	The Princeton-China Series	
2017	Ge Zhaoguang	*Here in 'China' I Dwell: Reconstructing Historical Discourses of China for Our Time*	Jesse Field and Qin Fang			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2017	Hao Ping	*John Leighton Stuart's Missionary-Educator's Career in China*	Hao Tianhu; Gao Jianwu; Cui Mengtian; Cao Jun; Kang Qin; Chen Jiayu			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2017	Hao Ping	*John Leighton Stuart's Political Career in China*	Hao Tianhu; Gao Jianwu; Cui Mengtian; Cao Jun; Kang Qin; Chen Jiayu			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	
2017	Huangfu Yichuan; Zhang Binning; Zhang Jingyu; Ding Yaping; Liao Ching-Sung; Han Jiazheng; Jia Zhangke; Yang Yuanying; Yin Hong; Li Daoxin	*Film Studies in China: Selected Writings from Contemporary China*	Chase Coulson Christensen	Contemporary Cinema (China Film Archive)		Bristol (UK); Chicago (US): Intellect	Intellect China Library Series	
2017	Jin Yijiu; Feng Jinyuan; Zhou Chuanbin; Feng Zenglie; Gao Zhanfu; Ma Shinian; Tao Hua; Li Jinxin; Chen Huisheng; Chen Guoguang; Zhou Xiefan; Yang Huaizhong; Wang Huaide; Qin Huibin; Wang Jianping; Yang Guiping; Ma Tong; Li Xinghua	*Islam*	Chan Ching-shing Alex	Jin Yijiu (of the original Chinese volume); Wai Yip Hop (of the translation)	Wai Yip Ho (Acknowledgements); Michael Dillon (Introduction)	Leiden: Brill	Religious Studies in Contemporary China Collection	China Book International
2017	Li Peilin	*Social Transformation and Chinese Experience*	Chen Yujie			London; New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund
2017	Liu Shucheng	*Chinese Economic Growth and Fluctuations*	Huang Rui			London; New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund
2017	Liu Shucheng	*Chinese Macroeconomic Operation*	Huang Rui			London; New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund
2017	Luo Zhitian	*Shifts of Power: Modern Chinese Thought and Society*	Lane J. Harris and Mei Chun			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2017	P2P Research Group, Shanghai Finance Institute	*Peer-to-Peer Lending with Chinese Characteristics: Development, Regulation and Outlook*	Sam Overholt; Tao Mengying			London; New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	
2017	Peng Zongchao; Ma Ben; Liu Taoxiong	*Chinese Cooperative-Harmonious Democracy*	Zhou Jing (?)			London; New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Tsinghua Univeristy's Humanities Publication Fund
2017	Sui Yan	*China in Symbolic Communication*	Qian Kunqiang			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2017	Sui Yan	*The Patterns of Symbolic Communication*	NF			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2017	Wang Wei	*Explanation, Laws and Causation*	He Jiuheng; Liu Jia; Luo Yichen; Sun Zhenyu; Hu Guanyao; Zhu Jiahui; Zeng Dian; Ryan Pino			London; New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series/China Focus	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2017	Wang Xie'en	*The Ethnic Issues of China in the 20th Century*	Zhang Jianping	Wang Xie'en		Reading (UK): Paths International / Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press		
2017	Wang Yizhou	*Creative Involvement: A New Direction in China's Diplomacy*	Lang Ping			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2017	Wang Yizhou	*Creative Involvement: The Evolution of China's Global Role*	Lang Ping			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2017	Zhang Jiong	*Literature and Literary Theory in Contemporary China*	Yang Limeng; Wu Yisheng			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund
2017	Zhang Jiong	*Literature and Literary Criticism in Contemporary China*	Yang Limeng; Wu Yisheng			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund
2017	Zhu Ling	*Food Security and Social Protection for the Rural Poor in China*	Mingfeng Li			London; New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund
2018	Chen Guying	*The Humanist Spirit of Daoism*	Hans-Georg Moeller	David Jones, Sarah Flavel		Leiden/Boston: Brill		
2018	Chen Jianhua	*Revolution and Form: Mao Dun's Early Novels and Chinese Literary Modernity*	Max Bohenkamp; Todd Foley; Fu Poshek; Nga Li Lam; Li Meng; Carlos Rojas	Carlos Rojas	Carlos Rojas (editor's preface)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Ideas, History, and Modern China Series	Shanghai Jiao Tong University and Shanghai Translation Grant (上海翻译出版促进计划).
2018	Chen Lai	*Confucius and the Modern World*	Wang Xiaohua			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	Routledge Studies in Contemporary Chinese Philosophy	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2018	Dai Jinhua	*After the Post-Cold War: The Future of Chinese History*	Jie Li; Shuang Shen; Yajun Mo; Lennet Daigle; Christopher Connery; Erebus Wong; Lisa Rofel; Rebecca E. Karl	Lisa Rofel	Carlos Rojas (series editor's preface); Lisa Rofel (introduction)	Durham; London: Duke University Pres	Sinotheory	
2018	Gao Peiyong	*China's Fiscal Policy: Discretionary Approaches and Operation Design*	Shen Jing; Lei Xia			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund
2018	Gao Peiyong	*China's Fiscal Policy: Theoretical and Situation Analysis*	Yang Limeng			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	CASS Innovation Translation Fund
2018	Ge Zhaoguang	*An Intellectual History of China, Volume Two: Knowledge, Thought, and Belief from the Seventh through the Nineteenth Century*	Josephine Chiu-Duke and Michael S. Duke			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (中华社会科学基金) and Fudan University Press
2018	Ge Zhaoguang	*What Is China? Territory, Ethnicity, Culture, and History*	Michael Gibbs Hill		Michel Gibbs Hill (translator's introduction)	Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press		Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange
2018	Guo Qiyong	*Studies on Contemporary Chinese Philosophy (1949-2009)*	Paul J. D'Ambrosio, Robert Carleo III, Joanna Guzowska, Chad Meyers, Martyna Świątczak			Leiden/Boston: Brill	Modern Chinese Philosophy Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2018	Guo Shuqing	*Chinese Economists on Economic Reform - Collected Works of Guo Shuqing*	NF	China Development Research Foundation.		London and New York: Routledge	Chinese Economists on Economic Reform	
2018	Guo Zhigang; Wang Feng; Cai Yong	*China's Low Birth Rate and the Development of Population*	Chen Jiabin			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2018	He Yafei	*China's Historical Choice in Global Governance*	NF		Yuan Ming PKU, preface); Klaus Schwab (World Economic Forum, preface); Pascal Lamy (WTO, preface);	Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	
2018	Hu Zhifeng	*Film and Television Culture in China*	Jin Haina			Reading (UK): Paths International / Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press		
2018	Ji Weidong	*Building the Rule of Law in China: Ideas, Praxis and Institutional Design*	Qiaofang Wu			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	
2018	Ji Weidong	*Building the Rule of Law in China: Procedure, Discourse and Hermeneutic Community*	Qiaofang Wu			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2018	Jiang Lan	*A History of Western Appreciation of English-Translated Tang Poetry*	Manliang Wang; Fangjun Li		Mark DeStephano (foreword)	Berlin: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	
2018	Li Xiaojiang	*Wolf Totem and the Post-Mao Utopian: A Chinese Perspective on Contemporary Western Scholarship*	Edward Mansfield Gunn			Leiden/Boston: Brill		Shanghai Century Literature Publishing Company and Shanghai Culture Development Foundation.
2018	Li Yining	*The Chinese Path to Economic Dual Transformation*	Dongyan Chen and Zheng Gong			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	
2018	Li Zehou	*The Origins of Chinese Thought: From Shamanism to Ritual Regulations and Humaneness*	Robert A. Carleo III		Delong Deng 鄧德龍 (Preface: Chinese Landscape Paintings and the Cross)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Modern Chinese Philosophy Series	
2018	Liu Haifeng	*The Examination Culture in Imperial China*	Yu Weihua			Reading (UK): Paths International / Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press		
2018	Niu Jin	*The Cold War and the Origins of Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China*	Zhong Yijing		The Academy of Chinese Learning, Tsinghua University (Foreword to the Chinese Edition)	Leiden/Boston: Brill	Brill's Humanities in China Library	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2018	Qu Xing; Zhong Longbiao	*Contemporary China's Diplomacy*	NF			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	China Classics International Project
2018	Su Li	*The Constitution of Ancient China*	Edmund Ryden	Zhang Yongle and Daniel A. Bell	Editors	Princeton: Princeton University Press	The Princeton-China Series	
2018	Sun Junjian	*Mao Tse-Tung's International Politics Theory and Practice*	He Jingjing; Shang Cong			Reading (UK): Paths International / Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press		
2018	Tang Lixing	*Merchants and Society in Modern China: From Guild to Chamber of Commerce*	He Qiliang			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2018	Tang Lixing	*Merchants and Society in Modern China: Rise of Merchant Groups*	He Qiliang			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences

Year	Author(s)	Title	Translator(s) (NF= not found)	Editor(s)	Paratexts	Publisher(s)	Collection / Series	Translation sponsor
2018	Wang Min'an	*Domestic Spaces in Post-Mao China: On Electric Household Appliances*	Shaobo Xie		Michael Dutton and Pal Ahluwalia (Preface: The postcolonial and the political in Wang Min'an)	Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	Postcolonial Politics	
2018	Wang Yizhou	*Creative Involvement: The Transition of China's Diplomacy*	Lang Ping			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences
2018	Wu Huaiqi	*An Historical Sketch of Chinese Historiography*	Zhen Chi			Berlin: Springer / Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing	China Academic Library	Sponsored by Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (本书获中华社会科学基金资助)
2018	Xing Ying	*Petitions and Power: A Story of the Migrants of a Dam in China*	Yan Jun; et al.			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	
2018	Xu Jilin	*Rethinking China's Rise. A Liberal Critique*	David Ownby			Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press		
2018	Ying Yi	*Art and Artists in China since 1949*	Bridget Noetzel		Xiaobing Tang (Introduction)	Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press	Cambridge China Library	China Book International Programme
2018	Yuan Xingpei	*An Outline of Chinese Literature I and II*	Paul White			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	
2018	Zhang Jie	*Structure and Changes of China's Financial System*	NF			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	
2018	Zhang Weiying	*Game Theory and Society*	Matthew J. Dale			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	
2018	Zhang Yu	*China's Economic Reform: Experience and Implications*	Hang Jiang			Abingdon (UK); New York: Routledge	China Perspectives Series	

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APPENDIX 2: Wang Hui's books in European languages

Year	Lang*	Title	Translator(s)	Editor	Peritextual author	Publisher	Other
2003	EN	*China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition*	Theodore Huters, Rebecca Karl	Theodore Huters	Theodore Huters	Harvard University Press (Cambridge, MA, US)	
2006	IT	*Il nuovo ordine cinese*	Anna Maria Poli		Edoarda Masi	Manifestolibri (Milano, Italy)	Based on the English book *China's New Order.*
2008	ES	*El nuevo orden de China*	Olga Curell, Carles Prado-Fonts, Lin Longbo			Edicions Bellaterra (Barcelona, Spain)	Based on the English book *China's New Order*, with the specific addition of a prologue and one chapter, "Cambio de régimen de propiedad y el destino histórico de la clase obrera de China" [Change of property regime and the destiny of China's working class].
2009	EN	*The End of the Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity*	Rebecca E. Karl		Rebecca Karl	Verso (London, New York)	
2009	IT	*Impero o stato-nazione? La modernità intellettuale in Cina*	Gaia Perini		Claudia Pozzana, Alessandro Russo	Academia Universa Press (Milano, Italy)	
2011	EN	*The Politics of Imagining Asia*	Matthew A. Hale, Wang Yang, Chris Berry, Theodore Huters, Zhang Yongle	Theodore Huters		Harvard University Press (Cambridge, MA, US)	
2011	IT	*La questione tibetana tra est e ovest*	Sabrina Ardizzoni			Manifestolibri (Milano, Italy)	
2012	DE	*Die Gleichheit neu denken Der Verlust des Repräsentativen*	Zhu Erning, Lewis Hinchman (Wang Hui's texts and interventions are in English translation)	Julian Nida-Rümelin & Wolfgang Thierse	Sigmar Gabriel & Thomas Meyer	Klartext Verlag (Essen, Germany)	Publication derived from the event "Philosophy meets Politics" organized by the Socialdemocrat Party of Germany (SPD), on 18 November 2011.
2014	EN	*From Empire to Nation-State*	Michael Gibbs Hill			Harvard University Press (Cambridge, MA, US)	

Year	Lang	Title	Authors	Translator/Editor	Publisher	Notes
2015	SL	*Wang Hui in vprašanje modernosti ter demokracije na Kitajskem* (Wang Hui and the Question of Modernity and Democracy in China)	Anja Muhvič, Janko Rošker, Dunja Živadinov Štebe	Jana S. Rošker	Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete (Ljubljana)	Includes: "Sodobna Kitajska miselnost in vprašanje modernosti" (Contemporary Chinese thought and the question of modernity), and "Razpad zastopstva in postpolitično strankarstvo" (The breakup of representation and post-party politics). Published with support from the Chiang Ching Kuo Foundation.
2016	EN	*China's Twentieth Century*	Chen Xiangjing, Anne Chao, Gao Jin, Yin Zhiguang, Saul Thomas, Lewis Hinchman, Christopher Connery, Yan Hairong.	Saul Thomas	Verso (London, New York)	
2017	PT	*China século XX. O caminho para a igualdade*	Luis Santos		Bertrand (Lisbon, Portugal)	Translation from the English *China's Twentieth Century* (Wang Hui 2016).

*DE=German; EN= English; ES= Spanish; FR= French; IT= Italian; PT= Portuguese; SL=Slovenian

APPENDIX 3: Contents of Wang Hui's books translated into English

China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition. **Edited by Theodore Huters. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2003.**

Essay title	Author	Translator(s)	Remarks
Introduction	Theodore Huters	--	
The 1989 Social Movement and the Historical Roots of China's Neoliberalism	Wang Hui	Rebecca E. Karl	Previously published in *Social Text.*
Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity	"	Theodore Huters	Also published in *Positions,* 12(1), translated by Rebecca E. Karl.

The End of Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity. **London and New York: Verso, 2009.**

Essay title	Author	Translator(s)	Remarks
Foreword to the English Edition	Rebecca E. Karl	--	
Preface to the Chinese Edition	Wang Hui	Not mentioned	
Preface to the English Edition	"	Audrea Lim	
Depoliticized Politics: From East to West	"	Christopher Connery	Previously published in *NLR* 41, and *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7(4).
The Year 1989 and the Historical Roots of Neoliberalism in China	"	Rebecca E. Karl	Previously published in *Positions,* 12(1). A translation of the same essay by T. Huters appeared in Wang Hui (2003).
An Interview Concerning Modernity: A Conversation with Ke Kaijun	"	Audrea Lim	
Rethinking *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought*	"	Audrea Lim	
Scientific Worldview, Culture Debates, and the Reclassification of Knowledge in Twentieth-Century China	"	Hongmei Yu	Previously published in Boundary 2, vol. 35, no. 2
Son of Jinsha River: In Memory of Xiao Liangzhong	"	Audrea Lim	
Dead Fire Rekindled: Lu Xun as Revolutionary Intellectual	"	Not mentioned	

The Politics of Imagining Asia. Edited by Theodore Huters. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2011.

Essay title	Author	Translator(s)	Remarks
Introduction	Theodore Huters	--	
The Politics of Imagining Asia	Wang Hui	Matthew A. Hale	
How to Explain "China" and Its "Modernity": Rethinking *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought*	"	Wang Yang	
Local Forms, Vernacular Dialects, and the War of Resistance against Japan: The "National Forms" Debate	"	Chris Berry	
The "Tibetan Question" East and West: Orientalism, Regional Ethnic Autonomy, and the Politics of Dignity	"	Theodore Huters	
Okinawa and Two Dramatic Changes to the Regional Order	"	Zhang Yongle	
Weber and the Question of Chinese Modernity	"	Theodore Huters	

China from Empire to Nation-State. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2014.

Essay title	Author	Translator(s)	Remarks
Translator's Introduction	Michael G. Hill	--	
China from Empire to Nation-State	Wang Hui	Michael G. Hill	

China's Twentieth Century. Edited by Saul Thomas. London and New York: Verso, 2016.

Essay title	Author	Translator(s)	Remarks
Introduction	Wang Hui	Saul Thomas	
Revolution and Negotiation (1911-13): The Awakening of Asia at the Beginning of China's Twentieth Century	"	Chen Xiangjing	
The Transformation of Culture and Politics: War, Revolution and the "War of Ideas" in the 1910s	"	Anne Chao	An earlier version of this chapter was previously published in English as "The Transformation of Culture and Politics: War, Revolution, and the 'Thought Warfare' of the 1910s," *Twentieth Century China* 38, no. 1 (January 2013).

Chapter Title		Translator	Note
From People's War to the War of International Alliance (1949-53): The War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea from the Perspective of Twentieth-Century Chinese History	"	Guo Jin	
The Crisis of Representation and Post-Party Politics	"	Guo Jin, Yin Zhiguang	An earlier version of this chapter was previously published in English as "The Crisis of Representativeness and Post-Party Politics," *Modern China* 40, no. 2 (March 1, 2014).
Two Kinds of New Poor and their Future: The Decline and Reconfiguration of Class Politics and the Politics of the New Poor	"	Saul Thomas	
Three Concepts of Equality	"	Lewis Hinchman and Chris Connery	
The Equality of All Things and Trans-Systemic Society	"	Lewis Hinchman and Chris Connery	
(Appendix) Contradiction, Systemic Crisis and Direction for Change: An Interview with Wang Hui	"	Yan Hairong and Saul Thomas	

APPENDIX 4: Essays by Wang Hui translated into English and published by European and North American journals, by disciplinary area (1994–2018)*

Year	Articles		China- or Asia-related special issue of non Area Studies publications
	Area Studies publications	Non Area Studies publications	
1994		●"Etymologies: Is the Public Sphere Unspeakable in Chinese? Can Public Spaces (*gongong kongjian*) Lead to Public Spheres?" Co-authored with Leo Oufan Lee, and Michael M. J. Fischer. *Public Culture*, vol. 6, issue 3: 598–605.[1]	
1995	●"The Fate of 'Mr. Science' in China: The Concept of Science and Its Application in Modern Chinese Thought." *positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 3 (1): 1–68.	●"Humanism as the Theme of Chinese Modernity." *Surfaces*, vol. V, 202 (online, two parts). Available at: https://doi.org/10.7202/1064992ar	
1996	●"Zhang Taiyan: The Individual and Modern Identity in China." *The Stockholm Journal of East Asian Studies*, no. 7.		
1998	●"PRC Cultural Studies and Cultural Criticism in the 1990s." *positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 6 (1): 239–251.	●"Local Forms, Vernacular Dialects and the War of Resistance against Japan: The 'National Forms' Debate" (two parts). *UTS Review*, vol. 4 (1): 25–41 & vol. 4 (2): 27–56.	●"Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity." *Social Text*, 55 (Summer 1998): 9–44.
1999	●"Democracy and Socialism in Republican China: The Politics of Zhang Junmai (Carsun Chang), 1906-1941." *Journal of Asian Studies*, 58 (3): 803–804.		
2000		●"Fire at the Castle Gate." *New Left Review*, no. 6 (November-December 2000): 68–99.	

Year	Publications
2002	• "Political Failure and the Necessity for Global Democracy." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 3 (1): 139–144.
2004	• "The Year 1989 and the Historical Roots of Neoliberalism in China." *positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 12 (1): 7–70.
2006	• "Depoliticized Politics, Multiple Components of Hegemony, and the Eclipse of the Sixties." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 7 (4): 683–700. • "Depoliticized Politics: From East to West." *New Left Review*, 41 (September-October 2006): 29–45.
2007	• "The Politics of Imagining Asia: A Genealogical Analysis." *Inter Asia Cultural Studies*, 8 (1): 1–33. • "Dead Fire Rekindled." *Boundary 2*, 1 August 2007; 34 (3): 1–21.
2008	• "The Liberation of the Object and the Interrogation of Modernity: Rethinking The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought." *Modern China*, 34 (1): 114–140. • "Scientific Worldview, Culture Debates, and the Reclassification of Knowledge in Twentieth-century China." *Boundary 2*, 1 May 2008; 35 (2): 125–155.
2010	• "The Idea of Asia and Its Ambiguities." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 69 (4): 985–989.
2011	• "Jia Zhangke's World and China's Great Transformation." Translated by Nathaniel Proctor. *positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 19 (1): 217–228. • "The Concept of 'Science' in Modern Chinese Thought." *Journal of Modern Chinese History*, 5 (1): 45–68. • "The Voices of Good and Evil: What Is Enlightenment? Rereading Lu Xun's 'Toward a Refutation of Malevolent Voices.'" *boundary 2*, 38 (2): 67–123. • "The Dialectics of Autonomy and Opening." *Critical Asian Studies*, 43 (2): 237–260.

Year		
2012	●"Is a New Internationalism Possible?" Translated by Tani Barlow. *positions: Asia Critique*, 20 (1): 385–388. ●Wang Hui (2012). "A Dialogue on The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought: Liberating the Object and an Inquiry into the Modern." Translated by Tani Barlow. *positions: Asia Critique*, 20 (1): 287–306.	●"The Movement in Egypt: A Dialogue with Samir Amin (with Wang Hui, Wen Tiejun, Lau Kin Chi)." *Boundary 2*, 39 (1): 167–206.
2013	●"The Transformation of Culture and Politics: War, Revolution, and the 'Thought Warfare' of the 1910s". *Twentieth-Century China*, 38 (1): 5–33.	
2014	●"The Crisis of Representativeness and Post-Party Politics." *Modern China* 40 (2): 214–39.	
2017	●Wang Hui (2017). "Humanities in China." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 37 (1): 173–176.	●"The Prophecy and Crisis of October: How to Think about Revolution after the Revolution." *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 116 (4): 669–706.

*Sources: "Wang Hui zhuyao zhushu biannian" (汪晖主要著述编年). In: He Jixian & Zhang Xiang (2014: 406-28). References have been checked, corrected, and updated by consulting the databases JStor, Project Muse, Web of Science, and Google Scholar.

APPENDIX 5: Reviews of Wang Hui's books in English (2003-2018) published in Anglophone journals (by disciplinary area)*

Year	Area/China Studies publication	Non Area/China Studies publication	China- or Asia-related special issue of non Area Studies publication
2004	"*China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition*, by Wang Hui, Theodore Huters." Review by: Yan Sun *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 63, No. 4 (Nov., 2004), pp. 1116–1118.		
	"*China's New Order: Society, Politics and Economy in Transition*, by Wang Hui." Review by: Xiaoming Huang *China Review International*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Fall 2004), pp. 493–497.		
2005		"*China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition*, by Wang Hui." Review by: Ian Seckington *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 81, No. 2, Sub-Saharan Africa (Mar., 2005), pp. 483–484.	
	"*China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition*, by Wang Hui, Theodore Huters." Review by: Barrett McCormick *The China Journal*, No. 55 (Jan., 2006), pp. 146–148.		
2006	"*China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy*, by Wang Hui, Theodore Huters." Review by: Yiching Wu *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (Winter, 2006/2007), pp. 665–667.		
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