

23 &
24
SEP
2025

GCNS EDITION III

CONFERENCE HANDBOOK



GLOBAL CONFERENCE
on NEW SINOLOGY

INTERCONNECTED EQUILIBRIUM



ORGANISATION FOR RESEARCH ON
CHINA AND ASIA

www.orcasia.org
NEW/DELHI



ABOUT ORCA & GCNS

Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA) is a 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, assembles the finest global minds in Sinology from diverse academic backgrounds to analyze and understand Chinese dreams and actions. It is India's leading dialogue-driven China conference taking place every September in New Delhi.

The inaugural edition of the GCNS in 2023 was themed *Beijing's Superpower Ambitions in the 'New Era'*. ORCA hosted 55+ national/international experts and 400+ delegates in attendance across 5 sessions spanning two days with over 22 panels. It was India's first Chinese domestic politics-focused conference integrating contemporary facets of New Sinology. It convened leading Sinologists and experts to critically explore China's rising ambitions and internal dynamics.

The event deliberations were well received by both policymakers and government representatives, with the conference report having received over 7000+ views.

Building on that momentum, GCNS 2024 centered on *The Art of Power in Zhongnanhai*. The conference deliberations focused 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'.

The event hosted over 1,200 registrants and featured more than 55 distinguished speakers delivering 66 talks across five carefully curated sessions. With 400+ delegates from academia, policy circles, diplomacy and media, GCNS 2024 served as a key platform for understanding China's evolving power dynamics.

The unique topics ideated by ORCA at previous editions of GCNS have gone on to become grander avenues of discussion and scholarship. GCNS embodies ORCA's intellectual mission: to craft a new vocabulary of China analysis that is theoretically rigorous, policy-relevant and globally engaged. This third edition builds on this goal with Day 1 featuring thematic panels, keynotes and experts' dialogues. Day 2 will be hosting closed-door roundtables.

THEME

CHINA'S 'DREAM' FOR A NEW MANDATE OF POWER

The 21st century is witnessing a historic reconfiguration of global power, marked by the rise of China and challenges to the post-Cold War liberal order. China's strategic trajectory and global posture today reflect more than material advancement—it embodies a strategic ambition to project an alternative vision of order, governance and global engagement. The theme of this year's conference, China's 'Dream' for a New Mandate of Power, invites critical scrutiny of the evolving ideological, institutional and geopolitical foundations of China's contemporary statecraft under President Xi Jinping. The phrase "Mandate of Power" intentionally echoes the ancient Confucian principle of the Mandate of Heaven or *tiānmìng* (天命), which conferred legitimacy upon rulers contingent on their ability to sustain order and deliver prosperity. In the modern context, this moral-political logic is being reimagined as a legitimating framework through which the Communist Party of China (CPC) seeks both domestic authority and international influence.

This year's conference interrogates how China is exporting a new model of global order—through state-led capitalism, infrastructure diplomacy, digital authority and controlled multilateralism—all framed under the ideological narrative of the "China Dream" (中国梦). This dream is not merely a nationalist project or a narrative of 'rejuvenation', but also a conceptual umbrella that asserts China's right to reshape the norms, hierarchies and rules of the international system. China's assertive quest for a new mandate of power is reshaping that threshold—from territorial sovereignty conflicts in Asia to embedding its leadership in UN agencies and forging cross-continental influence through infrastructure-led statecraft. The conference will also critically examine how China's military modernization—anchored in strategic innovation, civil-military fusion and expanding expeditionary capabilities—constitutes a central pillar of its broader mandate of power.

China's pursuit, however, is neither linear nor unchallenged. Its projection faces growing pushback across multiple frontiers: strategic contestation in the Indo-Pacific, ideological resistance from liberal democracies, structural vulnerabilities within its own economy and increasing scrutiny from Global South actors wary of dependency and political leverage. These frictions invite a fundamental question: Is China's search for a "new mandate of power" sustainable—and if so, at what cost to the existing world order?

In 2025, GCNS aims to move beyond the binaries of cooperation versus containment and instead frame China as a complex, evolving node in a system of competing mandates. It is not merely about what China is, but what China wants to become—and what that ambition demands of the rest of the world.

This year's GCNS 2025 will follow ORCA's distinctive structure, combining Thematic Panels, Roundtables, Keynote Addresses, Experts' Dialogues and Closed-door Roundtables. This amalgamated format is ideated with the vision of promoting cross-disciplinary dialogue and enabling policy-academic synergy—hallmarks of the GCNS tradition.

MESSAGE FROM DIRECTOR

It is my great privilege to welcome you to the third edition of the Global Conference on New Sinology (GCNS), organised by the Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA). What began in 2022 as an idea—that India needed a platform dedicated to a fresh and critical study of China—has, in just three years, grown into an international gathering of leading scholars, policymakers and practitioners.

This year's theme, China's 'Dream' for a New Mandate of Power, could not be more timely. Under Xi Jinping, China is seeking to redefine not only its domestic political legitimacy but also the terms of global engagement. By echoing the Confucian 'Mandate of Heaven', this conference seeks to draw connections between China's contemporary great power ambitions and their deeper ideological foundations, in order to better understand the logic underpinning its twenty-first century statecraft. For India and the wider world, unpacking this transformation is essential to understanding the shifting architecture of global order.

GCNS has from the outset been designed to go beyond simple binaries of cooperation versus competition. It is rooted in the conviction that the study of China must bring together politics, history, security and society. This year's discussions reflect that philosophy—probing how China uses time, power and narrative to shape its role in the world, and asking how others, from the Indo-Pacific to the Global South, are responding.

ORCA is proud to be the only India-based think tank devoted exclusively to Chinese politics. Built by a young team under the age of 30, ORCA's work spans strategic research, policy engagement and global dialogue. In recent years, we have expanded our research portfolio to include Chinese influence operations in India, the future of the Belt and Road Initiative and Beijing's role in shaping global commons. Through initiatives like GCNS, we aim to equip Indian and Asian debates with sharper analytical tools and to place Delhi firmly on the global map of China studies.

I am deeply grateful to our partners, speakers and participants who have joined us in this endeavour. GCNS is not only a conference but also a commitment—to rigorous scholarship, to open dialogue and to building an Indian perspective on China that is both globally engaged and intellectually confident. On behalf of ORCA, I thank you for being part of this year's conference.

Eerishika Pankaj
Director, ORCA
Convenor, GCNS



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, China's economic transformation and India-China economic relations at ORCA. Reach him @bhole_omkar on X.



Ratish Mehta

Senior Research Associate, ORCA & Co-Convenor, GCNS

Specializing in deconstructing political narratives and India's foreign policy in the Global South and South Asia, Ratish is a Senior Research Associate at ORCA and the author of its latest Special report on "Chinese Democracy in Theory and Practice". You can find him on X at @ratish_mehta.

Ophelia Yumlembam

Research Associate, ORCA & Co-Convenor, GCNS

Ophelia Yumlembam is a Research Associate at the Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA). Her research focuses on India's Act East Policy, China-Myanmar relations and China's influence in and around India's Northeast region. Reach out to her on X at @Ophelia_yum.



Trishala S

Research Associate, ORCA & Co-Convenor, 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 work focuses on the intersections of urban social policy, family studies and migration. Reach out to her on X at @Trishala_15.

SCHEDULE

DAY 1 (23.9.25)

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



REGISTRATIONS

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

OPENING REMARKS

9:00 AM - 9:10 AM

BY MS. EERISHIKA PANKAJ | Director, Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), New Delhi

WELCOME REMARKS

9:10 AM - 9:20 AM

BY AMB. SHYAM SARAN | Former Foreign Secretary of India; President, India International Centre (IIC), New Delhi

OPENING KEYNOTE ADDRESS

9:20 AM - 9:40 AM

THE MANDATE REIMAGINED: CHINA'S STRATEGIC THINKING BEHIND THE ARCHITECTURE OF ITS RISE

BY DR. ANDREW SCOBELL | Distinguished Fellow, United States Institute for Peace; Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, USA

CLOSING OF OPENING SESSION

9:40 AM - 9:45 AM

BY MS. EERISHIKA PANKAJ | Director, Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), New Delhi

MORNING TEA BREAK

9:45 AM - 10:15 AM

SESSION 1

10:15 AM - 1:00 PM

HOW DOES CHINA PLAN, PREPARE AND IMPLEMENT ITS VISION?

PANEL DISCUSSION

10:15 AM - 11:25 AM

CHRONOPOLITICS

CHARACTERISTICS:

ACCELERATION AND TEMPORAL POWER

WITH

STRATEGIC

CHINESE

PATIENCE,

MODERATED BY PROF. MANORANJAN MOHANTY

Distinguished Professor, Council for Social Development, New Delhi

- **Dr. Prachi Aggarwal** (Assistant Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi, New Delhi)
Politics and Planning of Future Proofing Energy Resources
- **Dr. Bali Deepak** (Professor, Chinese Studies, Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)
Bureaucratic Clockwork: How China Plans, Defers and Accelerates Governance
- **Dr. Srikanth Kondapalli** (Professor, Chinese Studies, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)
Chronostrategy in Military Modernization and the Art of Strategic Patience
- **Dr. Yu Hong** (Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore)
China's Belt and Road Initiative and the Geopolitics of Long-Term Engagements

EXPERTS' DIALOGUE

11:25 AM - 12:10 PM

MAPPING

BETWEEN

TACTICAL ADAPTATION

CHINA'S

STRATEGIC

ECONOMIC

ASSERTIVENESS

DIPLOMACY:

AND

- **Dr. Shino Watanabe** (Professor, Faculty of Global Studies, Sophia University, Japan)
- **Dr. Jagannath Panda** (Head, Stockholm Center for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs, Institute for Security & Development Policy, Sweden)

PANEL DISCUSSION

12:10 PM - 1:00 PM

INVISIBLE

PLAYBOOK:

ARCHITECTURES

IN

THE CPC

VALUES AND RHETORIC

MODERATED BY DR. RAJIV RANJAN

Associate Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, Delhi University, New Delhi

- **Dr. Sriparna Pathak** (Professor and the Director of the Centre for Northeast Asian Studies, Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University, Delhi NCR)
Rituals of Power: Symbols, Speeches and the Aesthetics of Legitimacy
- **Dr. Jacqueline Zhenru Lin** (Research Assistant Professor, Centre for China Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China)
Identity, Morality and Social Credit: Shaping an Ideal Citizen with Chinese Characteristics
- **Dr. Andrew Chubb** (Senior Lecturer, Department of Politics, Philosophy and Religion, Lancaster University, United Kingdom)
Vectors of Global Narratives: The Role of Party Organs, Diaspora and Media

LUNCH

1:00 PM - 2:00 PM

SESSION 2

2:00 PM - 5:30 PM

WHAT PATTERNS OF GLOBAL CHANGE EMERGE FROM CHINA'S RISE?

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

2:00 PM – 2:35 PM

MANDATES AND MULTILATERALISM: CHINA'S POWER PLAY AT THE UNITED NATIONS

- **Amb. Ruchira Kamboj** (Former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations at New York; Former Ambassador of India to Bhutan)

PANEL DISCUSSION

2:35 PM - 3:40 PM

INDIA-CHINA IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH AND THE CONTEST FOR A NEW MANDATE

MODERATED BY DR. STANLY JOHNY

International Affairs Editor, The Hindu, Chennai

- **Dr. Bhagya Senaratne** (Director of Education, Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka)
The Global South's Strategy Amidst Competing Developmental Frameworks
- **Dr. Zheng Anguang** (Professor and Director, Institute of International Studies, Nanjing University, China)
The Indo-Pacific in China's Global South Imagination: Narratives, Initiatives, and Power
- **Dr. Yanitha Meena Louis** (Analyst, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia)
Perspectives of the Global South: Navigating the Contours of India and China's Engagement in the Developing World
- **Amb. Ujal Singh Bhatia** (Former Ambassador of India to the WTO; Former Chairman of the WTO's Appellate Body)
India's Development Diplomacy and the Geoeconomics of its Global South Engagement

EXPERTS' DIALOGUE

3:40 PM - 4:25 PM

BEYOND BORDERS, ACROSS WATERS: CHINA'S STRATEGIC MEDIATION AND MARITIME POWER PROJECTION

- **Dr. Jennifer Staats** (Senior Political Scientist and Associate Director, China Research Center, RAND Corporation, USA)
- **Dr. Christian Schultheiss** (Senior Research Fellow, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Germany)

PANEL DISCUSSION

4:25 PM - 5:30 PM

POWER, LEGITIMACY AND THE DOMESTIC FOUNDATIONS OF CHINA'S GLOBAL STRATEGY

MODERATED BY MR. RAHUL KARAN REDDY

Senior Research Associate, Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), New Delhi

- **Dr. Sundaram Rajasimman** (Lecturer, Sichuan International Studies University, Chongqing, China)
Reimagining Power: The Narrative of Xi's China Dream
- **Ms. Asha Hemrajani** (Senior Fellow, Centre of Excellence for National Security, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore)
Infrastructure, Actors and Global Implications of China's Digital Connectivity
- **Dr. Anton Harder** (Guest Lecturer, Department of International History, London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom)
National Unity and Power Projection: Role of Ethnic Governance in China's Diplomacy
- **Lt. Gen. S L Narasimhan** (Former Director General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies; Adjunct Distinguished Fellow, Gateway House, Mumbai)
PLA as the Strategic Enabler of the Party's Global Security Initiative

EVENING TEA BREAK

5:30 PM - 6:00 PM

SCHEDULE

DAY 2 (24.9.25)

CLOSED-DOOR DISCUSSION UNDER CHATHAM HOUSE RULE

INVITATION-BASED ENTRY ONLY

REGISTRATIONS

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

ROUNDTABLE I
9:30 AM - 11:00 AM

**CONTOURS
FORECASTING
LANDSCAPE**

**OF CONFRONTATION:
INDIA-CHINA SECURITY**

MODERATED BY DR. JAGANNATH PANDA

Head, Stockholm Center for South Asian and Indo-Pacific Affairs, Institute for Security & Development Policy, Sweden

Discussants (in no particular order):

- **Lt. Gen. S L Narasimhan** (Former Director General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies; Adjunct Distinguished Fellow, Gateway House, Mumbai)
- **Mr. Abhijit Singh** (Retired naval officer and former Head, Maritime Policy Initiative, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi)
- **Dr. Andrew Scobell** (Distinguished Fellow, United States Institute of Peace; Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, USA)
- **Dr. Andrew Chubb** (Senior Lecturer, Department of Politics, Philosophy and Religion, Lancaster University, United Kingdom)
- **Dr. Nisha Taneja** (Professor and Lead for Trade, Investment and External Relations, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations, New Delhi)
- **Ms. Antara Ghosal Singh** (China Fellow, Strategic Studies Program, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi)

MORNING TEA BREAK

11:00 AM - 11:30 AM

ROUNDTABLE II

11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

DECODING CHINA'S STRATEGIC POSTURE ACROSS GEOPOLITICAL FLASHPOINTS

MODERATED BY PROF. SUKH DEO MUNI

Professor Emeritus, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Discussants (in no particular order):

- **Dr. Shino Watanabe** (Professor, Faculty of Global Studies, Sophia University, Japan)
- **Dr. Stanly Johny** (International Affairs Editor, The Hindu, Chennai)
- **Dr. Jennifer Staats** (Senior Political Scientist and Associate Director, China Research Centre, RAND Corporation, USA)
- **Dr. Christian Schultheiss** (Senior Research Fellow, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Germany)
- **Dr. Tara Kartha** (Former Director, National Security Council Secretariat; current Director (Research), Centre for Land Warfare Studies, New Delhi)
- **Dr. Aleksei Zakharov** (Fellow, Strategic Studies Program, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi)

LUNCH

1:00 PM - 2:00 PM

ROUNDTABLE III

2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

MINILATERALISM, MULTIPOLARITY AND CHINA'S INDO-PACIFIC RESPONSE

MODERATED BY MS. EERISHIKA PANKAJ

Director, Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), New Delhi

Discussants (in no particular order):

- **Dr. Yu Hong** (Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore)
- **Dr. Sundaram Rajasimman** (Lecturer, Sichuan International Studies University, Chongqing, China)
- **Dr. Yanitha Meena Louis** (Analyst, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia)
- **Dr. Zheng Anguang** (Professor and Director, Institute of International Studies, Nanjing University, China)
- **Dr. Bhagya Senaratne** (Director of Education, Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka)
- **Cmde. Anil Jai Singh** (Senior Vice President, Thyssenkrupp Marine Systems India; Vice President and Head, Indian Maritime Foundation, New Delhi)

ROUNDTABLE IV

3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

CONSOLIDATING CONTROL: PARTY POWER & GOVERNANCE DYNAMICS IN XI JINPING'S CHINA

MODERATED BY DR. SRIKANTH KONDAPALLI

Professor, Chinese Studies, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Discussants (in no particular order):

- **Mr. Ratish Mehta** (Senior Research Associate at Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), New Delhi)
- **Ms. Asha Hemrajani** (Senior Fellow, Centre of Excellence for National Security, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore)
- **Ms. Shikha Aggarwal** (Former Visiting Fellow, National Chengchi University, Taiwan)
- **Dr. Jacqueline Zhenru Lin** (Research Assistant Professor, Centre for China Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China)
- **Mr. Rahul Karan Reddy** (Senior Research Associate at Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), New Delhi)
- **Dr. Tilak Jha** (Associate Professor, Times School of Media, Bennett University, Delhi NCR)

EVENING TEA BREAK

5:00 PM - 5:30 PM

SPECIAL ROUNDTABLE

5:30 PM - 6:45 PM

EVOLVING DYNAMISM OF CHINA'S TRANS-HIMALAYAN SECURITY STRATEGY

MODERATED BY MS. EERISHIKA PANKAJ

Director, Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), New Delhi

Discussants (in no particular order):

- **Dr. Medha Bisht** (Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, South Asian University, New Delhi)
- **Dr. Bali Deepak** (Professor, Chinese Studies, Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)
- **Dr. Anton Harder** (Guest Lecturer, Department of International History, London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom)

CLOSING REMARKS

6:45 PM - 7:00 PM

BY MS. EERISHIKA PANKAJ | Director, Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), New Delhi

DINNER

7:00 PM - 8:30 PM

SPEAKER BIOS



Mr. Abhijit Singh is a retired naval officer and former Head of the Maritime Policy Initiative at Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. A maritime professional with specialist and command experience in front-line Indian naval ships, he has been involved in the writing of India's Maritime Strategy, and assisted the late Vice Admiral G. M. Hiranandani (Retd) in the authorship of the third volume of Indian Naval History, Transition to Guardianship. He has written widely on maritime security and governance, and edited volumes "Indian Ocean Challenges" and "Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific".



Dr. Aleksei Zakharov is a Fellow with Observer Research Foundation's Strategic Studies Programme. His research focuses on Russia's foreign policy towards South Asia and India-Russia relations. He was previously a Post-doctoral Fellow at HSE University, Moscow, and a Research Fellow at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. He has also been a Visiting Fellow at Gateway House, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA), and the French Institute of Geopolitics, University of Paris 8.



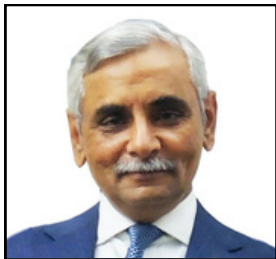
Dr. Andrew Chubb is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics, Philosophy and Religion at Lancaster University, United Kingdom. His research explores the intersections of Chinese domestic politics and international relations, with particular focus on maritime and territorial disputes, strategic communication, political propaganda, and the history of the Chinese Communist Party. He is the author of "Chinese Nationalism and the Gray Zone: Case Analyses of Public Opinion" and the "PRC Overseas Political Activities: Risk, Reaction and the Case of Australia".



Dr. Andrew Scobell is a Distinguished Fellow with the China Program at the U.S. Institute of Peace and Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. His research focuses on US-China relations, China's armed forces and defense policy, and Chinese foreign policy, with emphasis on the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, South and Central Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. His recent publications include "China's Grand Strategy: Trends, Trajectories, Long-Term Competition" and "The Dawn of the Belt and Road: China in the Developing World".

FOR LONGER BIOS PLEASE SCAN





Commodore Anil Jai Singh is a veteran maritime strategist and submarine technology expert with over three decades of service in the Indian Navy as a submariner, followed by more than a decade in senior leadership with a leading global undersea technology firm. He is currently the Senior Vice President of Thyssenkrupp Marine Systems India, and also serves as Vice President, Indian Maritime Foundation, heading its Delhi branch. During his naval career, he served in the Directorates of Naval Plans and Submarine Acquisition at Naval Headquarters.



Ms. Antara Ghosal Singh is a Fellow at the Strategic Studies Programme at Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. Her area of research includes China-India relations, China-India-US triangle, China in South Asia, Chinese foreign policy, China's domestic development among others. Prior to ORF, she has worked at CSEP, Delhi Policy Group, National Maritime Foundation and Manohar Parrikar Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis (MP-IDSA). Before starting her career in academics, she has worked as a journalist with the Times of India and the Deccan Chronicle Group.



Dr. Anton Harder is a historian, analyst of China-India affairs and consultant. He has spent the last 3 years teaching modern Chinese history at the University of Nottingham and has now returned to the London School of Economics as a Fellow in East Asian History. He is currently working on a book manuscript on Sino-Indian relations in the Cold War with Oxford University Press. Prior to academia, Dr. Harder worked in international commodity shipping in both Beijing and London. He also advises European firms on China and political risk. He speaks and reads Mandarin fluently.



Ms. Asha Hemrajani is a Senior Fellow at the Centre of Excellence in National Security (CENS), RSIS. Her research focuses on digital infrastructure, emerging technologies, cybersecurity, information and data security, Critical Information Infrastructure (CII), and AI safety and security, as well as the intersection of geopolitics and technology in the context of national security, disinformation, and terrorism. Previously, she served as a member of the Board of Directors of ICANN.



Dr. Bali Deepak is a Professor of Chinese Studies at the Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, JNU, New Delhi, India. His most recent work, *Rising India and China: Strategic Rivalry in the Himalayas and the Indo-Pacific* (two volumes), was published by Springer Nature's Palgrave Macmillan in 2025, contributing significant insights into contemporary geopolitical dynamics in Asia. He also contributes regularly to public discourse on China through his column "Eye on China" in *The Sunday Guardian*.





Dr. Bhagya Senaratne is the Director of Education at the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies (BCIS), Sri Lanka. She was previously a Postdoctoral Fellow of Global Asia at New York University Shanghai, where she led the “Belt and Road Initiative and South Asia” project and curated the CGA BRI Talk Series. She has also served as a Senior Lecturer at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. Her research intersects Foreign Policy Analysis, China Studies, agency of small and medium states, security studies and Maritime Security.



Dr. Christian Schultheiss is a Senior Research Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg, Germany. His current research focuses on maritime dispute settlement in the Indo-Pacific and the role of satellite and AI technologies for ocean governance and maritime security. As a Senior Expert for the EEAS, he led consultations on guidelines for coast guards at the ASEAN Regional Forum during the EU's co-chairmanship and established the first two EU-China Experts' Meetings on Maritime Security.



Ms. Eerishika Pankaj is the Director of the Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA) and is the Convenor of ORCA's Global Conference on New Sinology (GCNS). She is also an Editorial and Research Assistant to the Series Editor for Routledge Series on Think Asia; a 2020 Young Leader of Pacific Forum's Young Leaders Program; a Quad Think Tank Leader of the U.S. State Department's LLOD program; a Member of the Indo-Pacific Circle and a Council Member of WICCI's India-EU Business Council.



Dr. Jacqueline Zhenru Lin is a Research Assistant Professor at the Centre for China Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, China. Her research delves into Chinese transnationalism, digital media, nationalism, Social Anthropology and war commemoration. She earned her D.Phil. in China Studies from the University of Cambridge, and completed an M.Phil. in Gender Studies and Anthropology at The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Dr. Lin was awarded the Circle of Excellence Award by the Council of Advancement and Support of Education (UK) in 2022.



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

FOR LONGER BIOS PLEASE SCAN





Dr. Jennifer Staats is a Senior Political Scientist and Associate Director of the China Research Center at the RAND Corporation. She was the Director of East Asia and Pacific Programs at the U.S. Institute of Peace. She has also served as Director for Advanced Capabilities on the U.S. National Security Council staff and worked in the Office of the Secretary of Defense at the Pentagon, managing the Asian and Pacific Security Affairs legislative portfolio. She studied in Beijing and Taipei, was a Fulbright Scholar in Germany, and is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Professor Manoranjan Mohanty is a Distinguished Professor at the Council for Social Development, New Delhi. Previously, he was a Professor of Political Science and Director of the Developing Countries Research Centre at the University of Delhi, New Delhi, where he taught Comparative Politics, Chinese Politics and Research Methodology. His research interests include the Political Economy of China, India and global transformation. His publication, based on a thirty-year study of China's reforms with a focus on Wuxi, is "China's Transformation: The Success Story and the Success Trap".



Dr. Medha Bisht is an Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at South Asian University, Delhi. Her research interests include philosophy and theory of IR, water governance and diplomacy at international, transboundary and local scales, transnational networks in International Relations and Asian diplomatic thought. Previously an Associate Fellow at MP-IDSA and Research Associate with Institute for Social Studies Trust, she worked on international projects on water governance and diplomacy with Dhaka University, IUCN, Uppsala University, and WWF (P), Lahore.



Dr. Nisha Taneja is a Professor and Lead for Trade, Investment and External Relations (TIER) at the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), Delhi. She was appointed as advisor to the Government of Nepal on transshipment and has also been an international consultant with the World Bank and Asian Development Bank. Recently, she worked as Lead International Consultant for the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN and the SAARC Agriculture Centre. She also served as a member of the World Economic Forum's Global Future Council on Trade and Investment.



Dr. Prachi Aggarwal is an Assistant Professor of Chinese Language and Literature, Department of East Asian Studies at the University of Delhi. Formerly, she was based at Sanchi University of Buddhist Indic Studies. Her areas of interest are energy studies, Chinese diplomacy and India-China relations. She is the author of "China's Energy Security: The Journey from Self-Sufficiency to Global Investor" as well as "China's Energy Security: The Domestic Discussion". She is a fluent Mandarin speaker.

FOR LONGER BIOS PLEASE SCAN





Mr. Rahul Karan Reddy is a Senior Research Associate at the Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA) and Director of the ORCA Consultancy. He is the author of "Islands on the Rocks", a monograph on the Senkaku/Diaoyu island dispute. He is the creator of the India-China Trade dashboard, Chinese Provincial Development Indicators dashboard and co-lead for the project 'Episodes of India-China Exchanges'. He is also co-convenor of ORCA's Global Conference on New Sinology (GCNS). His work has been published in 9 Dash Line, East Asia Forum, ISDP & Tokyo Review, among others.



Dr. Rajiv Ranjan is an Associate Professor in the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi, where he teaches Chinese politics and foreign policy. Previously he taught international politics at the College of Liberal Arts, Shanghai University, China. He is also an adjunct fellow at ICS, Delhi. Previously, he was a Research Fellow at the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) in New Delhi and a Visiting Senior Scholar at School of Political Science and Public Administration, Shandong University in Jinan, China.



Mr. Ratish Mehta is a Senior Research Associate at the Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA). He is the author of ORCA's Special Report on "Chinese Democracy in Theory and Practice" and serves as the co-lead for the project "The Episodes of India-China Exchanges". His area of interest includes understanding the value of Narratives, Rhetoric and Ideology in State and Non-State interactions along with focusing on India's Foreign Policy interests in the Global South and South Asia. He is also the co-convenor of ORCA's Global Conference on New Sinology (GCNS).



Ambassador Ruchira Kamboj is the former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations in New York. She made history in 2022 as the first Indian woman to preside over the UNSC. She has also served as India's first female Ambassador to Bhutan, former High Commissioner to South Africa and Lesotho, and former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of India to UNESCO, Paris and from 2009 to 2011 was seconded to the Commonwealth Secretariat in London as a staff officer to the Secretary-General.



Professor Sukh Deo Muni is Professor Emeritus at the School of International Studies (SIS), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). He is also a member of the Executive Council of the Institute for Defence and Strategic Analyses, New Delhi. He was India's Special Envoy for Southeast Asian Countries for the UN Security Council Reforms and also served as India's Ambassador to the Lao People's Democratic Republic. He was nominated to the first-ever constituted National Security Advisory Board of India.

FOR LONGER BIOS PLEASE SCAN





Ms. Shikha Aggarwal's research focuses on Chinese domestic politics, CPC elite politics, Party institutions, and internal security bureaucracy. She was recently selected as one of the 12 members of the Quad China Task Force, conceptualised by the Observer Research Foundation (ORF)-America and Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)-DC. In 2020, she was awarded the prestigious Taiwan Fellowship by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan. From 2020 to 2023, she served as a Visiting Fellow at the IIR, National Chengchi University (NCCU).



Dr. Shino Watanabe is Associate Professor, Faculty of Global Studies at Sophia University, Tokyo. She received her MA in Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School, Tufts University, and earned her Ph.D. in Foreign Affairs from the Woodrow Wilson Department of Politics, University of Virginia. Professor Watanabe also served as a Security Studies Fellow for the Research Institute for Peace and Security-Center for Global Partnership at the Japan Foundation and as a Research Fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo.



Ambassador Shyam Saran is a former Foreign Secretary of India and has served as Prime Minister's Special Envoy For Nuclear Affairs and Climate Change. Previously, he headed the RIS (2011-2017) and was Chairman of the NSA Board under the NSC (2013-15). He is the current President of India International Centre, Member of the Governing Board of the Institute of Chinese Studies, a Trustee at the WWF India and Member of the Executive Council of the FICCI. He was awarded the Padma Bhushan, India's 3rd-highest civilian award, in 2011.



Lieutenant General S L Narasimhan PVSM, AVSM*,VSM served in the Indian Army for 40 years as an Infantry Officer, working extensively on the LAC. He has been the Defence Attaché in the Embassy of India in China and was formerly a Member of the NSA Board, as well as the first Director General of the Centre for Contemporary China Studies (CCCS). Currently, he is an Adjunct Distinguished Fellow with Gateway House, Mumbai; Non-Resident Senior Associate with CSIS, Washington; Adjunct Professor with NIAS, Bengaluru; and Emeritus Resource Faculty with RRU.



Dr. Srikanth Kondapalli is a Professor of Chinese Studies at the Centre for East Asian Studies in JNU, New Delhi. Formerly Dean of School of International Studies (SIS), JNU and Chairman of the Centre for East Asian Studies, SIS, JNU, he is a Chair Professor under Chair of Excellence at the Ministry of Defence. He was a post-Doctoral Visiting Fellow at People's University, Beijing; a Visiting Professor at National Chengchi University, Taipei; a Visiting Fellow at CICIR, Beijing; and a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at People's University among others. He is the author of 2 books on China's military and naval power.





Dr. Sriparna Pathak is a Professor of China Studies, founding Director of the Centre for Northeast Asian Studies at O.P. Jindal Global University, and Associate Director of the Jindal India Institute. She also serves as Director of the Centre for China Studies at the Council for Strategic Affairs, Washington, D.C. She has previously worked at Gauhati University, Don Bosco University, the Ministry of External Affairs, the Observer Research Foundation (New Delhi and Kolkata) and the Centre for Armed Forces Historical Research, New Delhi.



Dr. Stanly Johny is the International Affairs Editor at The Hindu. He has written extensively on geopolitics and Indian foreign policy for over a decade. He is a Visiting Professor at KREA University, Andhra Pradesh, adjunct faculty at the Asian College of Journalism, Chennai, and Visiting Fellow at Kerala University, Thiruvananthapuram. He is the author of "The ISIS Caliphate: From Syria to the Doorsteps of India", and "Original Sin: Israel, Palestine and the Revenge of Old West Asia".



Dr. Sundaram Rajasimman is a lecturer at Sichuan International Studies University, China and is associated with the Baize Institute for Strategic Studies at Southwest University of Political Science and Law, Chongqing. He has held research appointments at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Analysis, the Centre for Aerospace Power and Strategic Studies (CAPSS); and the National Security Research Foundation under India's National Security Council. He specializes in strategic culture, art and science of war, modern war history and political thought and philosophy.



Dr. Tara Kartha is the former Director of National Security Council Secretariat, Government of India. She currently serves as Director (Research) at the CLAWS, where she leads work on regional security, terrorism and great power dynamics. Previously, she was the Senior Jennings Randolph Fellow at the USIP. During her tenure of 5 National Security Advisors, her focus was primarily on Afghanistan and Pakistan, terrorism in the neighbourhood and radicalisation within India.

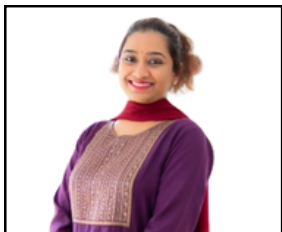


Dr. Tilak Jha is currently an Associate Professor at the Times School of Media, Bennett University. During the first Trump presidency, he covered the Sino-US trade war for the BBC. He is a former Asian Future Leaders Scholar at the School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University, under the Bai Xian Foundation, Hong Kong. Dr. Jha serves on the editorial board of Discover Global Society, a SCOPUS-indexed journal published by Springer Nature. His most recent work is the edited volume "Dynamics of World Politics and 21st Century Asia".





Ambassador Ujal Singh Bhatia is the Former Ambassador of India to the World Trade Organisation. He was involved in various negotiations under the Doha Round, and represented India in WTO disputes before the Appellate Body of which he was appointed a Member from 2011-2020. He served as Chairman of the Appellate Body for two years, and adjudicated 25 disputes between WTO Members. He served on the WTO Panel 'China-Measures Affecting Imports of Automobile Parts' and was Joint Secretary of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.



Dr. Yanitha Meena Louis is an Analyst at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies in Malaysia. Her research focuses on Indian foreign policy, the geopolitics of South Asia and Malaysia and ASEAN's relations with the region. She is also interested in Global South cooperation mechanisms with a focus on how regionalism, inter- and intra-regionalism, minilateralism and multilateralism operate in the Indo-Pacific. Her writings have appeared in Lowy Institute's The Interpreter, ORF Online, ISEAS Fulcrum, The Diplomat, Contemporary Southeast Asia and more.



Dr. Yu Hong is a Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore and Editor of East Asian Policy. His research interests cover Chinese regional economic development, the Belt and Road Initiative, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, China's state-owned enterprises and railway sector reform. His latest book is "Understanding China's Belt and Road Initiative" published in 2024. Dr Yu is also the recipient of the fifth annual John and Vivian Sabel Award for the best article by the Journal of Contemporary China.



Dr. Zheng Anguang is Professor and Director of the Institute of International Studies at Nanjing University. He is also an Adjunct Professor at the Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for American Studies and a Standing Council Member of the China National Association for International Studies. Dr. Zheng has previously served as a Freeman Fellow at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, visiting scholar at the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies and Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.



INTRODUCING OUR SPONSORS

MINISTRY PARTNER



Policy Planning & Research Division

Ministry of External Affairs
Government of India

The **Ministry of External Affairs (MEA)** is India's foreign ministry, responsible for managing the country's external relations and advancing its diplomatic, strategic, and economic interests. It oversees relations with foreign states, Commonwealth countries, and international organisations, manages diplomatic and consular services including passports and visas, and engages with the Indian diaspora. The Ministry also coordinates cultural diplomacy through the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and other initiatives. The Policy Planning & Research (PP&R) Division serves as the nodal agency for mid- and long-term policy planning, providing research, analysis and strategic insights to guide foreign policy formulation and implementation.

VENUE PARTNER



Considered one of the country's premier cultural institutions, the **India International Centre** is a non-government institution widely regarded as a place where statesmen, diplomats, policymakers, intellectuals, scientists, jurists, writers, artists and members of civil society meet to initiate the exchange of new ideas and knowledge in the spirit of international cooperation. Its purpose, stated in its charter, is 'to promote understanding and amity between the different communities of the world'. This premier Centre's dedication to the values of liberal humanism is best reflected in its activities and calendar of events.

RESEARCH AND EVENT COOPERATION PARTNER



ORCA Consultancy is the commercial arm of the Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA). It provides expert-led advisory and research services tailored to help our clients navigate the complexities of China's political and economic landscape. We offer a wide range of services, including market research, risk analysis, strategic planning, policy analysis, and business interactions to enhance decision-making of businesses, policymakers and individuals. Our team of analysts and researchers offer actionable insights and strategic guidance in a variety of ways to support your objectives.

HOSPITALITY PARTNER



The Grand has been affiliated with GCNS since the inception of the conference, also serving as a venue partner in 2023 and 2024. The Architectural intellect behind the hotel's build was developed by Skidmore, Owings and Merrill of London and Rajinder Kumar & Associates of Delhi. The courtesy of its well-built and enticing interior goes to the renowned Hirsch Bedner and Associates of San Francisco. The interior absolves itself with a touch of traditional Indian design with the safest architecture.

DIGITAL PARTNER



KWAD is a software consulting firm that specializes in Web-app, iOS & Android mobile application design and Website development. KWAD is a team of young professional and results-oriented designers and Software Engineers. KWAD has a long history of delivering stunning, smoothly functional, professional websites, portals, mobile applications, and web applications. It aims to create a niche for itself by developing websites for think tanks and research institutions. KWAD is also the designer of ORCA and GCNS websites.

ORCA
ORGANIZATION FOR RESEARCH IN CHINA AND ASIA

INDIA'S SOFT PUSH FOR POWER IN SOUTH ASIA

SHAPING A FAVOURABLE TOMORROW

AN ORGANISATION FOR RESEARCH ON CHINA AND INDIA ORCA PUBLICATION

CO EDITED BY
OMAKR SHU LE AND RANISH MEHTA

ORCA SPECIAL ISSUE 4

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN DIPLOMACY

EXPLORING MULTIDISCIPLINARY LENSES

Edited by
EERISHIKA PANKAJ & DIVYA BALAN

WHOLE-PROCESS PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

China's Alternative Governance Model

Edited by
Ranish Mehta | August 22, 2025

09
March 2025

The ORCA Files

IF IN THE HAND OF THE PEOPLE, THE ORCA FILES WILL BE THE MOST VALUABLE AND IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS FOR THE PEOPLE OF INDIA AND CHINA

19th CENTRAL COMMITTEE

PART 2

BRI'S STRATEGIC CORRIDORS

Chinese Infrastructure as Leverage in Peru

CHINA Provinces Dashboard

CHINA Census Dashboard

EPISODES 17 INDIA-CHINA EXCHANGES

INDIA'S SOFT PUSH FOR POWER IN SOUTH ASIA

Episodes of India-China E Modern Bridges and Resonance

ORCA SPECIAL REPORT 1

THE 'PRINCE' AND ALL HIS MEN
PREDICTING PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE 20TH NPC

PREPARED BY
RAHUL KARAN REDDY
RESEARCH ASSOCIATE, ORCA

SEPTEMBER 2022

THE DALAI LAMA'S SUCCESSION

Strategic Realities of the Tibet Question

CHINA'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DASHBOARD

AN INTERACTIVE DASHBOARD THAT MONITORS CHINA'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN 2017

CONFERENCE REPORT GCNS 2024

ORCA'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE REPORT

GCNS CONFERENCE REPORT 2023

192 Court tries Reached

Within an year of inception, ORCA began being accessed and read across continents with consistent in demand that has only grown

CHINA'S ALL WEATHER' ARMS EXPORTS TO PAKISTAN

THE DALAI LAMA'S SUCCESSION

Strategic Realities of the Tibet Question

CHINA'S External Lending A Combination of Two

CHINA'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DASHBOARD

AN INTERACTIVE DASHBOARD THAT MONITORS CHINA'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN 2017

TRANSBOUNDARY WATER SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA

STRATEGIES FOR COOPERATION AND COMPETITION

IMPLICATIONS OF THE 20TH PARTY CONGRESS: ECONOMICS, POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Reviewing Chinese Culture

Only of China's cultural artifacts like movies, literature and other forms of media and art in Chinese society

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.



Reproduction of this handbook is only approved **with permission** and acknowledgment of source. Any correspondence asking for reprint/recary of the issue should be emailed or mailed to the address below.

Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), Delhi NCR, India
A-909-908, Bhutani Alphathum,
Sector 90, Noida - 201301, Uttar Pradesh
New Delhi NCR
Email: administrator@orcasia.org

Cover Picture Designed by ORCA

An output by: Organisation for Research on China and Asia (ORCA), Delhi NCR, India which functions under the ambit of ORCASIA OPC PVT LTD.