



Second Edition of ORCA's Global Conference on New Sinology (GCNS) 2024

 26TH - 27TH SEPTEMBER 2024

 THE GRAND, NEW DELHI

 <https://www.orcasia.org/pages/gcns>

THEME: THE ART OF POWER IN ZHONGNANHAI

Zhongnanhai, often seen as a black box of Chinese power, is the nucleus of all decision making in China. Enclosed within its walls are the power corridors of China that guide momentous change and continuity in its social, political and economic landscape. While Beijing's authoritative governance leads to the perception of a monolithic China, several actors and processes interact to shape, cultivate, deploy and manage power that flows from the heights of Zhongnanhai to the edges of the world. Understanding this Art of Power in Zhongnanhai is instrumental for decision makers around the world to gauge and prepare for China's ambitions of superpower status.

The Global Conference on New Sinology 2024 seeks to bring together the brightest minds in the field of Sinology to deliberate the instruments and impacts of China's art of power. The conference will dissect China's growing military strength and its evolution into a modernized armed force that is increasingly willing to assert itself in maritime and continental domains around the world. The conference will also analyse the inner workings of the Communist Party of China, its method of centralizing control and the thought-process of its top leaders. With China's economy struggling for momentum, the conference will detail domestic economic headwinds while also examining external economic risks that imperil Beijing's economic power. China's foreign policy, keen to project a favourable image of China and develop a new type of international relations, will be studied to reveal the impact of various stakeholders participating in foreign policy implementation.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE: DAY 1

8:30 AM - 9:00 AM — REGISTRATION

(Open All Day)

9:15 AM - 9:45 AM — WELCOME REMARKS & OPENING ADDRESS

by **Ms. Eerishika Pankaj**,

Director,

Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA)

The Art of Power in Zhongnanhai

9:45 AM - 10:15 AM: Morning Tea

10:15 AM - 1:30 PM

SESSION I
HOW IS CHINA'S MILITARY DEFENDING ITS STRATEGIES?

10:15 AM - 11:00 AM

**PANEL
DISCUSSION**

Assessing the LAC as it Stands

Security competition between India and China along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) has escalated significantly in different but interconnected ways since the Galwan Valley clashes in 2020. Driven by its continuous violation of confidence-building measures, China has significantly caused trust deficit during border negotiations, leading to the need for preparedness at various levels within the Indian military.

One of the important stages of these preparations is to develop infrastructure in the form of border villages in the Eastern Sector, a recent feature of efforts to expand military presence in the region. Further, destabilising the fragile equilibrium along the border by undermining the negotiation efforts to disengage, Beijing has employed various mechanisms to justify its altering of the status quo on the Western sector, with enormous implications for the entire LAC. Tensions along the Eastern and Western sector are a stark contrast to the relative stability in the Middle Sector, which could offer a template for

stability in other regions in the future. Alternatively, current India-China border clashes in Eastern and Western sector may have a spillover effect in the Middle sector with the addition of Nepal and Bhutan as other stakeholders.

This panel will look into these varying but connected dynamics in all three sectors along the LAC to assess China's aggressive territoriality and India's evolved position of offering reciprocity in negotiations and countering asymmetry at the LAC.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
AVM Anil Golani (Moderator)	<p><u>Opening Remarks:</u> From Air to Ground: India's Joint Operations and Interoperability Across the LAC</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> Offering Reciprocity, Countering Asymmetry: LAC as a Testament to India's Resolve Against China</p>	Director General, Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS)
Maj. Gen. N D Prasad	Road to Infrastructure Parity Along the Eastern Sector: Xiaokang vs Vibrant Villages	Former Director, School of Internal Security, Defence and Strategic Studies, Rashtriya Raksha University and Former Deputy Director General & Distinguished Fellow, CCCS, MEA
Amb. Ashok Kantha	Negotiating table to Ground Reality at the Western Sector	Former Ambassador of India to China
Lt. Gen. (Dr) Rakesh Sharma	The Middle Sector: A Template for Peace or a Future Flashpoint?	General Bipin Rawat Chair of Excellence, The United Service Institution of India (USI) and Distinguished Fellow, VIF and CLAWS

11:05 AM - 11:35 AM	KEYNOTE ADDRESS	The Army's Long March: Countdown to 2027 Centennial
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The road to modernizing China's armed forces into a world class fighting force is signposted by several goals and milestones like the 2027 Centennial, which marks the 100th Anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The PLA's multifaceted modernization includes a large-scale reorganization of the PLA's institutions, processes and systems to optimise coordination, efficiency and joint operations capabilities. The role of SOEs in its military industrial complex is also crucial in achieving self-sufficiency in the PLA modernization. The reorganization of Military Regions into Theater Commands, application of military technologies, effects of civil-military fusion and enhancement of interoperability between the tri-services also pose several pressing questions about the strength of China's military and the status of its transformation. Evaluating the progress of modernization and its shortcomings is a necessary step in determining the future of India-China confrontations along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). Further, it is also important to study personnel responsible for driving China's military modernization efforts given Xi's recent anti-corruption drive across the PLA institutions. This Keynote will analyse the achievements and shortcomings of PLA modernization efforts, evaluate the feasibility of achieving 2027 centennial goal, infer its impact on China's security dynamics with India and attempt to forecast what lies ahead for China's military in the decade to come.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Lt Gen S L Narasimhan	The Army's Long March: Countdown to 2027 Centennial	Former Director General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies and Adjunct Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru

11:35 AM - 12:25 PM	EXPERTS' DIALOGUE	Restructuring Xi's Army: A Strategic Evolution
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Xi Jinping's restructuring of China's military has resulted in broad personnel changes to the leadership structures of the PLA, PLAN, PLAAF and military institutions like the Central Military Commission and Ministry of Defence. Moreover, Xi has integrated discipline inspection agencies into the military to strengthen party control, elevated the importance of support forces like the Information Support Force and Rocket Forces and prioritised the conduct of multi-domain joint operations. The importance of support forces is also complemented by an emphasis on "Three Warfares" (public opinion, psychological and legal warfare). All of these changes, initiated by Xi Jinping, transform the CMC into a "war cabinet",

which have profound implications for the world, particularly for India and Taiwan who grapple with China over contested borders and territory. This Experts' Dialogue will analyse the strategic evolution of the PLA, study the challenges of restructuring China's armed forces and measure the impact of technologies like drones and network capabilities, which would greatly enhance understanding of the PLA's efforts to alter the balance of military power in Asia and around the world.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Maj. Gen. B.K. Sharma, AVSM, SM and Bar (Retd) (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> CPC's Civil-Military Fusion to Become "World Class Military" by 2049 <u>Closing Remarks:</u> Implications for India	Director General, The United Service Institution of India
Brig. Sanal Kumar	Tri-Service Organizational Reforms in PLA, PLAN, PLAAF - Personnel Changes in PLA and MOD - CCDI Within PLA - CMC 'War Cabinet' - Taiwan and India Focus - Integration of Command Structures for Multi-Domain Joint Capability	Former Deputy Defence Attaché in the Indian Embassy in Beijing, China
Dr. Amrita Jash	Critical Role of Support Forces (Cyber, Space, Information - Hybrid Warfare) - SSF to ISF Transition - Personnel Changes in Rocket and Support Forces and How it Supports Broader PLA Goals - San Zhang (Psychological, Media And Legal Warfare Strategies) - Impact for India and Taiwan - Network-Centric Operations and Drones - Challenges to Restructuring	Assistant Professor, Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education (Institution of Eminence), Manipal, India

12:25 PM - 1:30 PM	ROUNDTABLE	China's Maritime Power in Action in the IOR
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China's rapidly growing maritime power projection capabilities are increasingly visible in the Indian Ocean Region, a space of enormous significance for trade and security. Driven by blue water ambitions for its Navy, China's presence is characterised by deployments for anti-piracy and surveillance operations,

investments into ports and dual use infrastructure, non-traditional security threats posed by fishing fleets and diplomatic engagements with small island states. China's expanding maritime presence in the IOR is supported by modernization and security strategy of the PLAN outlined in China's 2015 Maritime Security Strategy document. These interests and engagements in India's maritime backyard and the Indo-Pacific's most important domain have introduced complexities and challenges for regional security dynamics of the region. This growing presence of China has brought the IOR to the centre of the Indo-Pacific, further highlighting the importance of rules-based order in the region. Scholars and practitioners in this Roundtable will explore the scale and depth of China's tangible maritime power projection capabilities in the IOR and analyse its impact on stakeholders, dynamics and stability of regional security.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Cmde. C. Uday Bhaskar (Moderator)	<p><u>Opening Remarks:</u> PLAN's Modernization for an Expanded Military Footprint</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> IOR Centrality in the Indo-Pacific</p>	Director, Society for Policy Studies (SPS)
Captain Sarabjeet S Parmar (Retd)	Projecting Power in the Indian Ocean Region: From Surveillance to Anti-Piracy	Distinguished Fellow, Centre for Military History and Conflict Studies United Service Institution of India and Distinguished Fellow, Council for Strategic and Defence Research
Cmde. Seshadri Vasan (Retd)	Chinese Dual-Use Presence in the IOR: Between Ports, Support Bases and Suspected Outposts	Director General, Chennai Centre for China Studies (C3S), and Regional Director, National Maritime Foundation
Dr. Ma Bo	China and SIDS: Whose Security and Whose Safety?	Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Nanjing University and Assistant Director, China Center for Collaborative Study of the South China Sea, Nanjing University

Cmde. Anil Jai Singh	IOR in PLAN's Maritime Security Strategy	Senior Vice President, Thyssenkrupp Marine Systems India and Vice President and Head – Delhi Branch, Indian Maritime Foundation
Dr. Pooja Bhatt	Silent Nets: China's IU2 Fishing as a Non-Traditional Security Threat to the IOR	Associate Professor, Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University

1:30 PM - 2:30 PM: Lunch

2:30 PM - 5:35 PM

SESSION II
THE PRINCE AND HIS PARTY: POWER IN ITS PRIME?

2:30 PM – 3:20 PM	EXPERTS' DIALOGUE	Kingmakers of Zhongnanhai
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Xi Jinping’s rise to power in China and consolidation of his authority over the years has been supported by several people, both within the State-Party hierarchy and outside of it. While many of these officials work as the “face” of Xi Jinping in different Party and State positions, there are people who also work in the background to keep Xi and the CPC in power. Since Xi came to power in 2012, his emphasis on putting his loyalists in positions of power within the Party and State apparatus has helped him to strengthen control over policymaking and governance.

Further, several Party organs such as the Propaganda department and Organisation department as well as security-related ministries are also instrumental in maintaining Xi’s stronghold over power. On the other hand, Xi’s family members and trusted advisors from his formative years are also important elements that help him stay in power.

Xi's relations with Party elders and his loyalists from the younger generation also play a critical role in ensuring that Xi's power remains undisputed within China.

This Experts' Dialogue will analyse these aspects to understand how the Party and Xi Jinping maintain power in China with the help of the network of personnel and institutions.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Lt Gen S L Narasimhan (Moderator)	<p><u>Opening Remarks:</u> How Xi has Retained Power?</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> Who will Xi Become the Kingmaker for?</p>	Former Director General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies and Adjunct Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru
Dr. Guoguang Wu	Looking at People That are the 'Face' of the General Secretary and Have More Accountability - Xi's Loyalists in PBSC & Politburo - Organisation Department's Job of Appointing 'Yes' Men - Propaganda Department's Role in Building Xi's 'Cult of Personality' - Securing Xi's Power: Role of Security Apparatus (Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of State Security, CPLAC, NSC) - Relevance of Leading Small Groups	Senior Research Scholar, Stanford Center on China's Economy and Institutions, Stanford University and Senior Fellow on Chinese Politics, Center for China Analysis, Asia Society Policy Institute
Dr. Wen-Hsuan Tsai	People Behind the Scenes - 'Friends' From his Formative Years who he is Still Close to - Role of Xi's family as Advisors and Protectors: Mother, Wife and Family Associates - Xi's Proteges and Factional Network (Younger Generation) - Party Elders and Presidium - Importance of Beidaihe meetings - Financiers of Xi's Loyalists	Research Fellow, Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica (Taiwan)

3:20 PM - 4:05 PM	PANEL	Unifying Divergent Voices in the Mainland: The CPC Playbook
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The Communist Party of China (CPC) has a multifaceted approach to diverse stakeholders in Chinese society, which reflects its ambition to craft a single national identity, ensure political security of the CPC and monopolise control of systems that shape public opinion. The Party assimilates non-Han ethnic and religious groups by managing expectations of social and political mobility, controlling ethnic and religious elites and deploying a range of Sinicization policies.

Foreign companies operating in China are also regulated extensively. As a result, these companies have to navigate a challenging legal and business environment as they are often targets of nationalist protests. The Party also regulates the expression of civil society, limits mass mobilisation and censors controversial and anti-social attitudes by operating a massive firewall and censorship campaign. These social controls work in concert with a large surveillance and propaganda apparatus that gives the Party overwhelming control over the narrative in society.

China's extensive playbook to maintain national unity and social stability by managing diverse voices in China will be scrutinised by this panel to reveal the nature of control exerted by the CPC. The panel will discuss China's minority policies, management of foreign entities and systems of public opinion control, explaining how the Party sets the narrative in China and manages non-Party institutions.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. T. G. Suresh (Moderator)	<p><u>Opening Remarks:</u> CPC's Narrative Power: Synthesise or Sinicise?</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> Cultivating Non-CPC Elements with Chinese Characteristics</p>	Associate Professor, Centre for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University
Dr. Ritu Agarwal	The Party's Evolving Ethnic Policies: Assimilating Identities and Mitigating Dissent	Associate Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University
Prof. Ravni Thakur	The Difficulty of Doing Business the CPC Way: Modulating Foreign Companies in China	Professor of Chinese Studies, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi
Mr. Kaushal Kishore Chandel	Tracking the Trend: Internet Censorship and Public Opinion Control	Assistant Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies (CCSEAS), Jawaharlal Nehru University

4:05 PM - 5:05 PM	ROUNDTABLE	Cadres and Mandarins: Managing the Party-State Juggernaut
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The Party-State apparatus of China requires the careful management of personnel, institutions, ideology and norms that determine the functioning of the political system. Personnel management in the form of appointments, promotions, transfers and anti-corruption campaigns are instrumentalized to instill loyalty and discipline in cadres and officials. Additionally, the emphasis on ideological legitimacy allows party ideology and political education campaigns to significantly condition the actions of party-state officials. At the highest level, the dual institutions of the Party and State have been merged to ensure the primacy of the Party by concentrating policy power in the hands of Party personnel and organs. At the grassroots level, membership, authority and political mobility is controlled in different ways to maintain the character of the CPC.

The degree of flexibility given to local officials in interpreting guidelines and engaging in policy experimentation is also a way of binding the Party-State into a single functional unit. Finally, widespread purges of officials across ranks have also impacted CPC's cadre management mechanism. This Roundtable will cover these various perspectives and mechanisms that influence the functioning of the Party-State apparatus in China.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. Sriparna Pathak (Moderator)	<p><u>Opening Remarks:</u> Significance of Personnel Management as an Instrument of Party Power</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> Challenging Environment in Which Cadres Have to Operate</p>	Associate Professor and Executive Director, Centre for Northeast Asian Studies, School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University
Mr. Rahul Karan Reddy	Disciplining the Party: Purging Tigers, Foxes and Flies	Senior Research Associate, Organisation for Research on China and Asia
Dr. Devendra Kumar	Enforcing the Xi Jinping Thought: From Training to Campaigns	Associate Fellow, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar University, Delhi NCR

Mr. Charles Parton OBE	Managing the Mandarins: Party Control of State Apparatus	Senior Associate Fellow, The Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)
Mr. Kalpit Mankikar	The Quid Pro Quo of Party Membership: Recruitment, Responsibility and Rewards	Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme, ORF
Dr. Wen-Hsuan Tsai	The Unwritten Norms of Policy Experimentation at the Local Level	Research Fellow, Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica (Taiwan)

5:05 PM - 5:35 PM	KEYNOTE ADDRESS	Xi Jinping's Leadership Psychology
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China's paramount leader Xi Jinping exercises absolute control over the Communist Party of China and policymaking in China. Xi's leadership style is influenced by several factors which are instrumental in shaping his vision for China. Xi Jinping's turbulent childhood including his education, family and friends have been integral in building his early career in Fujian and Zhejiang, helping him build his own circle of influence. Like other global leaders, Xi Jinping also has several role models and influences, both within China and outside, who have shaped his leadership approach. Further, his relations with contemporary Chinese political leaders is also a critical factor in influencing his thinking and rise as a supreme leader. Lastly, as Xi continues his third term in power, the question of his legacy, both in terms of its nature as well as people who will carry it, becomes a crucial determinant of Xi's leadership in the coming years.

This Keynote Address will delve into these factors from Xi's past and present with an attempt to understand his leadership style and how it will shape China's domestic and foreign policy in the near future.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. Joseph Torigian	Xi Jinping's Leadership Psychology	Research Fellow, Stanford University's Hoover History Lab

5:35 PM - 6:00 PM: Evening Tea

6:00 PM – 7:40 PM

SPECIAL SESSION
(INVITE ONLY)

6:00 PM - 6:40 PM

**SPECIAL
DIALOGUE**

**Tibet Question in China's Trans-Himalayan
Aspirations**

China's growing presence in South Asia has evolved into a strategy for hegemony in the Himalayan region, which is emerging as a major domain of contestation in the Indo-Pacific region. Its security concerns with respect to Tibet have always been central to its diplomatic engagements with countries like India, Bhutan and Nepal. These countries are contending with China's aggressive territorial expansion which complements China's deployment of military assets and sinicisation policies in Tibet. Moreover, China's anxiety over the issue of the Dalai Lama's succession and the several scenarios that could emanate from the succession process cast a specter of uncertainty over the future of Himalayan geopolitics. The Himalayan region and Tibet's criticality for the availability of transboundary water resources is another matter of serious national security intertwined with the Tibet question and China's Himalayan hegemony strategy. With massive dam construction and river diversion projects underway in China, water is fast becoming a crucial piece of China's strategy for the region. Compounding this is Beijing's infringement of territory in countries like Bhutan and India at places like Doklam, Sakteng, Tawang and several others to expand China's sphere of influence into the Himalayas.

Given the importance of national rejuvenation and reunification of territories China claims for itself, the Himalayan region has taken on heightened significance for Xi Jinping's third term in office and his legacy. This Experts' Dialogue will detail these emerging and evolving dynamics in the Himalayan frontier along with China's strategy to dominate the region and shape the outcome of the Tibet Question.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. Jagannath Panda	What would DL's Passing mean for China's Himalayan strategy? - How is China Proving to be a Hydro-Hegemon in the Himalayan region? - Why and how can the West show Greater Cooperation with India on the Tibet Question? - How is the Tibet Question	Head, Stockholm Center for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs, Institute for Security and Development Policy

	set to Shape the Future of the LAC Dispute?	(ISDP), Sweden; and Professor, University of Warsaw
Mr. Claude Arpi	Water Politics - LAC - What is Xi Hoping for with Respect to Tibet in his Third Term in Office?	Distinguished Fellow, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar University, Delhi NCR

6:40 PM - 7:40 PM	ROUNDTABLE	Identifying the Ideal Torchbearer for the Global South
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The significance of the Global South for countries striving to cultivate a leadership role on the international stage cannot be overstated. Countries in Africa, South America, South and Central Asia and Eastern Europe have emerged as prominent voices on issues related to development, war, international institutions, climate change and norms of the international order. China and India have positioned themselves as advocates of the interests of the Global South. China, for its part, has offered infrastructure projects via the BRI to countries of the global south, which are often guided by political motives of leadership in recipient countries rather than economic merit.

Moreover, China's efforts to rally the Global South and gain their support has become increasingly significant for Xi Jinping's legacy. India, on the other hand, commands an immovable centrality in the Global South Narrative, based on its historic non-alignment position, balanced development perspective and reform-minded approach to multilateral institutions. Efforts to lure Global South countries also influence India and China's actions in multilateral forums where both countries promote the collective interests of the Global South either through competition or sometimes through consensus. Amidst this competition, the Global North, particularly the European Union, too faces a choice in terms of preferences of an ideal advocate for the Global South.

This Roundtable will discuss the perspectives and criteria that determine the qualities of the ideal advocate of the interests of the Global South. The speakers will analyse India and China's differing and competing approaches to securing the interests and support of the developing world.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Prof. S.D. Muni (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> How and Why are India and China both Competing for the	Professor Emeritus, School of International Studies,

	<p>Tag of Global South's 'Torchbearer'?</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> Why Identifying the Ideal Torchbearer for an Idea like the Global South Matters?</p>	Jawaharlal Nehru University
Dr. Austin Strange	Pursuing Status at the Cost of Development? The Political Pull of BRI for the Global South	Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Hong Kong
Dr. Chen Gang	Global South in Xi Jinping's Legacy: Why Winning the Narrative Battle Matters	Deputy Director (Policy Research) and Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore
Dr. Zsuzsa Anna Ferenczy	Placing its Bets: EU's Preferences in the China-India Competition for Global South Leadership	Assistant Professor, National Dong-Hwa University, Hualien, Taiwan
Dr. Swaran Singh	India-China Consensus and Competition: Advocating for the Global South in Multilateral Forums	Professor, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University
Amb. Venu Rajamony	India's Immovable Centrality in the Global South Narrative	Professor, Diplomatic Practice, O.P. Jindal Global University and Former Ambassador of India to the Netherlands

8:00 PM onwards: Dinner and Networking (Invite Only)

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE: DAY 2

8:30 AM - 9:00 AM — REGISTRATION

(Open All Day)

9:00 AM - 1:00 PM

SESSION III
**STABILISING AND SHARPENING: HOW CHINA
SAFEGUARDS ITS ECONOMIC MIGHT?**

9:00 AM - 10:10 AM

ROUNDTABLE

Cost of China's Potential War in Taiwan

As the threat of China-Taiwan conflict looms large, its impact will be severe for the global economy. Owing to China and Taiwan's integration into the world economy in the past few decades, the nature of costs that different stakeholders need to incur is a critical geo-economic issue for the world. While China itself will weigh its options in terms of mobilizing sufficient resources domestically that can help them sustain the war as well as post-war sanctions, other countries are also preparing to mitigate costs of such a war. The USA will have to do a balancing act of providing Taiwan with sufficient resources without affecting its own economic interests.

Furthermore, ranging from Europe's critical dependence on China and Taiwan for semiconductors to disruption of trade routes for East and Southeast Asian countries to even economic costs for India caused by its trade overreliance on China, conflict between China and Taiwan can cause significant damage for economic prospects of countries in these regions. Moreover, such a conflict can also alter China's overseas ambitions that are currently supported by its widespread financing mechanism through the Belt and Road Initiative and regional institutions, thereby affecting economic interests of Global South countries.

This Roundtable will identify potential costs for different stakeholders, factors responsible for these costs and measures to mitigate these costs through both respective national policies and global cooperation.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. Amita Batra (Moderator)	<p><u>Opening Remarks:</u> Assessing Global Supply Chain Vulnerabilities Amidst China-Taiwan War</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> Prospects for Global Cooperation in Mitigating Costs of War</p>	Professor of Economics, School of International Studies, JNU and Senior Fellow, CSEP, New Delhi
Dr. Zsuzsa Anna Ferenczy	Semiconductors at Stake: Protecting EU's Goeconomic Interests	Assistant Professor, National Dong-Hwa University, Hualien, Taiwan
Dr. Austin Strange	Breaking the Bank Fighting or Financing: What about the BRI?	Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Hong Kong
Dr. Biswajit Nag	Taiwan Contingency and India's Production Capacity Conundrum	Professor, Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, New Delhi
Dr. G. Venkat Raman	Choices and Dynamics of Mobilising China's Wartime Economy	Professor, Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Management, Indore
Dr. Apila Sangtam	Chaos in the Neighbourhood: Securing Asia's SLOCs	Honorary Adjunct Fellow, National Maritime Foundation, Delhi

10:10 AM - 10:45 AM: Morning Tea

10:45 AM - 11:35 AM

PANEL

Beyond the Boom: Domestic Impediments to China's Economic Power

Following decades of rapid growth, China's economy is cooling and economic momentum is suffering from challenges that have remained dormant so far. Over the last five years, the implosion of China's real estate sector has prompted the government to adopt various measures to tackle the issue of corporate debt, oversupply of housing, speculation and crashing housing prices. The roadblocks for China's transition from export-driven economy to consumption-led growth have become more evident in the past few years, thus creating a major challenge to resist its economic slowdown in the post-pandemic period. Moreover, China's demographic challenge of having to care for a large dependent population with the aid of a relatively smaller working age population is a major complication for economic growth prospects. China also faces an uphill battle with respect to the implementation of the digital yuan, from adoption to regulations, which will greatly influence the growth of China's digital economy. This panel will discuss and analyze these emerging impediments to China's economic power, the strategies adopted to counter systemic risks and the new emerging drivers of growth.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. Varaprasad S. Dolla (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> Lessons from Third Plenum: Remedies and Ramifications for Chinese Economy <u>Closing Remarks:</u> Economic Impact of New Productive Forces: China's Tech Self-Sufficiency Drive	Professor, Chinese Studies, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University
Dr. Sarah Y Tong	Rebuilding the House: China's Strategies for a Failing Real Estate Sector	Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore

Dr. Avinash Godbole	Challenge of Shifting Gears: Moving to Consumption-led Growth	Professor & Associate Dean, Jindal School of Liberal Arts & Humanities, O.P. Jindal Global University
Dr. Shachee Agnihotri	Declining Demographic Dividend: Between the Unemployed Young and Dependant Old	Assistant Professor (History), Amity Institute of Social Sciences, Amity University, Noida
Mr. Omkar Bhole	China's Uphill Battle for Digital Yuan: From Regulations to Reception	Senior Research Associate, Organisation for Research on China and Asia

11:35 AM - 12:25 PM	EXPERTS' DIALOGUE	Navigating Excess: China's Industrial Overcapacity and its Impact on India and the West
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China's trade relationships have been strained by concerns about overcapacity in China's industrial system, which have profound implications for advanced economies as well as emerging ones like India. The export of goods like electric vehicles, aluminum, steel, electronics and several others at lower prices and in large volumes by China has not only led to large trade deficits for countries like India, EU and US, but also led to crashes in prices of commodities, stifling of domestic competitors and protectionist measures in the form of anti-dumping duties and tariffs. On the other hand, it has been argued that China's oversupply of goods has the effect of pushing companies to become more cost efficient and innovative in order to retain their market share.

With trade tensions threatening to spiral into a trade war, countries like India have opted to build up domestic industrial capacities to counter China's exports, as well as adopt a variety of measures to offset China's highly cost competitive exports. China's overwhelmingly large presence in the import basket of countries even poses major national security risks, which countries are now beginning to address.

These economic and security dynamics are leading to a revival of industrial policy in the US, EU and other parts of the world. This Experts' Dialogue will see speakers discuss the source of China's industrial

overcapacity, counter-strategies to Chinese exports adopted by India, US and EU, outline the significance of industrial policy and implications for global economy and security

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Amb. Ujal Singh Bhatia (Moderator)	<p><u>Opening Remarks:</u> Overcapacity as the New Trigger for a Trade War?</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> Strategies for Countering China's Manufacturing Dominance</p>	India's Former Permanent Representative to the WTO
Dr. G. Venkat Raman	India's Perspective on Chinese goods flooding the Indian Market (Steel, Pharma, Electronics and other sectors) - How is India Guarding Against this Oversupply of Chinese goods - Tariffs and Trade Barriers - Plans to Compete with China's Oversupply by Building up Domestic Industries (PLI and Make in India) - Where Oversupply is a Security (Economic and National Security) Risk and Where it is Permissible - How to Invigorate Industrial Policy in India to Respond to Chinese Overcapacity	Professor, Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Management, Indore
Dr. Li Yao	Impact of Overcapacity on International Economy and Domestic Markets - Source of Overcapacity - State Subsidies and Industrial Policy in China - Vulnerability Created by Overcapacity for Other Countries: Trade Weaponization and Influence that China has as a Result of Oversupply, Decimation of Competitors or Impetus for Innovation? - WTO Regulations and Dispute Resolution in the Context of China's Oversupply - Role of FTA's, RCEP in Facilitating Oversupply	Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore

12:30 PM - 1:00 PM	KEYNOTE ADDRESS	Commanding Influence of SOEs in Xi's Party-State Capitalism
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This talk will provide an in-depth analysis of how SOEs implement Xi Jinping's economic agenda, their reform trajectory, and the interplay between state control and market competition. It will also explore the strategic prioritization of SOEs in China's broader economic and political framework. Under Xi's directive, SOEs are pivotal in promoting high-quality development and new productive forces. They spearhead initiatives in the circular economy and dual circulation strategy, aligning closely with supply-side reforms to enhance economic efficiency and sustainability. Amidst economic slowdown, SOEs are navigating fiscal constraints and market volatility through adaptive strategies and state support. The current state of SOE reform, developments from the Third Plenum and attempts at a nuanced approach balancing market efficiency with party control will be delved into.

A critical aspect of this landscape is the competitive dynamics between SOEs, Little Giants, and National Champions, all vying for similar markets and resources. This competition will be analyzed, and the intricate balance of fostering innovation while maintaining state oversight will be elucidated upon. Focus will also be on how Party control over SOEs, primarily through Party Committees, ensures that leadership aligns with broader political and economic objectives. The talk will also delve into leadership changes within SOEs that are strategically managed to reinforce party directives and organizational coherence.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. Sarah Y Tong	Commanding Influence of SOEs in Xi's Party-State Capitalism	Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore

1:00 P.M - 2:00 PM: Lunch

2:00 PM – 5:15 PM	<u>SESSION IV</u> SHAPING CHINA'S DIPLOMACY: THE WHO, THE WHAT AND THE HOW?
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2:00 PM - 3:05 PM	ROUNDTABLE	Dragon in Panda's Clothing: A Story of Chinese Soft Power
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Soft power has become one of the important tools in China's diplomatic playbook in the past few years. Besides rapid growth in China's conventional power in terms of economic, military and technological domains, its soft power strategy has also evolved to include different facets of its culture, language, party-to-party ties, media management, claims for global Buddhist leadership and so on. Particularly, China's climate diplomacy with an attempt to claim global environmental leadership as well as China's assistance in the health domain with regards to vaccines, health infrastructure and promotion of Traditional Chinese Medicine have gained prominence in Global South countries. Beijing's trans-Himalayan Soft Power strategies too have revitalized its regional approach, especially with its emerging role in the sensitive water-politics of the Himalayan states.

As China aims to shape opinions and influence decision making in different countries through its soft power tactics, some of its tools have also faced backlash and strong counter-narratives from other countries. Each speaker in this Roundtable will offer critical insights into China's multifaceted soft power strategies, addressing both opportunities and controversies surrounding its cultural outreach, political maneuvering, media strategies, climate change mitigation assistance and healthcare initiatives on the international stage.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Cmde. Seshadri Vasan (Retd) (Moderator)	<u>Opening Remarks:</u> Gauging Efficacy of China's Soft Power Strategy: Tools and Tactics <u>Closing Remarks:</u> India's Soft Power Strategy in the Face of a China Challenge in the Neighbourhood	Director General, Chennai Centre for China Studies (C3S), and Regional Director, National Maritime Foundation
Dr. Nimmi Kurian	Something Old, New and Borrowed: China's Soft Power Strategy in the Trans-Himalayan Region	Professor, Centre for Policy Research, Delhi
Dr. Joseph Torigian	Building CPC as a Super-Party: Inter-Party Linkages Beyond Borders	Research Fellow, Stanford University's Hoover History Lab

Dr. Jabin Jacob	Buddhism in the CPC's Statecraft: The Case of South Asia	Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Governance Studies and Director, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar University, Delhi NCR
Dr. Gunjan Singh	Telling Chinese Stories Well: Influencing Media Operations Abroad	Associate Professor, Jindal Global Law School, O.P. Jindal Global University
Dr. Chen Gang	Projecting the Green Image: China's Climate Diplomacy	Deputy Director (Policy Research) and Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore
Mr. Shantanu Roy-Chaudhury	Bridges and Bonds: China's Development Diplomacy as a Tool for Soft Power in South Asia	Independent Geopolitical Analyst

3:05 PM - 3:35 PM	KEYNOTE ADDRESS	Consultants of Zhongnanhai: The Role of Academic Institutions in Chinese Foreign Policymaking
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Foreign policy in China is typically understood to be the preserve of the Party and more specifically, Xi Jinping. Outside of the few Party organs and government departments that have a say in policy ideation and implementation, the private sector in the form of academics, think tanks, influential opinion leaders, universities and other academic institutions have a large but understudied role in shaping the thinking of China's top leaders and the ideation and implementation of policies. The Party-think tank nexus in China has considerable consultative and ideational influence which is not adequately addressed in most analyses of China's foreign policy making. The research and recommendations of university professors, academics in think tanks and popular opinion leaders are part of a transmission belt of policy consultation and analysis that shapes the way China engages with the world. This Keynote will explore the ways in which think tanks and academics operate as consultants for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group and other Party and government bodies in charge of foreign policy.

The speaker will decode the level of autonomy and flexibility available to think tanks and academia in foreign policy decision making, the nature of support extended by academic institutions and the extent of participation in decision making processes. Additionally, the Keynote will evaluate the degree to which inputs offered by academic consultants are implemented by decision makers.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. Guoguang Wu	Consultants of Zhongnanhai: The Role of Academic Institutions in Chinese Foreign Policymaking	Senior Research Scholar, Stanford Center on China's Economy and Institutions, Stanford University and Senior Fellow on Chinese Politics, Center for China Analysis, Asia Society Policy Institute

3:35 PM - 4:25 PM	PANEL	BRI Scales Up: The Decade Ahead
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As China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) completed 10 years in 2023, its successes and failures have become quite evident across the world. Concerns revolving around growing debt burden amongst recipient countries and environmental degradation have compelled China to reorient some aspects of BRI. The next decade of China’s flagship global initiative will look to incorporate new avenues that would assist its global ambitions in diplomatic, economic, military and technological domains. In this regard, China launched three global initiatives, each focusing on different aspects where China aims to gain prominence and emerge as a leader. It is being perceived as an extension of the BRI as these initiatives align with China’s vision to reform international order in its favour. Another major component of China’s foreign policy is to achieve global standardization in emerging technologies based on Chinese innovations. As a result, ‘China Standards 2035’ Vision is a critical goal for China’s Digital Silk Road initiative which it will assertively promote in the next decade. Furthermore, despite significant growth in China’s trade with BRI partner countries in the last decade, domestic economic conditions and discontent against China’s trade practices has compelled China to make re-adjustments in its trade policies. Lastly, as Xi strengthens its control over the Party, it is important to analyse how the CPC views the future of BRI, especially in an uncertain post-Xi period. This panel will look into the future dynamics of BRI and assess how these changes will influence China’s foreign policy as well as its impact on the global order.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Dr. C. Raja Mohan (Moderator)	<p><u>Opening Remarks:</u> India's Approach and Perception of BRI in South Asia</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> Between Counters and Alternatives: Responding to the Next Decade of BRI</p>	Visiting Research Professor, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore
Dr. Jagannath Panda	China's Three New Global Initiatives in the 'New Era'	Head, Stockholm Center for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs, Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP), Sweden; and Professor, University of Warsaw
Dr. Rajiv Ranjan	BRI : The Certainty of Uncertainty in the Future	Associate Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi
Mr. Charles Parton OBE	Setting China Standards 2035: Proliferation of Chinese CIMs via the DSR	Senior Associate Fellow, The Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) and Distinguished Fellow, Council on Geostrategy
Dr. Li Yao	Re-adjustments and Prospects for China's BRI Driven Trade	Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore

4:25 PM - 5:15 PM	EXPERTS' DIALOGUE	Dissecting the Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy: Spearheading a 'New Type of International Relations'
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China's foreign policy in the last decade is majorly guided by what is collectively called the 'Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy'. It comprises several key concepts/phenomena like community with a shared future of mankind, true multilateralism, win-win cooperation and more which are often highlighted by

China's diplomatic corps. Moreover, China's major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics and 'new type of international relations' are other features of Chinese foreign policy outlook that regularly occur in China's diplomatic narratives and discourse. It is pertinent to discuss and decode these terms than go beyond mere symbolism and guide China's foreign policy maneuvering. Furthermore, it is also important to analyse how these rhetorics are implemented amidst contemporary geopolitical changes which will also highlight China's motivations behind its wolf warrior diplomacy as well as its newly acquired role as a peace mediator . This Experts' Scholars Dialogue will delve into these facets of Chinese foreign policy and focus on the similarities and differences between its diplomatic narratives and actions.

Speaker	Talk Topic	Designation
Amb. Nalin Surie (Moderator)	<p><u>Opening Remarks:</u> Xi's Personal Diplomacy: Impact on Chinese Foreign Policy</p> <p><u>Closing Remarks:</u> Decoding Pax-Sinica: China's Vision for a New World Order</p>	Former Ambassador of India to China; and Distinguished Fellow for Diplomacy, Delhi Policy Group
Dr. Bali Deepak	Focus on Ideological Interpretation of Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy - How to Understand China's Diplo-Speak on its Foreign Policy Endeavours? - What does Major-Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics Denote? - What does 'New Type of International Relations' Mean? - Decode Phrases like: CSFH, Independent Foreign Policy of Peace, Two Guidances, True Multilateralism, Win-Win Cooperation, Historical Responsibility/Right Direction of History Etc	Professor, Chinese Studies at the Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University
Dr. Ma Bo	Focus on the Actual Implementation: What Aspects of 'New Type of International Relations' is the Party Focusing on Most? - What Role does Wolf Warrior Diplomacy Play in this? - China's Role as a Mediator and Engagement in Conflict Areas - How have Wolf Warrior Diplomats Fared and Where are They Placed? - Decode the Implications of 'Network of Global Partnerships' (Eg. BRI)	Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Nanjing University and Assistant Director, China Center for Collaborative Study of the South China Sea, Nanjing University

5:15 PM - 5:30 PM — CLOSING REMARKS

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

5:30 PM – 6:00 PM: Evening Tea
