



1ST CONFERENCE ON

CHINA'S DOMESTIC GOVERNANCE

9-10 September 2022

Venue: Zoom

Email: cdg.ics@gmail.com

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CONCEPT NOTE

The governance debate in China has many crucial aspects regarding the society-state-economy relationships. The [1st Conference on China's Domestic Governance](#) unravels this debate by exploring the nature of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its relationship with the Chinese state; the economic, science and technology developments, civil-military relationship, sub-national governance and the domestic imperatives of China's foreign policy. The various panels of the conference present a nuanced understanding of each issue, the implicit challenges and likely impacts on the future trajectory of China's politics.

Since the CCP completed one hundred years in July 2021, it has emerged that loyalty to it is the sole criteria for upward mobility within the Party, society, politics, business, and life. The panel, *The Party in Primacy* convened by Hemant Adlakha, critically examines whether the "historic" adulation by the Party of Xi derives from a position of its strength or weakness; how Bonapartist the current regime is? Further, are slogans such as "China Dream", "national rejuvenation", "China to correct income inequality", "equal access to all by 2035," and "common prosperity" populist measures to counter radicalism in society due to gross social inequities? Finally, is Xi's "return to Mao's Cultural Revolution" a reflection of factional infighting inside the Party between those defending China's private corporate "capitalists" and the "nationalist" businesses?

Despite reforms and opening-up policy, registering outstanding growth and China establishing itself as a new economic development model, it faces considerable challenges. The concerns over unbalanced growth patterns, regulatory oversights and risks of crony capitalism persist. The state continues to intervene in counter-cyclical monetary and fiscal policies whenever economic growth slows down and investment slumps, but these are not sustainable efforts. Moreover, in times of pandemic, anti-globalisation and trade war policies and state control over the nation's economy have further escalated tensions. The panel on *Domestic Economy of China* convened by Aravind Yelery analyses whether China's economic model is proving wasteful, evidenced by its surging debts; Can the Chinese state limit its dependence on investment spending? Would the economy's supply-side maintain

lead over the demand side by addressing issues related to in-depth institutional planning and long-term adjustment and not just the "elimination of excess capacity"?

It is only through innovation that China can manage these economic factors, and the way the CCP governs science, technology and innovation (STI) has a crucial bearing on its credibility and worthiness to fulfil its modern-day version of the "Mandate of Heaven". However, the main factors of production—land, labour and capital—are all under severe stress from environmental degradation, declining population, wasteful use of capital and a host of other reasons. The panel *Governance of Science, Technology and Innovation in China* convened by Ravi Bhoothalingam examines the governance structure of modern China in innovation; its adequacy for the growth of principal components of STI; the risks; and the efficacy and resilience of China's governance structure to deal with them- given that STI depends on the global circulation of ideas.

Another dimension of governance is the civil-military relationship in China. The role of PLA in the past two decades in domestic governance has reduced due to military reforms and the resultant reduction in PLA size, yet the PLA-Party and PLA-State relations play a significant role in the operational preparedness of the PLA. The panel on *New Trends in PLA and its Role in Governance* convened by K. K. Venkatraman and Manoj Kewalramani focuses on the Central National Security Commission (CNSC) as a part of the Party Central Committee, including various aspects of national security in domestic, external, traditional and non-traditional realms; PLA-Party-State relations in terms of CMC's control over the new domains of cyber, space and electronic security as well as the traditional ones like land, sea and air and the armed police force; "Dual-Support" work; and military-civil integration. It explores the role, composition and functioning of the CNSC and its impact on the government's decision-making; the impact of Article 17 of the Defence Law impact on PLA-Party- State relations; how PLA and the provincial/local governments interact and assist each other and finally, the PLA's impact on the development of the civil sector.

A different aspect of domestic governance in China is sub-national governance. The provinces have considerable variations in economic development as border provinces, coastal provinces or provinces in the hinterlands, living standards, history of industrialisation, and central government policies. Moreover, with fiscal decentralisation,

provinces have emerged as quasi-autonomous economic units wherein different models of revenue generation, market enrichment, and infrastructure development policies have emerged. The panel on *Subnational/Local Governance in China* convened by Ritu Aggarwal examines the role of province, county and township in generating economic growth by focusing on the locational advantages and local characteristics of sub-national units. The panel will be focusing on the development strategies adopted by the provincial governments to integrate into the structural process of economic globalisation. How do the provincial leadership maintain a balance between central policies and local needs and interests? Furthermore, how do these sub-national entities build new networks of power both at the horizontal and vertical levels through bringing investment, infrastructure development and commercial operations in different regions in China?

Finally, preserving the stability and centralising power continues to be one of the CCP's top governance priorities. As a result, the Chinese government officially spends more on "stability maintenance" than on national defence-instilling crisis and insecurities, affecting China's foreign policy tenor, and imparting a dramatic and aggressive turn to it. The panel on the *Domestic Imperatives of China's Foreign Policy* convened by Rityusha Mani Tiwary focuses on popular nationalism (which helps CCP against any perceived weakness or indecisiveness domestically or abroad); China's self-image, and national identity (exploring the overlap and tension amongst various versions-as a traditional universalistic civilisation-empire or a modernising republic, a socialist country, a third world developing country, a rising power in an international order dominated by western powers, or the creator of a new Chinese model of development, rising above national humiliation and oppression by the western powers); and territorial integrity (emerging from the separation of Hong Kong and Macao and their subsequent return and the loss of Taiwan). It explores how the competing versions of nationalism impact China's foreign policy decision-making, what kind of power is China likely to be, and whether territorial integrity is the supreme virtue of China's foreign policy.

PROGRAMME

DAY 1: FRIDAY, 9 SEPTEMBER 2022

INAUGURAL SESSION

1330 – 1400 Hours

Remarks: **Amb. Kishan S. Rana**, Emeritus Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Emeritus Professor, DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva.

Remarks: **Yamini Aiyar**, President and Chief Executive, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

SESSION I: SUBNATIONAL/LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN CHINA

1400 – 1545 Hours

Chair: **Prof. Subrata K. Mitra**, Emeritus Professor of Political Science, Heidelberg University, Heidelberg and Adjunct Professor, Dublin City University (DCU), Dublin.

Speakers:

Prof. Zhang Dong, Assistant Professor, Division of Social Science, The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Hong Kong.

Top-Down Accountability, Social Unrest, and Anti-Corruption in China

Dr. Ritu Agarwal, Associate Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

Agribusiness Companies and Peasant Differentiation in China: A Case Study of Dounan Flower Market, Chenggong County, Yunnan Province, China

Amb. Kishan S. Rana, Emeritus Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Emeritus Professor, DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva.

Sub-State Delegation and Governance in China: Three Facets

Discussant: **Dr. Mekhala Krishnamurthy**, Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi; Associate Professor, Sociology and Anthropology, Ashoka University, Sonapat.

1545 – 1600 Hours: BREAK

SESSION II: DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF CHINA
1600 – 1745 Hours

Chair: Dr. Aravind Yelery, Senior Research Fellow, Peking University, Beijing/Shenzhen.

Speakers:

Prof. Shenghao Zhu, Professor, School of International Trade and Economics, University of International Business and Economics, Beijing.

Income and Wealth Disparity and China Dream

Prof. Kristy Tsun-Tzu Hsu, Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research, Taipei.

The Factor of Labour Productivity in China's Domestic Economic Governance and its Effects

Dr. Avinash Godbole, Associate Professor and Assistant Academic Dean, Jindal School of Arts & Humanities, Jindal Global University, Sonipat.

China's Domestic Economic Strategy since Covid

Discussant: Prof. Vamsi Vakulabharanam, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

1745 – 1800 Hours: BREAK

SESSION III: THE PARTY IN PRIMACY
1800 – 1945 Hours

Chair: Prof. Rodionov Aleksei, Senior Deputy Dean, Faculty of Asian and African Studies, St. Petersburg University, St. Petersburg.

Speakers:

Dr. Guo Wu, Associate Professor of History, Allegheny College, Pennsylvania.

"Historical Nihilism" or Historical Authentication: The Public Scepticism of the Party-State Narrative on "Heroes" in Early 21st Century China

Ms. Hannah Lund, freelance writer, critic and translator, Shanghai.

Othering the Stage: How Changing Macbeth Adaptations and Immersive Theatre Have Provided Inspiration and Spaces for Political Thought in China

Dr. Hemant Adlakha, Associate Professor, Chinese, Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies (CCSEAS), School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies (SLL & CS), Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Vice-Chairperson and Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; **Ms. Tanvi Negi**, Assistant Professor, Chinese, Doon University, Dehradun; Doctoral Candidate, CCSEAS, SLL & CS, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; **Ms. Gargi Chaturvedi**, Doctoral Candidate, CCSEAS, SLL & CS, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Literature under Xi Jinping

Discussant: Dr. Usha Chandran, Assistant Professor, Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

DAY 2: SATURDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER 2022

SESSION IV: GOVERNANCE OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION IN CHINA 1430 – 1615 Hours

Chair: Mr. Ravi Bhoothalingam, Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Founder and Chairman, Manas Advisory, Gurgaon.

Speakers:

Prof. Chen Dongmin, Dean/Professor, School of Innovation & Entrepreneurship and Director, Office of Science & Technology Development, Peking University, Beijing.

Reshaping China's Science & Technology and Innovation System in a Turbulent Time

Prof. Stéphanie Balme, Research Professor, Sciences Po, Dean of Sciences Po Undergraduate Studies (Collège Universitaire), Paris; Visiting Professor, Ashoka University, Sonapat and former Visiting Professor, Tsinghua University, Beijing and Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

Can an Isolated China Meet Her Scientific Dream?

Prof. V. S. Ramamurthy, Emeritus Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru.

Breaking the Glass Ceiling: China's Emergence as a Global Player in Science, Technology and Innovation

Discussant: Prof. Rakesh Basant, former Professor of Economics and JSW Professor of Innovation and Public Policy, Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad.

1615 – 1630 Hours: BREAK

SESSION V: NEW TRENDS IN PLA AND ITS ROLE IN GOVERNANCE
1630 – 1815 Hours

Chair: Lt. Gen. (Dr.) Prakash Menon PVSM AVSM VSM, Director, Strategic Studies, The Takshashila Institution and Adjunct Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru; former Military Adviser, National Security Council Secretariat, Government of India.

Speakers:

Lt. Gen. S. L. Narasimhan PVSM AVSM* VSM, Member, National Security Advisory Board and Director General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

Central National Security Commission (TBC)

Prof. Arthur Ding, Professor Emeritus, Graduate Institute of East Asian Studies, National Chengchi University, Taipei.

Consolidation of Power? Re-institutionalization?: People's Armed Police under Xi Jinping's Rein

Prof. Daniel C. Mattingly, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University, Connecticut.

How the Party Commands the Gun: The Foreign-Domestic Threat Dilemma in China

Discussant: Mr. Manoj Kewalramani, Chairperson of the Indo-Pacific Research Programme & Fellow-China Studies, The Takshashila Institution, Bengaluru; Senior Associate (Non-Resident), Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), Washington D.C.

1815 – 1830 Hours: BREAK

SESSION VI: DOMESTIC IMPERATIVES OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY
1830 – 2015 Hours

Chair: Prof. B. R. Deepak, Professor, Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Speakers:

Ms. Wenjing Gao, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa.

Domestic Imperatives of China's Zero-COVID Policy: The Challenge of the "Great Affairs of State"

Dr. Rityusha Mani Tiwary, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi, Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; **Prof. Alka Acharya**, Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Chinese State Capitalism and Global Capital: Domestic Transformation and Foreign Policy Readjustments

Dr. Kalpit A. Mankikar, Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, Mumbai.

China's New Nationalism under Xi Jinping

Discussant: Dr. Ryan Hass, Senior Fellow and Michael H. Armacost Chair in Foreign Policy Program, Chen-Fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.

CONCLUDING SESSION
2015 – 2030 Hours

Closing Remarks: Prof. Alka Acharya, Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Remarks: Prof. Partha Mukhopadhyay, Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

Note: Speakers in all sessions will have 20 minutes to make their presentations, while the Discussants will be allotted 10 minutes to respond. The Chair will take up to 5 minutes to make the opening and the concluding remarks. The remaining time will be for Q&A.

ABSTRACTS

SESSION I: SUBNATIONAL/LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN CHINA

Prof. Zhang Dong, Assistant Professor, Division of Social Science, The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Hong Kong.

“Top-Down Accountability, Social Unrest, and Anti-Corruption in China”

What motivates front-line officials to curtail corruption? We contend that performance management can reinforce top-down accountability in authoritarian governments and help contain corruption at the local level. Drawing on a nationally representative panel data of approximately 120 villages in China, we find that when anticorruption is prescribed as a salient policy goal in the township-to-village performance evaluation, village officials are incentivized to curb corruption. We further present evidence that the mandate for maintaining social stability propels township-level governments to prioritise the anticorruption work in the performance evaluation of village officials given that corruption constitutes a crucial trigger for social unrest.

Dr. Ritu Agarwal, Associate Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

“Agribusiness Companies and Peasant Differentiation in China: A Case Study of Dounan Flower Market, Chenggong County, Yunnan Province, China”

Dounan flower market located in Chenggong is the largest flower marketing centre in China in terms of its trade volume, export value, and the number of flower traders. . The county government has been able to transform a small-scale local flower market into a large wholesale market space with investment from the municipal government as well as from private business. . The building of new Dounan agro-industrial Park had attracted traders from nearby provinces and a large number of agro companies specialising in seedling, bulb, irrigation, greenhouse and other kinds of horticultural products are concentrated in this area. Besides, a number of agricultural service companies specialising in agricultural input suppliers, logistic service providers, providing cold storage, packaging and transportation

are also actively participating in this market. With the changes in the administrative status of Chenggong county into a district, the county government has constructed the multi-functional flower distribution centre with different types of functions like transportation, cold storage and packaging etc. Thus, Dounan flower market has witnessed a significant transformation from an old style rural collective market to a modern business centre. In this context, the paper will examine the following questions: First, how the agrarian land has become a contested space where the provincial government wanted to use it for urban expansion and the new agro-business management firms wanted to use it for cultivation of cash crops like flowers and vegetables. Second, there has been a change in the production pattern from formerly scattered and isolated farmer households into specialised, coordinated and standardised production, how do the emergence of Agro-business companies mediate farmers' interactions with the market. Thirdly, to understand the process which has redefined the agrarian relations between land and the peasantry and created new forms of differentiation based on their negotiation with the land and the market.

Amb. Kishan S. Rana, Emeritus Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Emeritus Professor, DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva.

“Sub-State Delegation and Governance in China: Three Facets”

Concepts such as separation of powers, and legally mandated safeguarding of province autonomy are unknown to the Chinese Constitution. Yet, within that country's framework of untrammelled centralised power, a significant degree of authority delegation operates, even thrives. The result: a unique model of Party-State *jumelage*, as the French would call it, (i.e. twinning) operates. It leaves the Party – not the State -- firmly in the driving seat. First, take economic diplomacy. Chinese provinces enjoy selective direct presence in foreign capitals, through offices that are nested within embassies. Some Indian states might surely envy that, given the rigid fashion in which New Delhi oversees all manner of external forays by Indian states; for instance, it does not permit them to open abroad tourism promotion offices of their own. Other aspects of the Centre-Province cooperation in foreign affairs are also worthy of note. Second, consider the system of China's 'Leading Small Groups' (LSGs), which is Beijing's answer to a problem thrown up in every country: How to monitor the execution of policy decisions? How to receive direct feedback from the ground level, that permits real-time adjustments to the decisions, in the light of that policy execution process? Is there

something in the Chinese system that is relevant for other countries? Third, how to migrate the entire network of officials, in a large and complex country, into that much-needed mode of ‘continuous learning’? How to transform the entire bureaucracy into a self-improving network? China does this through mandatory training at its Party Schools, via a layered-network, spread out across the country. India has developed its own model, since 2009, which also works fairly well.-Can it be improved? Notwithstanding the systemic differences between China and India, comparative analysis is useful. Some ideas can often be borrowed from different countries, naturally modified to fit one’s own circumstances and institutional arrangements.

SESSION II: DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF CHINA

Prof. Shenghao Zhu, Professor, School of International Trade and Economics, University of International Business and Economics, Beijing.

“Income and Wealth Disparity and China Dream”

The wealth and income distribution are one significant challenge to China's dream. The widening gap between China's mostly urban rich and its primarily rural poor has been the focus of China’s economic governance. The paper uses Chinese household data to document the facts about wealth and income distributions, which reveal the current situation of inequality in China. The paper also decomposes household income into different sources and tries to find the reason for income inequality. Finally, various tax schemes which might help China to fulfil common prosperity have been discussed to address these issues.

Prof. Kristy Tsun-Tzu Hsu, Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research, Taipei.

“The Factor of Labour Productivity in China’s Domestic Economic Governance and its Effects”

China’s domestic growth story owes to its aggregate productivity growth. The trajectory of China’s growth started facing problems when productivity growth started declining. As labour productivity is closely related to GDP growth, this poses a significant threat to the

Chinese economy. The paper will examine China's changing and current labour productivity, using a case study of the textile and garment manufacturing sector, and analyse its effects on and implications on the relocation of textile and garment supply chains from China to other parts of the world.

Dr. Avinash Godbole, Associate Professor and Assistant Academic Dean, Jindal School of Arts & Humanities, Jindal Global University, Sonipat.

“China's Domestic Economic Strategy since Covid”

This presentation will look at how Beijing has sought to respond to economic implications of covid at home and abroad. It will look at the short and long term assessments on China's economy by the party and the strategies to counter the constraints. This work will focus on Dual Circulation and Common Prosperity strategies and study how it has translated into action domestically in China.

SESSION III: THE PARTY IN PRIMACY

Dr. Guo Wu, Associate Professor of History, Allegheny College, Pennsylvania.

“Historical Nihilism’ or Historical Authentication: The Public Scepticism of the Party-State Narrative on “Heroes” in Early 21st Century China”

Based on my own earlier studies on the myth-making in forging the images of the evil landlords and the bitter old society in early PRC's historiography, this paper examines a recent new trend that some historians and history lovers in the PRC questioned the authenticity of the orthodox heroic images of revolutionary martyrs. In non-official, revisionist narratives, the authors provided evidence and reasoning to cast doubt on the credibility of CCP war martyrs including the “Five Tough Guys of the Langya Mountain” who committed suicide in the Anti-Japanese War, Mao Zedong's son Mao Anying who was killed in the Korean War, and Qiu Shaoyun, a soldier who endured burning until his death in an operation in the Korean War. The questioning of the authenticity of these stories precipitated

a lawsuit against one author, the CCP's ideological campaign against "historical nihilism" that tarnishes the heroes' image, and the passing of a new law to protect their legacy.

Ms. Hannah Lund, freelance writer, critic and translator, Shanghai.

"Othering the Stage: How Changing Macbeth Adaptations and Immersive Theatre Have Provided Inspiration and Spaces for Political Thought in China"

Shakespeare's classic play *Macbeth* has proven to be no brief candle on the Chinese stage. Throughout history, the play has been staged as a medium for political thought, *kunqu* operas, and most recently, as an immersive play offering Chinese audiences a sense of agency. Throughout modern Chinese history, *Macbeth* adaptations staged in China have resonated with different cultural and political concerns, so what does the Shanghai adaptation of the immersive play *Sleep No More* and the growing hunger for immersive theatre reveal about contemporary Chinese theatregoers? Through critical analysis and onsite research, I will explore what the latest adaptation of *Macbeth* on contemporary Chinese stages indicates about modern tastes and needs for self-expression—as well as the policies challenging the growth of immersive theatre pieces based on domestic tales.

Dr. Hemant Adlakha, Associate Professor, Chinese, Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies (CCSEAS), School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies (SLL & CS), Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Vice-Chairperson and Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Ms. Tanvi Negi, Assistant Professor, Chinese, Doon University, Dehradun; Doctoral Candidate, CCSEAS, SLL & CS, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Ms. Gargi Chaturvedi, Doctoral Candidate, CCSEAS, SLL & CS, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

"Literature under Xi Jinping"

In communist China, Mao Zedong's Yan'an Forum speech on Art and Literature has been the fundamental principle for the Communist Party of China (CPC) to ensure the party-state fully exercises ideological control over literary and creative productions. Following over four decades of the reform era, the relationship between literature and the state in China has been worsening. As Megan Walsh's recent book *The Subplot: What China is Reading and Why It Matters* reminds us, unlike during the regime of his two predecessors, literature in China

under Xi Jinping is more in trouble. Ever-increasing numbers of writers, publishers, artists, and intellectuals have been targeted by the party authorities under Xi for having “incorrect political views.” By examining a select literary work produced in this century, this paper interrogates recent formulations and implementations of cultural policy, especially since Xi Jinping’s 2014 speech at a forum of writers and artists. While juxtaposing the Party line on literature and art under Xi with the reform period prior to the Xi regime, we would also trace how the relationship between literature and the Party has been redefined multiple times since the CPC was founded hundred years ago.

SESSION IV: GOVERNANCE OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION IN CHINA

Prof. Chen Dongmin, Dean/Professor, School of Innovation & Entrepreneurship and Director, Office of Science & Technology Development, Peking University, Beijing.

“Reshaping China’s Science & Technology and Innovation System in a Turbulent Time”

Over the past decades, China has made significant progress in science and technology innovation system development. In 2021, Global Innovation Index ranks China at #12. The 13th National five-year plan strategically set into a new development path termed “high quality growth” period for which China needs to raise the massive manufacturing capacity in the value chain through intensive innovation development. China’s massive industrial system is overly dependent upon imported technologies. Such dependency leads to undesirable vulnerability particularly as the world is facing the COVID-19 pandemic as well as the rapid change of the geopolitical landscape. Entering the 14th five-year plan, China has made important adjustments in reshaping China’s Science, technology and Innovation system. In this talk we will review the related policies and discuss their possible implications.

Prof. Stéphanie Balme, Research Professor, Sciences Po, Dean of Sciences Po Undergraduate Studies (Collège Universitaire), Paris; Visiting Professor, Ashoka University, Sonapat and former Visiting Professor, Tsinghua University, Beijing and Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

“Can an Isolated China Meet Her Scientific Dream?”

The historical China dream of “power and prosperity” (富强) also includes a dream of scientific power. The steady reconstitution of a scientific ecosystem by the CCP since the end of Maoism has been achieved thanks to an ambitious strategy of reconnecting with international science through the training and connections of talents and labs. Since the launch of the mega project “Made in China 2025”, China is growingly cut off from US scientific ecosystem (*cf.* D. Trump's mandate and its China initiative, for example) and partly detached from the European one (*cf.* the new research plan Horizon Europe, for example). Such a situation is reinforced by the country’s isolation decided by the authorities within the framework of the so-called “Zero COVID” strategy. Concretely, since February 2020, physical international cooperation and mobility of a scientific nature are largely interrupted. Some Chinese officials have also recently called for universities removal of international rankings. This contribution will try to address the following issue: If the internationalisation of Chinese science has allowed its reconstitution over the past four decades, will its isolation stop its dream of becoming the world's next leading scientific power?

Prof. V. S. Ramamurthy, Emeritus Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru.

“Breaking the Glass Ceiling: China's Emergence as a Global Player in Science, Technology and Innovation”

The emergence of China as a global player in Science, Technology and Innovation is one of the outstanding (eyebrow raising) developments during the recent decades. Through a series of critical interventions, China has been able to achieve global competitiveness in higher education and research and leadership positions in several cutting-edge technologies. For example, Chinese universities occupy relatively high positions in several international rankings of universities across the world. During the last few years, China has also overtaken the US as the world's top research publisher in Science and Engineering. China also leads the world in patent filing. To facilitate local technology development and high-tech industry, China has also been nurturing innovation and entrepreneurship as an integral part of the Science and Technology infrastructure. It is not surprising that China is leading the world in several areas of high technology and China’s GDP is racing ahead. I will elaborate on some of

the critical interventions that led to these developments. India had also chosen Science and Technology for development right from the time it became independent. Over a period of time, India has built a reasonably good educational infrastructure, research infrastructure and industrial infrastructure. And in selected areas of science and technology, India has its achievements. But the rate at which China is moving in the science and technology led growth path and the rate at which India is moving in the same path, can India survive Chinese competition in the coming years? I will also elaborate on this important issue.

SESSION V: NEW TRENDS IN PLA AND ITS ROLE IN GOVERNANCE

Prof. Arthur Ding, Professor Emeritus, Graduate Institute of East Asian Studies, National Chengchi University, Taipei.

“Consolidation of Power? Re-institutionalization?: People’s Armed Police under Xi Jinping’s Rein”

In February 26-28 2018, Chinese Communist Party (CCP) convened its 3 rd Central Committee Plenary Meeting of the 19 th Party Congress, and ratified two important documents, CCP Central Decision on the Deepening Reform of Party and State Organs (Central Decision), and Program on the Deepening Reform of Party and State Organs. In March, the Program was released, and People’s Armed Police (PAP) was one of the organs to be “reformed.” Why was PAP reformed? How has the Central Decision impacted the PAP reform? How was reform on PAP done? How was the reform of the PAP linked to the Central Decision? Those are the questions to be addressed in this article.

Prof. Daniel C. Mattingly, Assistant Professor, Yale University, Connecticut.

“How the Party Commands the Gun: The Foreign-Domestic Threat Dilemma in China”

The leaders of authoritarian states face a dilemma between building a loyal military to guard against domestic threats and a professional military that can guard against foreign threats. In this paper, I argue that leaders respond to domestic threats by promoting loyal officers and to foreign threats by promoting experienced officers. I draw on a new dataset, the first

of its kind, of over 12,000 appointments to the People's Liberation Army of China. The data shows that career ties and combat experience are key for officer promotion to key military and party offices. However, in periods of high domestic threat, party leaders promote unusually large numbers of officers with personal ties to the top leader. In periods of foreign threat, on the other hand, leaders are more likely to promote officers with prior combat experience. The article challenges the conventional wisdom, showing how autocrats face a trade-off between guarding against internal and external threats.

SESSION VI: DOMESTIC IMPERATIVES OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Ms. Wenjing Gao, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa.

“Domestic Imperatives of China's Zero-COVID Policy: The Challenge of the "Great Affairs of State"”

2022 is particularly important for China's domestic and foreign policies; this is the year in which Xi expects to renew his second term of office, which also signals the beginning of his unlimited terms of leadership. Xi is the man that aims to make China great again by delivering on the “Chinese dream” of the “great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation”. To ensure a safe transition, his administration disallowed any foreign governments or individuals to point the finger or blame him and CCP's authoritarian rule for any reason. The way China was affected by the Omicron wave of Covid-19 hit and the Russian invasion of Ukraine imposed excessive instability and presented Xi with many obstacles to starting his third term with a smooth transition. The Covid-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine are critical junctures for China and the rest of the world. With this background in mind and building on the ontological security's identity – behaviour nexus, I argue that domestic imperatives of China's zero-covid policy follows the “logic of appropriateness”, in which China adopts and maintains norms that are consistent with its identity as the “Great Affairs of State” (国之大者). Xi's personal project of re-legitimizing the communist party around the leadership of the Party in China's rise with himself at its head requires positive international comparison with the leading power of the world – the United States. That is why “zero-covid” was initially seen as China's triumph in contrast with the US before Omicron hit. Beijing strictly sticks to zero-covid policy

to maintain the perception that China is “winning”, even as it is faced with unsustainable social and economic costs after the Omicron hit. Xi’s search for ontological security in the lead-up to the 20th National Congress of the CCP stretches the boundaries of governance and of China’s state capacity in ways which rather than secure the regime and the leadership of the Party, may compromise it along with China’s rise.

Dr. Rityusha Mani Tiwary, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi, Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Prof. Alka Acharya, Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

“Chinese State Capitalism and Global Capital: Domestic Transformation and Foreign Policy Readjustments”

The combination of economic, political and socio-cultural innovations in Chinese state capitalism presents an intriguing story of transformation regarding policy, rationality and resilience. As the Chinese state grew more involved in global capital projects, it generated significant debate about the nature of Chinese state capitalism, as it has been more complex than often portrayed. This paper examines the diverse factors that influence the relations between Chinese state capitalism and global capital. In addition, this paper focuses on how their interactions influence domestic development outcomes and foreign policy by identifying the key aspects that influence state decision-making processes, challenging the notion of homogenous, linear and unitary relations. China's global project comprises domestic and foreign capital interplay and has three distinct phases: SOE transformation, the rise of the Sino-American animosity and the expansion of Chinese state capitalism through BRI and subregional linkages. In the first part, the paper traces the evolution of State-owned Enterprises (SOEs) in China and their emerging linkages with western corporate entities. The next part of the paper delves into the conflict between Chinese state capitalism and American capitalism, which led to Sino-American animosity. In the last part, the paper critically analyses the links between sub-regional and regional capitalism with Chinese State capitalism and global capital. The Belt and Road initiative captures contradictory currents: state control and market competition.

Dr. Kalpit A. Mankikar, Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, Mumbai.

“China’s New Nationalism under Xi Jinping”

Since the rise of Xi Jinping to the top office in China, he has set the ball rolling for a new form of nationalism in communist China. Primarily, China is increasingly looking back into its past to justify its present-day actions. First, it tried to justify its control of the South China Sea, based on its ‘historical claims’. Since there was little resistance to this ‘sea-grab’, it tried to use hard power to settle pending boundary issues with both India and Taiwan. In recent times, China has been trying to draw ideas from its Confucian past to bolster its legitimacy. Lessons in China’s schools extol the ‘great’ Chinese civilisation for being the source of the four ‘great’ inventions—printing, paper, magnetic compass and gunpowder. These notions of ‘cultural confidence’ have been weaponized to be leveraged against corporate groups. This can be evidenced from the Dolce and Gabbana row, in which an advertisement that allegedly poked fun at chopsticks became a rallying point for nationalists to call for a boycott of the company and even Chinese models associated with the advert. I endeavour to write on how the new Chinese nationalism is influencing the nation’s behaviour.

PARTICIPANTS

INAUGURAL SESSION



Kishan S. Rana has an MA in Economics from St. Stephens College, Delhi. He joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1960 and served in the Indian Embassy in China (1963-65, 1970-72). He was the Indian Ambassador/High Commissioner to Algeria, Czechoslovakia, Kenya, Mauritius and Germany and served on PM Indira Gandhi's staff (1981-82). A polyglot, he speaks Chinese and French in addition to English and Hindi. He is Professor Emeritus, DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva; Emeritus Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi; Archives By-Fellow, Churchill College, Cambridge and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Centre, Washington DC. Earlier, he was guest faculty, Diplomatic Academy, Vienna (2011-18) and Commonwealth Adviser, Namibia Foreign Ministry, 2000-01. He has authored and edited 11 books, including: *Inside Diplomacy* (2000); *Asian Diplomacy* (2007); *Diplomacy of the 21st Century* (2011); *The Contemporary Embassy* (2013); *Diplomacy at the Cutting Edge* (2015); two translated into Chinese.



Yamini Aiyar is the President and Chief Executive of the Centre for Policy Research. In 2008, she founded the Accountability Initiative at CPR, which is credited with pioneering one of India's largest expenditure tracking surveys for elementary education. Yamini's work sits at the intersection of research and policy practice. Her research interests span the fields of public finance, social policy, state capacity, federalism, governance and the study of contemporary politics in India. She has published widely in academic publications and the popular press, and writes regularly on current affairs and policy matters in mainstream Indian newspapers. Yamini serves on a number of government and international policy committees as well as boards of nonprofits and think tanks. Her recent policy commitments include: Commissioner and Chair, Governance Working Group, Lancet Commission on Reimagining India's Health System; Member, Chief Minister's Rajasthan Economic Transformation Advisory Council; Member, United Nations Committee of the Experts on Public Administration; Council

Member, United Nations University; and Member, Technical Advisory Group, National Data and Analytics Platform, NITI Aayog. Yamini is an alumna of the London School of Economics, St. Edmunds College, Cambridge University and St. Stephen's College, Delhi University.

SESSION I: SUBNATIONAL/LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN CHINA



Subrata K. Mitra, Ph.D. (Rochester), is an Emeritus Professor of Political Science at Heidelberg University, Germany and Adjunct Professor at Dublin City University. He was educated in India and the United States. He has taught at Delhi University, the Universities of Hull in the UK, and Heidelberg, where he held the Chair in the Political Science of South Asia, 1994-2014. He has held visiting positions at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris; Tsinghua University, Beijing; University of California, Berkeley; Jawaharlal Nehru University, and, Central University of Hyderabad, India and Nottingham University, UK. *Comparative Politics, South Asian area studies, Governance, Rational Choice, Methods, Citizenship, Statecraft and foreign policy* are his main research interests. His recent books include *Kautilya's Arthashastra: An Intellectual Biography – the Classical Roots of Modern Politics in India* (2017), *Citizenship and the Flow of Ideas* (2012), *Reuse: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety* (2012), *Politics in India: Structure, Process, Policy* (London: Routledge, 2017, second edition), *When Rebels become Stakeholders* (2009), *the Puzzle of India's Governance* (2005). Professor Mitra edits the *Routledge Advances in South Asian Studies* and *Modern South Asian Studies – Society, Politics, Economy, NOMOS* (Baden Baden, Germany). Subrata Mitra's *Governance by Stealth: the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Making of the Indian State* will appear from Oxford University Press in 2021.



Zhang Dong is an Assistant Professor in the Division of Social Science. He received his doctorate in political science from Northwestern University. He was a Shorenstein Postdoctoral Fellow in contemporary Asia at Stanford University. He holds bachelor's degrees in public policy and economics, and a master's degree in public policy from Peking University, Beijing. His research interests include comparative political economy, international political economy, and authoritarian politics.

His work has appeared in *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Public Administration Review*, *Review of International Political Economy*, among others.



Ritu Agarwal is an Associate Professor at Centre for East Asian studies, School of International Studies, JNU. She holds a Ph.D. in Chinese Studies from the University of Delhi. She completed her M.A. in Political science, JNU. Her Doctoral work explored the micro-level agrarian transformation in Yunnan province and she is currently engaged in questions of the evolving property regime in China. Her research interests are: rural political economy, urbanisation, gender studies and provincial politics. Dr. Ritu Agarwal studied Mandarin Chinese from Beijing language and Culture University, Beijing. She was a visiting scholar at Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Kunming, Jinan University, Guangzhou, Chinese University of Hong Kong and was affiliated to East Asia Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore.



Mekhala Krishnamurthy is a Senior Fellow at CPR and Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Ashoka University. Over the last fifteen years, Krishnamurthy's research, publications, policy and professional engagements have involved work within and across a range of field sites and subjects, including women's courts and dispute resolution, community health workers and public health systems, agriculture and agricultural markets, and land, water and livelihood security. This has placed her in a variety of roles at the intersections of and in partnerships between academia, public policy, government, the private sector, and grassroots civil society organisations. Krishnamurthy's longstanding area of research interest and commitment, which she is currently pursuing in a number of field-based and writing projects, involves understanding the institutional dynamics and everyday life of the state, market and economy in contemporary India. At CPR, she is engaged in building up a new initiative on state capacity. Krishnamurthy is also a Non-Resident Visiting Scholar at the Center for the Advanced Study of India (CASI) at the University of Pennsylvania. She has trained at Harvard University (AB in Social Studies), the University of Cambridge (MPhil in

Social Anthropology) and at University College London, where she completed her PhD in Anthropology as a UCL Global Excellence Scholar.

SESSION II: DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF CHINA



Aravind Yelery is Senior Research Fellow (Associate Professor Grade) at the Peking University, Beijing/Shenzhen. He teaches and curates courses for PKU and select universities globally and at a few Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) in India. In 2019, he won the *Best Courseware Project Funds Award* at Peking University. Yelery is also a visiting faculty at the Fudan School of Management, Shanghai. Prior to joining PKU, he was Associate Fellow and Assistant Director at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India. Yelery holds a PhD in Chinese Studies with a particular interest in Political Economy. He has co-edited a book titled *Tailspin: The Politics of India-China Economic Relations* (London: Routledge, 2020) and recently authored a book titled *China Inc.: Between State Capitalism and Economic Statecraft* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2021).



Shenghao Zhu is a professor of Economics in the University of International Business and Economics. Before he moved to Beijing, he taught in National University of Singapore. He holds a masters degree in Economics from Peking University and a Ph.D. in Economics from New York University. His main research fields are Macroeconomics, public economics, and income inequality. His research works investigate how government policies balance the efficiency and equity of the economy. He published many papers in top academic journals, including *Econometrica* and *Journal of Economic Theory*. His publications have more than 700 citations in Google Scholar.



Kristy Tsun-Tzu Hsu is an Associate Research Fellow at the Taiwan WTO & RTA Center and Program Director of the Taiwan ASEAN Studies Center (TASC), Chung Hua Institution for Economic Research (CIER) in Taiwan. Her areas of research interests include: international trade policy and economic/trade law, economic integration, Southeast Asia study and dispute settlement.



Avinash Anil Godbole is Associate Professor and Associate Academic Dean at JSLH. Previously he was Research Fellow at the ICWA and before that he was Research Assistant at IDSA. His doctoral thesis is on the Political Economy of China's Environment. He was a Visiting Fox Fellow at the Macmillan Center at Yale in 2007-08. His research interests are in the fields of Chinese Foreign Policy, Environmental Changes in China, Minorities in China, Domestic Politics in China, China's Asia strategy and India-China Relations. He has written extensively on these subjects in academic and media publications. He has been part of the India-China Think tank Forum and has been involved in various other track 1.5 and track 2 events. He is also a Visiting Faculty at the Naval War College, Goa since June 2020.



Vamsi Vakulabharanam is an Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Previously, he taught at the University of Hyderabad (2008-14) and the City University of New York (2004-07). He was a grantee at the Institute for New Economic Thinking (INET, NY) between 2011 and 2014 on a project titled, 'Economic Development and Inequality: What Can the Asian Experience Teach Us?' He was a Fellow of the India China Institute of the New School (NY) between 2008 and 2010. He has worked on issues pertaining to agrarian change in the context of globalisation in developing economies, agrarian cooperatives, and the relationship between economic development and inequality. His recent research focuses on inequality in the contemporary Asian economies, including India and China.

SESSION III: THE PARTY IN PRIMACY



Rodionov Aleksei is the Senior Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Associate Professor of the Department of Chinese Philology. He is a specialist in the field of modern Chinese literature and Russian-Chinese literary relations, translator of Chinese literature. He was a Member of the Board of the European Association of Sinology (since 2010, in 2014–2016 — Vice President), Deputy Chairman of the St. Petersburg Russian-Chinese Friendship Society.



Guo Wu is an associate professor at Allegheny College, USA. He obtained his Ph.D. in Chinese history from the State University of New York in 2006. His main research fields include Chinese intellectual history; Southwestern borderland studies, and the Chinese Communist movement. He has published three books, *Zheng Guanying, Merchant Reformer of Late Qing China and his Influence on Economics, Politics, and Society* (2010), *Narrating Southern Chinese Minority Nationalities: Politics, Disciplines, and Public History* (2019), and *An Anthropological Inquiry into Confucianism: Ritual, Emotion, and Rational Principle* (2022) and a number of peer-reviewed journal articles on the cultural politics and legal practice of the PRC.



Hannah Lund has a master's degree in comparative and world literature from Zhejiang University and is a writer and translator based in Shanghai. Her critical work has been published in award-winning publications *Sixth Tone* and *The Boston Globe*. She is a Phi Beta Kappa member, and her essay on Chinese translations of e. e. Cummings poetry won third place in a Zhejiang provincial Chinese-language essay competition. For more of her writing, please visit her website: hannahlund.com



Hemant Adlakha, PhD, teaches Chinese at JNU. He is also Vice Chairperson and Honorary Fellow, ICS. His areas of research include contemporary Chinese political discourse and Literature and Culture in modern China. He is an Editorial Committee member of the International Society for Lu Xun Studies. He has published articles in Chinese and in English. His latest publication is “Simla, McMahon, and South Tibet: Debates in China on Losing Territory to India,” a chapter in the book *Boundaries and Borderlands: A Century after the Simla Convention*, (ed.) Alka Acharya, Routledge July 2022; His articles have appeared in *The Diplomat*, *EPW*, *Japan Times*, *Modern Diplomacy*, *ThinkChina*, *The Hindu*, *Culturico*, and *Indian Defence Review*, etc. He edits the ICS Translations blog.



Tanvi Negi has been teaching in the Department of Chinese Studies at Doon University as Assistant Professor since 2010. She completed her B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. in Chinese Language, Literature & Culture from Jawaharlal Nehru University. In 2008, she was awarded a one-year scholarship by the Ministry of Human Resource Development to study at South East Normal University in Guangzhou, P R China. She is currently enrolled as a PhD scholar at the CCSEAS, JNU. She has translated a Chinese novel “骆驼祥子” (Rickshaw Boy) by Lao She from Chinese to Hindi (रिक्शावाला), published by National Book Trust, New Delhi in 2019. Her research interests include the teaching of Chinese as a Foreign Language, modern and contemporary Chinese Literature, and Translation Studies.



Gargi Chaturvedi is currently enrolled as a Ph.D. researcher at CCSEAS, JNU in New Delhi. She completed her B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. in Chinese Language, Literature & Culture from the CCSEAS, School of Language, Literature and Cultural Studies, JNU, New Delhi, in 2018 and 2020 respectively. She was awarded the MHRD-Chinese Government Scholarship to study the Chinese Language at Beijing Language and Culture University, Beijing in 2020. Her research interests include Contemporary Chinese Literature, Chinese History, Political Developments, and Gender issues in China.



Dr. Usha Chandran is an Adjunct Fellow at Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. She is Assistant Professor, teaching Chinese language, Literature, translation, as well as interpretation to Bachelors and Masters students at the Centre for Chinese and South East Asian Studies, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Pursued MPhil and Ph.D from the same centre. Keen on using Chinese language skills to understand various facets of China, specifically the issues of Gender. Major research interests are, Chinese Language and Literature, Gender issues in China and comparison with India and West, Comparing Women's subjectivity in some of Lu Xun, Tagore and Virginia Woolf's works in a comparative perspective and role of language in gender. Recent research includes looking at the role of language in practicing gender. Organised an international symposium on "Language and Gender" in JNU. Published papers both in English and in Chinese on Gender issues in China, comparative perspective of women's movement in India and China, as well as women's subjectivity in Lu Xun's literary work.

SESSION IV: GOVERNANCE OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION IN CHINA



After 32 years in senior corporate roles in India and overseas, **Ravi Bhoothalingam** is currently Founder and Chairman of *Manas Advisory*, a Consultancy practice focusing on Top Management Coaching. He is an Honorary Fellow at the *Institute of Chinese Studies*, Delhi. Ravi is a B.Sc Hons in Physics from St. Stephen's College, Delhi and holds a Masters degree [M.A. Cantab] in Experimental Psychology from Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge University, where he trained under the renowned Sinologist and scientist Joseph Needham. He also holds an AMP from Harvard. Ravi Bhoothalingam has served on the Boards of Directors of Dr. Reddy's Laboratories Ltd, Hyderabad, Sona Koyo Steering Systems Ltd, New Delhi, ITC Ltd., Kolkata, and is a former Managing Director of VST Industries Ltd., Hyderabad. Ravi has travelled extensively in China and its neighbourhood, having led expeditions across Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Mongolia and Myanmar. He is also a member of the Confederation

of Indian Industry (CII) Core Group on China and sits on the Editorial Boards of *China Report* and *World Affairs*, two international journals published out of India. His interests also cover the history of China and practice of Confucianism, Sino-Indian business and economic ties. He is a Fellow of the *Royal Geographical Society*, London.

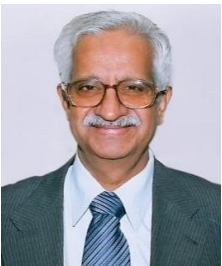


Dongmin Chen is the Executive Director of the Guangdong Songshan Lake Materials Lab. He is an Emeritus Professor at the Institute for Advanced Interdisciplinary Studies, and a co-director of the Center for Emerging Technology Industry Development, at Peking University. He was the former Director of the Office of Science and Technology Development at Peking University, which oversees university-industrial partnership, university technology licensing, spin-offs, and University Entrepreneurship Education Program. Prof. Chen was a former advisor of WIPO Global Innovation Index. He is also an advisor in innovative economic development of a number of municipal governments in China. Dr. Chen is a serial entrepreneur and has co-founded two silicon-valley-startups, and raised more than 100M USD from top VC firms. He is a partner of Light Capital, an early-stage venture fund. He co-authored more than 100 scientific publications and 150 US and international patents. Dr. Chen is an advisor and a former Associated Editor for the *Journal of Applied Physics*.



Stéphanie Balme is the Dean of Sciences Po College (undergraduate studies), Professor at PSIA (Paris School of International Affairs), Research Director at CERI, founding member of ESDI (European Science Diplomacy Initiative), member of the scientific committees of IHEDN (Institut des hautes études de Défense nationale) and EURICS (European Institute of China Studies) as well as vice-president of ECLS (EU-China Law Studies Association). Formerly in charge of the research program "Law, Justice and Society in China " and research associate at the French Ministry of Justice's Think Tank IHEJ (Institut des Hautes Etudes sur la Justice). Former Visiting Professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK, 2003-2008) then at Tsinghua University Law School in Beijing (2006 to 2012), Stéphanie Balme has also taught in New Delhi (Ashoka University), Montréal (UQAM), Vancouver (UBC) and at Columbia

University Law School under the Alliance Program Fellowship(2014-15). Balme has been a consultant for various international organisations such as the World Bank, OECD, IMF or the European Union, a founding member of ECLS (the EU-China Law Studies Association), vice-president of AERJFC (Association pour l'Etude et la Recherche Juridiques Franco-Chinoises), she was a member of the prestigious Fulei Prize and was granted by the French Senate an award in 2014 for her work. Between 2010 and 2011, S. Balme was the head of Civil Law Initiative in Beijing and, from 1996-1998 the China delegate of Médecins du monde's Adoption Department. She has also been appointed at the French Embassy in Beijing as the Attachée for scientific and higher education cooperation (2017-18).^{[L][L][L][L]}^{[SEP][SEP]}Stéphanie Balme obtained her Habilitation à Diriger des Recherches (HDR) in Law and her Ph.D in political science under the supervision of Pr. Guy Hermet. Graduated from Sciences Po Paris, INALCO (Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations), IEP de Bordeaux, the Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux and Fudan University in Shanghai. In 1998, she was awarded the Prize of La Chancellerie des Universités de Paris.^{[L][L]}^{[SEP][SEP]}In 2015, her book with Antoine Garapon, Daniel Schimmel, Li Bin and Jean-Louis Langlois « *Le procès civil en version originale: cultures judiciaires comparées: France, Chine, Etats-Unis (Civil Law Justice in Original Version: Comparing France, the United States and China)* » was granted the Montesquieu Prize. Among her latest publications : "*Chine, les Visages de la Justice Ordinaire: Entre Faits et droit*" (*Ordinary Justice in China : Between Facts and Law*), Presses de Sciences Po, 2016. Her research now focuses on China as an emerging scientific power, the concept of "science diplomacy", EU-US-China relations, EU's China foreign policy as well as the role of social sciences and humanities in the development of AI.



V. S. Ramamurthy is a well-known Indian nuclear scientist with a broad range of contributions from basic research to science administration. Prof. Ramamurthy started his career in Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Mumbai in the year 1963. He made important research contributions in the areas of nuclear fission, medium energy heavy ion reactions, statistical and thermodynamic properties of nuclei and low energy accelerator applications. During the period 1995-2006, Prof. Ramamurthy was fully involved in science promotion in India as Secretary to the

Government of India, Department of Science & Technology (DST), New Delhi. He was also the Chairman of the Standing Advisory Group on Nuclear Applications, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Vienna, for nearly a decade. Other important assignments held by him include Director, Institute of Physics, Bhubaneswar (1989-1995), DAE Homi Bhabha Chair Professor in the Inter University Accelerator Centre, New Delhi (2006-2010), Chairman, Recruitment and Assessment Board, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, New Delhi (2006-2010) and Director, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru (2009-2014). He is currently Emeritus Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies in Bangalore. He has recently co-authored two monographs, "Climate Change and Energy Options for a sustainable future" and "Art and Science of managing Public Risks". In recognition of his services to the growth of Science and Technology in the country, Prof. Ramamurthy was awarded the Padma Bhushan by the Government of India in 2005.



Rakesh Basant is former Professor of Economics and JSW Professor of Innovation and Public Policy at the Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad. His teaching and research have focused on public policy and regulation, firm strategy, innovation, intellectual property rights and entrepreneurial business models. He is well published in the areas of competition policy, technology strategy, industrial clusters, innovation-internationalisation linkages, incubation models in higher education and industry-academia partnerships. He was a member of the Sachar Committee that wrote a report on the social, economic and educational conditions of Muslims in India. In continuation of this work, part of his current research focuses on affirmative action and other issues related to caste and religion in India. He has taught at universities abroad and worked as a consultant to several international organisations.

SESSION V: NEW TRENDS IN PLA AND ITS ROLE IN GOVERNANCE



Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Prakash Menon is the Director of the Strategic Studies Programme. He is also Professor Emeritus at Trans Disciplinary University (TDU), Bangalore and Adjunct Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore. Lt. Gen. Menon joined the Indian Army in 1972. He has extensive operational experience in commanding counter-insurgency operations in Central, North and South Kashmir. He was the Major General Staff of the army's Northern Command responsible for operations in J&K and the Commandant of the National Defence College, New Delhi. After his retirement in 2011, he continued in government as the Military Advisor and Secretary to Government of India and from 2015 as Officer on Special Duty in the National Security Council Secretariat. He has a PhD from Madras University for his thesis "Limited War and Nuclear Deterrence in the Indo-Pak context". He was appointed by the Union Cabinet as a member of an expert group for the creation of the Indian National Defence University. Lt. Gen. Menon has been decorated with three Distinguished Service awards – PVSM, AVSM and VSM. Post-retirement, he continues to teach and research, with a special focus on the role of force in statecraft.



Lt. Gen. SL Narasimhan, PVSM, AVSM*, VSM is an Infantry Officer commissioned in 1977. He has done graduation in Mathematics, Post-Graduation in Defence Studies and PhD in India China Relations. He has been awarded four times for his outstanding contribution to the Indian Army by the President of India. He served as the Defence Attaché in the Embassy of India in China for three years. He is qualified in Chinese language and has been a keen observer of China for the past 18 years. His expertise spans international relations and internal issues, economy and defence related subjects of China. He has taken part in many Track 2 dialogues both in India and abroad. Lt. Gen. SL Narasimhan has authored many articles in various journals and magazines. He is, presently, Member of the National Security Advisory Board, India and Director General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies. He is also a Distinguished Fellow with the Centre for Air Power Studies, India.



Arthur S. Ding is Professor Emeritus and an Adjunct Professor at National Chengchi University in Taipei. He is also an Adjunct Professor at National Defense University in Taiwan. His research focuses on China's security and defence related issues, including defence industry, civil/party-military relations, defence strategy, and arms control. He was Visiting Scholar at Asian Studies Program of Georgetown University, Fairbank Center of Harvard University, Free University in Berlin, Germany, and S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He received his B.A. in Anthropology from the National Taiwan University, and his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Notre Dame.



Daniel Mattingly is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Yale University. He studies authoritarian politics and historical political economy with a focus on China. He is the author of *The Art of Political Control in China* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), which examines how the Chinese state controls protests and implements ambitious social policies. It was named one of the best books of 2020 by Foreign Affairs and received the best book award from the Democracy and Autocracy Section of the American Political Science Association. His current book project examines the role of the military in China's domestic and international politics. He received a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, and a B.A. from Yale University.



Manoj Kewalramani is the Chairperson of the Indo-Pacific Research Programme at The Takshashila Institution and a Senior Associate (Non-Resident) with the Freeman Chair in China Studies at CSIS. His research interests range from Chinese politics, foreign policy and approaches to new technologies to addressing questions of how India can work with like-minded partners to deal with the challenges presented by China's rise. He is the author of *Smokeless War: China's Quest for Geopolitical Dominance*, which discusses China's political, diplomatic, economic and narrative responses to the COVID-19 pandemic. Prior to joining The Takshashila Institution, he spent over a decade working as a journalist in India and China, where he helped set up digital newsrooms and train young journalists.

SESSION VI: DOMESTIC IMPERATIVES OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY



B. R. Deepak is Professor of Chinese and China Studies at the Centre of Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. He is recipient of many scholarships and awards including the prestigious Nehru and Asia Fellowship, and India-China Cultural Exchange fellowship for his doctoral and advanced studies in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Peking University, Beijing, respectively. He is the author of *India and China 1904-2004: A Century of Peace and Conflict* (2005), *India-China Relations in first half of the Twentieth Century* (2001); *China: Agriculture, Countryside and Peasantry* (2010), and *Chinese Poetry: From 11th Century BC to 14th Century AD* for which he has won China Special Book Award in 2011; *India-China Relations: Civilizational Perspective* (2012); *India-China Relations: Future Perspectives* (2012). Prof. Deepak has been a visiting fellow at the University of Edinburgh, UK and Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing China, and have delivered lectures in the Free University of Berlin, Bonn University, University of Heidelberg, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing Foreign Studies University, Sichuan University, and Harbin Normal University.



Wenjing Gao is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Political Science at the Carleton University, Ottawa. She is currently working on her dissertation under the supervision of Professor Jeremy Paltiel. Through a case study of Belt and Road Initiatives, in the context of interminable border disputes and the rise of China, her thesis aims to explore India's rationale in dealing with China. Her areas of research interests include Indian foreign policy, Indian politics, nationalism, identity formation and critical International Relations Theory. She has successfully completed candidacy exams in the fields of Comparative Politics and International Relations Theory. Wenjing obtained her MA in Politics and International Relations from Mahatma Gandhi University (India). She is originally from Qingdao.



Rityusha Mani Tiwary teaches in the Department of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi and is a Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. She holds a Ph.D. in Chinese Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The current focus of her research includes unpacking the interplay of power and hegemony in East Asia and China's role in shaping regionalism therein. She is interested in the questions of leadership, hegemony and power in South Asia and East Asia with an emphasis on strategic thought in China and India. Her other research interests include studying gender, peace and conflict. She has been the Assistant Editor of *China Report: A Journal of East Asian Studies* since 2016.



Alka Acharya is Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies and Professor at the Centre for East Asian Studies (Chinese Studies) School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). She was Editor of the quarterly journal *China Report (New Delhi)* from 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 has authored a book *China & India: Politics of Incremental Engagement*, published in 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. She has been teaching courses on Chinese Foreign Policy and Political Economy to the Masters and M.Phil students and guiding doctoral research since 1993.



Kalpita A. Mankikar is a Fellow with the Strategic Studies programme, and is based out of ORF's Delhi centre. His research focuses on China, specifically looking at its rise and domestic politics. Kalpit has written extensively for the *International Business Times*, *Times Of India*, *Swarajya Magazine*, *India-China Business Chronicle*, among others. He was selected for the Kautilya Fellowship in 2020, and for the 'Learning to Lead: Leadership development' from the Oxford Global Leadership Initiative at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in 2019.

Kalpiti is a 2015 Reuters Fellow where he bagged the fellowship for 'Editorial Judgment' training in London.



Ryan Hass is a senior fellow and the Michael H. Armacost Chair in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings, where he holds a joint appointment to the John L. Thornton China Center and the Center for East Asia Policy Studies. He is also the Chen-Fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies. He was part of the inaugural class of David M. Rubenstein fellows at Brookings, and is a

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CONCLUDING SESSION



Partha Mukhopadhyay, Senior Fellow, joined CPR in 2006. He was previously part of the founding team at the Infrastructure Development Finance Company (IDFC), focusing on private participation in infrastructure. In previous positions, he has been with the Export Import Bank of India, and with the World Bank in Washington. He has been on the faculty at Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, Xavier Labour Relations Institute, Jamshedpur and the School of Planning and Architecture in Delhi. He has published extensively, writes frequently for the national media and has also been associated with a number of government committees. Most recently, he was chair of the Working Group on Migration, Government of India and member of the High Level Railway Restructuring Committee, Ministry of Railways and of the Technical Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation. He has previously been associated with the Committee on Allocation of Natural Resources and with the Prime Minister's Task Force on Infrastructure. He also serves on the Scientific Advisory Council of LIRNEasia, Colombo. He received his PhD in economics from New York University and an MA and M.Phil from the Delhi School of Economics. In 2006, he was chosen as one of the inaugural Fellows of the India China Institute, New School, New York and in 2016, he was a selected for a Residency at the Bellagio Center of the Rockefeller Foundation. His research interests are in urbanisation, infrastructure, and the development paths of India and China.

ABOUT THE ORGANISERS



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