



**GLOBAL CONFERENCE
on NEW SINOLOGY**

INTERCONNECTED EQUILIBRIUM

**CONFERENCE
HANDBOOK**

www.orcasia.org

NEW DELHI

ABOUT ORCA & GCNS

Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA) is a New Delhi NCR-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), 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. It is one of India's leading China dialogues.

The inaugural edition of the GCNS saw ORCA host 55+ national/international experts and 400+ delegates in attendance across 5 sessions spanning two days with over 22 panels. The GCNS 2023 was India's first Chinese domestic politics-focused conference integrating contemporary facets of New Sinology. The full report of GCNS 2023 can be accessed on our website. The unique topics ideated by ORCA at last year's event went on to become grander avenues of discussion and scholarship by our speakers/attendees. The event deliberations were well received by both policymakers and government representatives, with the conference report having received over 7000+ views.

The theme of the 2024 GCNS conference is 'The Art of Power in Zhongnanhai'. The conference deliberations will focus on how the headquarters of the Communist Party of China (CPC) at Zhongnanhai cultivate, consolidate, retain and project power -- domestically and internationally-- via economic, diplomatic, political and military engagements to further China's ambitions in the 'new era'.

ORCA consistently 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

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 favorable 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.

This year's theme is, "The Art of Power in Zhongnanhai", which encapsulates the symbolic and substantial preeminence of China's seat of power in politics, economics, foreign policy and military affairs



MESSAGE FROM DIRECTOR



It is a pleasure for my team to host you at ORCA's second 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 three 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
Convenor, GCNS

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, ORCA & Co-Convenor, GCNS

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.



Omkar Bhole

Senior Research Associate, ORCA & Co-Convenor, GCNS

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, ORCA & Co-Convenor, GCNS

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.



Trishala S

Junior Research Associate, ORCA & Coordinator, GCNS

With specialization in Sociology with a minor in Public Policy, Trishala possesses a profound interest in the intricate dynamics of socio-political landscapes and policy realms in China. Her pursuits extend to the exploration of the intersections between gender studies, culture, activism, and legal dimensions, reflecting a multifaceted engagement.

SCHEDULE

DAY 1 (26.9.24)

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



REGISTRATIONS

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

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

THE ART OF POWER IN ZHONGNANHAI

BY MS. EERISHIKA PANKAJ | Director, ORCA

MORNING TEA BREAK

9:45 AM - 10:15 AM

SESSION 1
10:15 AM - 1:30 PM

**HOW IS CHINA'S MILITARY DEFENDING ITS
STRATEGIES?**

PANEL DISCUSSION
10:15 AM - 11:00 AM

ASSESSING THE LAC AS IT STANDS

MODERATED BY AVM ANIL GOLANI

Director General, Centre for Air Power Studies

- **Maj. Gen. N D Prasad** (Former Director, School of Internal Security, Defence and Strategic Studies, Rashtriya Raksha University)
Road to Infrastructure Parity along the Eastern Sector: Xiaokang vs Vibrant Villages

- **Amb. Ashok Kantha** (Former Ambassador of India to China)
Negotiating Table to Ground Reality at the Western Sector
- **Lt. Gen. (Dr) Rakesh Sharma** (Gen. Bipin Rawat Chair of Excellence, The United Service Institution of India)
The Middle Sector: A Template for Peace or a Future Flashpoint?

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

11:05 AM - 11:35 AM

BY LT. GEN. S L NARASIMHAN (Former Director General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies; and Adjunct Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru)

The Army's Long March: Countdown to 2027 Centennial

EXPERTS' DIALOGUE

11:35 AM - 12:25 PM

RESTRUCTURING XI'S ARMY: A STRATEGIC EVOLUTION

MODERATED BY MAJ. GEN. B.K. SHARMA, AVSM, SM AND BAR (RETD)

Director General, The United Service Institution of India

- **Brig. Sanal Kumar** (Former Deputy Defence Attaché in the Indian Embassy in Beijing, China)
- **Dr. Amrita Jash** (Assistant Professor, Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education)

ROUNDTABLE

12:25 PM - 1:30 PM

CHINA'S MARITIME POWER IN ACTION IN THE IOR

MODERATED BY CMDE. C. UDAY BHASKAR

Director, Society for Policy Studies

- **Captain Sarabjeet S Parmar (Retd)** (Distinguished Fellow, Centre for Military History and Conflict Studies, The United Service Institution of India)
Projecting Power in the Indian Ocean Region: From Surveillance to Anti-Piracy
- **Cmde. Seshadri Vasan (Retd)** (Director General, Chennai Centre for China Studies)
Chinese Dual-Use Presence in the IOR: Between Ports, Support Bases and Suspected Outposts
- **Dr. Ma Bo** (Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Nanjing University, China)
China and SIDS: Whose Security and Whose Safety?
- **Cmde. Anil Jai Singh** (Vice President and Head – Delhi Branch, Indian Maritime Foundation)
IOR in PLAN's Maritime Security Strategy
- **Dr. Pooja Bhatt** (Associate Professor, Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University)
Silent Nets: China's IU2 Fishing as a Non-Traditional Security Threat to the IOR

LUNCH

1:30 PM - 2:30 PM

SESSION 2

2:30 PM - 5:35 PM

THE PRINCE AND HIS PARTY: POWER IN ITS PRIME?

EXPERTS' DIALOGUE

2:30 PM – 3:20 PM

KINGMAKERS OF ZHONGNANHAI

MODERATED BY LT. GEN. S L NARASIMHAN

Former Director General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies

- **Dr. Guoguang Wu** (Senior Research Scholar, Stanford Center on China's Economy and Institutions, Stanford University, USA)
- **Dr. Wen-Hsuan Tsai** (Research Fellow, Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica-Taiwan)

PANEL DISCUSSION

3:20 PM - 4:05 PM

UNIFYING DIVERGENT VOICES IN THE MAINLAND: THE CPC PLAYBOOK

MODERATED BY DR. T.G. SURESH

Associate Professor, Centre for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University

- **Dr. Ritu Agarwal** (Associate Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University)
The Party's Evolving Ethnic Policies: Assimilating Identities and Mitigating Dissent
- **Prof. Ravni Thakur** (Professor of Chinese Studies, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi)
The Difficulty of Doing Business the CPC Way: Modulating Foreign Companies in China
- **Mr. Kaushal Kishore Chandel** (Assistant Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University)
Tracking the Trend: Internet Censorship and Public Opinion Control

ROUNDTABLE

4:05 PM - 5:05 PM

CADRES AND MANDARINS: MANAGING THE PARTY-STATE JUGGERNAUT

MODERATED BY DR. SRIPARNA PATHAK

Associate Professor and Executive Director, Centre for Northeast Asian Studies, Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University

- **Mr. Rahul Karan Reddy** (Senior Research Associate, Organisation for Research on China and Asia)
Disciplining the Party: Purging Tigers, Foxes and Flies
- **Dr. Devendra Kumar** (Associate Fellow, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar University, Delhi NCR)
Enforcing the Xi Jinping Thought: From Training to Campaigns
- **Mr. Charles Parton OBE** (Senior Associate Fellow, The Royal United Services Institute, UK)
Managing the Mandarins: Party Control of State Apparatus

- **Mr. Kalpit Mankikar** (Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation)
The Quid Pro Quo of Party Membership: Recruitment, Responsibility and Rewards
- **Dr. Wen-Hsuan Tsai** (Research Fellow, Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica - Taiwan)
The Unwritten Norms of Policy Experimentation at the Local Level

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

5:05 PM - 5:35 PM

BY **DR. JOSEPH TORIGIAN** (Research Fellow, Stanford University's Hoover History Lab, USA)

Xi Jinping's Leadership Psychology

EVENING TEA BREAK

5:35 PM - 6:00 PM

SPECIAL SESSION

6:00 PM – 7:40 PM

INVITATION-BASED ENTRY ONLY

SPECIAL DIALOGUE

6:00 PM - 6:40 PM

TIBET QUESTION IN CHINA'S TRANS-HIMALAYAN ASPIRATIONS

- **Dr. Jagannath Panda** (Head, Stockholm Center for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs, Institute for Security and Development Policy, Sweden)
- **Mr. Claude Arpi** (Distinguished Fellow, Centre of Excellence for Himalayan Studies, Shiv Nadar University, Delhi NCR)

SPECIAL ROUNDTABLE

6:40 PM - 7:40 PM

IDENTIFYING THE IDEAL TORCHBEARER FOR THE GLOBAL SOUTH

MODERATED BY PROF. S.D. MUNI

Professor Emeritus, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University

- **Dr. Austin Strange** (Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Hong Kong, China)
Pursuing Status at the Cost of Development? The Political Pull of BRI for the Global South
- **Dr. Chen Gang** (Deputy Director (Policy Research) and Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore)
Global South in Xi Jinping's Legacy: Why Winning the Narrative Battle Matters
- **Dr. Zsuzsa Anna Ferenczy** (Assistant Professor, National Dong-Hwa University, Hualien, Taiwan)
Placing its Bets: EU's Preferences in the China-India Competition for Global South Leadership

- **Dr. Swaran Singh** (Professor, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University)
India-China Consensus and Competition: Advocating for the Global South in Multilateral Forums
- **Amb. Venu Rajamony** (Professor, Diplomatic Practice, O.P. Jindal Global University)
India's Immovable Centrality in the Global South Narrative

DINNER

8.00 PM onwards



SCHEDULE

DAY 2 (27.9.24)

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 - 1:00 PM

STABILISING AND SHARPENING: HOW CHINA
SAFEGUARDS ITS ECONOMIC MIGHT?

ROUNDTABLE

9:00 AM - 10:10 AM

COST OF CHINA'S POTENTIAL WAR IN TAIWAN

MODERATED BY DR. AMITA BATRA

Professor of Economics, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University

- **Dr. Zsuzsa Anna Ferenczy** (Assistant Professor, National Dong-Hwa University, Hualien, Taiwan)
Semiconductors at Stake: Protecting EU's Geoeconomic Interests
- **Dr. Austin Strange** (Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Hong Kong, China)
Breaking the Bank Fighting or Financing: What about the BRI?
- **Dr. Biswajit Nag** (Professor, Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, New Delhi)
Taiwan Contingency and India's Production Capacity Conundrum
- **Dr. G. Venkat Raman** (Professor, Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Management, Indore)
Choices and Dynamics of Mobilising China's Wartime Economy
- **Dr. Apila Sangtam** (Honorary Adjunct Fellow, National Maritime Foundation)
Chaos in the Neighbourhood: Securing Asia's SLOCs

MORNING TEA BREAK

10:10 AM - 10:45 AM

PANEL DISCUSSION

10:45 AM - 11:35 AM

BEYOND THE BOOM: DOMESTIC IMPEDIMENTS TO
CHINA'S ECONOMIC POWER

MODERATED BY DR. VARAPRASAD S. DOLLA

Professor, Chinese Studies, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University

- **Dr. Sarah Y Tong** (Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore)
Rebuilding the House: China's Strategies for a Failing Real Estate Sector
- **Dr. Avinash Godbole** (Professor and Associate Dean, Jindal School of Liberal Arts & Humanities, O.P. Jindal Global University)
Challenge of Shifting Gears: Moving to Consumption-led Growth
- **Dr. Shachee Agnihotri** (Assistant Professor (History), Amity Institute of Social Sciences, Amity University)
Declining Demographic Dividend: Between the Unemployed Young and Dependant Old
- **Mr. Omkar Bhole** (Senior Research Associate, Organisation for Research on China and Asia)
China's Uphill Battle for Digital Yuan: From Regulations to Reception

EXPERTS' DIALOGUE

11:35 AM - 12:25 PM

NAVIGATING EXCESS: CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL OVERCAPACITY AND ITS IMPACT ON INDIA AND THE WEST

MODERATED BY AMB. UJAL SINGH BHATIA

India's Former Permanent Representative to the WTO

- **Dr. G. Venkat Raman** (Professor, Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Management, Indore)
- **Dr. Li Yao** (Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore)

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

12:30 PM - 1:00 PM

BY DR. SARAH Y TONG (Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore)

Commanding Influence of SOEs in Xi's Party-State Capitalism

LUNCH

1:00 PM - 2:00 PM

SESSION 4

2:00 PM - 5:15 PM

SHAPING CHINA'S DIPLOMACY: THE WHO, THE WHAT AND THE HOW?

ROUNDTABLE

2:00 PM - 3:05 PM

DRAGON IN PANDA'S CLOTHING: A STORY OF CHINESE SOFT POWER

MODERATED BY CMDE. SESHADRI VASAN (RETD)

Director General, Chennai Centre for China Studies

- **Dr. Nimmi Kurian** (Professor, Centre for Policy Research)
Something Old, New and Borrowed: China's Soft Power Strategy in the Trans-Himalayan Region

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

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

3:05 PM - 3:35 PM

DR. GUOGUANG WU (Senior Research Scholar, Stanford Center on China's Economy and Institutions, Stanford University, USA; and Senior Fellow on Chinese Politics, Center for China Analysis, Asia Society Policy Institute, USA)

Consultants of Zhongnanhai: The Role of Academic Institutions in Chinese Foreign Policymaking

PANEL DISCUSSION

3:35 PM - 4:25 PM

BRI SCALES UP: THE DECADE AHEAD

MODERATED BY DR. C. RAJA MOHAN

Visiting Research Professor, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, Singapore

- **Dr. Jagannath Panda** (Head, Stockholm Center for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs, Institute for Security and Development Policy, Sweden)
China's Three New Global Initiatives in the 'New Era'
- **Dr. Rajiv Ranjan** (Associate Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi)
BRI: The Certainty of Uncertainty in the Future
- **Mr. Charles Parton OBE** (Senior Associate Fellow, The Royal United Services Institute, UK)
Setting China Standards 2035: Proliferation of Chinese CIMs via the DSR
- **Dr. Li Yao** (Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore)
Re-adjustments and Prospects for China's BRI Driven Trade

EXPERTS' DIALOGUE

4:25 PM - 5:15 PM

DISSECTING THE XI JINPING THOUGHT ON DIPLOMACY: SPEARHEADING A 'NEW TYPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS'

MODERATED BY AMB. NALIN SURIE

Former Ambassador of India to China

- **Dr. Bali Deepak** (Professor, Chinese Studies, Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University)
- **Dr. Ma Bo** (Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Nanjing University, China)

CLOSING REMARKS

5:15 PM - 5:30 PM
BY MS. EERISHIKA PANKAJ | Director, ORCA

EVENING TEA

5:30 PM - 6:00 PM

SPEAKER BIOS

In order of talk as per schedule



Air Vice Marshal Anil Golani (Retd.) is the General of the Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS), was commissioned into the Fighter stream of the IAF in December 1982. He is fully operational on Ajeet and Jaguar aircraft and raised the IAF's first Harpy squadron. He has held senior roles in the Andaman & Nicobar and Strategic Forces Commands, as well as the Air Defence Direction Centre and Maritime Air Operations. A qualified instructor and examiner, he has completed courses at DSSC Wellington and the Royal College of Defence Studies, London. Retired in November 2019.

Major General N D Prasad (Retd.) was commissioned into the Mechanised Infantry Regiment in December 1984. He has working knowledge of Chinese language. He represented India as the Deputy Defence Attaché in Beijing for three years and held numerous assignments dealing with China. He was the Deputy Director General & Distinguished Fellow with the Centre for Contemporary China Studies, Ministry of External Affairs before joining the RRU as Director of SISDSS.



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.

Lieutenant General (Dr.) Rakesh Sharma was commissioned in Gorkha Rifles in 1977, and had a career spanning forty years in the Army. He has had extensive operational experience in Jammu and Kashmir, North East and on the Western Borders. He trained the Botswana Army for three years in Africa, and attended the National War College at Abuja, Nigeria. He is currently Distinguished Fellow with Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF) and Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) and on the Executive Council of Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) and of Global Counter Terrorism Council.



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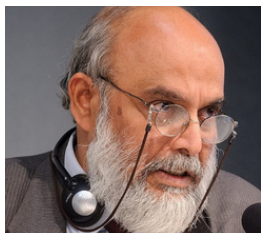
Lieutenant General S L Narasimhan, PVSM, AVSM*, VSM, is an Infantry Officer who served in the Indian Army for 40 years and worked extensively on the India China border. He served as the Defence Attaché in the Embassy of India in China for three years. Prior to going to China, he qualified in the Chinese language with distinction. He is a former Member of the National Security Advisory Board. Narasimhan was the first Director General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies, an inter-ministerial think tank of Government of India, embedded in the Ministry of External Affairs, for five years.

Major General B.K. Sharma, AVSM, SM and Bar (Retd.) is the Director General of United Service Institution of India (USI). He was commissioned in the SIKHLIGHT Infantry Regiment in 1976 and superannuated in 2012. He has tenanted prestigious assignments in India, including command of a mountain division on the China border and Senior Faculty Member at the National Defence College. He has lectured at the prestigious military establishment, policy think tanks, universities and literature festivals in India and abroad. He regularly participates in Track-2 Level dialogues.



Brigadier Sanal Kumar retired in 2017 after 36 plus years in the Army as an infantryman. Keen student of languages and international relations, he continues to be current in Mandarin Chinese which he learnt prior to serving as the Deputy Defence Attache at our Embassy in China. Having had the opportunity of serving in almost all sectors of the India - China Line of Actual Control, he has had continuous association with China and China-related subjects for a significant time. Now retired he lives in Trivandrum, Kerala, even as he continues to be a keen China student.

Dr. Amrita Jash is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education (Institution of Eminence), Manipal, India. She holds a PhD in Chinese Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University. Dr. Jash was a Pavate Fellow at the University of Cambridge and is the author of "China's Japan Policy: Learning from the Past" and "The Concept of Active Defence in China's Military Strategy". Her research interests are China's foreign policy, Chinese military, security and strategic issues related to India-China and China-Japan relations and the Indo-Pacific.



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).

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Captain Sarabjeet Singh Parmar (Retd.) is an alumnus of National Defence Academy (NDA) Kharakwasla and Defence Services Staff College (DSSC) Wellington. He was commissioned into the Indian Navy in 1987. He is a Seaking pilot who has commanded INS Bedi, INS Sharda and INAS 330. He was a member of the XI Indian Antarctic Summer Expedition in 1991 and represented the Indian Navy in the first international HOSTAC conference held at Norfolk, USA in 2008. He joined the NMF in April 2018 as a Senior Fellow and was the Executive Director from June 2019 to January 2022.

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 Chapter, President of the Navy Foundation Chennai Chapter and the Director of the Asian Bureau of the World Border Police.



Dr. Ma Bo holds a PhD in Political Science from the City University of New York (CUNY), United States and an LLM in Public International Law, Queen Mary University of London, United Kingdom with British Chevening Scholarship. He was previously a Research Fellow and Director of Maritime Law Program at the China Center for Collaborative Study of the South China Sea, Nanjing University, China. He Dr has been Wang Gungwu Visiting Fellow with ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute

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. Pooja Bhatt is an Associate Professor at the Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University. She is also the author of 'Nine-Dash Line: Deciphering the South China Sea Conundrum' (Knowledge World 2020). Pooja was a part of the prestigious Indian Navy History book A Decade of Transformation: The Indian Navy 2011-21 released by the Hon'ble President of India on Navy Day 2022. Previously, she taught as an Assistant Professor in the School of Defence and Strategic Studies at Rastriya Raksha University, Gandhinagar. She was also a Consultant with the Ministry of External Affairs.

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Dr. Guoguang Wu is a Senior Research Scholar at the Stanford Center on China's Economy and Institutions, Stanford University. His research specializes in Chinese politics and comparative political economy, including, in China studies, elite politics, national political institutions and policy-making mechanisms, and China's search for its position in the world. Guoguang received a Ph.D. and an MA in politics from Princeton University (1995; 1993), an MA in journalism/political commentary from the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (1984).

Dr. Wen-Hsuan Tsai is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. His research focuses on Chinese political development and comparative authoritarian regimes. He has published extensively in prominent journals, including *Asian Survey*, *China Quarterly*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, and *Modern China*. Dr. Tsai's books include *The Logic of Political Reform in Mainland China: A Comparative Study of Sichuan, Guangdong, and Jiangsu* (2011) and the co-authored *Targeting the 18th Party Congress: The CCP's Fifth Generation of Political Leaders* (2012), both in Chinese.



Dr. T. G. Suresh is Associate Professor in the Centre for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University. He was a visiting fellow to Universities and academic institutions in China. His publications and conference papers cover a broad range of concerns including nationalism, the political economy of reforms in Sichuan province, labour and building production in Shanghai and Delhi and the new urban labour regime in China. He received the Asia Fellows award to conduct field study on the political economy of reforms in Sichuan province.

Dr. Ritu Agarwal is Associate Professor at Centre for East Asian studies, School of International Studies, JNU. Her Doctoral work explored the micro-level agrarian transformation in Yunnan and she is currently engaged in questions of provincial transformation mainly in Yunnan. She was a visiting scholar to Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences and visiting fellow to Yunnan Minzu University and Yunnan University. She was also affiliated to Chinese University of Hong Kong and East Asia Institute, National University of Singapore to collect material for her research work.



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