



## ABOUT THE IFC @GOA

*The India Forum on China (IFC) @Goa, hosted by the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), New Delhi and the India Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) in cooperation with Goa University, is 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 perspectives from India.*

The ICS and the KAS had organized the 1<sup>st</sup> IFC @Goa at the International Centre Goa on 15-16 December 2017 in cooperation with Goa University. The theme was ***Deciphering China's Quest for Global and Regional Leadership***. Held shortly after the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 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 seeming readiness to offer the Chinese path as worthy of emulation by other developing countries was also discussed at the 1<sup>st</sup> IFC @Goa. Amb. Shyam Saran, former Foreign Secretary, Government of India & Member, Governing Council, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi delivered the Keynote Address titled 'Overview of China's Quest for Global Leadership'.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> IFC @Goa was organised from 7-9 December 2018. As 2018 marked the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of China's economic reforms and opening up, the theme of the conference was ***Changing Drivers of China's Economy***. The Forum

brought together over 40 experts who offered their insights and perspectives on several sub-themes including the ramifications of the structural rebalancing of China's economy, and its implications for India and other players. Experts also examined the question of what a confrontation with the US in the economic domain would portend for a smooth rebalancing of China's economy. The Keynote Address at the 2<sup>nd</sup> IFC @Goa was delivered by Prof. Ashwani Saith, Professor Emeritus, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Erasmus University, Rotterdam titled 'Socialism, Pioneer of Capitalism – and Global Power: The Latent Leitmotif of Chinese Development?'

At the 3<sup>rd</sup> IFC @Goa, that was organised from 5-8 December 2019, 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, the US-China trade war 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, some participants also brought in the domestic dimension, particularly the role of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) in the Chinese economy. The Keynote Address at the 3<sup>rd</sup> IFC @Goa was delivered by Mr. Richard McGregor, Senior Fellow, Lowy Institute, Sydney titled 'Xi Jinping and Chinese Power'.

The 4<sup>th</sup> IFC @Goa was organised from 3-4 December 2021. The theme of this Forum was *CPC at 100 and China's Future*. Experts deliberated upon themes ranging from 100 years of the CPC, cultural and intellectual traditions in China to China's developmental aspirations and regional ambitions, and great power competition. The Forum reflected on the history of the CPC, the Party's growth not only in membership numbers but also in its influence over a span of 100 years. Questions related to Xi's leadership and the source of the Party-state and regime legitimacy were explored in great depth. The changing nature of Chinese foreign policy especially in the context of the Indo-Pacific was examined during the Forum. Prof. Rana Mitter, Professor of History and Politics of Modern China, University of Oxford delivered the Keynote Address titled 'How New is China's New Era under Xi Jinping'.

It was only appropriate that the 5<sup>th</sup> IFC @Goa should focus on one of the most discussed and speculated-upon events of 2022 all over the world - the 20<sup>th</sup>



National Congress of the Communist Party of China. With its far-reaching implications for Chinese politics, economics, society and with a concomitant impact on strategic and security aspects in the neighbourhood and beyond, the theme of this Forum naturally selected itself: *The Communist Party of China in the 'New Era'*. Organised over two days, 27–28 November 2022, the 5<sup>th</sup>IFC @Goa will witness the participation of more than 40 experts, including scholars, practitioners and policymakers from the economic, foreign policy, security and technological domains.

In keeping with our past practice, a report aimed at policymakers, media and interested public will be prepared based on the deliberations at the conference.

**The report of the previous forums can be accessed on the ICS website (<https://www.icsin.org/india-forum-on-china>)**



## CONCEPT NOTE

The Communist Party of China (CPC) with a membership of more than 96 million, has the distinction of being one of the largest political parties in the world. The CPC is the core actor in China's political system and with no formal opposition, any change in the Party has direct implications on the lives of the Chinese people. As China increasingly appears to be poised at the helm of global geopolitics, changes within the Party are not merely of significance to the people of China but have vital implications for the world at large. This Forum on *The Communist Party of China in the 'New Era'* is devoted to exploring and debating a wide variety of themes ranging from the Party's strengths and challenges, to its regional and its international role.

Over the course of two days, the six sessions of the Forum will present a nuanced and in-depth understanding of relevant aspects of the CPC and its governing ideology. In the wake of the recently concluded 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPC, the first session on *Party Governance and Leadership* will critically examine subjects such as elite politics within the CPC and military-civil fusion. A less-traversed subject that will be investigated in this session is the work undertaken by the Party's United Front Work Department (UFD).

The theme of 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' has been the subject of many scholarly tomes and is perhaps one of the most deliberated upon ideological concepts in China studies since the 1980s, gathering greater traction since the advent of Xi Jinping. The session on *Ideas and Narratives* aims to bring the spotlight on the ideological facets of this concept by tracing its origins and contextualising its changing nature under different leaders. The role of the intelligentsia in propounding and propagating key ideological concepts is no less significant in grasping how the Communist Party locates itself vis-à-vis this important social group and how in turn the intelligentsia fulfils the ideological objectives of the CPC. Yet another important dimension is the steady decline in the status of workers and peasants, which has enormous implications for the ideological underpinnings of a Party claiming to be their vanguard.

As China reshapes its strategic interests from a regional to a global actor, the CPC's goals abroad take centre stage. The session on *The Party's Global Interests* untangles the CPC's global interests and policies through a discussion



on topics such as the People's Liberation Army's (PLA) overseas missions and China's discourse on 'ecological civilization' in the context of its bid to take a leading role in the global combat against climate change. A larger question that undergirds the PRC's 'rise' in the wake of the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress is the question of the CPC's legitimacy in the face of growing external and internal challenges faced by the CPC. The crucial aspect is whether the internal challenges are likely to prove of greater consequence than the external ones. It is hoped this session would raise important debating points in this context.

Despite outstanding growth figures for four decades and pledges to further open-up the economy, state-market relations remain speculative and full of challenges. The wave of regulations driving China's platform economy, innovation, and revitalizing enterprises appear to be centered around the Party's interest. In addition, rectifying economic institutions in the name of governance underlines the Party's indispensable position in the economy. Slow growth also means mounting unemployment, demographic challenges, and productivity crises for the Chinese leaders. The panel, *The Party and the Economy*, explores these challenges in depth.

The strategic deployment of 'narratives' has been one of the crucial tools of the CPC's external policies. The session on *The Party's Narrative-Building Abroad* explores this theme through a study of examples of the Party's policies in regions as far apart and different as Madagascar and Ukraine. The session will also include a discussion on the CPC's approaches especially with respect to Xinjiang.

China's profile as a regional power, with great capacity to influence the events and trends in its near and extended regional theatres, is yet another aspect of the 'New Era'. Even as the discourse on China 'overtaking the US' is gaining ground, it is important to carefully study the nature and dimensions of China as a regional power. The final session, *Regional Policy* focuses on China's changing policies in the Middle East, Indo-Pacific and East Asia.

## **PROGRAMME**

### **5<sup>th</sup> INDIA FORUM ON CHINA @GOA**

#### **The Communist Party of China in the ‘New Era’**

**Venue: Heritage Village Resort & Spa, Cansaulim, Goa**

**27–28 November 2022**

#### **Saturday, 26 NOVEMBER 2022**

**12 Noon onwards:** Arrival/Check-in

**1900–2030 Hours:** Welcome Dinner

#### **Sunday, 27 NOVEMBER 2022**

**0915–0945 Hours:** Registration

### **INAUGURAL SESSION**

**0945–1100 Hours**

#### **CHAIR**

**Alka Acharya**, Convenor, 5<sup>th</sup>IFC @Goa; Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi & Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

#### **OPENING REMARKS**

**Harilal B. Menon**, Vice-Chancellor, Goa University, Taleigao.

#### **WELCOME REMARKS**

**Adrian Haack**, Director, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, New Delhi.

#### **KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

**Santishree Dhulipudi Pandit**, Vice-Chancellor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

#### **VOTE OF THANKS**

**Aparajita Gangopadhyay**, Dean and Professor, School of International and Area Studies, Goa University, Taleigao.

**1100–1130 Hours Tea/Coffee Break**

# SESSION 1

1130–1300 Hours

## PARTY GOVERNANCE & LEADERSHIP

### CHAIR

**Ashok K. Kantha**, former Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; former Ambassador of India to China & Distinguished Fellow, Vivekananda International Foundation, New Delhi.

### SPEAKERS

**Bhim B. Subba**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Hyderabad Central University, Hyderabad; Visiting Associate Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

*Interpreting Elite Politics at the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress*

**Ming-shih Shen**, Research Fellow, Director & Acting Deputy CEO, Division of National Security Research, Institute for National Defense and Security Research, Taipei.

*The Development and Challenges of Military-Civil Fusion in China: After U.S. Sanctions*

**Roger Chi-feng Liu**, Associate Professor, Department of Social Sciences, FLAME University, Pune.

*The Evolution of CCP's United Front Work towards Taiwan*

### LEAD DISCUSSANT

**Rityusha Mani Tiwary**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

1300–1400 Hours **Lunch**

## SESSION 2

1400–1530 Hours

### IDEAS AND NARRATIVES

#### CHAIR

**Mumin Chen**, Deputy Representative, Taipei Economic and Cultural Center, New Delhi; Professor of International Politics, National Chung Hsing University, Taichung.

#### SPEAKERS

**Alka Acharya**, Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

*'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics': A Teleological Analysis*

**Tuvia Gering**, Researcher, Israel-China Policy Center, Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Tel Aviv; Non-Resident Fellow, Global China Hub, Atlantic Council, Washington D.C.

*The Role of Intellectuals in Constructing China's International Discourse Power*

**Anand P. Krishnan**, Visiting Associate Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi and Guest Course Instructor, National Law School of India University, Bengaluru, (Nov 2022-Jan 2023)

*Class Politics, Labour and the Party in the New Era*

#### LEAD DISCUSSANT

**Ravni Thakur**, Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi.

1530– 1600 Hours **Tea/Coffee Break**

## SESSION 3

1600–1730 Hours

### THE PARTY'S GLOBAL INTERESTS

#### CHAIR

**Varun Sahni**, Professor, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

#### SPEAKERS

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

*External Challenges to CPC Legitimacy*

**Rajiv Ranjan**, Associate Professor, College of Liberal Arts, Shanghai University; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

*Ecological Civilization and the Path Towards Carbon Neutrality in China: From Political Slogans and Theoretical Construct to Global Responsibility*

**Isaac B. Kardon**, Assistant Professor, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, US Naval War College, Newport.

*The People's Liberation Army: Overseas Missions after the 20th Party Congress*

#### LEAD DISCUSSANT:

**Siddharth Varadarajan**, Founding Editor, *The Wire*.

1930–2100 Hours **Conference Dinner**

**Monday, 28 NOVEMBER 2022**

## **SESSION 4**

**0915–1045 Hours**

### **THE PARTY AND THE ECONOMY**

#### **CHAIR**

**Seshadri Chari**, Chairman, China Study Centre, Manipal Academy of Higher Education (MAHE), Manipal.

#### **SPEAKERS**

**Priyanka Pandit**, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations and Governance Studies, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence, Delhi NCR.

*SOEs and the Party's Management of the Economy*

**Heribert Dieter**, Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin; Adjunct Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru.

*China's Obscure Economic Prospects: Implications for the CPC*

**G. Venkat Raman**, Professor, Humanities & Social Sciences Area, Indian Institute of Management Indore; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

*Party-Business Interface in China: Governance with Chinese Characteristics*

#### **LEAD DISCUSSANT**

**Aravind Yelery**, Senior Research Fellow, Peking University, Beijing/ Shenzhen; Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

**1045–1115 Hours Tea/Coffee Break**

## SESSION 5

1115–1245 Hours

### THE PARTY'S NARRATIVE-BUILDING ABROAD

#### CHAIR

**Vijay Nambiar**, Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; former Ambassador/High Commissioner of India to China, Pakistan and other countries & former Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations.

#### SPEAKERS

**Tsung-han Wu**, Assistant Research Fellow, Division of Cyber Security and Decision Making Simulation, Institute for National Defense and Security Research, Taipei.

*The CPC's Approach to the Russian Narrative on the Ukraine Invasion*

**Jabin T. Jacob**, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Governance Studies, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence, Delhi NCR; Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

*The CPC's Foreign Policy: Promoting the China Model in Madagascar*

**Chien-yu Shih**, Associate Research Fellow, Division of National Security Research, Institute for National Defense and Security Research, Taipei.

*Ethnic Minorities Policy in the New Era: Xinjiang as an Illustration*

#### LEAD DISCUSSANT

**S. L. Narasimhan**, Director General, Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Member, National Security Advisory Board, Government of India.

1245–1400 Hours : **Lunch**

## SESSION 6

1400–1530 Hours

### REGIONAL POLICY

#### CHAIR

**Rashmi Doraiswamy**, Professor, MMAJ Academy of International Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.

#### SPEAKERS

**Ümit Alperen**, Assistant Professor, SüleymanDemirel University, Department of International Relations, Isparta-Turkey; Senior Researcher, Ankara Policy Center, Ankara.  
*China's Middle East Policy: Geopolitical Interests vs. Ideological Interests*

**Avinash Godbole**, Associate Professor & Assistant Academic Dean, Jindal School of Liberal Arts & Humanities, OP Jindal Global University, Sonipat.

*China's Response to the Indo-Pacific*

**Chang Young-Hee**, Research Professor, Sungkyun Institute of China Studies, Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul.

*PRC's Changing Relations with East Asian Countries: From Security-Interest-Identity Perspectives*

#### LEAD DISCUSSANT

**Jyoti Malhotra**, Senior Consulting Editor, *ThePrint*.

1530–1600 Hours : **Tea/Coffee Break**

## CONCLUDING SESSION

1600–1700 Hours

### CHAIR

**Alka Acharya**, Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

### VALEDICTORY ADDRESS

**B. R. Deepak**, Professor, Centre for Chinese & South East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

*Xi Jinping's China: Denouncing the Era of "Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones".*

### CONFERENCE REPORT

**Aravind Yelery**, Co-Convener, 5<sup>th</sup>IFC @Goa; Senior Research Fellow, Peking University, Beijing/ Shenzhen & Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.

### REMARKS

**Adrian Haack**, Director, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, New Delhi.

### VOTE OF THANKS

**Aparajita Gangopadhyay**, Dean and Professor, School of International and Area Studies, Goa University, Taleigao.

1930–2100 Hours : **Conference Dinner**



### Proposed timings for Chairs, Speakers and Discussants

<b>Keynote/Valedictory Address</b>	:	40-45 min
<b>Opening Remarks by Chairs</b>	:	5-7 min
<b>Speakers</b>	:	12-15 min
<b>Discussants</b>	:	10-12 min

**We hope to keep adequate time for open discussion.**

## INAUGURAL SESSION

### OPENING REMARKS



**HARILAL BHASKARA MENON** Senior Professor and Dean, School of Earth Ocean and Atmospheric Sciences, is currently the 9<sup>th</sup> Vice-Chancellor of Goa University. He obtained his PhD from Cochin University of Science and Technology in the domain of Physical Oceanography. He conducted his postdoctoral research under the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) Fellowship at the Max-Plank Institute of Meteorology and Institute of Oceanography, Germany. 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 the World Ocean. This was named “Goa University Case II water algorithm (GU- CII)”, for which he received wide acclaim from the International Scientific community and this became a baseline data for any country developing future optical sensors for chlorophyll-a generation.

### WELCOME REMARKS



**ADRIAN HAACK** is Director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) in New Delhi. Dr. Haack studied political science in Hanover and Warsaw and received his doctorate from University of Göttingen. He was supported by a scholarship and published a book on the European Union. Dr. Haack has served in a battle tank unit in the First Division and is an officer in the Navy reserve forces. He was the youngest member of the CDU executive board at state level

and an election candidate in 2021. Since 2015, he worked for the parliamentary group in the field of free trade and security policy. Most recently, he headed the CDU General Secretary’s Bundestag staff for three years.

## KEYNOTE ADDRESS



**SANTISHREE DHULIPUDI PANDIT** is the first woman and alumnus Vice Chancellor of India's top university, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Prof. Pandit has had a teaching and research career spanning over three and half decades, beginning with lecturer at the Goa University from 1988. In 1991, she joined the University of Pune, now Savitribai Phule Pune University. Previously, she was a professor [since 2006] in the Department of Politics and Public-Administration, and held the additional charge of Director-International Centre, from 2001-2007. She has published four books and edited two. Several research papers have also been published, and she has travelled widely. She has contributed chapters in more than 36 books, and has multiple published articles to her name. She served as the Vice-President of IPSA [2012-2015] and President [2021, December]. She is a member of Government of India national committees like ICSSR, ICCR, IAS, MAKAIAS MPISS, and the President of India has nominated her to several Central Universities as nominee on Selection Committees. Prof. Pandit is connected with the working of a few social service institutions, and is the founding member of two organizations working for society, New Life for India Movement and Youth Forum for Gandhian Studies.

## CHAIR



**ALKA ACHARYA**, is Professor at the Centre for East Asian Studies (Chinese Studies) School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). 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. From April 2012 to March 2017, she went on deputation as Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. She is the joint editor of the book *Crossing a Bridge of Dreams: 50 Years of India-China* and has contributed chapters to many books and journals. She was Editor of *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 and most recently edited a volume titled *Boundaries and Borderlands: A Century after the 1914 Simla Convention* (Routledge, New York 2023). Since August 2022 she has taken charge as Honorary Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies.

## VOTE OF THANKS



**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 Sklodowska 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 of Centre of 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 a member of the Indian Delegation to Brazil as part of Government of India's India-Brazil 1.5 Dialogue in 2013. She has recently co-edited a book on *India-Latin America: Trade and Investment Relationship* (2021) and is currently working on an edited collection of bilingual essays (English-Spanish) on India-Latin America Political, Economic and Social Relations.

# PARTICIPANTS, BIOS & ABSTRACTS

## SESSION 1 : PARTY GOVERNANCE & LEADERSHIP

### CHAIR



**ASHOK K. KANTHA** was the Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi from April 2017 to August 2022. A career diplomat, Kantha was the Ambassador of India to China until January 2016. Prior to this, he was Secretary (East) at the 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, the Consul General in Hong Kong, Deputy Chief of Mission in Kathmandu (Nepal), and Joint Secretary (East Asia) in the Ministry of External Affairs. Earlier, Kantha served in different capacities at Indian Missions in Singapore, China and the 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 the 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. Kantha joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1977.

### SPEAKERS



**BHIM B. SUBBA** is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, and a Visiting Associate Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. He holds an MPhil and a PhD from the University of Delhi and an MA from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Dr. Subba is an Institute of Chinese Studies-Harvard-Yenching Institute China-India Doctoral Fellow; a Ford Student Fellow; and a recipient of the Confucius Institute Scholarship for Mandarin Language Training. His research



interests are China Studies (Domestic politics and Party leadership); comparative politics, and international affairs. Recently, Dr.Subba co-guest edited two special issues of *China Report* (February & August 2022) on the CPC's Hundredth Anniversary

### *Interpreting Elite Politics at the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress*

In Communist Party ruled states, the Party Congress sessions elect new political elites. Here, I refer to political elites as the 'leading cadres' or central committee members. The recently concluded 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China also witnessed an elite reshuffle. The reshuffle, unlike electoral democracies, is akin to promotion in the Party bureaucracy. As argued in the existing literature, such promotions are based on the criteria of 'meritocracy' and 'performance'. In addition, other writings suggest nativity, work experiences, patron-client relationships and factional manoeuvring within the Party hierarchy leading to the election and final selection of political elites. The author attempts to study the above variables and explore whether other factors influence elite politics in elections and appointments. The presentation also investigates the changes and departures from the previous two leadership transitions vis-à-vis this edition of Xi Jinping's 'New Era' politics.



**MING-SHIH SHEN** is Acting Deputy Chief Executive Officer, and Director, Division of National Security Research, Institute for National Defense and Security Research, Taiwan. He is also an Adjunct Associate Professor, Graduate Institute for Strategic Studies (GISS), War College, National Defense University, and Graduate Institute for International Affairs and Strategic Studies, Tamkang University. He graduated from the Army Military Academy, got his Master's degree from National Chengchi University, East Asia Graduate School, and PhD in Political Science from National Defense University. He served in the military for 35 years, and retired with the rank of Colonel. His research areas focus on PLA Studies, Strategic Theory, National Security Research, Defense Organisation.

## *The Development and Challenges of Military-Civil Fusion in China: After U.S. Sanctions*

Military-Civil Fusion (MCF) is the main way for China to acquire high-tech. Whether it is through state-owned enterprises or non-governmental organisations, in order to catch up with the military power gap with the United States, the PLA uses various military-civil fusion models to obtain technologies that can enhance the development of China's armaments. However, as the United States successively imposes sanctions on Chinese technology companies and imposes strict strategic technology controls on the export of chips, China's previous model of military-civil fusion to obtain foreign technology will definitely be impacted and affected. But such sanctions are still insufficient, as China will continue to obtain the technology it needs through other ways. Therefore, the key lies in the cooperation of other Western countries, especially the EU countries. US efforts to form the Chip Four, or to build a clean network, are all controlling China's access to these key technologies. Indo-Pacific countries should understand that controlling China's strategic science and technology is a war also, allowing China to acquire high-tech capabilities and improve the level of national defense armaments. This is likely to have a serious impact on the Indo-Pacific countries, especially the countries around China, such as India, South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, etc. These countries do not have any choice but to strengthen cooperation.



**ROGER CHI-FENG LIU** is Associate Professor of international Politics with the Department of Social Sciences at FLAME University, where he also serves as the Chair of the Department of Social Sciences, and the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies (CSSAS). Professor Liu earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from University of South Carolina, and his research areas span political geography, geopolitics, armed conflicts, great power politics, India in the Indo-Pacific, and politics of China. Professor Liu has had extensive interactions with leading think tanks in India and abroad, such as the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), the National Maritime Foundation (NMF), the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), and the Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation (TAEF). Dr. Liu is the recipient of 2021's Taiwan Studies Project in India. Professor Liu's commentaries and interviews have also been published in major Indian and Taiwanese newspapers and news portals. He is also a frequent participant on news programs for channels such as CNN News-18, News X, Republic TV, Sansad TV (India), TVBS and the Mirror TV (Taiwan).

## *The Evolution of CCP's United Front Work towards Taiwan*

The United Front Work (统战工作), viewed along with *struggling with armed forces* (武装斗争) and *building the Party* (党的建设) as *the three treasures* (三个法宝) attributed to the success of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) by Mao Zedong, has been at the core of CCP's Taiwan policy. This research analyzes the evolution of CCP's UFW towards Taiwan since the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, to the current 5<sup>th</sup> generation of leadership under Xi Jinping. What are the major factors behind the change of CCP's UFW towards Taiwan? What explains the waxing and waning of the United Front Work Department of CCP (中央统战部)? I argue that the changes of tunes in UFW can be explained by 1) how Beijing needs Taiwan in economics; 2) Taiwan's relationships with major powers (especially with the US); 3) the military advantage that the PLA has over Taiwan; 4) the tools available to the CCP and the UFW (e.g. the development of Internet portals or other "sharp power" tools), and 5) the past "Taiwan experience" of the current Party General Secretary at the helm.

## LEAD DISCUSSANT



**RITYUSHA MANI TIWARY** is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi and a Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi. She holds a PhD in Chinese Studies from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her research has focused on unpacking the interplay of power and hegemony in East Asian regionalism and China's role therein. She has been awarded Visiting Fellowships at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg; Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai and Politics and International Studies Department, University of Cambridge, UK. In addition, she was the recipient of the Young Sinologist Fellowship offered by the Ministry of Culture, China, availed at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing and the International Visitor Leadership Program by the Department of State, USA. She is the Assistant Editor of the flagship journal of the Institute, *China Report: A Journal of East Asian Studies*

## SESSION 2: IDEAS AND NARRATIVES

### CHAIR



**MUMIN CHEN** is Deputy Representative of Taipei Economic and Cultural Center (TECC) in India since September 2020, and Professor at Graduate Institute of International Politics, National Chung Hsing University (NCHU), Taichung, Taiwan. He has also served as the Vice President for International Affairs, and the Director of the Center for Studies on South Asia and Middle East at NCHU. Before joining TECC, Prof. Chen was devoted to research and studies on International Relations, and promoted cooperation between

Taiwanese and foreign think tanks in various areas. He founded and supervised South Asia Watch in Taiwan ([www.southasiawatch.tw](http://www.southasiawatch.tw)), an information platform providing news and analyses about India and South Asian countries since 2014 and the Taiwan Association for South Asian Studies. His research mainly focuses on non-traditional security issues, foreign relations of China, politics and security in South Asia and the Middle East. He has published six books and co-edited three books with topics related to India, South Asia, and International Relations, including the first Research Report on Taiwan-India Relations, published by Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation (TAEF) in February 2020.

### SPEAKERS

#### ALKA ACHARYA

##### *‘Socialism with Chinese Characteristics: A Teleological Analysis*

This paper seeks to examine the formulation of ‘Socialism with Chinese Characteristics’ (‘SCC’) in a historical context, i.e., in its location within the matrix of the ‘Sinicization of Marxism’ that now spans a century. The approach is teleological, in the philosophical sense, whereby it intends to focus on the objectives or the purposes that it is intended to serve, rather than on the causes or factors that led to its conceptualisation. The paper will address the emergence of the concept in the post-Mao period, when it became the centrepiece of the Dengist ideological framework, in the context of his market reforms. At the 13<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in 1987, in tandem with the concept of the ‘Primary Stage of Socialism,’ SCC became the basis of a fundamental and far-reaching restructuring of domestic policy. In the ‘New Era’, which is now identified with the period since he came to power, Xi Jinping seeks to navigate the challenges of ‘unbalanced’ domestic development, deal with

external challenges firmly and thereby carve his place in history as the leader who made China 'strong and powerful.' SCC, in the 'new era,' is yet again enshrined as the leitmotif of the ideological corpus. The *systemic* significance of 'SCC' thus clearly emerges in terms of guiding the Party to build a rich, strong and powerful *socialist* state.



**TUVIA GERING** is a researcher at INSS's Diane & Guilford Glazer Foundation Israel-China Policy Center, a non-resident fellow in the Atlantic Council's Global China Hub, and a Tikvah Fund's Krauthammer fellow based in Jerusalem. He specialises in Chinese security and foreign policy. Previously, he was a research fellow at the Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security (JISS) and the Israeli Chinese Media Center. Gering is the editor and author of *Discourse Power* on Substack, a newsletter covering leading Chinese

perspectives on current affairs, and holds a BA in East Asian studies from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (*summa cum laude*) and an MPH in Disaster and Emergency Management from Tel Aviv University (*summa cum laude*).

### *The Role of Intellectuals in Constructing China's International Discourse Power*

Intellectuals have been crucial in defining and interpreting political life since the early years of modern China. Non-Chinese readers frequently associate Chinese intellectualism with prominent dissidents and pro-democracy activists of their generation, such as Xu Zhangrun, Liu Xiaobo, and Fang Lizhi. In actuality, the vast majority of Chinese individuals who fall under this broad category are not dissidents but rather willing participants in the Chinese Communist Party's state building, either as constructive critics or political-ideological enablers of the Party-state. Under General Secretary Xi Jinping, the intelligentsia is thus called to provide consistent ideological and intellectual support to the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics. They must help China in particularly establishing the "discourse power commensurate with [its] comprehensive national power and global standing," as Xi put it, i.e., the ideas and narratives that determine the global agendas, standards, values, and norms that collectively make up the international system. Who are the intellectuals who contribute to China's "discourse power," what are their modes of operation, what are some of the key challenges they must overcome to succeed, and what does their "success" mean for the rest of the world?



**ANAND P. KRISHNAN** is a Visiting Associate Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS). He holds a PhD in Chinese Politics from the Centre for East Asian Studies at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. His main area of research is labour relations in China, along with comparative studies in India (and, in the global south). He was a Non-Resident Fellow under the China-India Scholar Leaders Initiative of the India China Institute, The New School, New York City, from 2018-21. In 2016-17, he was a Visiting Fellow, at

the Harvard-Yenching Institute, USA. He has also completed a two-year India-China comparative research project funded by the Indian Council for Social Science Research, on Labour Relations and Welfare in Small and Medium Enterprises in Mumbai and Wenzhou (2014-16). He is currently offering a course on *Development and State Capacity in China and India* at the National Law School of India University, Bengaluru, in the academic term Nov 2022-Jan 2023). His interests also include China's political economy, informal labour, social policies, and labour's interface with urban questions in the global south.

### *Class Politics, Labour and the Party in the New Era*

The Communist Party of China (CPC) has untiringly claimed to represent peasants and workers – the two basic classes in the country that held primacy in its vanguard role in actualizing the socialist revolution. In fact, the Constitution of the PRC (the latest being in force from 1982) claims that the leadership of the country is represented by the peasantry and workers. However, China's economic growth and development over the last four decades has been paralleled by a consistent decline in the status of workers as legitimate stakeholders in governance and ruling practices. Thus, beyond formal claims to ideological legitimacy, there has been an erosion of 'industrial citizenship' and reordering of the political status of the working class in contemporary China. This has become more pronounced since 2012 with Xi Jinping at the helm of power. Mapping the transition of the Party vis-à-vis the labour question since China's transition to a market economy, this paper will explore labour's predicament in the 'New Era'. Analyzing relevant work reports, political reports and Party documents, this paper will investigate how labour has been disenfranchised, with the treatment accorded by the Party-state, being either laissez-faire or heavy repression. The paper aims to understand CPC's positioning and rationalization, sandwiched as it is between the need for continued

economic growth as a legitimating tool and the continued reiteration of being the representative of the working class.

## LEAD DISCUSSANT



**RAVNI THAKUR** is currently a tenured Professor for Chinese Studies at the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi, where she was earlier the Head of the Department. She has been a student at the Language Institute in Beijing (1982-83) and at the Beijing University (1983-84). Since then, she has regularly visited, worked and travelled extensively in China. She has an M.A. in Development Studies from the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague and a Ph.D. from the Sinology Institute, University of Leiden. She taught at the INALCO, Sorbonne, before her return to India in 1997. She has also been a Professor for Chinese Studies at the Jamia Millia Islamia and Fellow of the Delhi Policy Group. She is a widely published author and commentator on China with several articles and books to her credit. Prof. Thakur speaks fluent Chinese and French and has been a frequent freelance interpreter and consultant for Indian and Chinese businesses and other delegations.

## SESSION 3: THE PARTY'S GLOBAL INTERESTS

### CHAIR



**VARUN SAHNI** is a Professor of International Politics at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He served as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu (2008-2012) and the Vice-Chancellor of Goa University (2016-2021). He has been a Jury Member of the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding and Chairman of the Programme Committee of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), New Delhi. He has written 89 research articles on nuclear deterrence issues, regional security, emerging balances in the Asia-Pacific, evolving security concepts, emerging powers, international relations theory, river waters and Latin American issues. He has participated in over 220 academic conferences, 90 of them



held outside India. He has recently co-authored *Technology Vision 2035 and Educational Technology Roadmap* for TIFAC, the technology think-tank of the Government of India. For his “outstanding contribution to research and teaching”, he was conferred the V.K.R.V. Rao Prize in Social Sciences for 2006 by the Indian Council of Social Science Research. Professor Sahni is an Honorary Colonel of the National Cadet Corps. He is fluent in Hindi, English and Spanish.

## SPEAKERS



**GUDRUN WACKER** is currently a 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 and security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific/Indo-Pacific. She is currently an EU delegate to the Experts and Eminent Persons Group of the ASEAN Regional Forum.

### *External Challenges to CPC Legitimacy*

Legitimacy has several dimensions for the Communist Party of China. One is how the CPC itself justifies the legitimacy of its one-Party rule. This justification has changed over time after the founding of the CPC from revolutionary tradition to charisma (under Mao) to tradition/history in combination with modernization/development since Deng Xiaoping. From the beginning of Deng Xiaoping’s reforms until today, the CPC’s domestic legitimacy derives mainly from China’s economic success. It is based on output, not on input (as in countries with democratically elected governments). Under Xi Jinping’s leadership, a certain degree of charisma was re-introduced. Xi Jinping has formulated an ambitious domestic and international agenda for China, but he has also emphasized that the Chinese people must prepare for struggles (strategic competition with the U.S.). Externally, legitimacy is at the first level a question of legality. While many countries first did not officially recognize the PRC as the legitimate government and representative of China, the legitimacy of the CPC’s rule over China was internationally accepted after the PRC became a member of the United Nations and took over the permanent seat in the Security Council. Below the level of state recognition, the CPC has been criticized externally mainly by Western industrialized



countries for the regime’s human rights violations (Tian’anmen, Tibet, Xinjiang), repression (Hong Kong), coercive economic measures (Australia, Taiwan) and influence operations abroad. But despite Western/US accusations of debt trap policy (BRI), “predatory” economic behaviour and aggressive foreign policy (the South China Sea, “wolf warrior diplomacy”), China’s initiatives offering alternative approaches from the US and the West enjoy quite a lot of support in countries of the global south. Therefore, the biggest challenges for the CPC are domestic, not external: Xi’s Zero-COVID policy and China’s slowing economic growth question the output-based legitimacy of the Party.



**RAJIV RANJAN** is an Adjunct Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi and an Associate Professor at the College of Liberal Arts, Institute of Global Studies, Shanghai University, China. He holds a PhD in Chinese Studies and an M.A. in Politics (with specialisation in International Relations) from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He is trained in the Chinese language and teaches courses in international politics. He was a Research Fellow at the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), New Delhi, and a Visiting Senior

Scholar at the School of Political Science and Public Administration, Shandong University, China. He has co-edited “China and South Asia: Changing Regional Dynamics, Development and Power Play”, Routledge, 2022 and “近代东方国家的变革, *jindaidongfangguojia de biange*”, Jinan University Press 2020. He has contributed many chapters in other books and has published widely in *Critical Sociology*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Contemporary International Relations*, *Political Studies Review*, *China Report*, *Global Environmental Change*, *International Affairs*, and *Millennium: A Journal of International Studies*.

### ***Ecological Civilization and the Path Towards Carbon Neutrality in China: From Political Slogans and Theoretical Construct to Global Responsibility***

Ecological Civilizations, first advocated by Hu Jintao in 2007 as a political slogan, has evolved into an environmental philosophy and is increasingly becoming a social norm in China. Theoretical underpinning to a slogan is not new in China, but it is considered as the calibre of paramount leaders



to carry the legacy and demonstrate the intellect as ‘cultured leaders’. What is intriguing is how Chinese academia theorised ‘ecological civilization’ not only to differentiate it from the more widely used ‘sustainable development,’ but also rooting the concept within the Chinese tradition. Domestic pressures or necessity compelled the Party to alter the developmental course to be more ecologically sensitive. In addition, international pressure and a desire to portray itself, both as a follower of global norms as also a norm-setter in international politics influenced the Chinese pledge to be carbon neutral by 2060. Given China’s traditional penchant for caution in international commitments, the announcement also suggests that the leadership is confident that technological progress in energy efficiency and the cost of renewable energy can make carbon neutrality attainable without hampering China’s economic development. The purpose of this research is to analyse how academic debate and theory serve to bolster the credibility of Chinese leaders’ slogans. The paper also examines why China employs distinct concepts and the extent to which they are successful in international discourse. Finally, the article explores the effects of China’s ambitious commitment to carbon neutrality on the economy and society to make a ‘Beautiful China.’



**ISAAC B. KARDON** is an Assistant Professor at the U.S. Naval War College (NWC), in the Center for Naval Warfare Studies. Since 2016, he has been a core member of NWC’s China Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI), where he researches and writes on China’s maritime disputes, overseas port development and military basing, and PRC foreign policy in the Indian Ocean region. Dr. Kardon’s book, *China’s Law of the Sea: The New Rules of Maritime Order* (Yale, 2023), analyses the PRC’s influence on “the rules” of the law of the sea. His research on China’s foreign ports and basing appears in *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *Foreign Affairs*, and the *Naval War College Review*, and was also delivered as Congressional testimony. Dr. Kardon earned a PhD in Government from Cornell University, an MPhil in Modern Chinese Studies from Oxford University. He was a China & the World post-doctoral fellow at Princeton University, and has held visiting appointments at NYU School of Law, Academia Sinica, and the PRC National Institute for South China Sea Studies. He studied Chinese at Peking University, Tsinghua University, Hainan University, and National Taiwan Normal University.

## *The People's Liberation Army: Overseas Missions after the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress*

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) is, by design, an instrument of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Its strategic role, missions, and overall development are a function of the CCP's overall objectives. What are the consequences of the PLA's status as a 'Party army' in light of Xi Jinping's complete dominance over the Party in the wake of the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in October 2022? In particular, what changes do we see in the Party's articulation of its global interests, and what do these priorities entail for the PLA's strategic tasks? How should we understand the CCP objective to 'protect overseas interests' as it bears on the PLA's capabilities, doctrine, and overseas basing requirements? This essay traces the evolution of the PLA's overseas missions from their origins to the present day, placing them in the context of CCP's geopolitical and geoeconomics priorities. Drawing on PLA doctrinal texts and specialized writing, then mapping it to the priorities adopted by the CCP at the 20th Party Congress, we observe the gradual redefinition of the political demands and operational requirements placed on China's armed forces. Special focus is warranted on CCP interests and resulting PLA missions in the Indian Ocean region, which China's strategic community perceives as the locus of the Party's economic and strategic vulnerabilities.

### **LEAD DISCUSSANT**



**SIDDHARTH VARADARAJAN** is a Founding Editor of *The Wire*. He was earlier, till 2013, the Editor of *The Hindu*. Varadarajan is a co-author of *NonAlignment 2.0: A Foreign and Strategic Policy for India in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* and editor of *Gujarat: The Making of a Tragedy*. As a journalist, he has written extensively about Indian foreign policy and international affairs.

## SESSION 4: THE PARTY AND THE ECONOMY

### CHAIR



**SESHADRI CHARI** is one of the highly-acclaimed strategic and security thinkers and commentators in India. Following his MA (History) and L.L.B (Bombay University), he devoted his time to social and developmental activities in the rural and tribal areas of Maharashtra's coastal region. He was the editor of the English weekly, *Organiser* from 1992-2004. Dr. Chari was engaged as Consultant, UNDP, Southern Sudan, on Governance (2006-2009). He is currently Jt. Director, (International Affairs) Institute for National

Security Studies (INSS). He was also part of Net Assessments conducted by the INSS for the IDS (HQ) in the past. He is the Secretary General of the Forum for Integrated National Security (FINS) and also a Member of the Governing Board of the Research and Information System (RIS), New Delhi. The topic of his doctoral thesis was *Regional Dynamics of Indo-Pacific Region and Implications of China's Influence in India's Extended Neighbourhood*. He is the Chairman of the China Study Centre at Manipal Institute of Higher Education (MAHE) and Member, Planning & Monitoring Board of MAHE. He is Ministry of Defence Chair Professor at Savitribai Phule Pune University and Professor Emiratis in the Department of Defence & Strategic Studies

### SPEAKERS



**PRIYANKA PANDIT** is an Assistant Professor at Shiv Nadar University, Delhi-NCR. Her research interests include international and comparative political economy with an emphasis on China and the developing world, as well as international negotiations and global economic governance. She was formerly an Ashoka-Harvard Yenching Post-Doctoral Fellow in Chinese Studies. She holds M.Phil. and Ph.D.in Chinese Studies from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University and Masters in East Asian

Studies from the University of Delhi. She was formerly Research Fellow at the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), New Delhi, and a Visiting Fellow at the Chongyang Institute of Financial Studies, Beijing. Before joining ICWA, she taught at the Yunnan University of Finance and Economics, where she also pursued an intensive year-long course in Mandarin. She is currently completing her book project on China's negotiating strategies at the World Trade Organisation.

## *SOEs and the Party's Management of the Economy*

State-owned enterprises (SOEs), a key constituent of China's economy, are an important reference for analysing China's evolving state-market relations. Market-oriented reforms introduced in the SOE sector over the past four decades have seen the Communist Party of China (CPC) loosen its control over SOEs, shedding a large number of loss-making enterprises, and significant restructuring of remaining enterprises, including, by public listing. But these achievements still fall short of making Chinese SOEs 'modern enterprises', and they continue to be extensions of the Chinese Party-state. Using Party documents, speeches and policy announcements, this talk explores key changes and continuities in China's state-owned sector in the post-liberalisation era. It contends that the neoliberal turn in China's economic transition cannot be understood in the radical separation of state and market configurations but that reform and restructuring of SOEs have to be situated in a political-institutional landscape where multiple interests compete over the formulation of economic policy.



**HERIBERT DIETER** is a Senior Fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin. He has been a Visiting Professor for International Political Economy at Zeppelin University, Lake Constance. Since 2017, he has also been an Associate Professor at Potsdam University. In 2019-20, he was a Visiting Professor at the University of Hong Kong and served as the Director of Policy Research at the Asia Global Institute. Prof.

Dieter has published eight monographs and seven edited volumes, primarily on international economic relations and regional integration. His research focuses on international trade and finance. The future of the multilateral trading system and the stability of the international financial system have been key questions in his research. In addition, he has worked on regional integration in Europe and the Asia-Pacific, particularly on supranational financial co-operation. In his current research, he analyses economic developments in China and India.

## *China's Obscure Economic Prospects: Implications for the CPC*

After four decades of unprecedented growth, the Chinese economy faces a plethora of structural problems: the bursting of the world's largest real estate bubble, the demographic decline and the turn to a preference for autarky, that are resulting in a potent mix. Whilst China may continue to record



economic growth, solving the above-named problems will result in a prolonged phase of slow growth or even stagnation. Not tackling the issues will be even worse, for the adjustment process will eventually be even more painful. Real estate is probably the biggest issue. The value of residential real estate in China is estimated to be around 65,000 billion USD, about 450 percent of the current GDP. A moderate fall of real estate values by about 20 percent will wipe out an entire year of GDP. Once the mood has turned, which it has, it will be nearly impossible to restore confidence in real estate investment. Real estate bubbles do not burst, but the air is slowly leaking. Considering the shrinking of China's population and the high degree of homeownership, it is difficult to envisage robust demand for housing in the future. The second problem is the demography. The UN is suggesting that China's population may shrink to about half its current level by 2100. Since China does not consider immigration, the aging population will be a drag on economic development, including, of course, real estate. Finally, China's new trade policy will result in fewer gains from the international division of labour. Emphasising domestic production of, say, aircraft or semiconductors will be costly for Chinese taxpayers.



**G. VENKAT RAMAN** is currently a Professor at the Humanities and Social Sciences Area, Indian Institute of Management (IIM), Indore. He returned to India after securing his doctoral degree from the School of Government, Peking University, Beijing. At the IIM, Prof. Venkat offers courses like Understanding China, Political Risk Management in an Uncertain World, and Business Ethics. His research interests centre around questions related to China's internal and external governance and Business Ethics pedagogy.

Apart from publishing research articles, he contributes articles to popular media. He has lately co-edited a volume titled, *Locating BRICS in the Global Order: Perspectives from the Global South* (Routledge 2022). He has also published case studies on Indian businesses in China in prestigious case centres such as the Indian School of Business Case Centre, Hyderabad and the China-Europe International Business School Case Centre, Shanghai. Prof. Venkat is currently working on a study of the growing Sino-US tech rivalry and its implications for global governance.

### *Party-Business Interface in China: Governance with Chinese Characteristics*

The relationship between the Party-state and 'Business' has always been of immense importance. From the initial years when they were labelled 'capitalist roaders' to the early stages of 'reforms and opening up,' the relationship between the Party and the business has been shadowed by suspicion. Many local governments promoted private businesses within the framework of the Township and Village Enterprises (TVEs) during Deng's reforms, but it was under Jiang Zemin and his 'Important Thought of Three Represents' that there was an official endorsement for co-opting private business, enthusing them to become essential allies in China's economic modernisation drive. Since Xi Jinping's elevation to the Party's top leadership, the Party-State's relationship with business has experienced two distinct stages. Initially, the state promoted the policy of 'mass innovation and mass enterprise' to realise the goal of self-reliance in technology and in creating 'national champions.' However, since 2017, the trade wars with the US and tech supply chains disruption emboldened the Party-State under Xi to reinforce the virtues of 'state capitalism' and build a self-reliant China that would be able to achieve its 'socialist modernisation plan' by 2035. Under this new policy, the Party leadership under Xi has decided to clamp down on the big tech players. The paper seeks to look into the following questions: (1) What are the ideological underpinnings of the Party-State's relationship with the business entities? (2) What impact does the Party-State's relationship with business have on domestic governance? (3) What will be the external fallout of the changing dynamic between the Party-State and business?

### **LEAD DISCUSSANT**



**ARAVIND YELERY** is Senior Research Fellow (Associate Professor Grade) at the Peking University, Beijing/Shenzhen. He is involved in teaching and curating 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. Before joining PKU, he was an 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, 2021) and recently authored a book titled, *China Inc.: Between State Capitalism and Economic Statecraft* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2021).

## **SESSION 5: THE PARTY'S NARRATIVE-BUILDING ABROAD**

### **CHAIR**



**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 New Delhi. In 1976, he 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).

### **SPEAKERS**



**TSUNG-HAN WU** is an Assistant Research Fellow in the Division of Cyber Security and Decision-Making Simulation, Institute for National Defense and Security Research (INDSR), a think tank based in Taipei. Dr. Wu's academic interests focus on international security and cybersecurity issues through a political lens. His expertise includes cyber sovereignty, cognitive warfare, security dilemma, nationalism, and ethnic conflict. He received his PhD from Lau China Institute, King's College, London.

## *The CPC's Approach to the Russian Narrative on the Ukraine Invasion*

Since Russia launched its “special military operation” in Ukraine on February 24, 2022, international society has paid great attention to China’s attitude and its reactions. While China seemingly insists on taking a neutral stand and calls for peaceful solution, the statement of “friendship without limits” and “no forbidden area of cooperation” by Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping during their meeting just weeks before the war brought about concerns over Beijing’s commitment. Moreover, given that both China and Russia share similar values and the existence of high level of comprehensive strategic partnership between them, China has a firm drive to assist Russia even though not in the military form. International media and fact-checking organisations have observed that China helped promote the pro-Russian narrative domestically. Possibly such insights might spread to the overseas Chinese communities. Accordingly, this paper analyses China’s approach to the Russian narrative on its invasion of Ukraine. First, this paper reviews China-Russia relations, uncovering their strengthened bilateral ties over time. Next, this paper identifies some themes that China has promoted to disseminate Russian views in addition to the reports of military progress. This paper furthermore notes that China takes advantage of the Ukraine war to create an impact on Taiwan in the cognitive domain. Finally, this paper concludes that China would continue, and perhaps increase its collaboration with Russia, which would be demonstrated in the formation of a more authoritarian China in the post-20th Party Congress era.



**JABIN T. JACOB** is an Associate Professor at the Department of International Relations and Governance Studies, Shiv Nadar Institution of Eminence, Delhi NCR and an Adjunct Research Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi. He was formerly a Fellow and the Assistant Director at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi. Jacob holds a PhD in Chinese Studies from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru

University, New Delhi and has spent time as a student/researcher/faculty in Taiwan, Singapore and France. His research interests include Chinese domestic politics, China in the Indian Ocean region, Sino-Indian border areas, Indian and Chinese worldviews, and Centre-Province relations in China. He is also a PhD supervisor at the Naval War College, Goa. Dr. Jacob’s latest publications include two co-edited special issues of the *China Report* on the Communist Party of China’s 100th



anniversary (February and August 2022) and a co-edited volume with Hoang The Anh 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/>

### *The CPC's Foreign Policy: Promoting the China Model in Madagascar*

This presentation uses the case study of Madagascar to examine how the CPC both tests out elements of a new activist foreign policy in developing countries and exploits local political circumstances to do so. It highlights how the CPC's political interests are promoted and implemented through the activism of the Chinese embassy, and the Party's specific brand of 'people-to-people relations' on the island. I argue that PRC foreign policy is increasingly indistinguishable in language, attitudes and articulation of interests from that of the CPC itself. National interests are more fused than ever with the Party's interests, or in other words, the country's interests are even more subservient than before to the interests of the ruling party. This, in turn, suggests that despite long-standing rhetoric to the contrary, foreign policy is increasingly an ideological tool for the CPC to promote its model of politics and economic development in competition with Western and other democratic regimes, and that Chinese hegemony, including interference in the internal affairs of other countries will rise as a result.



**CHIEN-YU SHIH** is an Associate Research Fellow at the Taiwan Institute for National Defense and Security Research (INDSR). He has taught at Taiwan National Tsinghua University, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Chinese University, and Hong Kong Chuhai College. He obtained his PhD in Social and Culture Studies at Taiwan National YangmingChiaotung University, MSc in International Politics at SOAS London, and BA in Political Science at National Taiwan University. His research focuses on China's frontier policy and ethnic politics, China's relations with neighboring states, with particular reference to China-Central Asia relations, Uyghur nationalism and Hong Kong politics.

## *Ethnic Minorities Policy in the New Era: Xinjiang as an Illustration*

At the Central Ethnic Work Conference in 2014, Xi Jinping put an end to the ‘second-generation ethnic policy’ debate. The friction amongst the original traditional ethnic, regional autonomy faction, national construction faction, and ‘economically loose, politically strict’ government faction suddenly disappeared. Instead, the new ethnic minorities policy retained ethnic autonomy in name, but in fact, a repressive-style construction of Chinese national identity, or cultivated patriotism of allegiance to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) began. As a social engineering project, Xi Jinping’s ‘New Era’ ethnicity policy seeks to remove the CCP’s tolerance for heterogeneous ethnic groups and cultures in the past, while denying economic reform strategies since Deng’s reform that could finally erode minority identity. In the past 10 years, China’s ethnic policy has several policy priorities: First, strengthen the CCP’s cadres presence deep into ethnic areas for effective management, to confirm that the CCP holds all power in the frontier areas in Xi’s new era. The appointment of CCP cadres to ethnic autonomous regions ceases to operate in accordance with the ethnic quota ratio. Second, suppress local ethnic dissent in the name of countering terrorism or combating the “three evil forces.” Third, through language policies, remove various preferential policies e.g. for childbirth or college entrance examination, as well as Han immigration policy to strengthen and consolidate Chinese national political identity along the northwest border areas. The purpose of the CCP’s re-education camps in Xinjiang over the past five years is to transform local Turkic national identity in all aspects. Through mass imprisonment and social surveillance, forced instruction of Chinese Mandarin (National Standard language 國家通用語言), and forced labour in the name of poverty alleviation, the social values of local ethnic minorities would be fully altered in Xinjiang, and finally elsewhere in the ethnic minorities dwelled areas.

### **LEAD DISCUSSANT**



**S.L. NARASIMHAN** PVSM, AVSM\*, VSM is Member, National Security Advisory Board, Government of India and Director-General, Centre for Contemporary China Studies, Ministry of External Affairs. Dr. Narasimhan served as the Defence Attaché in the Embassy of India in China for three years. He has been awarded four times for his outstanding contribution to the Indian Army by the President of India. Lt. Gen Narasimhan has a Graduate degree in

Mathematics, Post-Graduate degree in Defence Studies and a PhD in India-China Relations. He is qualified in Chinese language and has been a keen observer of China for the past 22 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 and authored many articles in various journals and magazines.

## SESSION 6 : REGIONAL POLICY

### CHAIR



**RASHMI DORAISWAMY** is Professor at the MMAJ Academy of International Studies (formerly Academy of Third World Studies), Jamia Milia Islamia University. Her doctoral dissertation was on Mikhail Bakhtin from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. From 2005 to 2007, she was the Honorary Deputy Director of the Academy of Third World studies and then Officiating Director of the MMAJ from August 2015 to July 2020. Her areas of specialisation are Central Asia, Eurasia, Soviet Union, Russia, literature, cinema and culture studies. She has edited several books on Eurasia, including *Perspectives on BRICS* (2019), *Central Asia, China and India: Historical, Economic, Political And Cultural Relations* (2017), *Central Asia and South Asia: Economic, Developmental and Socio-Cultural Linkages* (2017), and *Energy Security: Central Asia, India and the Neighbourhood* (2013). She is the author of two books, one on the Indian filmmaker, Guru Dutt, and the other on the Kyrgyz writer, Chingiz Aitmatov. She is co-editor of *Being and Becoming: The Cinemas of Asia* (2002), *Globalisation and the Third World* (2009) and *Asian Film Journeys: Selections from Cinemaya* (2010). She was recipient of the National Award for the Best Film Critic in 1994.

### SPEAKERS



**ÜMIT ALPEREN** is an Assistant Professor at Suleyman Demirel University, Department of International Relations, Isparta-Turkey. He received his BA from the Department of International Relations at Gazi University in Ankara, Turkey. Dr. Alperen received his MA from the Department of International Relations at Fudan University in Shanghai and subsequently his PhD from the



Department of International Relations at Süleyman Demirel University in Turkey. He was a visiting scholar at Peking University, Beijing in 2014. Dr. Alperen's PhD thesis is an analysis of China's policy towards Iran. At present, Dr. Ümit Alperen is a visiting researcher at the School of International Studies at Peking University, Beijing. He is a senior researcher in the Ankara Policy Centre. His research interests include Chinese politics, Chinese foreign policy, and China-Middle East relations.

### *China's Middle East Policy: Geopolitical Interests vs Ideological Interests*

Four factors are now reshaping China's Middle East policy within the framework of the change in its foreign policy and the tensions in China-US relations. First, intra-regional balances. China, without being a part of the chronic problems in the Middle East, has been attempting to balance Iran, Arabs, and Israel while shaping its policy. Second, before the Belt-Road Initiative in 2013, China's Middle East policy was shaped by economic interests in particular energy security. However, with the transformation of China's economic-based foreign policy into a comprehensive foreign policy (economic, political, military) since 2013, it has started to become more visible in political and military issues in its Middle East relations. China's relations with the US, the global hegemonic power, also affects this change. Third, although the importance of the Middle East is increasing in Chinese foreign policy, its relations with East Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, and the great powers, take priority over the Middle East. With the decline of the US's influence in the Middle East, China is trying to fill the military, political and economic vacuum with political motivation, carefully, step by step, without making any commitments to the regional actors. Fourth, China attaches importance to its relations with Middle Eastern countries for their support/neutrality on the question of human rights violations against the Uyghur Muslim minority since 2018.



**AVINASH GODBOLE** is an Associate Professor and Associate Academic Dean at Jindal School of Liberal Arts & Humanities, OP Jindal Global University Sonipat. His research interests are in the fields of Chinese Foreign Policy, Environmental Changes in China, Minorities in China, Domestic Politics in China, China's Defence Diplomacy, Indo-Pacific, China's Asia strategy and India-China Relations. He has written extensively on these subjects



in academic and media publications. He has been a 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 and at SIRSS, Mumbai University. Previously, he worked as a Research Fellow at Indian Council of World Affairs (New Delhi) and as a Research Assistant at the Manohar Parikkar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (New Delhi).

### *China's Response to Indo-Pacific*

This paper will look at how China changed its perspective from ignoring the idea of the Indo-Pacific to more recent dismissive attitudes. It will also study how different Chinese scholars have written on this issue. It will try and frame the issue in two Chinese recent discourses; one being its policy in Asia and how its policy response treats Indo-Pacific as a hegemonic idea and second, China's recent vocabulary of "true-multilateralism" that it uses to critique all US-led initiatives in Asia.

**CHANG YOUNG-HEE** is currently a Research Professor at Sungkyun Institute of China Studies at



Sungkyunkwan University. He serves as the Managing Editor of *Sungkyun China Brief*, a quarterly magazine covering Chinese issues in the field of Social Science. Additionally, he serves as an advisor for the Konrad Adenauer Foundation's Korean office. He received his PhD in Political Science from National Taiwan University. His research interests include Chinese politics and diplomacy, Taiwan's politics and Cross-strait relations and East Asian international relations. His recent publications include, *Perspectives on China*

*in Korean Intellectual Discourses: From Premodern to Contemporary Scholarship* (in Chinese), *Popular Value Perceptions and Institutional Preference for Democracy in Confucian East Asia* (in English), *US-China Strategic Competition and Changes in Cross-Strait relations* (in Korean).

### *PRC's Changing Relations with East Asian Countries: From Security-Interest-Identity Perspectives*

In Xi's third term, China will try to resolve the crisis of faith by finding solutions to supply chain pressures from the US, economic performance not meeting expectations and fatigue resulting from Zero-Covid policy, but based on the new leadership's personnel and policy stances, where economic



experts are not visible and state capitalism appears to be strengthening in the short term. Chinese diplomacy focuses on three pillars: relations with developed countries, relations with neighbouring countries, and relations with developing countries. However, at the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, Xi Jinping stated that China would put more importance on relations with developing countries, noting that China would “build a new type of international relations.” Even though the US was not directly mentioned in the report of the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, it hinted that China would intensify confrontation with the US in the future, while moving closer to developing countries. This is in a situation where relations with advanced countries such as the US, Australia and the NATO countries are not favourable. In neighbouring East Asian countries, there is a strong anti-Chinese sentiment among the Japanese and Korean people. Consequently, the government has adopted a passive policy in its relations with China as a result of these anti-China sentiments.

- As the Communist Party of China reinforces the politics of identity, the ‘distance of values’ with East Asian democracies will widen and cooperation space will shrink accordingly. China's socialistic system, which is like a "softened North Korea," has created a lack of trust between East Asian countries and China, as emotional distances have grown and strategic communication has weakened.
- Beijing will avert US pressure by conciliating or persuading neighbouring and developing countries. However, if neighbouring countries adopt a policy of band wagoning with the U.S. or distance themselves from China, Beijing may attempt a turnaround through economic pressure, either explicitly or implicitly.
- The trade structure of Korea is dominated by exports of intermediate goods to China. As China accelerates industrial and technological independence, the space for economic cooperation between Korea and China is narrowing, and interests from China are decreasing for the Korean economy.
- In light of the strategic competition between the US and China, North Korea and China are likely to strengthen their strategic cooperation, so even a nuclear test by North Korea will not have a significant impact on North Korea-China relations. This could lead to security instability in South Korea.

## LEAD DISCUSSANT



**JYOTI MALHOTRA** is Senior Consulting Editor with *The Print* news portal, based in Delhi. She has been a journalist for 38 years, writing on foreign policy and Indian domestic politics and the overlap between the two. She is especially interested in India's troubled neighbourhood, including China. She has worked for India's top newspapers like *The Indian Express* and *The Times of India* as well as broadcasters like *Star News*, writing and speaking in both Hindi and English across the news media -- print, TV, radio and online. She anchors two shows for *ThePrint*, called #ThePrintUninterrupted and #ThePrintDebates.

## CONCLUDING SESSION

### CHAIR

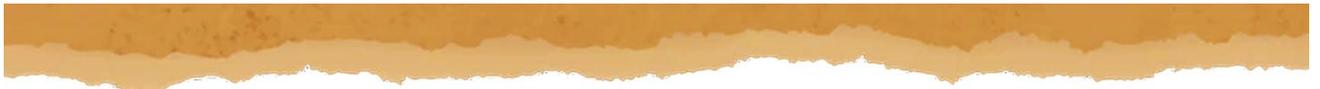
#### ALKA ACHARYA

Honorary Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi; Professor, Centre for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

### VALEDICTORY ADDRESS



**B.R. DEEPAK** is a Professor at the Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He was trained in Chinese studies at the Peking University, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing; at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and University of Edinburgh, UK. He has been a Nehru and Asia Fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing. His numerous publications include, among others, *India's China Dilemma: The Lost Equilibrium and Widening Asymmetries* (Pentagon 2021), *India and China: Beyond the Binary of Friendship and Enmity* (Springer 2020), *China's Global Rebalancing and the New Silk Road* (Springer 2018) and *My Tryst with China* (China Translation Press 2017). Some of his translations from Chinese to Hindi and English include: *China and India: Dialogues of Civilizations* (Pentagon 2021; Hindi edition, Prakashan Sansthan 2021) *Parva* (Chinese edition, Sahitya Akademy 2020), *Ji Xianlin: A Critical Biography* (Pentagon 2019; Hindi edition Prakashan Sansthan) and *Chinese Poetry: 1100 BC to 1400 AD* (Prakashan Sansthan



2011), a translation of 85 selected classical poems for which he was awarded the 2011 Special Book Prize of China, and other writings. He writes a fortnightly “Eye on China” column for the Sunday Guardian.

### *Xi Jinping’s China: Denouncing the Era of “Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones”*

As China increasingly faces national and international challenges, the economy in command has paved way for politics in command in Xi Jinping’s new era. “A slide toward weak, hollow, and watered-down Party leadership” of the reform era, confirms the contradiction that those in the CPC who have not inherited the “good red genes” have eroded the legitimacy of the Party. Hence the “banner and line” of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for the New Era must be held high so as the “color of China’s mountain and rivers is not changed” and the path, theory, system, and culture evolved by the Party is not weakened. With this leaning, China appears to expand the scope of “people’s ownership” across the enterprises for better regulating and controlling them. This is in sync with China wanting to establish a new unified national health information platform by 2025. At the same time bringing discourses such as internal circulation, third distribution to fulfil the goals of common prosperity, the “central task” of realising the second centenary goals could be compromised. In the global context, where peace is elusive, conflicts raging across the continents, when the world is witnessing deficit in the areas of development and governance, the discourse of power emanating from China in the form of building communities with shared future and Chinese style modernisation would certainly add a new perspective, an alternative to and denunciation of the western dominated discourse on development. As for India, China will not be averse to do business, but will continue to deny India space whether at the regional or global stage, owing to the widening asymmetries and the lost equilibrium.

## **CONFERENCE REPORT**

**ARAVIND YELERY**, Co-Convenor, 5<sup>th</sup> IFC @Goa; Senior Research Fellow, Peking University, Beijing/ Shenzhen & Adjunct Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.



## **REMARKS**

**ADRIAN HAACK**, Director, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, New Delhi.

## **VOTE OF THANKS**

**APARAJITA GANGOPADHYAY**, Dean and Professor, School of International and Area Studies, Goa University, Taleigao.

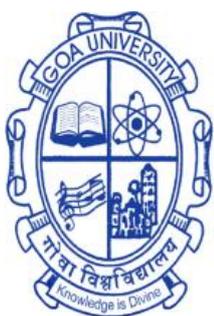
## ABOUT THE ORGANISERS



The Institute of Chinese Studies (estd 1969), 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 double-blind peer-reviewed quarterly journal on China and East Asia, currently in its 58<sup>th</sup> 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 Master's 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.