



KONRAD
ADENAUER
STIFTUNG



4th INDIA FORUM ON CHINA @ GOA

100 YEARS OF CPC & CHINA'S FUTURE

3-4 DECEMBER 2021

ORGANISED BY

INSTITUTE OF CHINESE STUDIES
&
KONRAD-ADENAUER- STIFTUNG

IN COOPERATION WITH
GOA UNIVERSITY

CIDADE DE GOA, VAINGUINIM BEACH, GOA

中华人民共和国万岁

世界人民

CONTENTS

▶▶	CONCEPT NOTE	03
▶▶	PROGRAMME	05
▶▶	PARTICIPANTS	10
▶▶	ABOUT THE ORGANIZERS	27
▶▶	NOTES	28

CONCEPT NOTE

OVERVIEW AND OBJECTIVES

The India Forum on China (IFC) @ Goa hosted by the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS) and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) in cooperation with Goa University, has developed as an annual international conference where eminent scholars, practitioners and policymakers from India and other countries hold in-depth deliberations on a topical theme pertaining to China in an Indian setting and keeping in mind Indian perspectives.

The ICS, Delhi and the India Office of KAS had organized the 1st IFC @ Goa at the International Centre Goa on 15-16 December 2017 in cooperation with Goa University to explore the theme 'Deciphering China's Quest for Global and Regional Leadership'. Held shortly after the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the deliberations and outcomes of the Congress informed the discussions at the Forum. Arguments pertaining to China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), its efforts to fashion new institutions like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), its growing soft power capabilities and technological prowess were examined in great detail. Additionally, China's increasingly expansive definition of its 'core interests', its expanding military capabilities, its evolving security doctrines and its assertive behavior as well as nationalistic temperament were considered. Furthermore, an examination of the limitations and constraints faced by China in the pursuit of its regional and global aspirations were analyzed. The implications of China's readiness to offer the Chinese path as worthy of emulation by other developing countries was also discussed at the 1st IFC.

The 2nd IFC @Goa was organized from 7-9 December 2018 at Hotel Cidade de Goa, Goa. As 2018 marked the 40th anniversary of China's reform and opening up, the theme of the conference was 'Changing Drivers of China's Economy'. The Forum brought together over 40 experts to provide perspectives on several sub-themes including the ramifications from the structural rebalancing of China's economy, and its implications for India and other players. Experts also dwelt on the question of what a confrontation with the US in the economic domain would portend for a smooth rebalancing.

At the 3rd IFC @ Goa, experts deliberated on the theme 'China and Asia's Changing Geopolitics'. Sub-themes in this Forum included Asia's geopolitical changes, evolving discourse on the Indo-Pacific, Beijing's cultural diplomacy and other such topics of contemporary relevance. Discussions also focused on China's approach while dealing with the world and the role played by Xi Jinping. Additionally, the impact of the US-China trade war and the role of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) in Chinese economy were also examined.

The report of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd IFC can be accessed on the ICS website (<https://www.icsin.org/india-forum-on-china>).

AGENDA OF 4th IFC @GOA

The 4th IFC is being organised by the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), Delhi and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) India Office, with the support of Goa University in Goa on 3-4 December 2021. The theme of this Forum is 'CPC at 100 and China's Future'. The Keynote Address will be delivered by Prof. Rana Mitter, Professor of the History and Politics of Modern China, University of Oxford on '*How New is China's New Era under Xi Jinping*'. The Forum will discuss the following sub-themes:

- National Rejuvenation: Sustaining Authoritarian Legitimacy
- Power-Projection in the Indo-Pacific
- Cultural and Intellectual Traditions
- Great Power Competition
- China's Developmental Aspirations
- Decoding China's Regional Ambitions
- CPC at 100

TIMELINE, VENUE, PARTICIPATION

This closed-door conference at Goa will see the participation of more than 45 senior experts, including scholars, practitioners and policymakers from the economic, foreign policy, security and technological domains. The conference will open with a welcome dinner on the 2nd of December. The deliberations on the 3rd will begin with the inaugural session followed by three thematic sessions and the keynote address. On the 4th, the conference will continue with four thematic sessions and close with the valedictory session. Participants can plan to depart from Goa on the 5th of December. The organizers will make arrangements for travel, stay and local hospitality of all participants. The language of the conference will be English.

OUTCOME

A special report aimed at policymakers, media and interested public will be prepared based on the deliberations at the conference.

4th India Forum on China @ Goa

“100 Years of CPC and China’s Future”

PROGRAMME

ALL TIMINGS ARE IN IST (GMT+ 5:30)

DAY ONE - THURSDAY, 2 DECEMBER 2021

12 Noon onwards: Arrival/Check-in (for in-person participants only)

1900 – 2030 Hours: Welcome Dinner (for in-person participants only)

DAY TWO - FRIDAY, 3 DECEMBER 2021

0915 – 0945 Hours: Registration (for in-person participants only)

0945 – 1030 HOURS: INAUGURAL SESSION

Chair: Ashok K. Kantha, Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi (hereafter, ICS) and former Ambassador of India to China. (P)

Opening Remarks: Harilal B. Menon, Vice-Chancellor, Goa University, Taleigao. (P)

Remarks: Stephan Grabherr, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi. (P)

Peter Rimmelé, Resident Representative to India, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung India Office, New Delhi. (P)

1030 – 1130 Hours: Tea/Coffee Break

1130 – 1300 HOURS: SESSION 1 NATIONAL REJUVENATION: SUSTAINING AUTHORITARIAN LEGITIMACY

Chair: Kishan Rana, Emeritus Fellow, ICS; former Ambassador of India to Germany, Mauritius and Algeria. (O)

Speakers:

Shivshankar Menon, Chairman, Advisory Board, ICS; Visiting Professor of International Relations, Ashoka University, Sonapat; former National Security Advisor and Foreign Secretary, Government of India. (O)

Legitimacy and Authority in Xi’s China

Gudrun Wacker, Senior Fellow, Asia Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin. (P)

Sources of Legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party

Jabin T. Jacob, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Governance Studies, Shiv Nadar University, Delhi NCR; Adjunct Research Fellow, National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi. (O)

From PRC Foreign Policy to CPC Foreign Policy

Ananth Krishnan, China Correspondent, *The Hindu*, Hong Kong. (O)

CPC and the Media

To Lead Discussion: Santosh Pai, Honorary Fellow, ICS; Partner, Link Legal India Law Services, New Delhi. (P)

1300 – 1500 Hours: Lunch/ Break

1500 – 1630 HOURS: SESSION 2 GREAT POWER COMPETITION

Chair: Arvind Gupta, Director, Vivekananda International Foundation, New Delhi; former Secretary, National Security Council Secretariat and former Deputy National Security Advisor, Government of India. (P)

Speakers:

Rory Medcalf, Professor and Heads of College, National Security College, The Australian National University, Canberra. (O)

China's Indo-Pacific Ambitions and What QUAD Partners Can Do?

Richard McGregor, Senior Fellow, Lowy Institute, Sydney. (O)

Security Pact between Australia, the US and the UK

Alexey Maslov, Professor and Director, Institute of Asian and African Studies, Moscow State University; Academic Director, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. (O)

New Dimension of Russian Alliance with China: New Vision for the New Globality

Deepa Wadhwa, Member, Governing Council, ICS; former Ambassador of India to Japan, Qatar and Sweden. (P)

China-Japan Relations: At the Crossroads at 50?

To Lead Discussion: Rityusha Mani Tiwary, Visiting Fellow, ICS; Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi. (P)

1630 – 1700 Hours: Tea/Coffee Break

1700 – 1830 HOURS: SESSION 3 CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS

Chair: Frank Pieke, Professor of Modern China Studies, Leiden University. (O)

Speakers:

David Ownby, Professor, Department of History, University of Montreal, Quebec. (O)

China's Rise and China's Thought World

Sujan Chinoy, Director General, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA), New Delhi; former Ambassador of India to Japan, Mexico and Republic of Marshall Islands. (P)
Impact of Chinese History on Its Politics

Sabaree Mitra, Honorary Fellow, ICS and Professor, Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. (O)
Projekt Culture: Where is CPC Headed?

Hemant Adlakha, Vice-Chairman and Honorary Fellow, ICS; Associate Professor, Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. (O)
CPC One Hundred Years Trajectory: From 'Sinification of Marxism' to 'Marxism Xinified'?

1830 – 1845 Hours: Tea/Coffee Break

1845 – 1930 HOURS: KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Chair: Alka Acharya, Honorary Fellow and former Director, ICS; Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. (O)

Keynote Speaker: Rana Mitter, Professor of the History and Politics of Modern China, University of Oxford; Vice-President (Public Engagement), British Academy, London. (O)
How New is China's New Era under Xi Jinping?

1930 – 2100 Hours: Conference Dinner

DAY THREE – SATURDAY, 4 DECEMBER 2021

0915 – 1045 HOURS: SESSION 4 CHINA'S DEVELOPMENTAL ASPIRATIONS

Chair: Vijay Nambiar, Honorary Fellow, ICS; former Ambassador/ High Commissioner of India to China, Pakistan, Algeria, Afghanistan, Malaysia and former Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations. (P)

Speakers:

Shyam Saran, Member, Governing Council, ICS; Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi; former Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister's Special Envoy, Government of India. (O)
Exploration of Xi Jinping's Concept of 'Common Prosperity'

Heribert Dieter, Senior Associate, Global Issues, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin. (P)
The Return to Imperial Economic Thought in China: Is Xi Jinping's Dual Circulation Policy a Return to the Policies of the Past?

S.L. Narasimhan, Director General, Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies, New Delhi and Member, National Security Advisory Board, Government of India. (O)
China's Goals for 2035

Ravi Bhoothalingam, Honorary Fellow, ICS; Founder and Chairman, Manas Advisory, Gurgaon. (O)
Can the CPC Turn China into an Innovation Superpower?

To Lead Discussion: Manoj Kewalramani, Chairperson of the Indo-Pacific Research Programme, The Takshashila Institution, Bengaluru; Senior Associate (Non-Resident), Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington DC. (P)

1045 – 1115 Hours: Tea/Coffee Break

1115 – 1245 HOURS: SESSION 5 DECODING CHINA'S REGIONAL AMBITIONS

Chair: Gudrun Wacker, Senior Fellow, Asia Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin. (P)

Speakers:

Gautam Bambawale, Adjunct Fellow, ICS; Distinguished Professor, Symbiosis International University, Pune; former Ambassador of India to China, Pakistan, and Bhutan. (O)

Rising Aggression in Chinese Foreign Policy: An Analysis

Bilahari Kausikan, Chairman, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore and former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Singapore. (O)

China and Southeast Asia

Andrew Small, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, Asia Program, The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS), Berlin. (O)

Af-Pak and China

Carlo Masala, Founding Director, Metis-Institute for Strategy and Foresight; Chair for International Politics and Co-Director, Center for Intelligence and Security Studies (CISS), Bundeswehr University Munich. (P)

US-China Competition in Asia

To Lead Discussion: Aparajita Gangopadhyay, Dean and Professor, School of International and Area Studies, Goa University, Taleigao. (P)

1300 – 1530 Hours: Lunch/Break

1545 – 1715 HOURS: SESSION 6 POWER-PROJECTION IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

Chair: Harsh V. Pant, Professor of International Relations, King's College London; Director, Studies and Head of the Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi. (O)

Speakers:

David Arase, Resident Professor of International Politics, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Nanjing. (O)

How 'Struggle' Became Central to Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy and What This Means for the Liberal Rules-Based Order in the Indo-Pacific

Anil Wadhwa, former Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India and Ambassador of India to Italy, Thailand, Poland and Oman. (P)

China's Future Actions in the Indo-Pacific: A Prognosis

C. Raja Mohan, Director, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. (O)

China's Maritime Geopolitics

To Lead Discussion: Garima Mohan, Fellow, Asia Program, The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS), Berlin. (O)

1730 – 1830 Hours: Tea/Coffee Break

1830 – 2000 HOURS: SESSION 7 CPC AT 100

Chair: Manoranjan Mohanty, Emeritus Fellow, ICS; Distinguished Professor, Council of Social Development, New Delhi. (O)

Speakers:

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

CCP versus China

Bruce Dickson, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs and Chair, Department of Political Science, Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington DC. (O)

China's Leninist Revival

Vijay Gokhale, Distinguished Professor, Symbiosis International University, Pune; former Foreign Secretary, Government of India and former Ambassador of India to China. (O)

Communist Party of China, 1980-2020: Evolution and What it Might Mean for Its Future

Frank Pieke, Professor of Modern China Studies, Leiden University. (O)

Superpower China and the CCP as a Global Force

To Lead Discussion: Bhim Subba, Visiting Associate Fellow, ICS; Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad. (O)

2000 – 2030 HOURS: VALEDICTORY SESSION

Chair: Harilal B. Menon, Vice-Chancellor, Goa University, Taleigao. (P)

Summing up of Deliberations: Garima Mohan, Fellow, Asia Program, The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS), Berlin. (O)

Remarks: Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative to India, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung India Office, New Delhi. (P)

Closing Remarks: Ashok K. Kantha, Director, ICS and former Ambassador of India to China. (P)

2030 – 2130 Hours: Conference Dinner

The proposed timings are as follows:

Keynote Address	:	30 minutes
Other sessions	:	
Chairs	:	5 minutes
Speakers	:	10–12 minutes
Discussants	:	5–7 minutes

We hope to keep adequate time for open discussion.

PARTICIPANTS



Amb. Ashok K. Kantha joined as Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi on 31st March 2017. A career diplomat, Kantha was Ambassador of India to China until January 2016. Prior to this, he was Secretary (East) at Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi with responsibility for about 65 countries in India's

extended neighbourhood. His previous assignments include High Commissioner of India to Sri Lanka and Malaysia, Consul General in Hong Kong, Deputy Chief of Mission in Kathmandu (Nepal) and Joint Secretary (East Asia) in Ministry of External Affairs. Earlier, Kantha served in different capacities at Indian Missions in Singapore, China, USA and at headquarters in New Delhi. In his diplomatic career spanning over 38 years, Kantha specialized in Asian affairs, with a particular focus on China. Apart from three assignments in China, he served as Joint Secretary (East Asia) and Director (China) at Ministry of External Affairs for periods of four years each, closely involved in the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy in respect of China and East Asia. He has an advanced certificate in Chinese language from National University of Singapore. Kantha joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1977.

Prof. Harilal Bhaskara Menon, Senior Professor and Dean, School of Earth Ocean and Atmospheric Sciences has taken over as the 9th Vice-Chancellor of Goa University on 3 September 2021. Professor Menon has 33 years of teaching and research experience at Goa University. His areas of specialization are optical remote sensing of coastal and estuarine waters and aerosol science. Prof. Menon had initially developed a site-specific



algorithm and thereafter an algorithm to retrieve chlorophyll-a irrespective of turbidity levels of coastal waters of World Ocean. This was named as "Goa University Case II water algorithm (GU- CII), for which he received wide acclaim from the International Scientific community and this became a base line data for any country developing future optical sensors for chlorophyll-a generation. In a University, research and teaching must go parallel. This made him introduce courses on remote sensing and its applications, aerosol and climate and offered these courses across various disciplines of Goa University. Since hands-on-experiments is an inseparable component of a science course, a well-equipped state of the art Remote Sensing Laboratory and an Aerosol Observatory were also established with the external cash flow.

Prof. Menon, was awarded CSIR fellowship in the year 1984, received his M.Sc. from Cochin University of Science and Technology. He obtained his Ph.D. from Cochin University of Science and Technology in the domain of Physical Oceanography. He then went on to his postdoctoral work, under German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) Fellowship, at Max-Planck Institute of Meteorology and Institute of Oceanography, Germany. He has delivered numerous technical lectures for varied audiences.

Dr. Stephan Grabherr studied Law and History at Universities in Munich and Freiburg from 1980-1988. He completed his Ph.D. in History in 1989 and thereafter joined the German Foreign Service. He has held several positions since joining the German Foreign Service (Auswärtiger Dienst) and has been posted in locations



such as New York, Moscow, Madrid and Tokyo. From 2010-2011, he was the Head of Division, European economic policy, European Directorate-General, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin. From 2011-2014, he was the Head of Division, European law, European Directorate-General, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin. Dr. Grabherr then served as the Minister and Head of Department for Economic and Scientific Affairs in the German Embassy in Tokyo and subsequently, as the Minister and Deputy Head of Mission, German Embassy, Tokyo. Presently, he is the Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in New Delhi.



Mr. Peter Rimmele is currently the Resident Representative of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, India Office. He has a First Law Degree from Freiburg University, as well as a Second Law Degree from the Ministry of Justice Baden-Württemberg, Germany and a M.A. in Geography. After working as a jurist, judge and lecturer, he took public office

as Ministerialrat, Head of Division at the State Ministry of the Interior in Saxony, Germany, from November 1991 until 2000. Thereafter, he first served in the Police and Security and later in the Local Government Department. On behalf of the German Foreign Ministry, he served in East Timor as Registrar General, Head of Civil Registry and Notary Services (UNTAET), and later became the Principal Advisor for Governance Reform for GIZ (German International Cooperation) to the Ministry of Administrative Reform and the Anti-Corruption-Commission of the Republic of Indonesia, where he served for seven years. He then moved to Rwanda, also as Principal Advisor Good Governance/Justice Program. Earlier, he was Resident Representative Lebanon, Director of Rule of Law Program, Middle East North Africa, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

Amb. Kishan Rana has an MA in Economics from St. Stephens College, Delhi. He joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1960 and served in 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.



Amb. Shivshankar Menon is an Indian diplomat, who served as National Security Adviser to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. He had previously served as the Foreign Secretary, the top diplomat in India. Prior to that, he was Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan, and Sri Lanka and Ambassador to China and Israel.

He is the author of *India and Asian Geopolitics: The Past, Present* (2021) and *Choices: Inside the Making of Indian Foreign Policy* (2016).

Dr. Gudrun Wacker is at present, Senior Fellow in the Asia Division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP) in Berlin, a think tank providing political advice to the German government and parliament. Her research focuses on Chinese foreign and security policy, especially EU-China relations, China and the Asia-Pacific region, security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific and the Indo-Pacific. She is currently an EU delegate to the Experts and Eminent Persons Group of the ASEAN Regional Forum.



Dr. Jabin T. Jacob is Associate Professor at the Department of International Relations and Governance Studies at the Shiv Nadar University, India and Adjunct Research Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi. He was formerly Fellow and Assistant Director at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi and Associate Editor of the journal *China Report*. His

research interests include Chinese domestic politics, China-South Asia relations, Sino-Indian border areas, Indian and Chinese worldviews, and centre-province relations in China. He is a member of the editorial boards of various academic journals and his latest publication is a co-edited volume titled, *China's Search for 'National Rejuvenation': Domestic and Foreign Policies under Xi Jinping* (2020). Some of his works can be found at <https://indiandchina.com/>.

Mr. Ananth Krishnan is the China correspondent for *The Hindu*. In 2019, he was a Visiting Fellow at Brookings India. He was previously the Beijing-based Associate Editor at the India Today Group until August 2018. He has lived in Beijing since 2009, earlier reporting for *The Hindu*. His reporting in China has taken him to all but three of China's 33 provinces and regions. His interests include India-China relations as well as Tibet, Xinjiang and ethnic minorities in China. Before moving to China, Ananth was based at *The Hindu's* headquarters in Chennai. He has authored a book titled, *India's China Challenge* (HarperCollins, 2020).



Mr. Santosh Pai has been offering legal services to clients in the India-China corridor since 2010. His areas of interest include Chinese investments in India, India-China comparative law and policy, cross-cultural negotiations and board governance. He holds a B.A., LL.B. (Hons.) degree from NLSIU, Bangalore, LL.M. (Chinese law) from Tsinghua

University, Beijing and an MBA from Vlerick University, Belgium (Peking University campus). His manuscript "*Practical Guide on Investing in India for Chinese Investors*" has been translated into Chinese and published by China Law Press. Santosh is currently a partner at Link Legal, an Indian law firm. He is a member of CII's Core Group on China, teaches two courses on India-China business at IIM Shillong and volunteers at NGOs in his free time.

Dr. Arvind Gupta is the Director of Vivekananda International Foundation, a Delhi based independent, non-partisan think-tank focusing on research on foreign policy, defence, and security related issues from an Indian perspective. From 2014-17, he was the Deputy National Security Advisor and headed the National Security Council Secretariat in the Government of India. During 2012-14, he was Director General of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. He was Lal Bahadur Shastri Chair on National Security at the IDSA during 2008-2014. Dr. Gupta is a former Diplomat and is also an Honorary Professor in the Department of Defence and National Security Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh. His interests are in India's foreign policy, security, history, culture and civilization. His book *How India Manages its National Security* was published by Penguin India Ltd. in 2018.





Prof. Rory Medcalf is Head of the National Security College at the Australian National University. His career spans diplomacy, intelligence analysis, think tanks, academia and journalism, including as founding Director of the International Security Program at the Lowy Institute. In government, Professor Medcalf was a senior strategic analyst with the then Office of National

Assessments (now the Office of National Intelligence), Canberra's peak intelligence agency, and a diplomat with service in India, Japan and Papua New Guinea. He now plays a lead role in informal diplomacy among a range of Indo-Pacific powers. He has contributed to three landmark international reports on nuclear arms control and was an adviser for Australia's 2016 Defence White Paper. Professor Medcalf is recognised globally as a thought leader on the Indo-Pacific strategic concept, as articulated in his acclaimed 2020 book *Contest for the Indo-Pacific* (published internationally as *Indo-Pacific Empire*). He is a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum Register of Experts and Eminent Persons, the Board of the National Foundation for Australia-China Relations, and the Scientific Advisory Council of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

Mr. Richard McGregor is a Senior Fellow for East Asia at the Lowy Institute, Australia's premier foreign policy think tank, in Sydney. Richard McGregor is a former journalist and author who has won numerous awards for his reporting in China and East Asia. McGregor is an expert on the Chinese political system – his book, *The Party*, on the inner-workings of the Chinese Communist Party, published in 2010,



was called a “masterpiece” by *The Economist*. Translated into seven languages, *The Party* was chosen by the Asia Society and Mainichi Shimbun in Japan as their book of the year in 2011. His latest book on Sino-Japanese relations, *Asia's Reckoning: China, Japan and the Fate of US in the Pacific Century*, published in 2017, was called “shrewd and knowing” by the *Wall Street Journal* and the “best book of the year” by the *Literary Review* in the UK. In late 2018, it won the Prime Minister of Australia's Literary Award for Non-Fiction. As the Former Bureau Chief of *Financial Times* in Beijing and Washington D.C., he led a team of senior reporters in both capitals for one of the world's biggest business newspapers. He has also been based in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Tokyo, and Taipei. On top of the *Financial Times*, he has worked for the BBC, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *The Australian* and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. He was born and spent the early years of his career in Australia. McGregor was a visiting scholar at the Wilson Center and George Washington University in Washington from 2014-2016. His most recent book, *Xi Jinping: The Backlash* was published by Penguin Australia in August, 2019.



Prof. (Dr.) Alexey Maslov is Professor, Director of Institute of Asian and African Studies, Moscow State University and Academic Director, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. He is a state-level expert for Chinese and International Affairs, member of Russian-Chinese State Committee for cooperation in education, Representative

of Russia in the commission of APEC. His research interests include Asian political history and sociopolitical development, international relations and economic cooperation in the Asia Pacific, the cultural heritage of Silk Road as well as Buddhist and Taoist traditions. He is an advisor for several governmental bodies and ministries in economic and political issues and cooperation with Asian countries. Prof. Alexey Maslov, as a renowned sinologist published more than 60 academic papers, three textbooks, and 16 books on China and East Asian history and politics.

Amb. Deepa Wadhwa has been a distinguished career diplomat who joined the Indian Foreign Service (IFS) in 1979 and retired in December 2015. She has served as Ambassador of India to Japan (2012-2015), Qatar (2009-2012) and Sweden (2005-2009). She was concurrently accredited as Ambassador to Latvia (from Stockholm), and Republic of the Marshall Islands (from



Tokyo). During her career, she has also held other significant assignments in China, Geneva, The Netherlands, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Ministry of External Affairs. In the course of her career spanning over 36 years, she has handled a wide swathe of issues and subjects related to India's relations with key countries such as Pakistan, China, and Japan; participated in international conferences and negotiations related to climate change, sustainable development, disarmament and human rights and was instrumental in the active promotion of India's economic interests in areas of trade, technology, investments and energy security during postings in Europe, the GCC and Japan. Ms Wadhwa is currently Chairperson of the India-Japan Friendship Forum, Member, Governing Council of the Institute of Chinese Studies and is on the Governing Council of the Asian Confluence, based in Shillong. She also serves as independent Director and advisor on the Boards of a few companies.



Dr. Rityusha Mani Tiwary teaches at the Department of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi and is currently a Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. She has been the Assistant Editor of *China Report: A Journal of East Asian Studies*, the flagship journal of the Institute, since 2016.

She holds a PhD in Chinese Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The current focus of her research includes unpacking the interplay of leadership, power and hegemony in East Asia and China's role in shaping regionalism in the twin domain of political economy and foreign policy. She likes to employ critical theory-comparativist lenses to study China and India regarding nationalism, borders, gender and culture. She was the recipient of the Visiting Program for Young Sinologists in 2017, awarded by the Ministry of Culture, People's Republic of China and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing. She was earlier awarded the International Visitor Leadership Program by the Department of State, USA, in 2016 and Pavate Fellowship at the Politics and International Studies Department, University of Cambridge, UK, in 2013. She was a Visiting Scholar at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai, in 2012 and a Visiting Researcher at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, in 2009.



Prof. Frank N. Pieke (1957) studied Cultural Anthropology and Chinese Studies at the University of Amsterdam and the University of California, Berkeley, where he received his Ph.D. in 1992. After lectureships in Leiden and Oxford, he took up the Chair in Modern China Studies at Leiden University in 2010. At Oxford, Pieke set up and directed the University of Oxford's

China Centre. At Leiden, he was co-founder and first executive Director of the Leiden Asia Centre. Between 2018 and 2020, he was the Director of the Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS) in Berlin. This academic year, he is in Uppsala as a Fellow at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study. Pieke's own research revolves around governance in China and the evolution of the Chinese Communist Party, Chinese globalization and the impact of China on Europe. His current project is entitled "The Rise of China and the Consequences of Superpower", which asks how China's emerging superpower status will change China. His most recent books are *The Good Communist* (2009) and *Knowing China* (2016), both published by Cambridge University Press. Earlier this year, he and Koichi Iwabuchi published an edited volume titled *Global East Asia: Into the Twenty-First Century* with the University of California Press in 2021.

Prof. David Ownby (Harvard University M.A. and Ph.D.) is Professor of History at the Université de Montréal in Montreal, Canada. He began his career by working on the history of secret societies in Qing China (*Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China*, 1996), and subsequently moved on to work on various aspects of Chinese popular religion (*Falun Gong and the Future of China*, 2008). For the past few years, he has been working on the topic contemporary Chinese intellectual life and runs the website readingthechinadream.com.



Amb. Sujan Chinoy is the Director General of the Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. A career diplomat of the Indian Foreign Service from 1981-2018, he was India's Ambassador to Japan and Mexico. A specialist with over 25 years of experience on China, East Asia and the Asia-Pacific, he served in Indian Missions in Hong

Kong, Beijing, Riyadh, Shanghai and Sydney. He also served as India's representative to the First Committee at the United Nations in New York. At Headquarters, he served as Director (China) as well as Head of the Expert Group of Diplomatic & Military Officials tasked with CBMs and boundary-related issues with China. On deputation for four years with the National Security Council Secretariat under the Prime Minister's Office, Amb. Chinoy worked on internal and external national security policy and anchored strategic dialogues with key interlocutors around the world. He is fluent in English and Chinese (Mandarin), and conversant in French, Spanish, German, Japanese, Arabic, Urdu and French-Creole.

Prof. Sabaree Mitra is an Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi and a member of the Editorial Board of *China Report*. She teaches Chinese Language, Literature and Culture in Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her research interests include Contemporary Chinese Literature and Criticism, Chinese Cultural History, India-China Cultural Relations and Regional Interaction. 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 (MEA), Government of India, in collaboration with Chinese scholars. Prof. Mitra has authored several books and in 2017, was honored with the prestigious Special Book Award of China by the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT), China for her contributions in introducing, translating and publishing books on Chinese culture as well as in promoting cultural exchanges.



Dr. Hemant Adlakha is Associate Professor of Chinese, Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. He is also Vice-Chairperson and Honorary Fellow with the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. His areas of research include political discourse in the PRC and modern Chinese Literature and Culture. He is a Member, International Editorial

Committee, International Society for Lu Xun Studies, Seoul (ROK). His articles have appeared in *China Report*, *The Diplomat*, *Japan Times*, *Encyclopaedia of Race and Racism, 2nd Edition*, *Washington* etc. His co-translation of Lu Xun's prose poetry collection from Chinese into Hindi has been published by the National Book Trust (NBT) in November 2019.

Prof. Alka Acharya is Professor at the Centre for East Asian Studies (Chinese Studies) School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). She was the Director and Senior Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies. She was also Editor of the quarterly journal *China Report* 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). Prof. Acharya is the author of *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 neighborhood. 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. Twelve scholars have so far been awarded a doctoral degree under her supervision. She is the joint editor of the book *Crossing A Bridge of Dreams: 50 years of India-China*, published in 2002. She has contributed chapters to many books and regularly features in the *Economic and Political Weekly*.





Rana Mitter OBE FBA is Professor of the History and Politics of Modern China, and a Fellow of St Cross College at the University of Oxford. His books include *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction* (2008, new ed. 2016), the award-winning *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World* (2004) and *China's Good War: How World War II is Shaping a New Nationalism*

(2020). His book *China's War with Japan, 1937-45: The Struggle for Survival* (2013), won the 2014 RUSI/Duke of Westminster's Medal for Military Literature. He won the 2020 Medlicott Medal from the Historical Association for Service to History. He is a regular presenter for BBC Radio in the UK. His reviews and essays have appeared in newspapers including the *Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, *Guardian*, *Telegraph*, *Caijing* and *Outlook* (India).

Amb. Vijay K. Nambiar joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1967. He studied Chinese in Hong Kong and served in China from 1970-72 and returned to South Block and Udyog Bhavan until 1976. He then served as First Secretary in Tito's Yugoslavia. He was posted from 1979 to 1982 in the Indian Mission at the United Nations (UN) in New York



and served in Delhi during the 1983 NAM Summit and after. From 1985 to 1987, he was India's Ambassador in Algeria. He returned to Delhi as Joint Secretary East Asia in the MEA in 1987 and helped prepare for Rajiv Gandhi's historic visit to China in 1988. Subsequently, he served as India's Ambassador/ High Commissioner in Afghanistan (1990-1992), Malaysia (1993-1996), China (1996-2000), Pakistan (2000-2001) and Permanent Representative to the UN in New York (2002-2004). Post-retirement, he served as Deputy National Security Adviser of India (2004-2006). He was then deputed by the Government of India to serve in the United Nations Secretariat as Under Secretary-General, Special Adviser to Secretary-General Kofi Annan (2006-2007), then as Chef de Cabinet to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (2007-2012) and later as Adviser on Myanmar (2012-2016).



Amb. Shyam Saran is former Foreign Secretary of India and has served as Prime Minister's Special Envoy for Nuclear Affairs and Climate Change. He is currently Member of the Governing Council of the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS) and of the Centre for Policy Research (CPR), a Trustee at the World Wildlife Fund (India), Life Trustee of India International Centre (IIC)

and Member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI). He has headed the Research and Information System (RIS) for Developing Countries, a prestigious think tank focusing on economic issues (2011-2017) and was Chairman of the National Security Advisory Board under the National Security Council (2013-15). He has recently published a book, *How India Sees the World*. Amb. Saran was awarded the Padma Bhushan, the third highest civilian award, in 2011 for his contributions to civil service. In May 2019, he was conferred the Spring Order Gold and Silver Star by the Emperor of Japan for promoting India-Japan relations.

Prof. (Dr.) Heribert Dieter is Senior Fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Visiting Professor of International Political Economy, Zeppelin University, Lake Constance (since 2013) and Adjunct Professor at the University of Potsdam (since 2017). He studied Political Science and Economics at the Free University of Berlin. After his position as a Senior Fellow at the University of Duisburg, researching global economy and regional integration, he joined the Central European University, Budapest as a Visiting Professor in 2004. From 2005 to 2010, he worked as a Coordinator, a Member and Principal Writer of the “Warwick Commission on the Future of the Multilateral Trading System” and a Member and Co-Director of the “Warwick Commission on International Financial Reform” at the University of Warwick. During that time, he also was a visiting Researcher and Professor at the University of Sydney and submitted his habilitation in political science. Besides his current positions, he has been Professor and Chair of International Relations at Ruhr University, Bochum and Visiting Professor at the Australian National University, Canberra; Murdoch University, Perth. His current research focuses on the future of globalization, the consequences of rise of China for the world, bilateralism and plurilateralism in trade governance and Germany’s position in the 21st century’s global economy.



Lt. Gen. (Dr.) SL Narasimhan, PVSM, AVSM*, VSM is an Infantry Officer commissioned in 1977. He has done graduation in Mathematics, Post-Graduation in Defence Studies and holds a 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-Two 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 Centre for Air Power Studies, India.



Mr. 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 Master's

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 traveled 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.

Mr. 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.



Amb. (Retd.) Gautam Bambawale was a member of the Indian Foreign Service from 1984 to 2018. He was India's Ambassador to Bhutan, Pakistan and China. Bambawale was stationed in Washington DC from 2004 to 2007 during the Indo-US nuclear deal which transformed ties between the two countries. He has been India's first Consul General in Guangzhou (China)

from 2007 to 2009 and was Director of the Indian Cultural Centre, Berlin from 1994 to 1998. Amb. Bambawale worked at the Prime Minister's Office from 2002 to 2004 and was Joint Secretary for East Asia at the Ministry of External Affairs from 2009 to 2014. Bambawale has dealt with China for 15 years of his 34-year diplomatic career. Amb. Bambawale is currently Distinguished Professor, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Symbiosis International University, Pune.

Amb. Bilahari Kausikan is currently Chairman of the Middle East Institute, an autonomous institute of the National University of Singapore. He has spent his entire career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before retiring as Ambassador-at-Large in 2018. During his 37 years in the Ministry, he served in a variety of appointments at home and abroad, including as the Second Permanent Secretary and Permanent Secretary. Raffles Institution, the University of Singapore and Columbia University in New York all attempted to educate him.



Dr. Andrew Small is a Senior Transatlantic Fellow with German Marshall Fund's Asia Program, which he established in 2006. His research focuses on U.S.-China relations, Europe-China relations, Chinese policy in South Asia, and broader developments in China's foreign and economic policy. He was based in GMF's Brussels office for

five years, and prior to that worked as the Director of the Foreign Policy Centre's Beijing office, as a Visiting Fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and an ESU scholar in the office of Senator Edward M. Kennedy. His articles and papers have been published in *The New York Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, the *Washington Quarterly*, as well as many other journals, magazines, and newspapers. He is the author of the book *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics* published with Hurst / Oxford University Press in 2015. Small was educated at Balliol College, University of Oxford.

Prof. (Dr.) Carlo Masala is Professor at the Universität der Bundeswehr München since June 2007. He studied Political Science, German and Romanic Philology at Universities of Cologne and Bonn. From 1992 to 1998, Professor Masala was a Research Associate at the Department of Political Science at the University of Cologne, where he received a doctorates degree, writing a dissertation about the German-Italian relations between 1963 and 1969. In 1998, he was appointed to Akademischer Rat for life at the Department of Political Science at University of Cologne. In December 2002, he was granted venialegendi in Political Science. After a substitute professorship in summer semester 2002 at Geschwister-Scholl-Department at Ludwig Maximilian University Munich, he changed to NATO Defence College in the beginning of 2004, where he acted as Research Advisor and, from 2006 on, as Deputy Director of the research department. Visiting professorships and research stays led him to the USA (Ann Arbor, Chicago, Washington), to Great Britain (Shrivenham), Slovakia (Matja Belt Universiy), Italy (Rome and Florence) as well as the Eastern Mediterranean University of Cyprus. Today his main research focuses on Theories of International Politics, Security Policy, Transatlantic Relations and Developments in the Mediterranean.





Prof. Aparajita Gangopadhyay is currently the Dean, School of International and Area Studies at Goa University, India. She has been a Visiting Faculty at National Chengchi University, Taiwan, Department of International Relations, Marie Curie Skłodowska University, Lublin, Poland, Institute of International

Relations at Vilnius University, Lithuania and the Sciences Po Lyon, France. She is also a member of the Academic Council of the Indian Studies Programme, State University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. She is the Founding Member of Centre for International Development and Cooperation Research at the University of Bucharest, Romania and Advisory Council Member on Centre on Studies and Services on Contemporary India and Southern Asia (CESI-CAM), Universidad Externado de Colombia, Bogota. She was designated as Visiting Professor Extraordinary by the Universidad Nacional de Rio Cuarto, Argentina. She has been an invited speaker to universities and institutions such as the Argentine Institute of International Relations (CARI), University of Salvador, Lomos De Zamora University, La Plata University, Universidade Siglo 21, National University, Rosario and the National University of Rio Cuarto, Argentina. She has been a member of the Indian Delegation to Brazil as part of Government of India's India-Brazil 1.5 Dialogue in 2013. She has widely published in areas such as India-Latin America Relations, India's Foreign Policy, India's Diaspora Policy, Argentina-Brazil Relations, and regional integration. She has recently co-edited a book on *India-Latin America: Trade and Investment Relationship* (2021). She is currently working on an edited collection of bilingual essays (English-Spanish) on India-Latin America Political, Economic and Social Relations.

Prof. Harsh V. Pant is Professor of International Relations at King's College London. He is Director, Studies and Head of the Strategic Studies Programme at Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. He is also Director (Honorary) of Delhi School of Transnational Affairs at University of Delhi. Prof. Harsh has been a Visiting Professor



at the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore; a Visiting Fellow at the Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania; a Visiting Scholar at the Center for International Peace and Security Studies, McGill University; a Visiting Professor at O.P. Jindal Global University, Sonapat; a Visiting Professor at Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi; and an Emerging Leaders Fellow at the Australia-India Institute, University of Melbourne. His current research is focused on Asian security issues. His most recent books include *New Directions in India's Foreign Policy: Theory and Praxis* (Cambridge University Press), *India's Nuclear Policy* (Oxford University Press), *The US Pivot and Indian Foreign Policy* (Palgrave Macmillan), *Handbook of Indian Defence Policy* (Routledge), and *India's Afghan Muddle* (HarperCollins). Professor Pant writes regularly for various Indian and international media outlets including the *Japan Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The National* (UAE), the *Hindustan Times*, and the *Telegraph*.

Prof. David Arase has been teaching at the Hopkins-Nanjing Center housed at Nanjing University in China since 2011. Prior to this, he taught for 22 years in the Politics Department of Pomona College in Claremont, CA. His three most recent books are edited volumes: *Routledge Handbook on Africa-Asia Relations* (Routledge, 2017); *China's Rise and East Asian Order* (Palgrave, 2016); and *The US-Japan Alliance: Balancing Soft and Hard Power in East Asia* (Nissan Institute/Routledge, 2010), awarded the Ohira Memorial Foundation Special Prize in 2011. Prof. Arase has lectured and published widely on East Asian and Indo-Pacific relations.



Amb. Anil Wadhwa has been a member of the Indian Foreign Service from July 1979 till May 2017. In his 37-year career with the Indian Foreign Service, he has been Ambassador of India to Italy & San Marino, Thailand, Oman and Poland & Lithuania and has served in Hongkong, Beijing (twice), Permanent Mission of India in Geneva

and worked on deputation with the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons in The Hague where he headed their media and public affairs and government relations branches. Ambassador Wadhwa was head of the East Europe Division in the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi and looked after relations with Russia and Eastern European countries. As Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs, he oversaw relations with ASEAN, South East Asia, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, the GCC, Middle East and West Asia. He was an Indian Delegate to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, First Committee in New York as well as to the ASEAN, ASEM, ADMM, and FIPIC. Amb. Wadhwa is fluent in Chinese and knows French. He was Senior Fellow, Vivekananda International Foundation from January 2018 to October 2018.



Prof. C. Raja Mohan is Director, Institute of South Asian Studies. Earlier, he was Professor of South Asian Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and at the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Prof. Mohan has been associated with a number of think

tanks including the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, the Centre for Policy Research and the Observer Research Foundation. He was also the founding Director of Carnegie India, New Delhi – the sixth international centre of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC. He was the Henry Alfred Kissinger Chair in International Affairs at the United States Library of Congress, Washington DC, from 2009 to 2010. He served on India's National Security Advisory Board. He led the Indian Chapter of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs from 1999 to 2006. Prof. Mohan writes a regular column for *The Indian Express* and was earlier the Strategic Affairs Editor for *The Hindu*. Among his recent books are *Samudra Manthan: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific* (2013) and *Modi's World: Expanding India's Sphere of Influence* (2015).

Dr. Garima Mohan is a Fellow in the Asia program, German Marshall Fund, where she leads the work on India and heads the India Trilateral Forum. Based in GMF's offices in Berlin, her research focuses on Europe-India ties, EU foreign policy in Asia, and security in the Indo-Pacific. Prior to joining GMF, she was the Acting Team Leader and Coordinator for the EU's Asia-Pacific Research and Advice Network (APRAN), which supports EU policymakers on issues concerning the Asia-Pacific. She also led the Global Orders program at the Global Public Policy Institute in Berlin. Garima holds a PhD from the Freie Universität Berlin and received her master's degree from the London School of Economics. She is also a Non-Resident fellow at Carnegie India, an Asian Forum for Global Governance Fellow, and a 2017 Raisina Young Fellow.



Manoranjan Mohanty was a Professor of Political Science and Director, Developing Countries Research Centre at University of Delhi where he taught Comparative Politics, Chinese Politics and Research Methodology. Currently he is a Distinguished Professor at the Council for Social Development, New Delhi where until recently he edited the CSD-Sage journal



Social Change. He is an Emeritus Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, its founding member and former Chairperson. He is also the Emeritus Chairperson, Development Research Institute, Bhubaneswar, the research wing of Gabeshana Chakra of which he was the founder-president. He has had academic assignments in many institutions abroad including in California, Beijing, Moscow, Lagos, Copenhagen and Oxford. His recent publications include *Ideology Matters: China from Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping* (2016, Hindi edition 2021) and *China's Transformation: The Success Story and the Success Trap* (Sage, 2018), Hindi edition *Cheen ka Kayapalat* (Sage Bhasha, 2020) based on a 30-year study of China's reform with focus on Wuxi.



Prof. 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.



Prof. Bruce J. Dickson is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University. His research and teaching focus on political dynamics in China, especially the adaptability of the Chinese Communist Party and the regime it governs. His most recent book is *The Party and the People: Chinese Politics in the 21st Century* (Princeton, 2021).

His previous publications include *The Dictator's Dilemma: The Chinese Communist Party's Strategy for Survival* (Oxford Univ. Pr., 2016), *Allies of the State: Democratic Support and Regime Support among China's Private Entrepreneurs* (Harvard Univ. Pr., 2010), with Jie Chen, *Wealth into Power: The Communist Party's Embrace of China's Private Sector* (Cambridge Univ. Pr., 2008), and *Red Capitalists in China: The Party, Private Entrepreneurs, and Prospects for Political Change* (Cambridge Univ. Pr., 2003). Professor Dickson's articles have appeared in *Asian Survey*, *China Quarterly*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, *Journal of Democracy*, *National Interest*, *The Washington Quarterly*, and *Political Science Quarterly*. He is a frequent commentator on political developments in China and Taiwan and on U.S.-China relations, and has appeared on CNN, NPR, BBC, and VOA. Professor Dickson received his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Michigan.

Mr. Vijay Gokhale is currently Distinguished Professor at Symbiosis International, Pune and Non-Resident Senior Fellow at Carnegie India. He served as India's Foreign Secretary from January 2018 to January 2020. Mr. Gokhale joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1981. His diplomatic assignments included Hong Kong, Hanoi, Beijing,



New York and Taipei and he served as India's High Commissioner to Malaysia from January 2010 to October 2013, Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany from October 2013 to January 2016, and Ambassador to the People's Republic of China from January 2016 to October 2017. His recent publications include *Tiananmen Square – The Making of A Protest, A Diplomat Looks Back*, HarperCollins, May 2021 and *The Long Game: How the Chinese Negotiate with India*, Penguin Random House, July 2021.



Dr. Bhim Subba is a Visiting Associate Fellow at the ICS. He has recently submitted his PhD dissertation in the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi. He was an ICS-HYI Visiting Fellow and spent a year at Harvard University for his doctoral research (2016-17). He is a Political Science major from the Centre for Political Studies, JNU, Delhi. From 2015-

16, he was affiliated with the Mandarin Training Center, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, ROC where he pursued language study and independent research. As a recipient of a Confucius Institute Scholarship, he was also enrolled at Harbin Normal University, Heilongjiang, PRC pursuing Mandarin language training. His research interests include comparative political theory, Chinese politics and India-China comparatives.

ABOUT THE ORGANIZERS



The **Institute of Chinese Studies**, New Delhi is an institution engaged in and committed to interdisciplinary research on China. Apart from the annual **All India Conference of China Studies (AICCS)**, the Institute undertakes various collaborative research programs and multilateral initiatives with prominent institutions in India and abroad and brings together leading and upcoming scholars through multiple fora. Among its many legacies, it has been conducting the iconic Wednesday Seminar for over 50 years and publishes **China Report**, a peer-reviewed quarterly journal on China and East Asia, currently in its 57th year of publication.



The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is a German foundation established in 1955, with its headquarters at Sankt Augustin near Bonn, and also in Berlin. Through political education and counselling, the foundation campaigns worldwide for peace, freedom and justice. Its principal aim is to preserve and promote liberal democracy and strengthen international dialogue. The **KAS India Office** was established more than 50 years ago and it has been working with Indian partner institutions such as Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), The Energy Research Institute (TERI) and the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS).



Goa University was established under the Goa University Act of 1984 (Act No. 7 of 1984) and commenced operations on 1 June 1985. The University provides higher education in the Indian state of Goa. Over the past 30 years, the University has steadily expanded its reach, both in terms of the number of affiliated colleges - professional and general education numbering to 56, as well as the diversity of courses offered. These colleges offer various courses leading to a degree at graduate, post-graduate level. 12 of them are also recognized as research centres to offer Ph.D. programmes. The University has 26 Departments and 2 Centres offering 33 programmes leading to Masters degree, 21 programmes leading to M.Phil. Degree and 25 programmes leading to Ph.D. degree in various disciplines. In addition, 9 research institutions in various disciplines situated in the state of Goa are also recognised for research programmes leading to Ph.D. degree by the University.

NOTES

