

25 &  
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SEP  
2023



ORGANISATION FOR RESEARCH ON  
**CHINA AND ASIA**

# GLOBAL CONFERENCE ON NEW SINOLOGY (GCNS) HANDBOOK

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NEW DELHI

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INTERCONNECTED EQUILIBRIUM

# ABOUT ORCA & GCNS

Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA) is a New Delhi-based non-partisan research institute producing policy-oriented analysis on contemporary Chinese domestic politics, foreign policy, economy, defense strategy and socio-cultural behavior. We are one of the few think-tanks in India that focus on domestic Chinese policy-making and how it shapes external actions by Beijing. We urge you to peruse our website (QR Code available on your ID Cards), to acquaint yourselves with our research outputs and ventures which range across special issues, dashboards, podcasts, infographics, articles, a daily newsletter and more.

The Global Conference on New Sinology (GCNS), which will hereon be ORCA's annual conference, aims to assemble the finest global minds in Sinology from diverse academic backgrounds to analyze and understand Chinese dreams and actions. The theme of the 2023 GCNS conference is 'Beijing's Superpower Ambitions in the 'New Era'. The conference deliberations will focus on strategies and policies deployed to advance Beijing's economic and international interests, project military power and enhance the Communist Party of China's (CPC) authority.

ORCA aims to make this conference the largest gathering of Indian and foreign new sinologists and practitioners dealing with China in various capacities. The conference will host five sessions, each focusing on a specific question that the deliberations within the same will seek to answer. The format of dialogue is divided across Panels, Roundtables, Keynote Addresses and Experts' Dialogues.



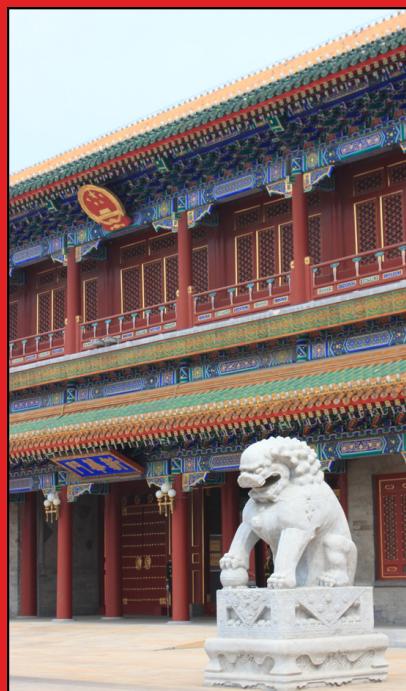
# THEME

## 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 rediscovered 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.



# MESSAGE FROM DIRECTOR



It is a pleasure for my team to host you at ORCA's inaugural GCNS. The idea of GCNS came to us in 2022, when we were discussing the need for a conference focusing on 'new' sinology in India. To us, such a gathering would assess the contemporary application of sinology that link together traditional focuses on culture, history and language to present-day understanding of defence, politics and security, all with China at its core. I am proud to say that ORCA - barely two years old and a 5-member team of under 30s - has managed to build such an esteemed gathering here in Delhi today, and I thank you for being a key part of it.

**Eerishika Pankaj**  
*Director, ORCA*

## Explaining our logos:

The GCNS logo represents the core value behind the tagline that accompanies it: *Interconnected Equilibrium*. It builds into the theme of a multipolar, interconnected world order symbolized by the globe in the logo, focusing most specifically on the dance between India and China. The emblems of Chinese and Indian flags are positioned within the Yin and Yang symbol, which as a Chinese philosophical concept describes opposite but interconnected forces, serving as a prudent phrase that describes China's relationship with India --and many other countries.

The ORCA logo builds on its namesake, orca, which is considered one of the deadliest mammals, while concurrently ranking as amongst one of the most intelligent species, on the planet. Orcas are also called 'Pandas of the Sea' —allowing a parallel to China's unofficial diplomats, the giant pandas. Furthermore, as orcas —despite being ferocious— only defend rather than attack and are known to be great at conflict resolution, our logo's mascot draws parallels to India's own strategic autonomy, no-attack policy and role as a promoter of peace and the rules-based order. The map of Asia with no country boundaries showcases the nuances of the region.



# MEET THE TEAM



## Rahul Karan Reddy

***Senior Research Associate***

Covering Party politics and China's foreign policy, Rahul specializes in data-driven research like dashboards, infographics and reports. Recently, he has built an India-China trade dashboard & conducted public opinion surveys on India & China in Nepal. Reach him @RahulKaranRedd1.



## Ahana Roy

***Research Associate and Chief Operations Officer***

A postgraduate in Political Science with International Relations from Jadavpur University, Ahana's areas of interest include non-traditional security studies with a focus on gender and sexuality studies, society and culture in East Asia. Reach out to her on Twitter @ahanaworks



## Omkar Bhole

***Research Associate***

A Chinese language student and postgraduate in China Studies from Somaiya University, Omkar focuses on China's foreign policy in Asia, CPC politics, its economic transformation and India-China economic relations at ORCA. Reach him @bhole\_omkar on Twitter.



## Ratish Mehta

***Research Associate***

A postgraduate in Global Studies from Ambedkar University, Delhi, Ratish's area of focus includes deconstructing political narratives in Global Affairs as well as focusing on India's Foreign Policy interests in the Global South and South Asia. Reach out to him on Twitter at @ratish\_mehta.

# SCHEDULE

## DAY 1 (25.9.23)

To read the theme behind each panel/roundtable/address/dialogue,  
please scan



### REGISTRATIONS

8:30 AM - 9:00 AM (OPEN ALL DAY)

### WELCOME REMARKS

9:00 AM - 9:15 AM

BY MS. EERISHIKA PANKAJ | Director, ORCA

### OPENING ADDRESS

9:15 AM - 9:45 AM

BY AMB. SHYAM SARAN (Former Foreign Secretary of India; former Chairman of National Security Advisory Board and current President of India International Centre)

Navigating India's Way Amidst Beijing's Global Ambitions

### MORNING TEA BREAK

9:45 AM - 10:30 AM

### SESSION 1

10:30 AM - 1:30 PM

### HOW CHINA SEES THE WORLD?

### KEYNOTE ADDRESS

10:30 AM - 11:00 AM

BY DR. LANCE LIANGPING GORE (Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore)

What Role Does The Party Apparatus Play in Foreign Policy-Making in China?

## ROUNDTABLE

11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

CHINA'S EVOLVING FOREIGN POLICY APPROACHES  
ACROSS REGIONS: THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

### MODERATED BY PROF. S. D. MUNI

Professor Emeritus, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University

- **Dr. Swasti Rao** (Associate Fellow at the Europe and Eurasia Center, MP-IDSA)  
China's Balancing Act on Europe: Between Cooperation or Competition?
- **Dr. Anuradha Chenoy** (Former Dean, School of International Studies, JNU)  
A New Foray into an Old Backyard: Creating Eurasia with Chinese Characteristics
- **Dr. Renu Modi** (Former Director, Centre for African Studies, University of Mumbai)  
Chinese and Indian Charm Offensive in Africa
- **Mr. Lucas Myers** (Senior Associate for Southeast Asia, Asia Program, Wilson Center)  
Beijing's Systemic Confrontation with North America: Pax Sinica vs Pax Americana
- **Mr. Kabir Taneja** (Fellow with the Strategic Studies program, ORF)  
China's Evolving Peace Diplomacy in West Asia: Advancing Interests and Cultivating Image
- **Dr. Temjenjenmeren Ao** (Associate Fellow, Southeast Asia & Oceania Centre, MP-IDSA)  
China's Smart Power Strategy in Southeast Asia
- **Prof. Hideshi Tokuchi** (President, Research Institute for Peace and Security)  
Caution and Contention: China's Northeast and East Asian Foreign Policy Ambitions
- **Dr. Johan Lagerkvist** (Director, Stockholm Center for Global Asia and Professor of Chinese Language and Culture, Stockholm University)  
Domestic Drivers of Chinese Foreign Policy

## PANEL DISCUSSION

12:35 PM - 1:30 PM

CHINA'S APPROACH TO REGIONAL AND  
INTERNATIONAL MULTILATERALISM

### MODERATED BY AMB. MANJEEV SINGH PURI

Former Ambassador/Deputy Permanent Representative of India to the UN

- **Dr. Jagannath Panda** (Head, Stockholm Center for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs, ISDP)  
Between Order and World Order: China's Drive for the Post-Bretton Woods Institutions
- **Dr. Swaran Singh** (Professor for Diplomacy and Disarmament, CIPOD, SIS, JNU)  
Designed to Appeal: The Global South as Audience and Buyer
- **Dr. Jabin T. Jacob** (Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Governance Studies, SNU)  
The BRI Scales Up: China's Three New Global Initiatives and Vision for Global Leadership

## LUNCH

1:30 PM - 2:30 PM

## SESSION 2

2:30 PM - 5:30 PM

## HOW CHINA KEEPS ITSELF - AND ITS INTERESTS- SAFE?

### ROUNDTABLE

2:30 PM - 3:20 PM

CHINA'S MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX:  
SHAPING THE 2027 CENTENNIAL

#### MODERATED BY MR. NITIN GOKHALE

Founder of StratNewsGlobal and BharatShakti

- **Dr. Amrita Jash** (Assistant Professor, Department of Geopolitics and IR, MAHE)  
The Party's Army: CMC and its Aspirations for the PLA
- **Dr. Manpreet Sethi** (Distinguished Fellow at CAPS and Senior Research Advisor, APLN)  
Strategic Support and Rocket Force in China's Security Calculus
- **Dr. Li Nan** (Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, NUS)  
Backbone of Warfighting: The Industries Modernising China's Armed Forces
- **Air Marshal M. Matheswaran** (Chairman and President of The Peninsula Foundation)  
Modernising the Dragon's Flight: PLAAF in the 2027 Centennial
- **Capt. Kamlesh Agnihotri** (Senior Fellow, National Maritime Foundation)  
Tracking China's Naval Modernisation: Capacity vs Capability

### PANEL DISCUSSION

3:30 PM - 4:20 PM

FUTURE OF INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

#### MODERATED BY AMB. BIREN NANDA

Former High Commissioner of India to Australia, ASEAN and Indonesia & Senior Fellow for Act East Diplomacy, DPG

- **Lt. Gen. Praveen Bakshi** (Former Eastern Army Commander and Distinguished Fellow, United Service Institution of India)  
Infrastructure Contours: Road to Parity along the LAC
- **Cmde. R. S. Vasan** (Director General, Chennai Centre for China Studies and Regional Director, National Maritime Foundation)  
Extra-Regional Factors Influencing the Border Dispute: From Quad to Taiwan and Beyond
- **Air Marshal Anil Chopra** (Director General, Centre for Air Power Studies)  
Tipping the Scales: IAF's Role in Securing Borders
- **Amb. Ashok Kantha** (India's former Ambassador to China)  
Offering Reciprocity, Countering Asymmetry: The Next Five Years

### EXPERTS' DIALOGUE

4:30 PM - 5:20 PM

CHINA'S TECH MILITARY FOOTPRINT IN THE  
INDO-PACIFIC AND EAST ASIA

#### MODERATED BY CMDE. C. UDAY BHASKAR

Director of the Society for Policy Studies (SPS)

- **Cmde. Anil Jai Singh** (Vice President & Head-Delhi branch, Indian Maritime Foundation)
- **Dr. Shinji Yamaguchi** (Senior Research Fellow, NIDS, Ministry of Defense, Japan)

## EVENING TEA BREAK

5:30 PM - 6:00 PM

## SPECIAL SESSIONS

6:00 PM - 7:30 PM

INVITATION BASED ENTRY ONLY

## SPECIAL ADDRESS

6:00 PM - 6:30 PM

BY **MR. CLAUDE ARPI** (Distinguished Fellow, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar University (SNU), Delhi)

TIBET AND BUDDHISM IN THE INDIA-CHINA COMPLEXITIES

## SPECIAL PANEL 1

6:30 PM - 7:30 PM

INDIA IN THE FUTURE OF THE QUAD

### MODERATED BY DR. JAGANNATH PANDA

Head, Stockholm Center for South Asian & Indo-Pacific Affairs, ISDP

- **Mr. Neil Thomas** (Fellow for Chinese Politics at ASPI's Center for China Analysis)  
*India in US's Quad Paradigm*
- **Amb. Biren Nanda** (Former High Commissioner of India to Australia, ASEAN and Indonesia & Senior Fellow for Act East Diplomacy, DPG)  
*India in Australia's Quad Paradigm*
- **Prof. Hideshi Tokuchi** (President, Research Institute for Peace and Security)  
*India in Japan's Quad Paradigm*
- **Prof. Chintamani Mahapatra** (Founder and Honorary Chairman of Kalinga Institute of Indo-Pacific Studies)  
*China's Responses to Quad: Past Present and Future*

## DINNER

7:30 onwards

# SCHEDULE

## DAY 2 (26.9.23)

To read the theme behind each panel/roundtable/address/dialogue,  
please scan



### REGISTRATIONS

8:30 AM - 9:00 AM (OPEN ALL DAY)

### SESSION 3

9:00 AM - 1:30 PM

CHINA IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: DEEPENING OR  
DECOUPLING?

### PANEL DISCUSSION

9:00 AM - 10:00 AM

10 YEARS OF THE BRI AND THE 'SILK' ROADS AHEAD

### MODERATED BY DR. RAJAT KATHURIA

Dean, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence

- **Mr. Lucas Myers** (Senior Associate for Southeast Asia, Asia Program, Wilson Center)
- Strategic Implications of BRI Projects in India's Neighborhood: Case Study of Myanmar
- **Ms. Namrata Hasija** (Research Fellow, Centre for China Analysis and Strategy)  
Extended Arms of Influence: Health, Digital, Arctic and More
- **Mr. Sanjay Pulipaka** (Chairperson, Politeia Research Foundation)  
The Leverage of Development Finance: Influencing Recipient Countries
- **Dr. Lance Liangping Gore** (Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, NUS)  
Domestic Actors of Global BRI

### MORNING TEA BREAK

10:00 AM - 10:30 AM

### ROUNDTABLE

10:30 AM - 11:45 AM

REALISTICS ALTERNATIVES TO CHINESE SUPPLY  
CHAIN DOMINANCE

### MODERATED BY DR. MADHU BHALLA

Former Professor and Head of the Department of East Asian Studies, Delhi University

- **Dr. D. Sunitha Raju** (Professor, Indian Institute of Foreign Trade)  
Protecting Its Own: How China is Preparing Against Diversification
- **Mr. Konark Bhandari** (Fellow with Carnegie India)  
Levelling the Field: Holistic Approaches to Global Semiconductor Supply Chains
- **Dr. Rupa Chanda** (Director of Trade, Investment and Innovation Division, UNESCAP)  
Evaluating India's Stake in the China Plus One Strategy: Make in India, PLI and SCRI
- **Amb. Ujal Singh Bhatia** (India's Former Permanent Representative to the WTO)  
Gaining at China's Expense: Trade Pacts in South-East Asia's Opportunity
- **Dr. S. P. Sharma** (Chief Economist at PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry)  
An Industrialist's Perspective: Practical Challenges to Decoupling

## PANEL DISCUSSION

11:50AM - 12:40 PM

### CRITICAL TECH IN CHINESE ECONOMY

#### MODERATED BY MR. M. R. SIVARAMAN IAS (RETD)

Former Revenue Secretary, Govt of India

- **Capt. (Dr.) Nitin Agarwala** (Senior Fellow, Centre for Joint Warfare Studies)  
Indigenous Developments in China's Smart Manufacturing: MIC 2025
- **Ms. Lydia Powell** (Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation)  
The Race Towards Self-Sufficiency: From Solar to Lithium
- **Dr. Aravind Yelery** (Associate Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, JNU)  
Crackdown on Chinese Tech Companies: Reining in the Digital Economy
- **Amb. Smita Purushottam** (India's Former Ambassador to Switzerland and Founder of Science, Indigenous Technology and Advanced Research Accelerator)  
China's Indigenisation and Standardisation of Digital Connectivity Infrastructure: The Case of Information Communication Technology

## SPECIAL PANEL II

12:45 PM - 1:30 PM

### FUTURE OF CHINA STUDIES IN INDIA

#### MODERATED BY AMB. VENU RAJAMONY

Professor of Diplomatic Practice, O.P. Jindal Global University and Former Amb. of India to Netherlands

- **Dr. Usha Chandran** (Assistant Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, JNU)  
Knowing China Through the Chinese Language
- **Dr. Rajiv Ranjan** (Faculty Member, Chinese Studies, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi)  
Integrating Interdisciplinary Research Methodologies in the Study of China
- **Dr. Ritu Agarwal** (Associate Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, JNU)  
Beyond the Popular Narratives: Study of Provincial China
- **Dr. Sriparna Pathak** (Associate Professor, Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University)  
Reading Between the Lines: Effective Use of Secondary Sources amidst Tense Ties

## LUNCH

1:30 PM - 2:30 PM

## SESSION 4

2:30 PM - 5:15 PM

HOW DOES THE PRINCE GOVERN CHINA:  
BETWEEN POLICY AND POLITICS?

### EXPERTS' DIALOGUE

2:30 PM - 3:15PM

AN APPRAISAL OF ONE YEAR OF THE 'PRINCE'  
AND HIS MEN

#### MODERATED BY MR. JAYADEVA RANADE

President, Centre for China Analysis and Strategy & Member of the National Security Advisory Board

- **Dr. Li Nan** (Visiting Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, NUS)
- **Dr. B. R. Deepak** (Professor, Centre of Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, JNU)

### KEYNOTE ADDRESS

3:20 PM - 3:50 PM

BY MR. JAYADEVA RANADE (President, Centre for China Analysis and Strategy & Member of National Security Advisory Board)

**Unlocking China's 'Secret' Service: Networks, Personnel, and Tactics of Chinese Intelligence Services**

### PANEL DISCUSSION

3:55 PM - 4:45 PM

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL

#### MODERATED BY DR. T.G. SURESH

Associate Professor, Centre for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences, JNU

- **Dr. Aravind Yelery** (Associate Professor at the Centre for East Asian Studies, JNU)  
*Balancing Private and State-Owned Enterprises at the Provincial Level*
- **Dr. Bhim Subba** (Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad)  
*Signalling Loyalty: How Local Leaders are Becoming Risk-Averse*
- **Dr. Ritu Agarwal** (Associate Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, JNU)  
*Rural Development to Tackle the Demographic Crisis: A Provincial Lens*
- **Dr. Hemant Adlakha** (Associate Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, JNU)  
*Civil Society, Censorship and Managing Public Opinion in Provinces*

### KEYNOTE ADDRESS

4:45 PM - 5:15 PM

BY MR. NEIL THOMAS (Fellow for Chinese Politics at ASPI's Center for China Analysis)

**The Party Post Xi - Continuation or Departure from the Supremo's Legacy**

### CLOSING REMARKS

5:15 PM - 5:30 PM

BY MS. EERISHIKA PANKAJ | Director, ORCA

### EVENING TEA BREAK

5:30 PM - 6:00 PM

# SPEAKER BIOS

*In alphabetical order*



**Dr. Amrita Jash** is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education (Institution of Eminence), India. Dr. Jash holds a PhD in Chinese studies and was a Pavate Fellow at the University of Cambridge. She has authored *The Concept of Active Defence in China's Military Strategy* (Pentagon Press, 2021). Her research interests are: China's foreign policy, Chinese military, security and strategic issues in China-India and China-Japan relations as well as the Indo-Pacific.

**Air Marshal Anil Chopra, PVSM, AVSM, VM, VSM (Retd.)**, is the Director General of Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS). He is a pioneer of Mirage-2000 fleet, has commanded a Mirage Squadron and the Aircraft and Systems Testing Establishment of the Indian Air Force (IAF). He was team leader of MiG-21 Upgrade (Bison) project in Russia. He commanded operational airbases in both Western and Eastern sectors. He was AOC J&K, ACAS (Inspections) and retired as Air Officer-in-charge Personnel (AOP). He has published over 500 articles on strategy, defence and Aerospace, and authored three books.



**Commodore Anil Jai Singh** is Vice President of the Indian Maritime Foundation and heads its Delhi branch. He is a veteran maritime strategist and submarine technology expert with 30 years of experience as a submariner in the Indian Navy and 11 years of senior leadership with a leading global undersea technology giant. He also served in the Directorates of Naval Plans and Submarine Acquisition at Naval Headquarters and was involved in drafting the Navy's 30-year submarine construction plan and the 15-year ship building plan.

**Dr. Anuradha Chenoy** is former dean at School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. She has written many books, monographs and articles in the domain of security studies, development studies and gender studies. She has held short term consultancies with the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNESCO, Action Aid International, UN Women, UN Peace keepers. She has also evaluated the work of organisations like Focus on the Global South and the Asia Europe People's Forum.



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**Dr. Aravind Yelery** is Associate Professor at the Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He was the MOFA Taiwan Fellow at the National Taiwan University, Taipei. He also worked at Peking University, Beijing/Shenzhen, as the Senior Research Fellow (Associate Professor Grade) and curated courses for PKU and other select universities globally and in India. In 2019, he won the Best Courseware Project Funds Award at Peking University. Yelery is also a visiting faculty at the Fudan School of Management, Shanghai.

**Ambassador Ashok Kantha** was Ambassador of India to China until January 2016. Prior to this, he was Secretary (East) at Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi with responsibility for about 65 countries in India's extended neighbourhood. His previous assignments include High Commissioner of India to Sri Lanka and Malaysia, Consul General in Hong Kong, Deputy Chief of Mission in Kathmandu (Nepal), and Joint Secretary (East Asia). In his diplomatic career spanning over 38 years, Amb. Kantha specialised in Asian affairs, with a particular focus on China.



**Dr. Bali R. Deepak** is Professor of Chinese and China Studies at the Centre of Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. He is recipient of many scholarships and awards including the prestigious Nehru and Asia Fellowship, and India-China Cultural Exchange fellowship. He is the author of several books including India and China 1904-2004: A Century of Peace and Conflict (2005), India-China Relations in first half of the Twentieth Century (2001); China: Agriculture, Countryside and Peasantry (2010), and many more.

**Dr. Bhim Subba** is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, and a visiting associate fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. He holds a PhD/M. Phil. from the University of Delhi and an MA from Jawaharlal Nehru University. Dr Subba is an Institute of Chinese Studies-Harvard-Yenching Institute China-India Doctoral Fellow; a Ford Student Fellow; and a recipient of the Confucius Institute Scholarship for Mandarin Language Training.



**Ambassador Biren Nanda** is former Ambassador of India to ASEAN & Senior Fellow for Act East Diplomacy, Delhi Policy Group. He served in the Indian Foreign Service from 1978 to 2015 and is a distinguished former career diplomat with extensive experience of working in East Asia. He has been India's High Commissioner to Australia; Ambassador to Indonesia, Timor Leste and the ASEAN; India's Deputy Chief of Mission in Tokyo and Consul General in Shanghai. He spent a total of ten years in China during his three terms as a diplomat in that country.

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**Commodore C. Uday Bhaskar** is currently the Director of the Society for Policy Studies (SPS), an independent think-tank based in New Delhi, India. Commodore Bhaskar is a retired military officer who served in the Indian Navy. He is one of India's leading experts and outspoken critics on security and strategic affairs. He has the rare distinction of being the head of three think tanks during his career – the earlier two being the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) and the National Maritime Foundation (NMF).

**Professor Chintamani Mahapatra** is the Founder and Honorary Chairman of Kalinga Institute of Indo-Pacific Studies. He is the Editor of Indian Foreign Affairs Journal (published by the Association of Indian Diplomats). He was a faculty at the School of International Studies of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), from May 1999 till May 2022. He served as Rector (Pro-Vice Chancellor) of JNU since March 2016 till 7 February 2022. Recently, he was Tagore Chair Professor at Yunnan University of China.



**Mr. Claude Arpi** is a Distinguished Fellow, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence (Delhi). He is an Overseas Citizen of India (OCI) born in 1949 in Angoulême, France. Claude Arpi earlier held the Field Marshal KM Cariappa Chair of Excellence from the United Service Institution of India (USI) for his research on the Indian Presence in Tibet 1947-1962 (in 4 volumes – Vij Publisher). He also contributed to the ORCAxISDP Special Issue "The Dalai Lama's Succession: Strategic Realities of the Tibet Question."

**Dr. D. Sunitha Raju** is a Professor of Economics and Chairperson (Research), Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, New Delhi. At IIFT, she is engaged in teaching, research & consultancy. Dr. Raju teaches the MBA, Executive MBA and Ph.D programmes at IIFT. She is also a faculty in specialized programmes for university teachers and research faculty developed by IIFT & other organizations. Her areas of expertise include Trade Policy Formulation & Evaluation, Agricultural Policy Analysis, WTO rules and Regulatory framework.



**Dr. Hemant Adlakha** is Associate Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He is Honorary Fellow and Vice chairperson with the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. His areas of research include political discourse in the PRC and modern Chinese Literature and Culture. He is a member of International Editorial Committee, International Society for Lu Xun Studies, Seoul (ROK). His co-translation of Lu Xun's prose poetry collection from Chinese into Hindi has been published by the NBT in November 2019.

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**Professor Hideshi Tokuchi** is President, Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS). He entered the Japan Defense Agency in 1979 as a civilian and assumed the position of the first Vice-Minister of Defense for International Affairs in 2014, until retiring from the Ministry of Defense in 2015. He taught Japan's national security policy at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS). He works as a Senior Fellow for GRIPS Alliance and Visiting Fellow for the Institute of International Relations, Sophia University.

**Dr. Jabin T. Jacob** is Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Governance Studies and Director, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence. He was formerly Fellow and Assistant Director at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, and Associate Editor of the journal China Report. He holds a PhD in Chinese Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University and has spent time as a student / researcher / faculty in Taiwan, France, and Singapore.



**Dr. Jagannath Panda** is Head of Stockholm Centre for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs (SCSA-IPA) at the Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP), Sweden. He is also Director for Europe-Asia Research Cooperation at Yokosuka Council on Asia-Pacific Studies (YCAPS); International Research Fellow at the Cannon Institute for Global Studies (CIGS) in Japan; Senior Fellow at East Asian Security Centre at Bond University, Australia; and a Senior Research Fellow at the Japan Forum for Strategic Studies (JFSS) and Senior Fellow at The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS).

**Mr. Jayadeva Ranade** is President of the Centre for China Analysis and Strategy (CCAS) and a Member of the National Security Advisory Board (NSAB). He is also a Member of the Core Group on China of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) and Distinguished Fellow at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi. He is an intelligence expert and a seasoned China analyst with almost 30 years experience in the field. He has been directly involved in formulation of policy at the highest levels in the Government of India.



**Dr. Johan Lagerkvist** teaches Chinese language and culture, and is the Director of Stockholm Center for Global Asia at the department of Political Science, Stockholm University. His main research interests include Chinese state-society relations, modern Chinese history, political culture, China's media system and internet politics, global governance, China's political economy and evolving role in 'South-South' co-operation.

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**Mr. Kabir Taneja** is a Fellow with Strategic Studies programme at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. His research focuses on India's relations with West Asia, specifically looking at the domestic political dynamics, terrorism, non-state militant actors and the general security paradigm of the region. Kabir has written extensively in The New York Times, The Hindu, Suddeutsche Zeitung, The Huffington Post, Politico, Quartz, The Wire, among others.

**Captain Kamlesh Kumar Agnihotri (Retd)** is a Senior Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation (NMF). Prior to this assignment, he was a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Joint Warfare Studies (CENJOWS), New Delhi, till his retirement in June 2021. He has earlier worked at the Maritime Doctrine and Concepts Centre (MDCC) at Mumbai in the Strategic Maritime Assessment Team (SMAT); where he carried out detailed measurement of China's maritime and naval capabilities relating specifically to the Chinese Navy's platforms.



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**Ambassador Manjeev Singh Puri** is Former Ambassador/Deputy Permanent Representative of India to the UN. He has served as Ambassador of India to the European Union, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Nepal. During his long diplomatic career, Ambassador Puri developed special expertise on multilateralism and the United Nations (UN). He was a lead negotiator for India at the UN on issues relating to the post 2015 development agenda, and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

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**Mr. Nitin Gokhale** owns and runs two important digital platforms, bharatshakti.in and StratNewsGlobal.com (stratnewsglobal.com). Gokhale has lived and reported from India's North-east for 23 years, writing and analysing various insurgencies in the region, been on the ground at Kargil in 1999 and also reported from Sri Lanka between 2006-2009. An alumni of the Asia-Pacific Centre for Security Studies in Hawaii, Gokhale now writes, lectures and analyses security and strategic matters in Indo-Pacific.

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**Commodore R. Seshadri Vasan**, Director General, Chennai Centre for China Studies (C3S), has a distinguished service of over 34 years in the Indian Navy and Coast Guard. His appointments include command of warships, two major air stations and a maritime air squadron. He has participated in the 1971 war and IPKF operations. He was also Chairman of Aeronautical Society of India, Chennai Charter, President of the Navy Foundation Chennai Chapter and the Director of the Asian Bureau of the World Border Police.

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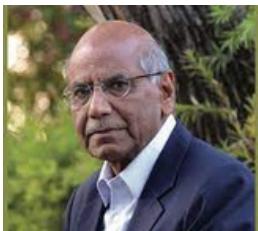
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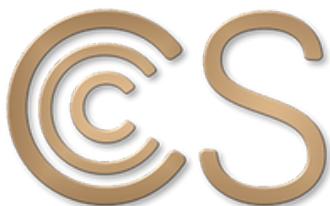


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