

ORCA's Global Conference on New Sinology (GCNS) 2023

25th - 26th September 2023

Venue: The Grand, New Delhi

Theme: Beijing's Superpower Ambitions in the 'New Era'

At the 19th National Party Congress, Party Secretary Xi Jinping announced the beginning of a “new era” which was to be driven by “socialism with Chinese characteristics”. The 20th National Party Congress has seen that mandate renewed amidst Xi’s international, regional, and domestic ambitions to build China into a global superpower – and the CPC into a global ‘super-party’. Countries across the world see this ambition with alarm, especially as China inches closer to creating an alternative global order: *pax-Sinica* to replace *pax-Americana*. With China attempting to facilitate a transition from great power to superpower in an increasingly multipolar world, signs of this ambitious transition are visible in China’s domestic and international posturing. To glean how China is preparing for the “new era”, this conference will bring together the finest minds in Sinology to analyse the trajectory of China’s rise and its path to superpower status. The conference will cover how Beijing’s assertive foreign policy is evolving to secure its numerous interests around the world while projecting a benign image of itself. It will also explore how inner workings of the party that influence provincial governance and elite politics will guide China's engagement with the international system. As China’s economy rediscovers the road to recovery, the conference will explore the ways in which economies can manage the complexities of trade and investment with China while looking for alternatives to Chinese manufacturing. China’s military - one of the most critical variables in China’s superpower ambitions - will be discussed to examine the potential for conflict and confrontation. The Global Conference on New Sinology will bring experts of all ages, from diverse academic backgrounds and from around the world, to New Delhi for an objective and comprehensive assessment of China’s superpower ambitions and responses to Beijing’s hegemonic rise.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE: DAY 1

8:30 AM - 9:00 AM — *REGISTRATION*

(Open All Day)

9:00 AM - 9:15 AM — *OPENING REMARKS*

by Ms. Eerishika Pankaj,

Head of Research and Operations Director

at Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA)

9:15 AM - 9:45 AM — *OPENING ADDRESS*

Amb. Shyam Saran (TBC)

Navigating India's Way Amidst Beijing's

Global Ambitions

9:45 AM - 10:30 AM: *Morning Tea*

10:30 AM - 1:30 PM

SESSION I

HOW CHINA SEES THE WORLD?

10:30 AM – 11:30 AM

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

**How Chinese Think-Tanks View
India and the World?**

Access to Chinese scholarship and strategic thinking remains limited outside China. These think tanks are closely connected to the CPC and governmental infrastructure as a whole, with scholars being confidantes of officials in power. The aim of this talk will be to give the audience an

opportunity to understand how think tanks in China analyse global and regional developments with a special focus on India. The speaker is a seasoned Chinese scholar from a reputed think-tank/research centre in mainland China who will present how the Chinese strategic community analyses foreign policy challenges and how relations with India are conceptualised.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. Lin Minwang	How Chinese Think-Tanks View India and the World?	Deputy Director of the Center for South Asian Studies, Fudan University and Assistant to Dean and researcher of Institute of International Studies, Fudan University

11:00 AM – 12:30 PM	ROUNDTABLE	China's Evolving Foreign Policy Approaches across Regions: The Next 5 Years
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During the Xi Jinping era, China's foreign policy has been generally characterised under the broad umbrella of Wolf Warrior diplomacy. Although 'wolf warrior' diplomats assertively push Beijing's policy line in their countries of deployment, China's foreign policy agenda remains varied across regions in the service of diverse objectives which continue to evolve in an uncertain international environment. For the next five years under Xi Jinping, China's foreign policy will reflect his superpower ambitions to cultivate influence, project power and ensure China's primacy in the international system. This roundtable brings together scholars specialising in Central Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, West Asia, South-East Asia, North and East Asia and Polynesia

to decode Beijing's foreign policy strategies in their respective sub-regions.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Amb. Anil Wadhwa (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> South Asia and Xi's Wolf Warrior Diplomacy <u>Closing Remarks:</u> Bring Together Core Principles and Common Threads Guiding Chinese Foreign Policy across Regions	Former Ambassador and Distinguished Fellow at Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF)
Dr. Swasti Rao	China's Balancing Act on Europe: Between Cooperation and Competition?	Associate Fellow at the Europe and Eurasia Center, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
Dr. Anuradha Chenoy	A New Foray into an Old Backyard: Creating Eurasia with Chinese Characteristics	Former Dean at School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
Dr. Renu Modi	Chinese and Indian Charm Offensive in Africa	Former Director of the Centre for African Studies, University of Mumbai

Lucas Myers	Beijing's Systemic Confrontation with North America: <i>Pax Sinica</i> vs <i>Pax Americana</i>	Senior Associate for Southeast Asia at the Asia Program, Wilson Center, Washington DC
Kabir Taneja	China's Evolving Peace Diplomacy in West Asia: Advancing Interests and Cultivating Image	Fellow with the Strategic Studies program at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi
Dr. Li Mingjiang	China's Smart Power Strategy in Southeast Asia	Associate Professor and Provost's Chair in International Relations at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore
Dr. Hideshi Tokuchi	Caution and Contention: China's Northeast and East Asian Foreign Policy Ambitions	Senior Fellow for GRIPS Alliance

Mihai Sora	China's Polynesia Bid: Jockeying for Influence and Allies	Research Fellow in the Pacific Islands Program at the Lowy Institute and Project Director of the Aus-PNG Network
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12:35 PM – 1:30 PM	PANEL	China's Approach to Regional and International Multilateralism
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China's engagement with the international order is increasingly characterised by attempts to revise the rules and norms of existing regional and multilateral institutions, while also creating new ones. This panel will seek to explore the ways in which Beijing engages with international platforms to secure its interests and its creation of China-led institutionalism. Beijing's vision for global leadership has manifested in the form of nascent initiatives such as the Global Security Initiative, Global Development initiative and the Global Civilisation Initiative. Beijing's promotion of such initiatives is an attempt to create a China-led global order. These institutions aim to promote norms that regulate security, development, and global governance in the same way that US-led institutions have shaped the international system. China's initiatives are designed to appeal to countries of the global south, gain a large membership and ultimately institute a new global order to replace the current rules-based order. Scholars on this panel will detail Beijing's participation in financial, non-financial regional and global Bretton Woods Institutions. It will cover China's motive for its engagements in these institutions, its practices that indicate revisionist tendencies, and the effectiveness of these strategies to further its superpower ambitions.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
TBC (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> China's Revision of Existing Institutional Rules and Multilateral Norms <u>Closing Remarks:</u> Creation of China-led Institutionalism	
Dr. Jagannath Panda	Advancing Financial Multilateralism and Regional Security: AIIB, SCO and More	Head of the Stockholm Center for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs (SCSA-IPA) at the Institute for Security & Development Policy, Sweden
Dr. Swaran Singh	Designed to Appeal: The Global South as Audience and Buyer	Professor for Diplomacy and Disarmament at Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament (CIPOD), School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
	Beijing's Vision for Global Leadership:	Professor of Chinese and China Studies at the Centre

Dr. B. R. Deepak	Planting Nascent Initiatives for Creating a China-led Order	of Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
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1:30 PM - 2:30 PM: *Lunch*

2:30 PM - 5:30 PM	<p align="center"><u>SESSION II</u></p> <p align="center">HOW CHINA KEEPS ITSELF - AND ITS INTERESTS- SAFE?</p>
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2:30 PM – 3:20 PM	ROUNDTABLE	China’s Military Industrial Complex: Shaping the 2027 Centennial
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The development of indigenous industrial capabilities for arms and wartime equipment is a key aspect of China’s modernisation program. The role of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) in this regard is a critical element for the success of military and strategic objectives set out by Xi Jinping. This roundtable will examine the role and operation of these SOEs in the modernisation of China’s military. The scholars in this roundtable will cover military-civil fusion (MCF), the modernisation process in all three branches of China’s armed forces, particularly the Chinese Navy, as well as its support services like the Rocket Forces and Strategic Support Force.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
TBC (Moderator)	<u>Opening and Closing Remarks:</u> Xi's Emphasis on Developing Indigenous Industrial Capabilities for the Defence Sector	
Dr. Amrita Jash	The Party's Army: CMC and its Aspirations for the PLA	Assistant Professor at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education.
Dr. Manpreet Sethi	Strategic Support and Rocket Force in China's Security Calculus	Distinguished Fellow at the Centre for Air Power Studies, and Senior Research Advisor, APLN
Dr. Li Nan	Backbone of Warfighting: The Industries Modernising China's Armed Forces	Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore
Air Marshal	Modernising the Dragon's Flight:	Founder Chairman and President of The Peninsula

M Matheswaran	PLAAF in the 2027 Centennial	Foundation (TPF)
Capt. Kamlesh Agnihotri	Tracking China's Naval Modernisation: Capacity vs Capability	Senior Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation (NMF)

3:30 PM – 4:20 PM	PANEL	Future of India-China Border Dispute
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Post-Galwan, bilateral relations between India and China have deteriorated sharply after the Galwan clash. The inability to resolve the standoff reveals the increasingly hardened positions taken by both countries under the leadership of their ‘strongman’, populist leaders. Beijing’s unwillingness to restore the status quo and its repeated attempts to project normalcy at the border indicate its unwillingness to reach an amicable solution. This panel will assess the evolving complexities of India-China border relations, their impact on regional stability/security and how the next five years of conflict are poised to evolve. Experts on this panel will aim to cover the build-up of troops, infrastructure and equipment, discuss the respective negotiating positions and tactics of both sides and how the border will shape the future of the India-China bilateral.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
TBC	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> Strongman Politics and	

(Moderator)	Populist Leadership Styles: Impact on Border <u>Closing Remarks:</u> An Altered Status Quo - Search for a 'New Normal'	
Lt Gen Praveen Bakshi	Infrastructure Contours: Road to Parity Along the LAC	25th General Officer- Commanding-in- Chief Eastern Command of the Indian Army
Manoj Joshi	Extra-Regional Factors Influencing the Border Dispute: From Quad to Taiwan and Beyond	Distinguished Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF)
Air Marshal Anil Chopra	Tipping the Scales: IAF's Role in Securing Borders	Director General of Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS)
Amb. Ashok Kantha	Offering Reciprocity, Countering Asymmetry: The Next Five Years	Former Ambassador of

		India to China
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4:30 PM - 5:20 PM	EXPERTS' DIALOGUE	China's Tech Military Footprint in the Indo-Pacific and East Asia
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China's growing military footprint in the maritime and continental domains have caused greater security concerns for countries in and around the Indo-Pacific region. Driven by Beijing's ambitions, its military has sought to expand its overall presence using technology in ways that continually threaten the stability of the Indo-Pacific and challenge US military power in the region. The expert dialogue will explore the ways in which Beijing is reshaping the maritime security architecture through its technological capabilities in the Indo-Pacific, the Taiwan Strait and the Korean Peninsula. It will cover issues pertaining to ISR activities by submarines, the use of subsea cables, network centric warfare, and other technological instruments of power projection.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Cmd. C. Uday Bhaskar (Moderator)	Opening Remarks: PLAN's Emerging Tech Maritime-Military Footprint Closing Remarks: Implications of Beijing Re-shaping the Maritime Security Architecture Using Technology	Director of the Society for Policy Studies (SPS)

Dr. Vijay Sakhuja	Indian Ocean Region - Technology in China's Maritime Power Projection - Intelligence Gathering with Submarines, Surveillance Activity with Ships -Subsea Internet Cables	Director School of Maritime, Coastal Security and Law, from Rashtriya Raksha University (RRU), India
Dr. Shinji Yamaguchi	Chinese Activities in South China Sea, East China Sea, Korean Peninsula and Taiwan Straits - A2D2 - Hybrid Warfare - Net-centric Warfare - C4	Senior Research Fellow in the Regional Studies Department of the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Ministry of Defense, Japan

5:30 PM – 6:00 PM: *Evening Tea*

6:00 PM – 7:30 PM

SPECIAL SESSIONS
(INVITE ONLY)

6:00 PM - 6:30 PM	SPECIAL ADDRESS	Tibet and Buddhism in the India-China Complexities
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India has been the political refuge, synonymous with ‘home’, of the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Buddhists for over six decades. India is currently housing the fifth generation of Tibetan refugees, and the political asylum granted to them remains one of the most politically relevant actions taken by the Indian government till date in determining the future of Delhi’s bilateral relations with Beijing. Post 1950, for the first time in history, India shared a tempestuous and undefined border with China as Tibet was no longer a buffer zone. Since then, China's military presence and infrastructure development in Tibet, as well as plans to divert rivers that flow into India, have increased India's apprehension while Beijing has become increasingly conscious of the ‘Tibet’ card that Delhi can use in the case of accentuated/prolonged conflict along the border. This special address will examine the geopolitical importance of the ‘Tibet Question’ in the India-China complexity; it will elaborate on the unique strategic importance of the monastic institutions along the border, the growing call for respecting ‘One India’ in tandem with ‘One China’, the PLA in Tibet and the Himalayan water politics that are key variables shaping dialogue and confidence-building between India and China along the LAC.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Claude Arpi	Tibet and Buddhism in the India-China Complexities	Distinguished Fellow, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar University, Delhi.

6:30 PM - 7:30 PM	SPECIAL PANEL I	India in the Future of the Quad
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The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) has since its revival in 2017 gained significant momentum in the security calculus of the Indo-Pacific region. ‘The Spirit of the Quad’ for the first time brought the four member countries of the grouping together on an equitable if not equal footing vis-a-vis their aspirations for the grouping's future. Nonetheless, the ‘like-minded’ democracies of the Quad have divergences wherein national interest tends to supersede their ‘shared vision’ for a free and open Indo-Pacific. China has repeatedly reduced the grouping to US-led bloc politics that follows a ‘Cold War mentality’, fearing it as a precursor to an Asian NATO. Nonetheless, the scope and influence of the Quad has continued to grow, albeit with pressing challenges not just outside but within the grouping. With Japan and Australia being US alliance partners, India’s continued commitment to non-alignment has emerged as both a boon and bane for the Quad. This unique panel – with insights from both leading Quad scholars and the diplomats tasked with communicating their government’s decisions to partner states – will seek to bridge the gap between scholarship and policymaking. India’s role, in particular, will become clearer and more pronounced as scholarship and policy-implementers converge to discuss how Quad states can engage in more effective policy coordination.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. Jagannath Panda (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> India's Expectations of the Quad <u>Closing Remarks:</u> The Challenges Within and Prospects for the Future	Head of the Stockholm Center for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs (SCSA-IPA) at the Institute for Security & Development Policy, Sweden

TBC	US and Its Expectations from the Quad	
Neil Thomas	India in US's Quad Paradigm	Fellow for Chinese Politics at Asia Society Policy Institute's Center for China Analysis
TBC	Australia and Its Expectations from the Quad	
Ben Scott	India in Australia's Quad Paradigm	Senior Advisor at the Australian National University's National Security College
TBC	Japan's and Its Expectations from the Quad	
Dr. Hideshi Tokuchi	India in Japan's Quad Paradigm	Senior Fellow for GRIPS Alliance

8:00 PM onwards: *Dinner (Invite Only)*

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE: DAY 2

8:30 AM - 9:00 AM — REGISTRATION

(Open All Day)

9:00 AM - 1:30 PM	<u>SESSION III</u> CHINA IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: DEEPENING OR DECOUPLING?
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9:00 AM - 10:00 AM	PANEL	10 Years of BRI and the ‘Silk’ Roads Ahead
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2023 marks the 10-year anniversary of the BRI project. Erstwhile the One Belt One Road, the BRI has evolved expansively in the past decade: from being the world’s most ambitious infrastructure development aid project, it now comprises several ‘Silk Roads’ that focus on infrastructure in sectors like digital, healthcare, the Arctic region and more. These vectors of development-focused diplomacy provide finance for global public goods and connectivity infrastructure. At the same time, China has cultivated political and commercial leverage across the Global South not just in the form of debts but also through other subtle means. This panel of experts will deliberate on the future prospects of the BRI, Chinese domestic stakeholders in BRI and how it operates as an extension of China’s broadening political and economic influence over the world. It will also assess the impact of China’s BRI diplomacy on the recipient country’s foreign policy, economy and general behaviour on the international stage.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
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TBC (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> 10-year Anniversary of the BRI Project: What Has it Meant for the World? <u>Closing Remarks:</u> Future of BRI Under Xi: The Next 5 Years	
Lucas Myers	Strategic Implications of BRI Projects in India's Neighbourhood: Case Study of Myanmar	Senior Associate for Southeast Asia at the Asia Program, Wilson Center, Washington DC
TBC	Extended Arms of Influence: Health, Digital, Arctic and More	
Sanjay Pulipaka	The Leverage of Development Finance: Influencing Recipient Countries	Chairperson of the Politeia Research Foundation
Dr. Li Mingjiang	Domestic Actors of Global BRI	Associate Professor and Provost's Chair in International Relations at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological

		University (NTU), Singapore.
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10:00 AM - 10:30 AM: <i>Morning Tea</i>
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10:30 AM – 11:45 AM	ROUNDTABLE	Realistic Alternatives to Chinese Supply Chain Dominance
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China’s 20eaponization of trade and supply chains has prompted the relocation of manufacturing and production lines to countries in South and South-East Asia. The ‘China Plus One’ strategy adopted by several multinational businesses is the first response to calls for diversification of supply chains away from China. Yet, most businesses continue to rely on China for supply and production of key materials and goods, which suggests a continued deepening of China’s integration into global supply chains. Nonetheless, limited decoupling from China has created economic opportunities for countries like Vietnam, Bangladesh and India. Although this strategy has been only partially successful largely due to China’s constant efforts to prevent decoupling, other Asian countries have accelerated their efforts to attract more businesses. For instance, India is unable to take full advantage of this flight of investment in manufacturing from China but has taken steps via the creation of ventures like SCRI to promote sustainable diversification. This panel will identify the reasons for the limited success of the China Plus One strategy and further ideate potential policy changes that can be adopted by countries in China’s neighbourhood to emerge as a sustainable alternative for China.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
TBC (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> Appraisal of the ‘China Plus One’ <u>Closing Remarks:</u> Realistic Solutions to Emerging as a Sustainable Alternative to China	
TBC	Protecting Its Own: How China is Preparing Against Diversification	
Kristy Hsu Tsun-Tzu	Levelling the Field: Holistic Approaches to Global Semiconductor Supply Chains	Director of the Taiwan ASEAN Studies Center, Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research, Taiwan
Dr. Rupa Chanda	Evaluating India’s Stake in the China Plus One Strategy: Make in India, PLI and SCRI	Director of Trade, Investment and Innovation, UNESCAP
Ujal Singh Bhatia	Gaining at China’s Expense: Trade Pacts in South-East Asia’s Opportunity	India’s Former Permanent Representative to the WTO

Dr. S P Sharma	An Industrialist's Perspective: Practical Challenges to Decoupling	Chief Economist at PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi

11:50 AM - 1:40 PM	PANEL	Critical Tech in Chinese Economy
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Technological self-reliance has been identified by President Xi and the Party as a key objective for “sanctions proofing” the Chinese economy. Beijing’s shrinking access to critical foreign technologies and growing confrontations with the US have placed technologies like AI, quantum computing, etc. at the heart of the drive for self-reliance. It has enhanced the importance of science and technology sectors in future growth and development of the economy as well. From connectivity infrastructure like aviation technologies and high-speed rail to smart manufacturing tools like robotics and IoT, the future of China’s industrial capacity relies on reducing its dependence on foreign technologies in these sectors. This panel will discuss and analyse the progress made by China in attaining self-reliance and the implications for economic growth. The panellists will cover developments in China’s smart manufacturing, connectivity infrastructure, digital economy and renewable energy sectors and how it impacts China’s economic growth prospects.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
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<p>TBC (Moderator)</p>	<p><u>Opening</u> <u>Remarks:</u> Technological Self-reliance in “Sanctions Proofing” the Chinese Economy <u>Closing</u> <u>Remarks:</u> Implications of Self-sufficiency Efforts for Economic Growth</p>	
<p>Rana Divyank Chaudhary</p>	<p>Indigenous Developments in China’s Smart Manufacturing: MIC 2025</p>	<p>Research Fellow, Centre for Contemporary China Studies (CCCS), New Delhi</p>
<p>Lydia Powell</p>	<p>The Race Towards Self- Sufficiency: From Solar to Lithium</p>	<p>Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation</p>
<p>Dr. Aravind Yelery</p>	<p>Crackdown on Chinese Tech Companies: Reining in the Digital Economy</p>	<p>Associate Professor at the Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi</p>
<p>Amb. Smita Purushottam</p>	<p>China's Indigenisation and Standardisation of Digital</p>	<p>Founder of Science, Indigenous Technology &</p>

	Connectivity Infrastructure: The Case of Information Communication Technology (ICT)	Advanced Research Accelerator (SITARA)
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12:45 PM – 1:30 PM	SPECIAL PANEL II	Future of China Studies in India
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The study of China in India has expanded to reflect the strategic competition between the two Asian powers. So far, most academic research has focused on China’s foreign policy and bilateral relations, but there is a need for more research to understand how domestic factors influence China’s foreign policy and international behaviour. Additionally, Western sources and lenses have dominated the analysis of China, which has produced insights of limited value for Indian policymakers. The panel will discuss how to fill the gaps in contemporary China studies in India by focusing on language, Chinese sources and interdisciplinary research methods.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
TBC (Moderator)	Opening Remarks: Beyond a Western Lens: Conceptualising the New Age of Indian Sinology Closing Remarks: Stronger Bonds: Integrating Academia and Policy Making	

Dr. Avijit Banerjee	Mastering the Pictorial Script for Understanding Political Psyche	Professor & Head of the Department of Chinese Language & Culture Visva-Bharati University
Dr. Rajiv Ranjan	Integrating Interdisciplinary Research Methodologies in the Study of China	Assistant Professor of Chinese Studies, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi and Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi
Dr. Ritu Agarwal	Beyond the Popular Narratives: Study of Provincial China	Associate Professor at Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, at Jawaharlal Nehru University
Dr. Sriparna Pathak	Reading Between the Lines: Effective Use of Secondary Sources amidst	Assistant Professor at Jindal School of

	Tense	Ties	International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University
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1:30 PM - 2:30 PM: *Lunch*

2:30 PM - 4:45 PM	<p><u>SESSION IV</u></p> <p>HOW DOES THE PRINCE GOVERN CHINA: BETWEEN POLICY AND POLITICS?</p>
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2:30 PM - 3:15 PM	EXPERTS' DIALOGUE	An Appraisal of One Year of the 'Prince' and His Men
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The 20th National Party Congress and the 14th National People's Congress have strengthened Xi Jinping's control over the Communist Party of China (CPC). His authority has been cemented further through personnel appointments, a widespread anti-corruption campaign and constitutional changes. Despite the overwhelming control Xi exerts over the Party, challenges to his rule and implementation of policies are expected to punctuate his next five years as the General Secretary. Surrounded by "yes men", policy making by Xi has taken on a personalistic approach and voices challenging this approach have all been marginalised. This panel will analyse how governance has been undertaken over the last year, how it will continue to take place in such an environment and

how Party politics will evolve in the face of greater personalisation of rule over China.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
TBC (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> How to Go about Predicting <u>Closing Remarks:</u> How Party Politics Will Evolve in the Face of Greater Personalisation of Rule	
Dr. Li Nan	<ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ Party Control over Military➤ External Factors Affecting Internal Behaviour,➤ CMC Posturing in Conflict Areas - Taiwan, South China Sea➤ Civil-Military Relations	Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore
TBC	<ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ Party Personnel and Politburo➤ Reviewing X's New Economics Team➤ Comparison between 2nd and 3rd term➤ Anti-corruption Campaign➤ Constitutional Changes➤ Personalistic Rule➤ Factions	

	➤ Technocracy	
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3:20 PM - 3:50 PM	KEYNOTE ADDRESS	Unlocking China's 'Secret' Service
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The opaque and murky world of China's Intelligence Services (CIS) demands greater attention from scholars and policymakers. Their operation, initially at home and then increasingly abroad, has acquired an extrajudicial reach especially when intelligence gathering and counter-intelligence is taking on heightened importance. This keynote sheds light on the elusive world of Chinese espionage; a network of institutions and personnel that constitute one of the world's largest and yet understudied spy networks. The keynote address will cover the reorganisation of the Secret Service and its activities under Xi Jinping; how it connects to China's ambitions for superpower status; and how the spy network performs the task of maintaining Party primacy.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Jayadeva Ranade	Networks, Personnel, and Tactics of CIS (Chinese Intelligence Services)	Member of the National Security Advisory Board and President of the Centre for China Analysis and Strategy (CCAS)

3:55 PM - 4:45 PM	PANEL	Policy Implementation at the Provincial Level
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Xi Jinping's personalistic approach in promoting personnel has made provincial leaders more risk averse as they attempt to appease him and secure political promotions. As a consequence, this has dampened experimentation in provincial level policymaking, reducing the significance of variations in local conditions like economic development, demographics, and resource endowment across provinces. Moreover, policy implementation by provincial leaders is increasingly likely to reflect the emphasis on politics and ideological discipline at the expense of market-oriented reforms. This panel will cover how the diminishing scope of policy experimentation and implementation at the provincial level will influence China's ability to deftly navigate pressing demographic, economic and political challenges. The experts will cover how local leaders are managing China's waning demographic dividend, its shrinking fiscal space, burgeoning local government debt, growing youth unemployment and other pressing issues.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
TBC (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> <u>Closing Remarks:</u> Provincial Challenges Awaiting China	
Dr. Aravind Yelery	Balancing Private and State-Owned Enterprises at the Provincial Level	Associate Professor at the Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Dr. Bhim Subba	Signalling Loyalty: How Local Leaders are Becoming Risk-Averse	Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad
Dr. Ritu Agarwal	Rural Development to Tackle the Demographic Crisis: A Provincial Lens	Associate Professor at Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, at Jawaharlal Nehru University
Dr. Hemant Adlakha	Civil Society, Censorship and Managing Public Opinion in Provinces	Associate Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University

4:45 PM - 5:15 PM	KEYNOTE ADDRESS	The Party Post Xi
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Xi Jinping’s stronghold over China and the CPC in the last decade has grown at the cost of established norms for the succession of leaders. Personnel appointments made at the 20th Party Congress have revealed no potential heir-apparent to Xi, which creates greater uncertainties over how the Party will shape itself and China in the post-Xi period. Uncertainty over the future of China and the CPC under the leadership of anyone other than Xi Jinping puts to question the future of initiatives, norms and the overall vision of the ‘Chinese Dream’ that the current Party ‘Supremo’ has sold to his people – and the world. This will also have major implications for existing Chinese policies ranging from economy to international relations. This Special Keynote will ideate the future of China and the Party beyond Xi, focusing on the continuation –or departure– from the legacy Xi Jinping has worked hard to build.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Neil Thomas	Continuation – or Departure – from the Supremo's Legacy	Fellow for Chinese Politics at Asia Society Policy Institute's Center for China Analysis

5:15 PM - 5:30 PM — *CLOSING REMARKS*

by **Ms. Eerishika Pankaj**,
Head of Research and Operations Director
at Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA)

5:30 PM – 6:00 PM: *Evening Tea*