

**INDIA-CHINA**



**THINK-TANKS**  
F O R U M  
**2016**



सत्यमेव जयते  
Ministry of  
External Affairs



Institute of  
Chinese Studies  
中国研究所 DELHI



ICWA  
Indian Council  
of World Affairs



中国社会科学院  
Chinese Academy  
of Social Sciences

# INDIA-CHINA THINK-TANKS FORUM

Towards a Closer India-China  
Developmental Partnership

09<sup>th</sup> - 10<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2016

ICWA, Sapru House, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi



# Contents

Concept Note	05
Messages	07
Smt Sushma Swaraj, External Affairs Minister, GoI	08
S Jaishankar, Foreign Secretary, GoI	09
Amb Nalin Surie, Director General, Indian Council of World Affairs	10
Prof Alka Acharya, Director, Institute of Chinese Studies	11
Agenda	13
Participant Bios	18
Abstracts	39



# Concept Note

INDIA-CHINA

THINK-TANKS FORUM

Theme: Towards a Closer India-China Developmental Partnership

The transformation in Asian regional relations has entered a new phase. There is both the movement of the centre of global economic activity from the West to Asia and the persistence of territorial disputes in the region that prevents several important bilateral relationships in the region from progressing to their full potential. The former burnished the promise of the 'Asian Century', the second threatens to derail its prospects. The relationship between Asia's two most populous states and most important emerging economies, India and China, reflects both trends, creating a degree of uncertainty in the Asian system. On the economic front, China is seeking to achieve a 'new normal' of reduced GDP growth in order to prevent overheating of the economy and a more sustainable, healthy and environmentally sustainable future for its citizens. India meanwhile, is trying to replicate the dizzying rates of growth that China witnessed over the past few decades while simultaneously avoiding its worst consequences such as rising inequality, ghost cities, and massive air, water and soil pollution, among others. As several Indian thought leaders have put it, the world has space only for one China; India will of necessity have to follow a different path to rapid but sustainable growth and stability. There are clearly several lessons that India can learn from China – both, those which need to be implemented and those, which must be avoided.

On the security and strategic front, the Sino-Indian relationship is marked by Asia's common heritage of disputed borders and the resultant long-term mutual suspicion between their government and peoples. However, as the natural leaders of the Asian continent and of the developing world, their mutual suspicion also has wider implications for not just the bilateral relationships that each develops with other

countries but also for Asian multilateralism and regional integration. China has clearly been far from sensitive to India's concerns over Pakistani state-sponsored terrorism. It has also blocked for all practical purposes, the expansion of the ASEAN+3 initiative into ASEAN+6 that would include India and is less than fulsome in its support for India's permanent membership of the UN Security Council. At the same time, Beijing has been open to the idea of India's membership of the SCO and has welcomed its membership of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank as well as invited New Delhi to participation in its Belt and Road Initiative. India has accepted membership of formal organisations, and is re-calibrating its response to the BCIM Economic Corridor.

India-China economic relations are also at an inflection point. A domain that was supposed to have been an opportunity to overcome doubts and hostilities on other aspects of the bilateral relationship has itself turned into a venue for dissatisfaction and even doubts. And yet, it is also the case that neither country's economic growth and revival will be possible without a carefully calibrated involvement of the other. There is a story beyond GDP numbers, number of deals struck and size of forex reserves that needs to be told and examined at greater length.

India and China also can and need to do much more together to address non-traditional security challenges such as climate change. It is perhaps not enough to simply focus on the responsibilities of the developed economies to mitigate the effects of climate change but also for the two Asian giants to work on developing clean, sustainable energy and economic models that are appropriate for their national conditions. The other domain where the two countries have to find common ground on is the issue of cyber-security. Achieving cyber-security while retaining the free, open character of the Internet free of parochial proclivities and excessive restrictions needs greater discussion.

India and China are also far from exploiting the full potential of their unique cultural and civilizational ties and to translate and promote these into deeper exchanges between their two peoples and to thus promote mutual understanding and dispel stereotypes, unthinking hostility and irrational fears.

These are the contradictions and challenges that the two countries need to address in order to take both, their bilateral relationship as also the Asian economic and security processes underway, to the next level.

A solid red rectangle is tilted counter-clockwise, positioned in the upper-left quadrant of the page. The word "Messages" is written in white, sans-serif font across the bottom edge of this rectangle.

# Messages

विदेश मंत्री  
भारत



Minister of External Affairs  
India

सुषमा स्वराज  
*Sushma Swaraj*



### **MESSAGE**

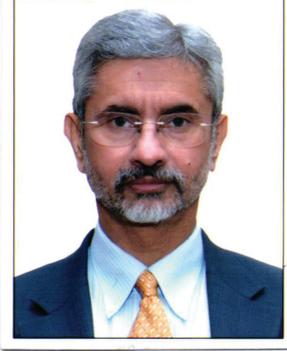
I am happy that the first India-China Think-Tanks Forum is being hosted in New Delhi on 9-10 December, 2016. The Forum was established during the visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to China in May, 2015 and has the potential to serve as an important platform to enhance exchanges between the two sides in the fields of politics, security, economy, strategic thought and people-to-people exchanges.

As two ancient civilizations, large developing countries and emerging Asian powers, regular dialogue between India and China will pave the way for enhancing mutual understanding and friendship between the two countries. Think-tanks can play a significant role in that regard.

I am confident that the first meeting of the India-China Think-Tanks Forum will enable Indian and Chinese scholars to deliberate on contemporary issues of regional and international significance and enhance understanding between the two sides. I extend my best wishes for the success of the Forum.

**Sushma Swaraj**

विदेश सचिव  
FOREIGN SECRETARY



विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-11  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011  
Phone : 2301 2318 Fax : 2301 6781  
E-mail : dirfs@mea.gov.in

6 December 2016

### **Message from Foreign Secretary**

Think-Tanks play an important role in analyzing regional and international trends and providing policy guidance on a range of issues. As such, enhancing regular interactions among key Think-Tanks of India and China can play a useful role in developing a better understanding of each other's positions on key issues.

The 'India-China Think-Tanks Forum' was established under a MOU signed between Ministry of External Affairs and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences during the visit of Prime Minister Modi to China in May 2015.

The Forum promises to become an important institutional mechanism between India and China which will enable structured and regular exchanges by getting multiple Think-Tanks of both countries together under the same roof. The rich profile of the speakers and participation of Think-Tanks of various specializations in the first Forum is a testimony to this fact.

I have no doubt that the first Forum will provide a good opportunity for Indian and Chinese scholars to discuss issues in various fields including political, economic, security and people-to-people exchanges and mark a new beginning in strengthening institutionalized ties and scholarly exchanges between India and China in the years to come.

I wish the first India-China Think-Tanks Forum all success.

  
(Dr. S. Jaishankar)



महानिदेशक  
विश्व मामलों की भारतीय परिषद  
नई दिल्ली

DIRECTOR GENERAL  
INDIAN COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI

### Message

Nalin Surie  
*Indian Foreign Service (Retd)*

We at the Indian Council of World Affairs, are delighted to co-host with the Institute of Chinese Studies, and in collaboration with the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India, the first meeting of the India-China Think Tanks Forum at Sapru House on 9&10 December 2016. A very warm welcome to our friends from China and to all the Indian participants.

The decision to establish the India-China Think Tanks Forum, which is to meet annually, was taken by the Prime Minister of India and the Premier of the People's Republic of China in May 2015 with a view to fostering close dialogue and mutual understanding between our two countries and peoples. It emanates from their opinion about the criticality of our two countries enriching their relations at a time when both are re-emerging as two major powers in the region and are engaged in the process of evolving a new model of constructive engagement both for state-to-state relations and to strengthen the international system.

We trust that our discussions during the Forum's meeting will be imbued with the above spirit. We have a positive and wide ranging agenda for discussion and it is our expectation that following a free, frank and productive exchange of views, we will not only come up with an agreed set of proposals for the comprehensive development of our partnership but also arrive at a consensus on each other's core concerns, interests and aspirations.

Based on mutual trust and constant dialogue, our two countries can overcome all major obstacles in the path of our common objective of seeking the comprehensive development of our peoples and countries; for ensuring regional and international peace & stability and for reform of the international economic, political and security architectures.

We wish the forum successful deliberations.

*Nalin Surie*  
(Nalin Surie)

Tel: 2331 9055 Fax: 2331 1208 E-mail: dg@icwa.in  
Sapru House, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi-110 001



ALKA ACHARYA  
Director

The establishment of the India-China Think-Tanks Forum during the visit of Prime Minister Modi during his May 2015 visit to China, addresses a long-standing need, felt and articulated by the academic and intellectual circles in both India and China, for systematic, sustained and expanded scholarly interaction and exchanges.

In recent years we have indeed seen a welcome rise in the visit of academics, scholarly delegations and students between our two countries, but this has barely managed to scratch the surface of our needs and requirements and does not at all speak of the enormous scope and potential on both sides. With a population of more than a billion on either side, the exchanges should be running into hundreds of thousands.

The Institute of Chinese Studies has, since its inception more than three decades ago, consistently striven for broader and deeper engagement between the academic and scholarly communities in both India and China. We believe that our primary duty and concern is to address the challenges stemming from the lack of sufficient information and access and the low levels of exchanges among scholars and academics.

Both India and China have a history spanning centuries, which lends enormous depth to this relationship. With significant civilizational legacies bearing down upon us, with the inspiring shared experiences of the colonial period and similar challenges of nation-building, India and China offer a rich tapestry for scholarly research and in-depth investigations. And as we move into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, both India and China appear to be increasingly charged with the responsibility of getting this critical relationship of Asia right. Never before has the necessity of close and continuous scholarly engagement seemed more important and imperative.

The ICS is privileged to have secured this opportunity to co-host the India-China Think-Tanks Forum with the Indian Council of World Affairs, in collaboration with the Ministry of External Affairs, GoI. It is an indicator of the support that is being extended from the highest levels to academic exchanges and a measure of the importance being attached to this relationship. It is our fervent hope that the India-China Think-Tanks Forum would prove to be the afflatus that would lead to the blossoming of hundreds of such platforms.

8/17, Sri Ram Road, Civil Lines, Delhi - 110054. INDIA  
Tel : +91-11-2393 8202 Fax: +91-11-2383 0728  
E-mail: info@icsin.org Web: www.icsin.org





# Agenda

**FRIDAY, 09 DECEMBER 2016**  
**INAUGURAL SESSION, 0830 – 1000**

**The Keynote Address will be delivered by Shri M J Akbar, Minister of State for External Affairs, Gol**

---

0830-0900	Registration & Tea	
0900-0905	Chair and Welcome:	<b>Prof. Patricia Uberoi</b> , Chairperson, ICS
0905-0920	Opening Remarks:	<b>Amb. Nalin Surie</b> , Director General, ICWA
0920-0935	Opening Remarks:	<b>Prof. Wang Weiguang</b> , President, CASS
0935-0955	Keynote Address:	<b>Shri M J Akbar</b> , Minister of State for External Affairs, Gol
0955-1000	Vote of Thanks:	<b>Prof. Alka Acharya</b> , Director, ICS
1000-1030	Tea/Coffee	

**1030 – 1320 SESSION I: STRATEGIC COOPERATION**

---

**1030-1200 SUB-THEME I: Designing a Security Architecture for a Resurgent Asia**

---

Chair:	<b>Dr. C Raja Mohan</b> Director Carnegie India
Indian Speaker:	<b>Amb. Shyam Saran</b> Chairman Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS)
Chinese Speaker:	<b>Prof. Hu Jiping</b> Assistant President China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)
Chinese Discussant:	<b>Prof. Ye Hailin</b> National Institute of International Strategy Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
Indian Discussants:	<b>Cdr. C Uday Bhaskar</b> Director Society for Policy Studies (SPS)
	<b>Prof. Madhu Bhalla</b> (retd) Dept. of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi

**Q&A**

---

1200-1320 SUB-THEME 2: Towards a New Type of Great Power Relations between India and China

---

- Chair: **Amb. Nalin Surie**  
Director-General  
ICWA
- Indian Speaker: **Amb. Ashok Kantha**  
Former Indian Ambassador to China  
Distinguished Fellow  
Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF)
- Chinese Speaker: **Prof. Yang Jiemian**  
Director of Academic Committee  
Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS)
- Chinese Discussant: **Prof. Li Xiangyang**  
Director-General  
National Institute of International Strategy, CASS
- Indian Discussant: **Gen. (retd) SL Narasimhan**  
Member  
National Security Advisory Board, GoI

Q&A

LUNCH

**1430 – 1800 SESSION 2: ECONOMIC COOPERATION**

---

1430-1600 SUB-THEME 1: Lessons from Domestic Economic Experiences

---

- Chair: **Rathin Roy**  
Director  
National Institute of Public Finance and Policy
- Indian Speaker: **Anil K Gupta**  
Professor  
The University of Maryland, USA
- Chinese Speakers: **Prof. Pei Changhong**  
Director-General  
Institute of Economics, CASS
- Prof. Gao Haihong**  
Director  
Center for International Finance, Institute of World Economics  
and Politics, CAAS

Chinese Discussant: **Prof. Zhang Yuyan**  
Director-General  
Institute of World Economics and Politics, CASS

Indian Discussant: **Dr. Sachin Chaturvedi**  
Director-General  
Research & Information System for Developing Countries, New Delhi

**Q&A**

**TEA/COFFEE**

**1630-1800**

**SUB-THEME 2: Multilateral Economic Arrangements**

Chair: **Prof. Rajat Kathuria**  
Director and Chief Executive  
Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER),  
New Delhi

Indian Speaker: **Mr. Samir Saran**  
Vice President  
Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

Chinese Speakers: **Prof. Zhang Yuyan**  
Director-General  
Institute of World Economics and Politics, CASS

**Prof. Ren Jia**  
Vice Chairperson  
Chinese Association for South Asian Studies &  
Chinese Association for Asia Pacific Studies

Chinese Discussant: **Prof. Zhao Jianglin**  
National Institute of International Strategy, CASS

Indian Discussant: **Akshay Mathur**  
Director of Research and Analysis  
Gateway House, Mumbai

**Q&A**

**Dinner by Foreign Secretary, MEA – Address by Foreign Secretary  
[Dinner by invitation only]**

**SATURDAY, 10 DECEMBER 2016**

**1000 – 1130 SESSION 3: PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE CONTACTS**

Chair: **Prof. Sabaree Mitra**  
Honorary Fellow, ICS  
Professor, Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, JNU

Indian Speaker: **Prof. Anita Sharma**  
Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi

Chinese Speaker: **Prof. Jiang Jingkui**  
Director  
Centre for South Asian Studies, Peking University

Chinese Discussant: **Prof. Qiu Yonghui**  
Senior Research Fellow  
Institute of World Religions, CASS

Indian Discussant: **Mr. Sheshadri Chari**  
Strategic and Foreign Policy Analyst and Journalist

#### Q&A

#### TEA/COFFEE

### 1200 – 1330 **SESSION 4: SHAPING THE REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AGENDA: CLIMATE CHANGE & CYBERSECURITY**

Chair: **Amb. Chandrashekhar Dasgupta**  
Former Ambassador

Indian Speaker: **Dr. Navroz Dubash**  
Senior Fellow and Coordinator  
The Climate Initiative, Centre for Policy Research (CPR)

Chinese Speakers: **Associate Prof. Wang Mou**  
Deputy Director  
Division of Sustainable Developmental Economics,  
Institute for Urban and Environmental Studies, CASS

**Associate Prof. Lang Ping**  
Deputy Director  
Division of International Politics, Institute of  
World Economics and Politics, CASS

Chinese Discussant: **Associate Prof. Ye Hailin**  
National Institute of International Strategy, CASS

Indian Discussant: **Mr. Arun Sukumar**  
Head  
Cyber Security and Internet Governance Initiative, ORF

#### Q&A

#### 1330 – 1340 VOTE OF THANKS – MEA

#### LUNCH

**1430 – 1530** Meeting of Conference Coordinators  
**Venue** Conference Room, ICWA

**1600-1900** Cultural Show and Dinner for Chinese Delegation



Participants  
Bios

**9 December 2016  
INAUGURAL SESSION**



**Professor Patricia Uberoi**  
Chairperson, Institute of  
Chinese Studies (ICS)

Patricia Uberoi is Chairperson and Honorary Fellow of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. She was educated at the Australian National University (East Asian languages and civilizations) and the Delhi School of Economics (PhD in Sociology) and has taught Sociology at the University of Delhi and the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She retired as Professor of Social Change and Development at the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi. At the Institute of Chinese Studies she has been involved in the promotion of a number of Track Two India-China initiatives, and in overseeing a programme of India-China comparative studies. Her research interests and publications centre on aspects of family, kinship, gender and popular culture in respect to both India and China, and of late, on the challenges of regional and sub-regional cooperation between India and China.



**Amb. Nalin Surie**  
Director General, Indian Council  
of World Affairs (ICWA)

Nalin Surie is currently Director General of Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), New Delhi. He is a seasoned diplomat who has served in Indian missions in Hong Kong, Brussels, Dar-es-Salaam and New York (as Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN). He was also India's Ambassador to both Warsaw and Beijing and High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. At headquarters, he has served both in the Department of Economic Affairs (Ministry of Finance) and the Ministry of External Affairs. In the latter his assignments included, on separate occasions, Head of the East Europe and East Asia Divisions and as Secretary (West). He retired from the Indian Foreign Service in August 2011 and was President of The Association of Indian Diplomats during 2014-2015. He is also Lifetime Member of the IDSA, Delhi and former member of Chatham House, London.



**Dr. Wang Weiguang**  
President, Chinese Academy  
of Social Sciences (CASS)

Wang Weiguang is the President of CASS, the secretary of the leading Party members' group of CASS, and the chairman of the Academic Divisions Presidium in CASS. He won a doctorate in philosophy and is a professor, PhD candidate supervisor, and one of the CASS Members. Wang had been the vice president of the Central Party School of the CPC. He was one of the alternate members of the 17th Central Committee of CPC and is a member of the 18th. He is the Director of the China Society of Dialectical Materialism Research, Member and Chief Expert of the Advisory Committee of the "Marxist Theoretical Research and Construction Project." He was honored with "Chinese Doctorate Recipient with Outstanding Contribution" by the State Council. The research fields in which he has been engaged for long are Marxist theory and philosophy, and studies of important theoretical and practical issues of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.



**Professor Alka Acharya**  
Director, Institute of  
Chinese Studies (ICS)

Alka Acharya is currently on deputation as Director and Senior Fellow of the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), Delhi from the Centre for East Asian Studies (Chinese Division) School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, where she is Professor and former Chairperson. She was Editor of China Report (2005-2013). She was nominated by the Indian government as a member of the India-China Eminent Persons Group (2006-2008) and member of the National Security Advisory Board of the Government of India for two terms (2006-2008) and (2011-2012). She is the joint editor of the book Crossing A Bridge of Dreams: 50 years of India-China, published in 2002, has contributed chapters to many books and regularly features in the Economic and Political Weekly. She has authored a book China & India: Politics of Incremental Engagement (2008). Her current research focuses on India-China-Russia Trilateral Cooperation and the Chinese strategic response to the post-cold war regional architecture, with special reference to China's neighbourhood.

## SESSION I: STRATEGIC COOPERATION

### SUB-THEME I: Designing a Security Architecture for a Resurgent Asia



**Chair: Dr. C Raja Mohan**  
Director, Carnegie India

C. Raja Mohan is director of Carnegie India. A leading analyst of India's foreign policy, Mohan is also an expert on South Asian security, great-power relations in Asia, and arms control. He is the foreign affairs columnist for the Indian Express, and a visiting research professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. He was a member of India's National Security Advisory Board. From 2009 to 2010, Mohan was the Henry Alfred Kissinger Chair in Foreign Policy and International Relations at the Library of Congress. Previously, he was a Professor of South Asian studies at the School of International Studies in Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi and later at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. He also served as the Diplomatic Editor and Washington correspondent of The Hindu.



**Amb. Shyam Saran**  
Chairman, Research and  
Information System for  
Development Countries (RIS)

Shyam Saran is currently Chairman of the Research and Information System for Developing Countries, New Delhi. After a career spanning 34 years in the Indian Foreign Service, he was appointed India's Foreign Secretary in 2004 and held that position till his retirement from service in September 2006. Subsequently, he was appointed Prime Minister's Special Envoy for Indo-US Civil Nuclear Issues and later, Special Envoy and Chief Negotiator on Climate Change. He also served as Chairman of the National Security Advisory Board. He is a trustee of the World Wildlife Fund (India), a Member of the National Executive of FICCI, and a Member of the Governing Board of the India Habitat Centre.



### **Professor Hu Jiping**

Assistant President, China Institutes  
of Contemporary International  
Relations (CICIR)

Hu Jiping is Research Professor, Assistant President and Director of the CICIR Institute of Japanese Studies. He was visiting scholar at the Hosei University of Japan 1998-1999 and was appointed as the Deputy Director of the CICIR Division for Northeast Asian Studies in 2000. He served as the Director of the CICIR President's Office 2007-2010 and became the Director of the CICIR Institute of Japanese Studies since 2010. Prof. Hu completed his Masters program from the Institute of Asian and African Studies of Peking University and earned his Ph.D. from CICIR. Prof. Hu has written extensively on Sino-Japanese relations, Northeast Asian security and Japanese foreign policy.



### **Professor Ye Hailin**

National Institute of International Strategy,  
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

Ye Hailin is the Chief Editor of South Asia Studies, National Institute of International Strategy (NIIS), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and the Director of the Center for South Asia Studies, CASS. He is also Director of the Institute of International Strategy, Research Institute of Indian Ocean (RIIO), Yunnan University for Finance and Economy, and the General Secretary and Standing Member of the China Association of South Asia Studies.



**Cdr. Uday Bhaskar**  
Director, Society for  
Policy Studies (SPS)

Uday Bhaskar, a retired Commodore of the Indian Navy is a leading Security and Strategic Affairs Analyst. Currently, he is the Director of the Society for Policy Studies, New Delhi. Previously he worked as Director at the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA), and Director of the National Maritime Foundation, Delhi. He was also Editor of Maritime Affairs and Strategic Analysis.



**Professor Madhu Balla**  
Editor, India Quarterly  
(ICWA, New Delhi)

Madhu Bhalla is currently the Editor of the India Quarterly published by the ICWA, New Delhi. She was a Professor at the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi, from 2005-2016. Earlier from 2000-2005, she was in the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She also had small stints in several colleges in Punjab and Delhi, India and Ontario, Canada. She was awarded PhD by the Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, for her thesis titled 'Americans and Chinese: A Study of Culture and Power, 1930s and 1940s'. She mastered in War Studies, Foreign Policy and American Studies in Canada and in Chinese Studies in the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her primary areas of research interest are Chinese politics, Foreign Policy, Political Economy and Research Methodology. She has been, the recipient of the NOCL Fellowship for Scholars of Sinology in Beijing; Bernath Dissertation Award by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Policy (SHAFR), American Historical Association; Queen's Award and the MacLaughlin Award by Queen's University, Kingston, Canada and also the University Award by the Jawaharlal Nehru University. She has also worked on independent projects like China and the Indian Ocean and EU and Asian Security. She has published extensively in peer reviewed journals and newspapers and lectured at important strategic and international studies institutions in India and abroad.

## **SUB THEME 2:** **Towards a New Type of Great Power Relations between India and China**



**Chair: Amb. Nalin Surie**  
Director General, Indian Council  
of World Affairs (ICWA)

Nalin Surie is currently Director General of Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), New Delhi. He is a seasoned diplomat who has served extensively in Indian missions in Hong Kong, Brussels, Dar-es-Salaam and New York (as Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN). He was also India's Ambassador to both Warsaw and Beijing and High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. At headquarters, he has served both in the Department of Economic Affairs (Ministry of Finance) and the Ministry of External Affairs. In the latter his assignments included, on separate occasions, Head of the East Europe and East Asia Divisions and as Secretary (West). He retired from the Indian Foreign Service in August 2011 and was President of The Association of Indian Diplomats during 2014-2015. He is also Lifetime Member of the IDSA, Delhi and Chatham House, London.



**Amb. Ashok Kantha**  
Former Indian Ambassador to China  
Distinguished Fellow, Vivekananda  
International Foundation (VIF)

Ashok Kantha has had a long and distinguished career in the Indian Foreign Service and recently retired as India's Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. Previously, he was India's High Commissioner to Malaysia (2007-2009), High Commissioner to Sri Lanka (2009-2013). He also served as Secretary (East) at the Ministry of External Affairs (2013-2014). Currently he is Distinguished Fellow at the Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF), New Delhi.



**Professor Yang Jiemian**

Director of Academic Committee,  
Shanghai Institutes of International  
Studies (SIIS)

Yang Jiemian is the Senior Fellow and Chairman of the Council of Academic Affairs at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). Prior to this, he was the President of SIIS from 2008 to 2013. He is also the Councilor of the Shanghai Municipal Government, member of the Foreign Policy Advisory Group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, member of the National Evaluation Board of Social Sciences Fund, Vice President of China Association of International Relations and President of Shanghai Society of International Strategic Studies. Prof. Yang is the Ph.D Advisor of the Shanghai International Studies University and East China Normal University. He graduated from the Shanghai Teachers' University (B.A.), went on for a Masters to the Shanghai Institute for International Studies and the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy. He completed his Ph.D from the Shanghai International Studies University and specializes in the studies of the international system and major power relations.



**Dr. Li Xiangyang**

Director General, National Institute of  
International Strategy, CASS

Li Xiangyang obtained a Masters degree from the Department of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and a doctoral degree in Economics from the same department in 1998. He taught briefly at the Henan School of Banking and Director-general, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, after which he joined the Institute of World Economics and Politics at CASS. He then went on to become the Director-General, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies in CASS and then moved to the National Institute of International Strategy. His representative publications are *Frontier Issues in World Economics*, Social Sciences Academic Press (China), 2008, *Yellow Book of World Economics*, Social Sciences Academic Press (China), 2004-2009 and *Economic Globalization and the Trends of World Economics*, Social Sciences Academic Press (China), 2002.



**Lt. Gen. (Retd) S L Narasimhan**  
Member, National Security  
Advisory Board, GoI

SL Narasimhan was commissioned as Infantry Officer in 1977. He graduated in Mathematics, completed his post-graduation in Defence Studies and is currently working on his doctoral thesis. Narasimhan has a vast experience in Counter Insurgency Operations, Line of Actual Control and High Altitude Area environment. He has been awarded the Param Vishisht Seva Medal, Ati Vishisht Seva Medal and Bar, Vishisht Seva Medal and COAS Commendation Card for his outstanding contribution to the Indian Army. On staff, he has served as Defence Attaché in the Embassy of India in Beijing, Deputy Director General, Military Intelligence (East), and Additional Director General Public Information in the Integrated Headquarters of MoD (Army). He is accomplished in the Chinese language. After having successfully commanded the largest Corps of the Indian Army in the North East, he attained super annuation after a successful stint as Commandant, Army War College in June 2016. He has been an instructor in Counter Insurgency and Jungle Warfare School at Vairengte and in the Indian Military Training Team in Bhutan. He has authored many articles in various journals and magazines. He is currently Member of the National Security Advisory Board, Government of India.

## SESSION 2: ECONOMIC COOPERATION

### SUB THEME I: Lessons from Domestic Economic Experiences



**Dr. Rathin Roy**  
Director, National Institute of  
Public Finance and Policy

Rathin Roy is Director and CEO of the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy New Delhi. With postings in London, New York, Kathmandu, Brasilia and Bangkok, he has worked as an Economic Diplomat and Policy Advisor with UNDP, focusing on emerging economies. He has taught at the Universities of Manchester and London and served as Economic Adviser with the Thirteenth Finance Commission. Dr. Roy is Member, India Advisory Committee, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Inquiry into a Sustainable Financial System, Member on the Meta Council on Inclusive Growth, World Economic Forum, Geneva, and Member, FRBM Review Committee, Government of India. He holds a Ph.D in Economics from the University of Cambridge.



**Professor Anil K Gupta**  
Professor, The University  
of Maryland, USA

Anil K. Gupta is the Michael Dingman Chair in Strategy and Globalization at the Smith School of Business, The University of Maryland at College Park. He earned a Ph.D. from Harvard University, an M.B.A. from the Indian Institute of Management at Ahmedabad, and a B.Tech from the Indian Institute of Technology at Kanpur. He has also served as a Chaired Professor at INSEAD and as a Visiting Professor at Stanford University, Dartmouth College, and Tsinghua University (China). Ranked by Thinkers50 as “one of the world’s most influential management thinkers,” Dr. Gupta has also been named by The Economist as one of the world’s “superstars” for research on emerging economies, and inducted into the Academy of Management Journals’ Hall of Fame. He is among the three professors in the world to have been elected by his peers as a Lifetime Fellow of the three most prestigious bodies in the field – Academy of Management, Strategic Management Society, and Academy of International Business, with a combined membership of over 25,000 scholars worldwide.

He is an invited member of the World Economic Forum’s Stewardship Committee for the Initiative on the Future of Consumption, as well as The Bretton Woods Committee set up by the World Bank and IMF to advise them on global solutions to global challenges. He is also a regular participant at the World Economic Forum summits including the annual meeting in Davos and the regional meetings in China, India, and the Middle East. Dr. Gupta is the author of several acclaimed books including The Quest for Global Dominance, Getting China and India Right, and The Silk Road Rediscovered. He also serves as an active keynote speaker, adviser, and/or board member for a number of Global Fortune 500 companies as well as venture capital backed technology ventures and accelerators in the US, China, and India.



**Dr. Pei Changhong**  
Director-General, Institute of  
Economics, CASS

Pei Changhong is a member of the National Committee of the Chinese's People's Political Consultation and a Research Fellow and supervises doctoral candidates. He graduated in Economics from Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and he is also a graduate of the Institute of International Economy and Trade in the University of International Business and Economics. He did a brief stint as Deputy Major of Hangzhou Municipal People's Government and also held the post of Director of Foreign Affairs Bureau in CASS. His long-term research priority has been a focus on international trade and investment, finance and service economics. Since 2003, he has published more than 50 papers in national journals and newspapers, such as Chinese Social Sciences, Qiu Shi, People's Daily, China's Industrial Economy, and International Trade. He has also published in English in The Social Sciences of China, China and the World Economy, China's Economist. His major books are: Foreign Capital Utilization and Industrial Competitive Capacity, Economic Globalization and International Trade in the Recent Times, China's Service Industry and Service Trade, The Tax Rebate and China's Foreign Trade, China's FDI Inflow: The Situation and Challenges in the Early Times of 21 Century, China's Openness Outside and Reform of Circulation System for 30 Years, and The Foreign Trade of The Republic for 60 Years.



**Professor Gao Haihong**  
Director, Centre for International Finance,  
Institute of World Economics and Politics, CASS

Gao Haihong is Professor and Director, Research Center for International Finance, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. She joined the Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1989. Currently she is lead fellow of CASS project "China's Role in Reconstructing International Financial System", guest professor at the China Foreign Affairs University, and standing director of the Council for China Society of World Economy, Member of the advisory board of the Official Monetary and Finance Institution Forum (OMFIF). She was appointed as chief economist of the Network of East Asian Think-Tanks (NEAT), China Working Group. She has led numerous research projects sponsored by China Ministry of Finance, People's Bank of China, and China's National Social Science Fund, etc. She is a frequent speaker at academic conferences worldwide. She has published books and papers regarding reform of international monetary system, the RMB strategy, regional monetary integration and financial cooperation, exchange rate policy and currency convertibility, etc. She holds BA and MA degrees in Economics from Peking University, and MSc in International Money, Finance and Investment from Durham University, UK. She was a visiting scholar at University of California at Davis, USA, and visiting fellow at Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore. Her recent publications include: RMB Internationalization (Palgrave DOE 2016; co-authored BIS paper 2012); The G20 and Global Economic Governance (co-authored book 2016); The Legacy of Bretton Woods and International Financial System Reconstruction (JWE paper 2015).



**Professor Zhang Yuyan**  
Director General, Institute of  
World Economics and Politics, CASS

Zhang Yuyan is Senior Fellow and Director of Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Member of the Foreign Policy Advisory Group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, Expert of Advisory Committee for Economic & Trade Policy of the Ministry of Commerce of China and President of the China Society of World Economy. He obtained his Bachelor Degree in Economics from the Department of Economics at Peking University in 1983, and Master and Ph.D. Degrees in Economics at the Graduate School of CASS in 1986 and 1991 respectively. His main academic interests include institutional economics and international political economy. He authored *Economic Development and the Choice of Institutions* (1992), *International Economic Politics* (2008), and *The Sources of American Conduct* (2015), etc.



**Professor Sachin Chaturvedi**  
Director General, Research &  
Information System for  
Developing Countries (RIS)

Sachin Chaturvedi is Director General at the Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), a New Delhi-based autonomous Think-Tank. He was also a Global Justice Fellow at the MacMillan Center for International Affairs at Yale University. He works on issues related to development cooperation policies and South-South cooperation. He has also worked on trade and innovation linkages with special focus on WTO. Dr. Chaturvedi has a vast and varied experience as a Visiting Professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), consultant to the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, World Bank, UN-ESCAP, UNESCO, OECD, the Commonwealth Secretariat, IUCN, and to the Government of India's Department of Biotechnology and the Ministry of Environment and Forests, among other organizations. He has been a Developing Country Fellow at the University of Amsterdam (1996), Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla (2003), Visiting Scholar at the German Development Institute (2007) and worked on a project on International Development Cooperation and Biotechnology for Developing Countries at the University of Amsterdam supported by the Dutch Ministry of External Affairs. Dr. Chaturvedi has also been a member of the IGSAC Committee of Experts for evolving a framework for cooperation on conservation of biodiversity in the SAARC region, as well as a member of the Editorial Board of *Biotechnology Development Monitor* (the Netherlands) and Editor of *Asian Biotechnology Development Review* (New Delhi).

## SUB THEME 2: Multilateral Economic Arrangements



### **Chair: Professor Rajat Kathuria**

Director and Chief Executive,  
Indian Council of Research on International  
Economic Relations (ICRIER)

Rajat Kathuria is Director and Chief Executive at Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), New Delhi. He has over 20 years of experience in teaching and 10 years in economic policy, besides research interests on a range of issues relating to regulation and competition policy. He has taught undergraduate economics at the University of Maryland and is currently on leave from the International Management Institute (IMI), New Delhi where he teaches Managerial Economics and International Trade. He has also worked with Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI), World Bank, Washington DC as a Consultant and carried out project assignments for a number of organizations, including ILO, UNCTAD, LinneAsia, Ernst and Young, Consultancy Development Centre (CDC) and Standing Committee for Public Enterprises (SCOPE).



### **Samir Saran**

Vice President,  
Observer Research  
Foundation (ORF)

Samir Saran is Senior Fellow and Vice President at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), Delhi. An Electrical Engineer by training, he has a Masters in Media Studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science and has been a Fellow at the University of Cambridge Program for Sustainability Leadership. He was also part of the business development team of Reliance Industries, India's largest business conglomerate, and helped to develop its investment plans in the Power Sector. From 2000 onwards, he served the company in its regulatory and corporate affairs team for the Telecommunications business at New Delhi and was a member of the Government – Industry panel on Intellectual Property and Broadcasting regulation. He is the Indian Chair for the Civil BRICS Initiative, and also chairs CyFy, the India conference on cyber security and internet governance.



**Professor Zhang Yuyan**  
Director General, Institute of  
World Economics and Politics, CASS

Zhang Yuyan is Senior Fellow and Director of Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Member of the Foreign Policy Advisory Group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, Expert of Advisory Committee for Economic & Trade Policy of the Ministry of Commerce of China and President of the China Society of World Economy. He obtained his Bachelor Degree in Economics from the Department of Economics at Peking University in 1983, and Master and Ph.D. Degrees in Economics at the Graduate School of CASS in 1986 and 1991 respectively. His main academic interests include institutional economics and international political economy. He authored *Economic Development and the Choice of Institutions* (1992), *International Economic Politics* (2008), and *The Sources of American Conduct* (2015, etc.



**Professor Ren Jia**  
Vice Chairperson, Chinese Association  
for South Asian Studies &  
Chinese Association for Asia Pacific Studies

Ren Jia was formerly the President of the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences and is a distinguished scholar of South and southeast Asian studies. She has researched and written extensively on the BCIM sub-regional connectivity issues. Her earlier research covers diverse areas ranging from Economic and Trade Cooperation between China and South Asia, Industrial Structure Evolution in the Process of Industrialization in India and the Indian economic reforms. Among her more well known books are, *China, Yunnan and India: Past, Present and Future* (2006), *A Study on Rebuild Stilwell Road* (2005), *Yunnan-Indian Local Trade* (2005) and *New Strategy for China-Indian Trade and Economic Cooperation* (2003)



**Professor Zhao Jianglin**  
National Institute of  
International Strategy, CASS

Zhao Jianglin is the Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Division of International Economic Relations, National Institute of International Strategy, in CASS. He holds doctoral degree in Industrial Economics. He has been a visiting scholar at several prestigious institutions such as the Institute of Developing Economies in Tokyo, Columbia University in New York and at the Institute of Intellectual Property in Tokyo. He is the author of the book *A study on the Evolution of Economic Structure on Asia-Pacific: 1950-2010* and his areas of research include comparative economic development and the implications of China's rise on the Asian economies.



**Mr. Akshay Mathur**  
Director of Research and Analysis,  
Gateway House, Mumbai

Akshay Mathur is Director of Research and a Fellow of Geo-economic Studies at the Gateway House, Mumbai. Before joining Gateway House, he worked as a Principal Architect with Fidelity Investments in Boston in advanced research, strategy formulation, and business architecture. He has an MBA from Boston University's Questrom School of Business with concentration in Finance and Business Analysis and research focused on transnational business and global macroeconomics. He has a B.S. in Computer Science from the School of Computer Science at University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Akshay is an alumnus of Mayo College, Ajmer. He is the co-founder of an NGO called Aasra Gramin Vikas Sansthan and of a social enterprise called Khushi Farms, both based in Ajmer, Rajasthan, India. His research focuses on the architecture of international business, finance and trade, and its impact on geopolitics.

## SESSION 3: PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE CONTACTS



**Professor Sabaree Mitra**  
Honorary Fellow, ICS  
Professor, Centre for Chinese and  
South East Asian Studies, JNU

Sabaree Mitra has been teaching Chinese Language, Literature and Culture in Jawaharlal Nehru University, since 1990. Her basic training has been in Chinese Language and Literature and her research interest includes contemporary Chinese Literature and Criticism, Chinese Cultural History, India-China Cultural Relations and Regional Interaction. She was awarded Research Fellowship by Rajiv Gandhi Foundation in 1997 and ASIA Fellows Award by Asian Scholarship Foundation in 2006. Prof. Mitra has presented papers in national and international conferences, and has published in peer-reviewed academic journals of international repute. Her books include *Purbadiganter Kabita: Samakaleen tin China Kabir ek jhalak* (2002), a collection of contemporary Chinese poetry translated into Bengali, *Literature and Politics in 20th century China: Issues and Themes* (2005), and, *Chinese Women Writers and Gender Discourse (1976-1996)* (2008). In the recent years her interdisciplinary work has explored themes such as: “Making of a ‘People’s Culture’: Discourse & Praxis in China”, “The Chinese Experience of Theorizing Women through Intercultural Dialogue: Contribution of Li Xiaojiang”, “Tagore and Bengal’s Social Modernity: Bringing Women to the Cultural Mainstream”, “Cultural Interaction through Multiple Agencies: Indian Dance in People’s Republic of China”, “Religious Tourism in BCIM Countries: Prospects and Challenges”, “‘Geo-civilizational’ as Framework of Regional Interaction: The Chinese Strategy” and “Using Culture as a Strategy of Community Development: Shared Heritage of BCIM Region”.

Prof. Sabaree Mitra is an Honorary Fellow in the Institute of Chinese Studies, and a member of the Editorial Board of China Report. She was the Chairperson of the Indian Expert Group that compiled the Encyclopedia of India-China Cultural Contacts on behalf of the Ministry of External Affairs, GOI, in collaboration with Chinese scholars; the Encyclopedia was released in 2014. She is also a Member of the Joint Study Group of the BCIM Economic Corridor instituted by the Ministry.



**Professor Anita Sharma**  
Department of East Asian Studies,  
University of Delhi

Anita Sharma is a Professor at the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi. Presently she is also Director, Gandhi Bhawan, University of Delhi. She is former Head, Department of East Asian Studies and former Dean, Faculty of Social sciences. She graduated in History from Delhi University and continued with her specialization in Ancient Indian History and Chinese History during her Masters program. After completing her MPhil in History from Delhi University, she studied Chinese History at Fudan University, Shanghai, China and Chinese Language at Beijing Language Institute, China. She received her doctorate in Buddhist studies from the University of Delhi where she has been teaching History, Buddhism and Chinese Language since 1981. She has written and edited books on Buddhism and Chinese Language and has a number of research papers and articles to her credit. Her research papers have been published in national and international journals. She has presented well documented research papers in international conferences and seminars. The range of her research interests includes social history, religion and pilgrimage, study of ancient settlements, Buddhism and Ecology, and socially Engaged Buddhism. She has travelled far and wide in and outside India for her research projects. She has been awarded the Second World Buddhist Outstanding Award, Jointly conferred by National Office of Religion, Royal Thai Government and World Fellowship of Buddhist Youth 2015 and the Bimalendu Barua Peace Award 2016 by Nirvana Peace Foundation, Chittagong Bangladesh in 2016.



**Professor Jiang Jingkui**  
Director, Centre for South Asian Studies,  
Peking University

Jiang Jingkui is Ph.D. Professor at Peking University, Director of the Centre for South Asian Studies, Peking University and Ananda Coomaraswamy Fellow of the Sahitya Akademi (India's National Academy of Letters). His teaching and research focuses are modern and contemporary Indian languages and literature as well as Indian religions and South Asian culture. His major publications include five monographs, i.e. On Indian Literature, Hindi Dramatic Literature, Studies on Tagore's Literary Works (co-author), Modern and Contemporary Indian Literature (co-author), Medieval Indian Religious Literature (co-author) as well as two co-translated works – Sursagar by Surdas (from Brajbhasha to Chinese) and India and China: A Thousand Years of Cultural Relations by P.C. Bagchi (from English to Chinese). Prof. Jiang has also published 16 edited and compiled volumes, including the Grand Chinese-Hindi Dictionary, Encyclopedia of China-India Cultural Contacts, Collected Works of Liu Anwu, and Chinese Scholars on Tagore etc. Besides, he has published more than 60 academic papers, such as "The Periodisation of Indian Religions", "The Periodisation of Sino-Indian Relations", "Reflections on India's Religious Sects", and "The Chinese Translation of Indian Classics: History, Present and Prospect".

Prof. Jiang is the recipient of several awards such as "Eminent Contributors in Hindi Language and Literature" by the Indian government, "Outstanding Research in Social Science and Humanities" by

Peking University, “Outstanding Research in Humanities and Social Science” by Beijing government, and “Excellent Books of Fifteen Provinces in North China”, etc. In addition to his work at Peking University, Prof. Jiang holds several concurrent posts in other academic institutes such as Chairman of China Association for South Asian Languages, Vice-president of China Association of Less Commonly Taught Foreign Languages,



**Professor Qiu Yonghui**  
Senior Research Fellow, Institute  
of World Religion, CASS

Qiu Yonghui is Vice President of the Chinese Association of South Asian Studies and Visiting Professor, Institute of South Asian Studies, Sichuan University, China. She also holds the position of Committee member, Chinese Association for the Study of Religion and has been the Editor-in-Chief of the Annual Report on Religions in China (Bluebook) since 2008. Her Main Areas of Specialization are Hindu Religions and Religious Pluralism in India and China, New Religious Movements in India and China, The Contemporary Religions and Politics, Law and Security in China and India. She has numerous books to her credit among which are: A General Introduction to Hinduism (2012), Religious Pluralism in India (2009), Annual Report on Religions in China (2008--2016), Secularization in India (2003), Caste in Contemporary India (1996), Religious Trend in South Asia (2014), The Study of Religions and Sustainable Community (2013), Report on Religions in Macau (2015), Indian Economy (co-author) (1996), Economic Reform and Democracy in South Asia (1998) and Indian Civilization (2010).

Secretary-general of Less Commonly Taught Foreign Languages Section of the Supervisory Committee for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (Ministry of Education), Member of the Executive Council of China-India Friendship Association and adjunct Professor at Luoyang University of Foreign Languages, Xi'an International Studies University and Xizang Minzu University.



**Mr. Sheshadri Chari**  
Strategic and Foreign Policy  
Analyst and Journalist

Sheshadri Chari is a Journalist, Strategic and Foreign Policy Analyst, Political Commentator and former Consultant on Governance to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). He is currently a member of the national executive of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) and formerly headed the party's Foreign Policy Cell. Sheshadri Chari is also currently engaged as Director, (International Affairs) Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Director, Forum for Strategic & Security Studies (FSSS) and Secretary General, Forum for Integrated National Security (FINS).

## SESSION 4: SHAPING THE REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AGENDA: CLIMATE CHANGE & CYBERSECURITY



**Amb. Chandrashekhar Dasgupta**  
Indian Foreign Service (retd)

Chandrashekar Dasgupta is a seasoned diplomat who served in the Indian Foreign Service from 1962 until his retirement in 2000. During his career in the Indian Foreign Service, he has served as India's Ambassador to China (1993-1996) and Ambassador to the European Union and Belgium (1996-2000). He led the Indian delegation in the preparatory negotiations for the Rio Summit on Environment and Development (1992) as well as the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. He is a member of the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and is a former Chairperson of the China Task Force.



**Dr. Navroz K Dubash**  
Senior Fellow and Coordinator,  
The Climate Initiative,  
Centre for Policy Research (CPR)

Navroz K Dubash is a Senior Fellow at Centre for Policy Research and coordinator of the Climate Initiative. His research and policy interests include

climate change policy and governance, the political economy of energy and water, the regulatory state in the developing world and the role of civil society in global environmental governance. In 2015 he was conferred the 12th T N Khoshoo Memorial Award in recognition of the impact of his work on Indian climate change policy and the international discourse on global climate governance. Navroz's recent edited books include *A Handbook of Climate Change and India: Development, Policy and Governance*, and *The Rise of the Regulatory State of the South*. His book *Tubewell Capitalism* was awarded the SR Sen prize in 2006 for best book in agricultural economics and rural development in India. He has been a Lead Author and synthesis report author for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (AR5), and has served on India's Expert Committee on Low Carbon Strategies for Inclusive Growth and other national committees on water and energy policy. He is an Associate Editor of *Climate Policy* and serves on the editorial boards of *Global Environmental Politics*, *Energy Research in Social Science*, *Environmental Policy and Governance*, and the *Journal of Environment and Development*. Dr Dubash has earlier served as Associate Professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University, IDFC Chair Professor of Governance and Public Policy at the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy in Delhi, and Senior Associate at the World Resources Institute in Washington DC. He has a long history of engagement with civil society organisations, including as the first international coordinator of the Climate Action Network, from 1990 until 1992. Dr Dubash holds an MA and PhD in energy and resources from the University of California, Berkeley, and an AB in Public and International Affairs from Princeton University.



**Dr. Wang Mou**

Deputy Director, Division for Sustainable Developmental Economics & Institute of Urban and Environmental Studies

Wang Mou is Senior Fellow of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). He majored in environment and climate change process and regional sustainable development and has a doctoral degree in Science. His research interests include regional development strategy and planning, global climate regime, environment and social dimensions of sustainable development, energy and environment security, and economics of the environment and natural resources. He is the managing editor of the Chinese Journal of Urban and Environmental Studies and General Secretary of the Centre for Sustainable development, CASS. As the team leader, he and his team have taken more than 20 climate related research projects including key projects of the National Social Science Fund and various funding sources from ministries and local governments. He has published more than 40 papers in international and domestic journals and academic collections.



**Dr. Lang Ping**

Deputy Director, Division of International Politics, Institute of World Economics and Politics, CASS

Lang Ping is a Senior Research Fellow at Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). She obtained her Bachelor's degree in Literature from Tianjin University in 1993, Master (1999) and Ph.D. (2014) in International Relations from China University of International Relations and the Graduate School of CASS respectively. Her main academic interests include Internet Governance and Cyber diplomacy.



**Mr. Arun Sukumar**  
Head, Cyber Security and Internet  
Governance Initiative, ORF

Arun Sukumar heads ORF's Cyber Security and Internet Governance Initiative, coordinating research projects on internet governance, data protection and international norms. He is the elected vice-chair of the Asia-Pacific Internet Governance Forum. He is a lawyer by training, educated at NALSAR University of Law, Hyderabad. He holds a Master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, where he was the Douglas Dillon Fellow and the recipient of the Leo Gross Prize for Outstanding Student of International Law. Arun was previously Senior Fellow at the Centre for Communication Governance, National Law University Delhi, working on global internet governance. He has served on the editorial board of The Hindu, and continues to write for the daily on foreign affairs.



# Abstracts

# **SESSION I: STRATEGIC COOPERATION**

## **SUB-THEME I: Designing a Security Architecture for a Resurgent Asia**

### **India-China and the New Security Architecture for a Resurgent Asia**

**Shyam Saran**

Chairman, Research and Information System for  
Developing Countries (RIS)

The region of Asia stretching from the Indian sub-continent to the Far-East is the most dynamic component of the global economy. It has become a key driver of global growth. The countries of the region are increasingly bound together by a dense web of economic and commercial links and are engaged in furthering these links through both bilateral and regional trading arrangements such as RCEP. There is a regional economic architecture emerging. On the other hand, security tensions in the region are rising; long-standing territorial disputes are being re-kindled and there is a competitive build up of military, particularly naval forces, taking place. Against this backdrop, what are the prospects of the countries in the region and key stakeholders evolving a consensus on a new security architecture, which enables the management of territorial conflicts, security related tensions and political differences? Do existing fora such as the ARF and the ADMM and the East Asia Summit constitute a platform to devise such a new security architecture? India has proposed that the countries should initially focus on maritime security, as all stakeholders are dependent upon the security of sea-lanes and respect for freedom of navigation to sustain and promote their economic prosperity. The proposed architecture should be open, inclusive, transparent and balanced.

## Constructing a New Asian Security Structure

Hu Jiping

Assistant President, Chinese Institute of  
Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)

The current Asian security structure is facing serious challenges. After the Cold War, the Asian security order is mainly dominated by the U.S. and its allies, but this security structure is increasingly under scrutiny for its potential in maintaining regional peace and security. This is largely due to its inability to adapt to the changing regional landscape. Particularly, it is unable to reflect China and India's rapid development. Further, it does not reflect the complicated transformation of the relation between the US and its regional allies. The weakened control of the US over the regional order in Asia pushes the US to strengthen its relations with its allies while compelling its allies to rethink American ability to maintain the regional order and protect its alliances in the future. Regional stability which in turn is dependent on an effective security structure, and an effective security structure needs to reflect the basic power structure. Only if all the main powers actively engage each other in the structure, can they play an effective role to ensure regional stability. The new Asian security structure should allow India, Japan, the US, Russia, Australia and China to play important roles. The US, Russia and Australia are not East Asian countries in the strict sense of the term, though they do have important security interests and influences in this region. India, Japan and China are Asian countries and the new regional security structure is much more important for them. These three countries shall play a constructive or even more dominant role in the regional security structure. Today, there are still some obstacles in the relations among India, Japan and China. In particular, Japan has a strong will to compete with China for regional leadership. Therefore, Japan is more willing to bind with the US or to assist the US in the maintenance of the existing security structure. To construct the future security structure, it is critical for Japan, India and China to improve strategic trust and to enhance communication and cooperation.

Constructing the new structure can start from crisis control cooperation mechanism. It is urgent for all parties to explore new cooperation mechanisms to manage regional crises, since we are increasingly facing an unstable Asia. To this end, think tanks should play an active role in a situation where Asian governments find it difficult to carry out one-track engagement owing to the lack of trust among the regional powers. Also, not everybody is on board about the urgent need for a new security structure. Under such circumstances, it is the think tanks' responsibility to make efforts to deepen communication and cooperation and provide possible policy suggestions to the governments. India and China should join hands to construct the new regional security structure, because both countries play important roles in Asia. Think tanks from both countries also need to carry out profound and extensive exchanges on relevant issues.

**SUB-THEME II:**  
**Towards a New Type of Great Power Relations  
between India and China**

**Towards an Updated Paradigm for India-China Relations**

**Ashok Kantha**

Former Indian Ambassador to China and Distinguished Fellow,  
Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF)

The paper suggests that India-China relations are today poised at a new starting point, which marks a more complex phase of the relationship marked by an evolving mix of cooperation and competition between the two countries with asymmetrical capabilities in a shifting global and regional environment. Despite inherent strengths of the relationship, bilateral differences have acquired greater profile of late as the convergence on larger geopolitical issues has become less pronounced between the two countries which harbour doubts about each other's strategic intentions. Future directions of the engagement between India and China will increasingly be shaped by the course taken by the simultaneous rise of China, India and others and the related issue of the rapidly changing geopolitical landscape, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region.

Keeping in mind the issues and concerns on both sides, the complexity of the present geostrategic challenges and the risk of the two countries falling into the trap of adversarial rivalry, which neither side desires, there is a compelling case for updating the basic template of the relationship they have gainfully pursued since the late 1980s (that of compartmentalising and managing differences, not letting them come in the way of development of positive engagement and of constantly exploring areas of convergence, cooperation and collaboration in bilateral, regional and multilateral domains). Noting that the score card of India-China relations remains stronger than many assume and that both countries consider this to be a period of opportunity in their relations, the paper offers some suggestions on reimagining and strengthening the paradigm governing this defining relationship.

## **Joint China-India Efforts to Build a New Type of International Relations with Win-Win Cooperation at the Core**

**Prof Yang Jiemian**

Director of Academic Committee, Shanghai Institute  
for International Studies (SIIS)

The rise of the two Asian emerging powers, China and India, is one of the most significant events of this century. Its significance to the regional and global affairs go beyond Asia and can only be understood in a longer timeframe. To begin with, China and India are currently enjoying continuous economic growth, marked social improvements, innovative sciences and technologies, and dynamic political progresses. Second, the rise of China and India contributes enormous positive energy to the region and the world. The predictions of Deng Xiaoping and Jawaharlal Nehru with respect to both countries playing an important role in the region are becoming realities as China and India work together at the United Nations, G20, BRICS, APEC and SCO. Indeed, the scope of cooperation is expanding enormously. Third, if we look around, many parts of the world are beset by sluggish economies and turbulent societies. Here Asia stands out for its economic achievements and political stability by and large. China and India have played indispensable roles in maintaining and promoting Asia's peace, stability and progress. For the first time since the Age of Discovery in the 15th Century, China, India and some other developing countries are playing greater roles in agenda-setting, rule-making and institution-building than ever before. Last but not least, the rise of China and India is not only materially important but also culturally significant. The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence advocated by China, India and Myanmar (Burma) some sixty years ago is still a solid pillar of international norms.

As two emerging powers, China and India shoulder special responsibilities to play greater and more constructive roles in promoting world peace, development and win-win cooperation. In order to enhance the China-India strategic partnership, the author would like to present the following three recommendations: The first is to elevate and broaden the visions. The two countries should exert more effort in defining the future orientation of Asia and the world. The second is to adopt innovative approaches towards their differences and disputes. As two giant neighbors, China and India would unavoidably have differences and problems. However, sometimes new approaches can give new perspectives or even new solutions. The two countries should move out of such traditional ideas and concepts as security dilemma and zero sum games. As Prime Minister Modi said to President Xi at BRICS Summit in Fortaleza, Brazil, in July 2014 – “China and India are two bodies with one spirit”. Thirdly, they should adopt more proactive and pragmatic attitudes in understanding and dealing with their bilateral problems and issues. As regards foreign policy and international relations, there are mainly three issues in the way: the bilateral boundary question, the trilateral questions of China, India with the United States or Pakistan, and the multilateral one of India's status at the UNSC. There has been both the sense of urgency and patience. With respect to urgent issues such as border stability and crisis prevention, the two countries should try their best to control the differences and manage the crises. With respect to sovereignty and territorial issues, they should show sufficient patience and sometimes let the issues settle themselves in their own course of natural developments.

In conclusion, China and India are now standing on a new point of departure. They are shouldering manifold historical tasks to further bilateral relations, regional cooperation and global governance. On the basis of these visions and missions, China and India should work together to conceptualise appropriate strategies and feasible policy plans. Here the Chinese and Indian think tanks should and could play a significant and constructive role by promoting exchanges and meetings between intellectuals, joint research projects and propose strategies and policy inputs to the respective governments. China and India should join hands with other countries in Asia and the world for a kind of new international relations based on win-win cooperation.

## **SESSION 2: ECONOMIC COOPERATION**

### **SUB-THEME I: Lessons from Domestic Economic Experiences**

#### **China Inc. on the Global Stage: Implications for India**

**Anil K Gupta**

Professor, The University of Maryland, USA

Over the last five years, Chinese corporations have been on a tear in terms of expanding their presence on the global stage. Outbound investment from China has now overtaken inbound investment. Some observers have even started to use phrases such as “China Buys up the World” to describe this phenomenon. Comparing China’s outbound investments against some key benchmarks – notably the US, Japan, Germany, and India - help us understand the scale and scope of Chinese outbound investments more accurately than simple anecdotal generalizations. The presentation traces the trajectory of Chinese outbound investments in terms of targeted industry sectors and targeted regions of the world. Looking at this trajectory helps us understand the logic driving Chinese outbound investments and how this logic is changing. The advantages and challenges that Chinese companies face when going abroad, especially if global expansion is undertaken via acquisitions are also discussed. Within this broader context, the specific cases of two Chinese companies – Alibaba and Dalian Wanda – are discussed focussing on their globalization strategies and where India may fit into their global plans.

## **The Prospect of Chinese Economy and Hangzhou Summit of G20**

**Prof. Pei Changhong**  
Director-General,  
Institute of Economics, CASS

The Chinese GDP of the first half in 2016 has increased at 6.7% in case of compared price. Chinese economy is predictable: the annual growth rate will be around 6.6-6.7% in 2016, and the average growth rate will be above 6.5% annually during 2016-2020 of the period of 13th Plan. China's economic structure has greatly changed. In 2015, consumption accounted for 66% of China's GDP, and the service industry accounted for 55%. The investment on social facility and technology increased quickly while total investment went down. China achieved 6.9% growth rate on the base above US\$10 trillion. Chinese economy contributed more than 30% to the growth of the world economy in 2015. Undoubtedly, China is one of the engines of world economic growth.

Currently, China faces the pressure of economic slowdown. China has to effect structural reform on the supply side which has been considered in President Xi's call for a moderate expansion of total demand. There are five important tasks: 1) to cut down overproduction capacity; 2) lower stocks of real estate; 3) lower the leverage rate; 4) bring down the costs; 5) and fill up the gaps in social demand.

The current pace of world economic recovery is still weak. According to the IMF (July 2016), the expectation of global economic growth rate will be at 3.1%, still lacking in effective demand, as well as in the sources of potential growth. US GDP in the second quarter grew by 1.2% in terms of annual growth rate, and lower than original forecast of 2.6%. The Q1 and Q2 growth rates for 2016 in Euro Zone are 1.7% and 1.6%, and 1.7% and 0.2% in Japan.

China's initiatives are noticed in the G20 Hangzhou Summit. Many countries call for supporting growth and stable markets. The new contribution of Hangzhou summit is that for the first time in the history of G20 Summits, it enabled the discussion of trade and investment as major topics separately. For the first time ever under the framework of G20, a mechanism of working group on trade and investment was set up.

## **China's Financial Reform and RMB Strategy**

**Gao Haihong**

Director, Center for International Finance,  
Institute of World Economics and Politics, CASS

China's financial reform and RMB strategy came at a time of China's increasing economic influence in the world economy and concerns about insufficient reform of the global financial system in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. However, China's attitude on capital account liberalization has been very cautious until 2009, when the governor of the People's Bank of China proposed "super-sovereign reserve currency" and delivered a message to the world – that China is eager to change the situation of its over-reliance on the US dollar. The RMB strategy was introduced in such a context and as a result, the currency gained rapid popularity in major functions of store of value, medium of transaction and unit of account. The most recent achievement was the RMB's inclusion in the IMF's SDR basket in 2016. In fact, the RMB strategy not only played a catalytic role for Chinese integration with the world economy, but also had a locked-in effect, to some extent, for domestic reform.

Going forward, China's transformation towards a consumption and service driven economy will provide a great domestic market for the rest of the world. It will also eventually move the Chinese economy towards a market-oriented one, as stated by the Party's Third Plenum in 2013. Furthermore, in the 13th Five Year plan, the government reaffirmed its plans for continuous reform and opening, tackling both cyclical and structural problems and committed to make the RMB fully convertible by 2020. Such policy ambitions and the subsequent success in economic transformation will generate a positive effect for the world and in the formation of a new international financial system.

## **SUB-THEME II: Multilateral Economic Arrangements**

### **India-China and Multi-lateral Economic Governance**

**Samir Saran**  
Vice President,  
Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

The presentation focuses on the key areas of economic governance in which India and China need to work together. These include the enduring challenge of ensuring that the old institutions, such as the Bretton Woods institutions, better reflect the realities of today and are responsive to the needs of emerging and developing countries. The presentation also discusses the new arenas of economic governance where rules, norms and institutions are still in their infancy and are being developed. These include the new growth and sustainable development agenda agreed to in 2015 and the climate agenda signed onto by a majority of nations in Paris. The issue of digital economy is becoming crucial as it has become a site for the largest incremental value creation and the manner in which this sector is managed by the global community going forward, will substantially affect the development prospects of the LDCS and emerging economies. The Blue Economy and Ocean Governance are new frontiers and will need far greater research, discussions and exchange platforms that will allow countries to cooperate, collaborate and coordinate their agendas and understandings in order to prevent these becoming “zero-sum” frontiers. In sum, India and China have three distinct shades to their engagement on multi-lateral economic governance. The first shade is of partnership, where together they seek reform and re-form of global institutions created in the wake of World War II. The second is of collaboration where we need to work together to realise mutual benefits such as in the arena of development and infrastructure finance. The third shade is that of contest, where politics associated with some key economic projects of one party (like the OBOR) are seen to infringe on the interests and rights of the others. India and China will need to ensure that the first two are strengthened and the third is minimized over the coming years.

## Understanding Global Governance

**Prof. Zhang Yuyan**  
Director-General,  
Institute of World Economics and Politics,  
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Whether and how potential players participate in a game depends on their common and conflicting interests. Common and conflicting interests also exist among sovereign states or organizations. Global issues include co-existence with peace, climate change, a fair and open trade system, cyber-security, cross-border crimes including terrorism, stable international monetary or financial architecture. International cooperation is necessary while costs and benefit-sharing will be involved in the middle. Addressing these issues is similar to provision of public goods. The incentive of being free riders leads to shortage of global public goods. The substitute for “world government” is Global Governance which is a sum of institutions, either rules or organizations, established by state or non-state actors with the aim of addressing global issues. The fundamental function of global governance lies in the provision of global public goods. Importance of global issues/rules vary for actors. For eg. is the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea coastal or landlocked? Actors possess varying amount of negotiation power which determines the depth and breadth of their involvement. Actors’ different internal political structures, decision-making mechanisms, social cohesion, and stability also have an influence. The result being – global governance manifests different forms and different results. It is either non-existent or inadequate given the fact that it is difficult to reach a consensus and take collective actions.

In Mancur Olson: *The Logic of Collective Actions*, the author speaks about the fact that common interests are only a necessary condition, though not sufficient for collective action. Two conditions need to be fulfilled for the materialization of collective action: Firstly, there needs to be a small number of players, but a larger share of output with contribution being more easily identified, and less costly to reach a consensus and collective action. Secondly, there has to provision of selective incentives, the promise of reward for participation than non-participation. At the same time there has to be high opportunity costs or even penalties for non-participation. The paper will delve more into the discussion on global governance and collective action.

## **Suggestions for India and China to Work Together to Promote BCIM-EC**

**Prof. Ren Jia**

Vice Chairperson, Chinese Association for  
South Asian Studies & Chinese Association for Asia Pacific Studies

2013 was a very important year for the BCIM forum, which completed 14 years of cooperation promoted by four countries. In this same year, the Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang visited India for the first time. On that occasion, the Indian Prime Minister put forward the suggestion for the construction of BCIM Economic Corridor in the joint statement. The two important nodal cities of the economic corridor - Kunming and Kolkata - also signed an agreement establishing a sister-city relationship on 24th October 2013. This is no doubt the new type of relations between major countries. It is also consistent with the direction of India's "Act East" and China's "Belt and Road Vision". In order to implement the initiative of the Prime Ministers of India and China, a Joint Study Group meeting of BCIM was held in Kunming in December 2013 to discuss a joint research program by the four countries. We can see that the BCIM-EC is a successful example for four nations engaging in joint discussion.

When the second joint study group meeting of BCIM was held in Cox's Bazar of Bangladesh in December 2014, it discussed the draft Country Reports presented by each delegation and agreed that the prioritised cooperation would focus on multi-modal connectivity; trade in goods and services and trade facilitation; investment and financing; energy; sustainable development; social and human development and poverty alleviation; and people-to-people contacts. The Third JSG Meeting of BCIM-EC will be hosted by India and an inter-governmental cooperation mechanism will be discussed. These developments indicate the movement of the BCIM Economic Corridor construction moving from "Track II" to "Track I" level. It also marked the official launch of the inter-governmental process of BCIM-EC.

However, the progress of the BCIM-EC construction is very slow. First there is still no modern transport system connecting these countries with each other, nor any transport facilitation agreement signed between the four countries. Moreover, the electricity, communications, and other infrastructure is very backward in this region. Second, border trade is an important mode of communication between the people of this region, but border port (point) construction, logistical facilities and so on are backward and the scale of transaction is still very low in this region. Third, there are still many restrictions on investment, such as set FDI entry barriers in the different industries and stringent security review system for foreign investment, mergers and acquisitions and regulation of profits and capital export restrictions. Fourth this area is one of the poorest regions of the world and capital is the largest bottleneck of economic corridor construction. Fifth, since the land port is only limited to the border between two of the countries, the third country's personnel are unable to enter. Further, there are traffic inconveniences, the internationalization level of airports is also low, as well as policy barriers and lack of mutual understanding and mutual trust.

As far as solution to these problems are concerned, the implementation of the early harvest project needs to be accelerated so that the people along the corridor can enjoy the benefits of the BCIM-EC. To this end, the suggestions are as follows: 1) Human resources training for government officials, experts and scholars, business people, and local organizations from four countries needs to be carried out as soon as possible, along the lines of the GMS and Mekong College, 2) Tourism is one sector in which there is unanimous consensus for cooperation among all countries, should be facilitated. Apart from individual country specialities, the region is the birthplace of world cultural heritage with considerable appeal among religious believers. The development of eco-tourism is of great significance to understand and protect the rich ecological environment and sustainable development of the region. The area also has many ethnic minorities and tribes with many similarities in language, folk religion and so on. Rural tourism development is helpful for people to people contact. Indian medical capabilities are of high quality and Yunnan also has very good medical facilities to carry out medical health tourism. 3) There should be an increase in the air routes and enhanced border infrastructure. The four countries should be open to a regional aviation network promoting regional tourism, such as Kunming-Guwahati, Kunming-Chittagong (Cox's Bazar), Kunming-Kolkata-Bihar (Bodhgaya), Kunming-Mandalay-Bagan to promote religious and culture tourism. 4) The four countries may take GMS cooperation mechanism as an example to promote agricultural cooperation of BCIM and set up suitable BCIM Agricultural Cooperation Park. 5) The four countries need to work together to tackle many non-traditional security problems such as natural disasters, disease and health, anti-drug AIDS, illegal smuggling, terrorist attacks and so on. 6) Think tanks exchanges should be greatly expanded. China-South Asia Think-Tank forum sponsored by Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Yunnan provincial government, and hosted by Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences has been held four times. The India-China bilateral think-tank forum, as a sub-forum held annually, is important. We also suggest the initiative of China-South Asia network platform. 7) Organize sports activities and events to strengthen youth exchanges. We can also consider the BCIM "young scholars forum", "young entrepreneurs Roundtable" and so on to open up more channels and set up long-term mechanism for youth exchanges. 8) There is a need to explore ways of medical assistance and poverty-alleviation. Cooperation and development for micro credit poverty-alleviation, health care, agricultural science and technology promotion, education and training, cultural protection should be strengthened. 9) Strengthen policy communication and enter into agreements on investment protection and transport facilitation. The BCIM regional passenger transit transport facilitation agreement should be urgently expedited. 10) Yunnan and North East India are rich in water resources. Myanmar and Bangladesh have natural gas and other resources. They should promote cooperation in the field of energy after evaluating the environmental risks. At the same time, Myanmar, Bangladesh and India lack electricity and they could expand electricity cooperation with Yunnan.

## **SESSION 3: PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE CONTACTS**

### **India-China Cultural Contacts with Special Reference to Buddhist sites in India**

**Prof. Anita Sharma**

Professor, Department of East Asian Studies,  
University of Delhi

Asia has historically been connected through a number of routes which produced an immense variety of exchanges and led to the flowering of different cultures and traditions. Under people to people contacts, cultural and religious connections between India and China through Buddhism constitute one of the most outstanding factors. It was through cultural exchanges that Buddhism travelled into China from India. Ever since Buddhism was introduced into China towards the beginning of the Common Era, there were hundreds of Indian missionaries who travelled to these countries taking along with them Buddhist scriptures which were translated into Chinese language in order to propagate Buddhism. We also find streams of Buddhist pilgrims traveling to India for studying Buddhism. The Silk Road played an important role in these cultural and religious exchanges so cultural and religious exchanges between India and China boasts a long history and far-reaching impacts. The presentation shall explore possibilities of reviving these ancient cultural and religious connections, with special reference to Buddhist sites in India, to bring the people of both the countries closer. Tourism should be promoted between India and China so that people understand historical contacts with each other well. Indian and Chinese sides should work together to have joint exhibitions to promote these Buddhist places. There is also a need to popularise the study of Chinese Language in India

## Civilizational Interaction between China and India

**Prof. Jiang Jingkui**  
**Director, Centre for South Asian Studies,**  
**Peking University**

China and India have shared more than two thousand years' recorded history of cultural contacts, marked by dynamic encounters and yielding innumerable fruits. The talk mainly consists of four parts. First, it will set the backdrop by presenting some general facts about the interconnectedness between China and India, for example the "Holy Mountain and Sacred Lake" (namely Mount Kailash and Lake Manasarovar) shared by both cultures, the four routes linking the two ancient civilizations, as well as the periodization of Sino-Indian relations.

Second, it will delve into the interactive processes by highlighting the most significant participants, events and results. Specifically, participants include, but not limited to, Emperor Wu of Han, Zhang Qian, Emperor Ming of Han, Emperor Taizong of Tang, Wang Xuance, Emperor Taizong of Song, Emperor Chengzu of Ming, Zheng He and Zhou Enlai on the Chinese side and Sakyamuni, Emperor Ashoka, Emperor Harshavardhana, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajiv Gandhi on the Indian side. Events include, in China, Zhang Qian's travels to the Western Regions, Emperor Ming of Han's dream of the "golden man", Emperor Taizong of Tang's generous support for Xuan Zang, Wang Xuance's search for sugar refinery techniques, Emperor Wu of Liang's embrace of Buddhism, Zheng He's seven expeditionary voyages to the "Western Ocean" and, in India, the emergence of Buddhism, Ashoka's propagation of Buddhism, King Harshvardhana's warm reception of Xuan Zang and the creation of the "Panchsheel Treaty" jointly proposed by China, India and Burma, just to name a few. All these events made possible by individual and institutional participants further resulted in the evolution and establishment of the four routes, the localization of Buddhism in China and the internalization of Chinese goods (sugar and tea) as indispensable parts of Indian social life; in other words, interactive mechanisms were developed between China and India.

Third, the talk will focus on the translation practices between China and India (mainly from India to China) also by looking respectively at the participants, events and results. The participants referred to are the five grand masters of sutra translation (i.e. Kumarajiva, Paramartha, Xuan Zang, Yi Jing and Amoghavajra), Kashyapamatanga, Dharmaratna, Fa Xian, Hui Li, Atisa, Tsongkhapa, Bing Xin, Ji Xianlin, Jin Kemu among others. Some major events include the establishment of translation forums, Chinese pilgrims' travels to India to seek sutras, Indian monks' travels to China to spread dharma and the adoption of Indians as officials by Chinese government in ancient times. Consequently, the past two millenniums have seen the development of Chinese Buddhism and its heavy influence on East Asia, the dissemination of knowledge about China in the subcontinent as well as the accumulating records of India kept in Chinese accounts.

In the fourth part, the talk will conclude by arguing that it was through enduring interaction and translation processes, the Chinese and Indian civilizations became strongly interconnected with one another. With Buddhism becoming a major Chinese religion and tea and sugar two inseparable elements in Indian people's daily life, we can truly identify a state that characterises China and India, for which I propose the term "two bodies sharing one spirit".

## **SESSION 4: SHAPING THE REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AGENDA: CLIMATE CHANGE AND CYBER SECURITY**

### **Shaping the Regional and Global Agenda – Climate Change**

**Dr Navroz Dubash**

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, The Climate Initiative,  
Centre for Policy Research (CPR)

The global climate debate is at an inflection point. On the one hand, the Paris Agreement signals a broad agreement on a way forward for a global soft-regulatory process, based on a combination of bottom up pledges and top-down information-based review process. On the other, the geopolitical alignments of the last two decades have given way to a much more uncertain environment, with Trump's America potentially actively hostile the Paris regime, an uncertain Europe, but also a G-77 divided among many factions. In this context, India and China, together, and with a joint voice, could play a determining role in global climate politics and policy. But India and China, also, do not always view the issues in complementary ways. To join forces, several un-reconciled issues will need to be addressed.

First, is there a common understanding of how common but differentiated responsibility and respective capabilities, and related concerns of equity, to be operationalized? Second, is climate finance -- which is almost certain to be negatively affected in the coming years by recent developments in the US -- a deal-breaker for Indian and Chinese climate policy, or one among several factors? Third, what are the domestic synergies with climate change, the joint problems and projects -- such as tackling air pollution and urbanization -- that could provide a substantive policy basis on which climate diplomacy can be built? Finally, how important is addressing climate change through enhanced global collective mitigation as compared to other foreign policy objectives for each country? These questions are a possible starting point for a productive conversation, leading to productive India-China leadership on the global climate agenda.

## **Global Climate Governance: New Pattern and New Paradigm**

**Associate Prof Wang Mou  
Deputy Director  
Division of Sustainable Development Economics,  
Institute for Urban and Environment Studies, CASS**

First of all, the changing social and economic background of Global Climate Governance must be underscored. Since the conclusion of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1992, a number of adjustments have been made in the patterns of international economy, trade, emissions, etc. Developing countries have increased rapidly in their share in global economy, trade as well as emissions, which led to some Parties to the Convention, mainly developed country parties, faltering on their recognition of the responsibility system of the global response to climate change, and requiring developing countries to undertake increasing responsibility for emission reduction and even financial assistance, intending to transfer obligations and costs in dealing with climate change to developing countries. In fact, although the share of developing countries has increased in global economy, trade and emissions, the basic pattern that developed countries account for the absolute majority in cumulative CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and control the international financial, trading, technology, and standard systems has not changed. The international responsibility system to deal with climate change has not changed fundamentally, either. Developed countries should continue to lead the global climate actions, and provide financial and technical assistance to developing countries; developing countries should also take the path of low-carbon development while actively making full use of support from the international community in poverty alleviation and development process.

Secondly, there a new pattern of interests groups of Global Climate Governance is emerging. As global economic and emission structure undergo adjustments, the basic pattern of global actions to address climate change has evolved from the North-South camps in the 1980s into the current continuous spectrum situation, the boundaries of the North and South are becoming vague; the South is partially assimilated to the North; and the North is experiencing internal divisions. “The South is partially assimilated to the North” mainly means that some Southern countries share views and positions with developed country parties and demonstrate common or similar interests with developed country parties; some Southern countries have transited into emerging economies which are different from traditional Southern countries, and though they belong to the South camp, they are different from less developed countries; “The North is experiencing internal divisions” means that among the Northern countries, different interest groups have emerged, among which the most typical are the umbrella groups and the EU, and moreover, there also exist divisions among these countries. For example, countries with economies in transition, such as Poland and Romania, have large differences with the EU15 in climate policies after they joined the EU. More importantly, Northern countries have less control over global economy, whereas the position of emerging economies has greatly improved and that of less developed countries remains stable.

Thirdly, the new Paradigm of International Climate Governance must be taken note of. The Paris Agreement is a milestone in the process of international climate governance and it has entered into force on November 4, 2016. As a result of a rebalanced of interest of parties in the changing context of global economic and social development, it reflects the new consensus of the international community on burden sharing pattern and global action mode, and establishes the new paradigm for future global climate governance. Compared with the Kyoto Protocol and other previous climate agreements under the UNFCCC, the Paris Agreement, characterized by broad participation, bottom up commitment and global stocktaking, pushes international climate governance to a new level of shared responsibility and joint actions. China and India have similar national circumstances and common interests in global climate governance. And the coordination mechanism of the two nations on climate negotiation also performance well. In the future, China and India can provide support for each other in climate negotiations and other non-UNFCCC processes so as to meet the demand of both sides. By actively engaging in the process of global climate governance, the two countries can learn advanced experience from others, promote green transformation and sustainable development.

## **India- China and Cyber-Security Issues**

**Associate Prof. Lang Ping**

Deputy Director

Division of International Politics,

Institute of World Economics and Politics, CASS

Cyberspace is now becoming a new frontier in our life, and a major drive for innovation, economic prosperity and social development. However, cyberspace has also brought us new challenges such as development imbalances, widening digital divide, cyber-crimes, cyber terrorism, cyber surveillance, cyber-attacks as well as infringement of personal privacy and intellectual property rights. China holds that a fundamental way to secure cyber security is to set rules and norms for cyberspace by building on the existing international norms alongside while at the same time making innovations, attaching equal importance to both development and security, and taking immediate concerns and long-term interests into consideration. To establish global cyber norms and make sure the cyberspace is shared and governed by all, the following principles should be followed: dialogue and cooperation, broader participation, and the leading role of the UN on the global scale. China in recent years has promoted the initiatives of Digital Silk Road, China-ASEAN Information Harbor, enhanced G20 cooperation on digital economy, and deepened cyber security cooperation within SCO and BRICS. Cyberspace security can only be achieved as shared and common security; China and India can work together in establishing cyber security norms and fostering a peaceful, secure, open and cooperative cyberspace.