

**A STUDY OF QUADRILATERAL SECURITY
DIALOGUE(QUAD) AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR
INDIA**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Punjab University, Chandigarh for the Award of
Master of Philosophy in Social Sciences, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Advance Professional Programme in Public Administration (APPPA)**

BY

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CERTIFICATE

I have the pleasure to certify that **Brigadier Tejinder Jeet Singh**, has pursued his research work and prepared the present dissertation titled '**A Study Of Quadrilateral Security Dialogue(Quad) And Its Significance For India**' under my guidance and supervision. The same is result of research done by him and to best of my knowledge; no part of the same has been part of any monograph, dissertation or book earlier. This is being submitted to the Punjab University, Chandigarh, for the purpose of Master of Philosophy in Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration (APPPA) of Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA), New Delhi.

I recommend that the dissertation of **Brigadier Tejinder Jeet Singh** is worthy of consideration for the award of M. Phil degree of the Punjab University, Chandigarh.

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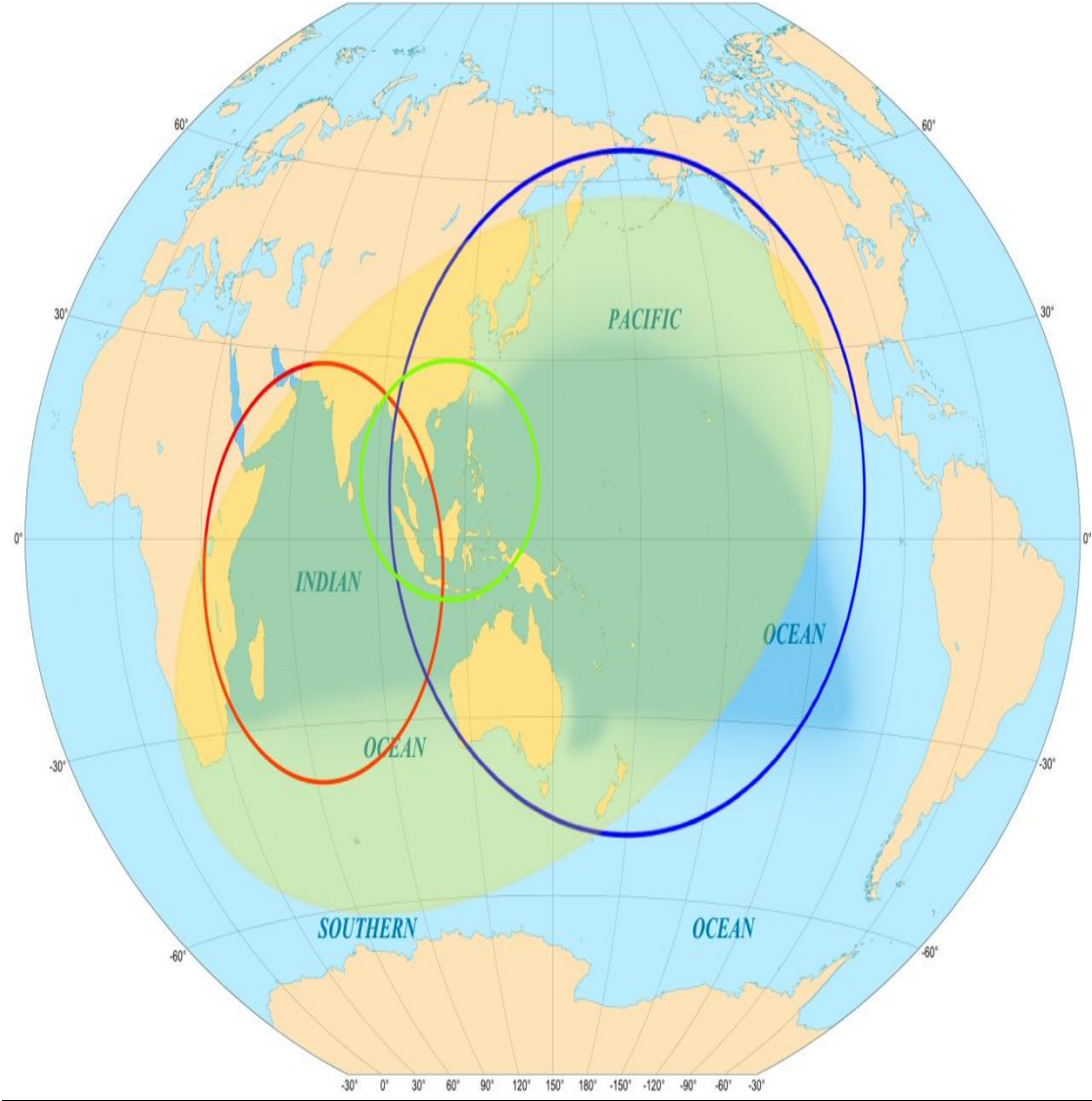
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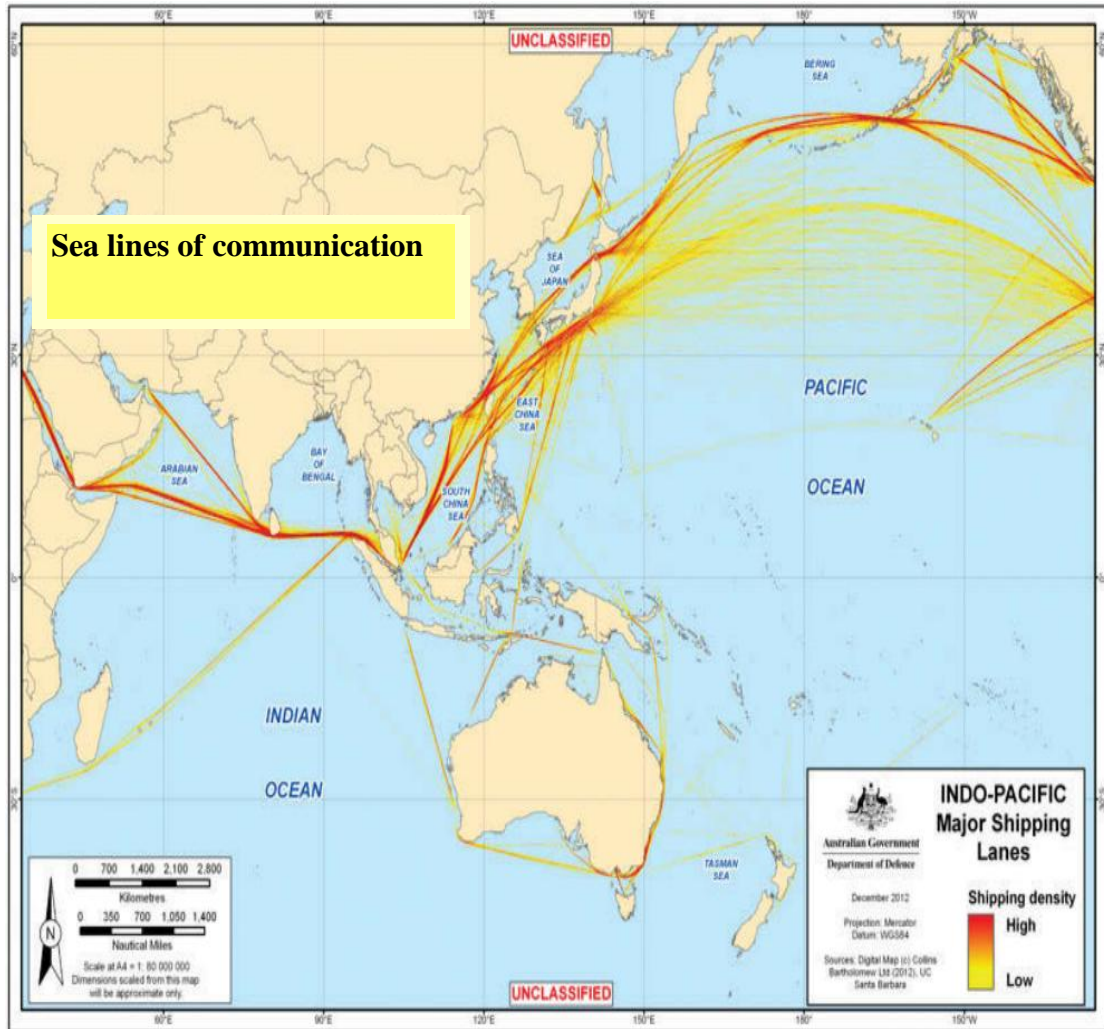
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MAP OF INDO - PACIFIC REGION



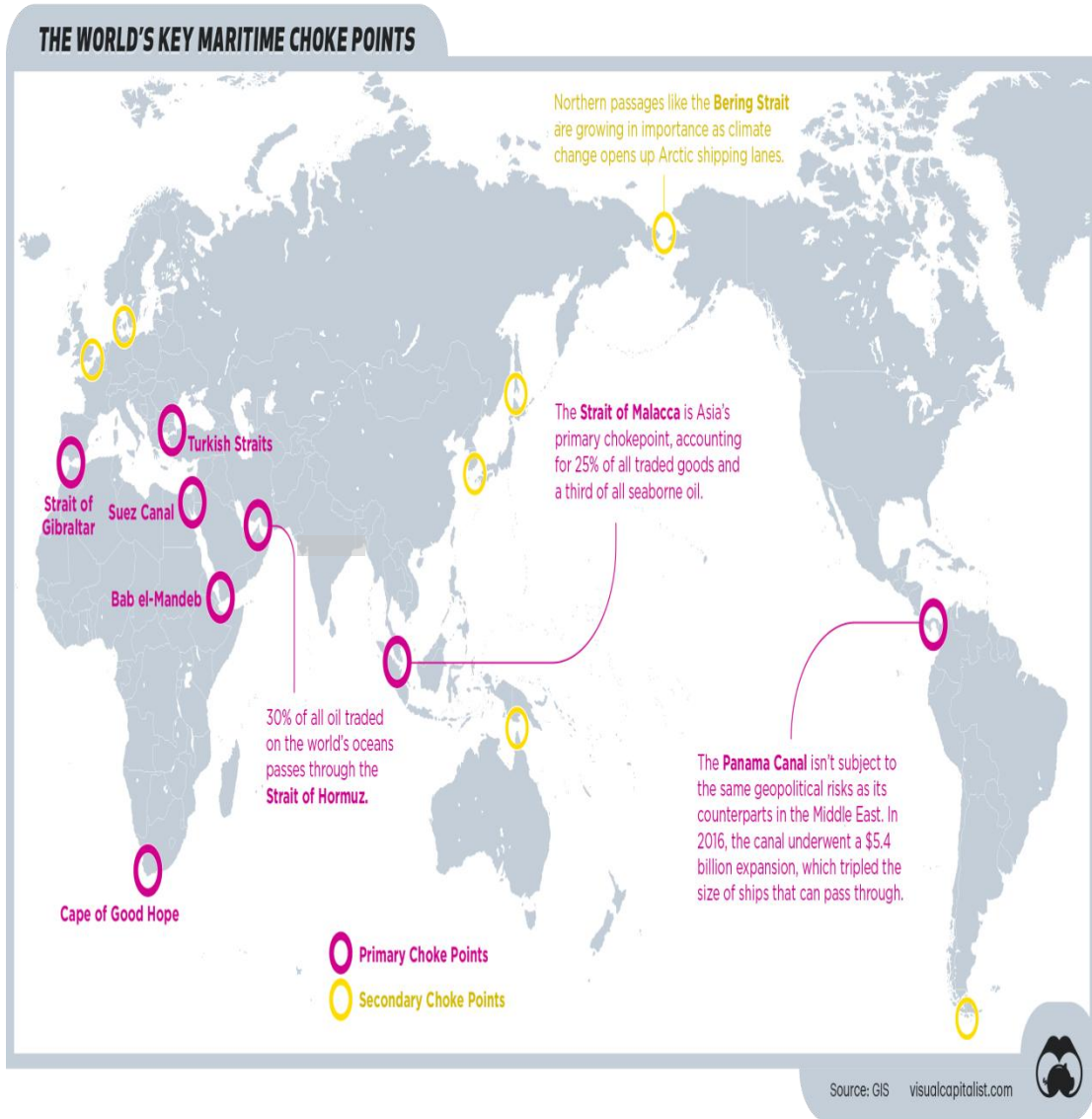
Source : Indo-Pacific.jpg (1196×603) (spmrf.org)

MAP OF SEA TRADE ROUTES IN INDO - PACIFIC REGION



Source : Indo-pacific-shipping-lanes-DGIO.jpeg (993×700) (aspstrategist.org.au)

IMPORTANT CHOKE POINTS IN SEA TRADE ROUTES



Source: Mapping the World's Key Maritime Choke Points (visualcapitalist.com)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADMM	-	ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting
AEP	-	Act East Policy
AIIB	-	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AOIP	-	ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific
APEC	-	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	-	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	-	Association of South East Asian Nations
AUKUS	-	Australia, UK and USA Alliance
BDN	-	Blue Dot Network
BECA	-	Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement
BIMSTEC	-	Bengal Initiatives for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BRI	-	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	-	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CECA	-	Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement
CEPA	-	Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement

CISMOA	-	Communication and Information on Security Memorandum of Agreement
COMCASA	-	Communications, Compatibility and Security Agreement
COVID -19	-	Corona Virus 2019 (Sars – CoV-2)
CPEC	-	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
DoD	-	Department of Defence
EAM	-	External Affairs Minister
EEZ	-	Exclusive Economic Zone
EU	-	European Union
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investments
FOIP	-	Free and Open Indo-Pacific
FTA	-	Free Trade Agreement
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
IOR	-	Indian Ocean Region
IORA	-	Indian Ocean Rim Association
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
IPOI	-	Indo-Pacific Ocean Initiative

LAC	-	Line of Actual Control
LEMOA	-	Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement
LEP	-	Look East Policy
MEA	-	Ministry of External Affairs
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPT	-	Non Proliferation Treaty
NSG	-	Nuclear Suppliers Group
OSCE	-	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PLA	-	Peoples Liberation Army
PM	-	Prime Minister
RCEP	-	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
QUAD	-	Quadrilateral Security Dialogue
SAGAR	-	Security and Growth for All in the Region
SCO	-	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SCS	-	South China Sea
SLOC	-	Sea Lines of Communications
TOT	-	Transfer of Technology

TPP	-	Trans-Pacific Partnership
UNCLOS	-	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNSC	-	United Nations Security Council
US	-	United States
WPNS	-	Western Pacific Naval Symposium
WHO	-	World Health Organization
WTO	-	World Trade Organization

ABSTRACT

Introduction

In Asia-Pacific, the US, Japan, Australia, and India's navies worked closely together to deliver post-tsunami aid in 2004. Quad began with this cooperative disaster relief activity at the initiative of Japanese Prime Minister Mr Shinzo Abe in 2007. China saw the formation of this informal diplomatic and military partnership as an anti-China alliance and raised official concerns with Quad members. As a result, Australia, then-Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, withdrew the Quad in 2008, and India, too, did not want to offend China at that time. There was a period of lull in Quad from 2008 to 2017.

Quad was resurrected because of China's sustained aggressive behaviour and unyielding territorial claims in the South China Sea (SCS) in 2017. On the margins of the ASEAN summit in Manila in November 2017, delegates from the four Quad states addressed the revitalized plan, which resulted in simultaneous agreements to preserve a free and open Indo-Pacific order. The phrase "free and open Indo-Pacific area" was used repeatedly by US President Donald Trump during his first five-nation visit to Asia in 2017. The name "Asia-Pacific" was replaced with "Indo-Pacific," by USA, stressing major role of India's in ensuring the above role.

Japan and Australia are security treaty partners of USA. India has been designated as the key strategic partner by the USA. All the four member countries are democracies. So, it is natural for the member countries to collaborate closely with each other. The Indo-Pacific, which straddles two seas and numerous continents, is vital to American maritime security and trade interests. In 2019, the Indo Pacific area had \$1.9 trillion in trade with

the United States. Washington is also concerned about China's growing eagerness to disrupt the regional status quo, and is keen to supplant USA as sole super power.

Chinese provocations in the East China Sea and assertion of sovereignty over islands claimed by Japan, has made Tokyo apprehensive of rise of Beijing's military might. Australia has been the victim of China's use of trade as a weapon to silence international opposition and bully its way to accomplishing its foreign policy goals. Australians is also worried over China's alleged influence operations via students, Chinese-Australian organizations, and Australian politicians of Chinese origin. It feels that polarized opinion gets polarized and affects social harmony in the country.

Following the border incident at Galwan, India also requires strategic allies who can stand up to China's rising influence. Despite 14 rounds of diplomatic and military talks up to January 2022, there has been only limited de-escalation between the two neighbours in high altitude and freezing borders. China's continuous support to Pakistan to needle India has also added to the bitterness. In addition, India has been a 'Net Security Provider' in the Indian Ocean Region since long time. For India to assert this role, its dominance in the IOR needs to be maintained and sustained. Quad provides India a platform to enhance security through partnership in the region as well as emphasize that its idea of Indo-Pacific stands for a free, open, and inclusive region.

Recent Action in Quad

A number of meetings at the heads of states and foreign ministers level have taken place despite COVID -19 restrictions. Quad has seen a lot of action in the last 2 years. The first virtual meeting of heads of member states was held on March 12, 2021. The

decisions included cooperation on COVID – 19 vaccine, climate change, emerging & critical technologies and security in Indo Pacific. The first in person summit meeting of Quad was held on 24 Sep 2021 in White House. The meeting's substantive agenda included a review of the Vaccine Initiative as well as collaboration in areas like as climate, education, critical technologies, disaster relief, infrastructure development, and cyber and maritime security.

A highly successful meeting of Foreign Ministers of member countries was held in Melbourne, Australia earlier, where all the concerns of India were addressed in the joint statement. Heads of Quad countries have also held a meeting in a virtual mode on 03 Mar 22 in the background of Russia – Ukraine war. The leaders resolved to speed up collaboration in order to achieve measurable results by the Quad Summit in Japan later this year, and the meeting had assessed progress on Quad objectives since the September 2021 meeting.

Chinese Response

Initially, China wanted to convey a message that the Quad will have a limited impact. It said that the Quad will wither away as earlier. However, after a number of Quad meetings, China started to say that Quad is an Asian NATO formed to oppose China's rise. China categorizes Indo-Pacific countries as Asian or South Pacific states, obfuscating any reference to the Indo-Pacific in order to downplay India's prominence in the area.

Research Objectives

China has grown exponentially in economic terms for the last three decades. Now it is utilizing the economic might to convert itself into a major military power. It wants to be a global super power by upending USA by 2049. India does not have the luxury of doing nothing in the current and growing situation. To oppose Chinese influence and accomplish Indian security objectives, it is necessary to implement a well-thought-out, war-gamed, and synchronized approach. Hence, the research objectives of my study are given below:-

1. To study the genesis, rationale and features of Quad.
2. To analyze the interests and concerns of member countries for cooperation in Quad.
3. To examine the future of Quad and its significance for India.

Research Questions

Based on research objectives, the research questions of my study are given below:-

1. Why and how did Quad evolve in its present form and which areas does it cover?
2. What are the areas of interest and concern of USA, Japan and Australia in joining the Quad?
3. What are the interests and concerns of India in joining the Quad?

4. What has been international response to formulation of Quad?
5. What dynamics may Quad have with other multilateral groupings?
6. What can be potential areas of cooperation in Quad in future with special reference to India's interests?

Research Methodology

The study was exploratory in nature. The qualitative and analytical methods have been used. The study was primarily dependent on secondary data. Various books, reputed magazines, research journals and newspapers available both offline and online have also be utilized for the research. Chinese views have been taken from their documents, newspapers and magazines available in public domain. Further, a semi structured, open ended questionnaire was prepared to seek opinion from senior military and civil government officers with sufficient seniority and knowledge. Interaction was carried out with experts in foreign policy and defence studies as well. Experts in strategic military and foreign affairs have been consulted to arrive at the findings and recommendations.

Limitations of the Study

The impact of victory of Taliban 2.0 in Afghanistan in will become clearer only with passage of more time. Since a lot of information about China is not available in public domain, that is also a constraint. Rapid changes have been seen in geo political environment since the breakout of COVID-19 pandemic. Full contours of its impact may unveil only in future. Full impact of Russia and Ukraine war, which is in progress, will only be known later and has not been fully factored in my dissertation.

Findings

Major findings include that Quad will remain a successful grouping if it continues to evolve based on changing circumstances. It has been formed because of mutual convergence of interests. China is a major and most serious external threat to India and Quad has a positive impact on India's security. Quad provides a platform to member countries to influence Chinese belligerence and policies of its neighborhood. Quad enhances and supports the smaller littoral states against coercion by China.

Quad has a massive agenda on its table to include free and independent Indo Pacific, security, vaccines, technology, cyber security and infrastructure. It does not wish to usurp the centrality of ASEAN architecture but hand holds and strengthens it. AUKUS complements the Quad. There exists a major opportunity before India to gain in terms of technology, skill development and economic cooperation by joining the Quad. India has to partner with Quad members, France, Germany and South Korea to gain economically and technologically. India with the assistance other Quad countries should endeavour to come to rule making position like UNSC to enhance its stature and diplomatic heft. Depending on the circumstances, Quad can continue to cooperate with like minded countries with mutually converging interests for economic prosperity, security and rule based order in Indo Pacific region.

Recommendations

To ensure dissuasive deterrence, India will have to build its military capacity to deter any Chinese miscalculation during border skirmish leading to vertical escalation. Maritime capacity needs particular emphasis to ensure trade and energy security.

Considering the pace of Chinese modernization, actions will have to be taken in time bound manner. Indian military has equipment of Russian origin. Through regular exercises with Quad countries interoperability and common standard procedures need to be developed to operate together. As Indian economy grows, it needs to convert its military force into military power. India will also have to ensure capacity buildup to deal with information and hybrid warfare.

There is a requirement to finance research and development in unmanned offensive technologies, artificial intelligence, space and missile technologies to avoid major gap with China. Since most of the niche technologies in USA and Europe are with the private sector, India need to assist joint ventures and participation of our private sector. There is a need to invest in cyber security with the assistance of world leaders like Israel, Germany and USA. Technology absorption is a major challenge. We will to build up infrastructure to absorb technology, transportation, information highways and mass production.

Quad can continue to cooperate with like minded countries with mutually converging interests for economic prosperity, security and rule based order in Indo Pacific region. Quad can be expanded to include countries of Indo Pacific having common shared interests. Agenda of Quad should continue to evolve to keep it relevant, depending on changing geo political situation.

India remains dependent on Russia for its defence equipment spares etc. It needs to prioritize development and production of these components indigenously. India needs to handle relations with Russia with astute and deft diplomacy while balancing its

relations with USA. India needs to move away from policy of importing low technology spares from Russia through indigenization.

In the end, there is no substitute to Atmanirbhar Bharat policy. There are certain niche technologies even friendly countries do not share with others. Research and development in niche technologies, space technologies, semi conductors, cyber security technologies, super computer hardware, UPI, banking messaging software, AI, internet of things, 3D printing, biotechnology, pharmacy and development of own operating system needs all seriousness. India should also spread its basket for import of rare earth metals and identify more sources rather than depending on one or two countries.

CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION

“Wisdom is to live in tune with the mode of the changing world”.

Dr S Jaishankar

The study is looking at Quad in depth, which is a cooperative platform of four democratic countries, let's see what grouping and alliance mean, discuss its philosophy, and look at a brief history of alliances. An alliance is a political, military, or economic pact between two or more countries that has been negotiated and signed. Military alliances¹ generally include guarantees that signing countries would help their partners in the case of war or attack. The alliance document lays forth the parameters of this assistance. They can vary from financial or logistical support, such as the delivery of resources or weapons, to military mobilization and a declaration of war on the aggressor.

Economic factors, such as trade agreements, investments, or loans, may be included in alliances. Alliance is a process, a tactic of statecraft, or a sort of international organization, according to Edwin H Feddar (1968). An alliance, according to Arnold Wolfer (1968), is a guarantee of mutual military aid between two or more independent governments. Most alliances are formed with the goal of combining the members' strengths in a way that benefits their individual goals. Glen H Snyder (1991) distinguished between coalitions and alliances. He stated that alliances are created in times of peace and that coalitions are frequently discovered during times of conflict. Many political tasks, such as assault deterrence, ally preclusion, and restraint, are absent from coalitions.

¹ How did alliances lead to the outbreak of ww1? (askinglot.com) accessed on 10 Sep 21

The work of George Liska (1962) was the first in the field of alliance theory. "It is hard to speak of international affairs without mentioning alliances; the two frequently mix in all but name," he says. His work highlights the importance of old alliance patterns in today's international system. States, on the other hand, form alliances with one another to enhance each other's strengths. In a negative sense, an alliance is a way of lessening the influence of hostile power, which is regarded as pressure and poses a danger to one's independence. "In economic terms, partnerships try to maximise advantages while sharing responsibilities," he continues. The choice to align or not, in what form, and with whom to align is taken with regard to its national interests, is a state's deliberate policy.

Scholars dating back to Thucydides² in the 5th century B.C. speculated on why countries form security or other alliances. Donald Kagan (1995) mentioned Thucydides in his book, saying that countries band together to dissuade or go to war out of "honour, fear, and interest." According to academic Tatsuya Nishida (2009), the existence of a danger or hostile power is an essential prerequisite for creating a security alliance in current international relations and alliance politics. Scholar Paul Schroeder (2004) goes a step further and proposes three motivations for alliance formation: to counter a danger, to accommodate a threat through a "pact of restraint," or to provide big powers a "instrument of control" over lesser ones. Stephen Walt's (1987) in his book, gives basic hypotheses for alignments as under:-

- (a) **Balancing** "States facing an external danger will band together with others to fight the threat-posing states." The balancing argument - often known as 'balance of powers' – has been used to construct alliances throughout history,

² Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War - Oxford Scholarship (universitypressscholarship.com) accessed on 10 Sep 21

whether formally or informally. During the Punic Wars of 241 BC, Rome and Messina³ banded together to resist a Carthaginian onslaught. Beginning in the late 18th century, at the start of the Napoleonic period, Turkey, Russia, and Austria formed an alliance⁴ to counter France's might.

(b) **Bandwagoning** When confronted with an external danger, states will join forces with the stronger power, which is generally a country that others believe is more likely to win a fight. "The stronger a state's collective capabilities, the greater the inclination for others to align with it," says a corollary to the bandwagoning hypothesis. In some ways, the bandwagoning reason for alliance growth may be seen as a contrast to the balancing method. It has a more complex secondary motivation for recruiting members: the desire to be on the side most likely to win, and hence receive the benefits of conflict. The alliances formed by Italy during World War I are excellent instances of bandwagoning. Italy⁵ initially allied with Germany (and Austria-Hungary) because Germany was viewed as Europe's most powerful force following Bismarck's victories. When Germany's ability to prevail was questioned later in the war, Italy broke away from Germany and partnered with France, Britain, and Russia. NATO may also be regarded an example of bandwagoning logic, since some of its aspirants found the attraction of joining the United States following World War II appealing, especially considering the war's economic and military damage.

³ "Second Punic War: Battle of Cannae", Historynet.com, accessed on 03 Sep 2021.

⁴ "The First Coalition", Napoleonic Guide, Historynet.com, accessed on 03 Sep 2021.

⁵ "The Causes of World War One," FirstWorldWar.com, accessed on 06 Sep 2021.

(c) **Ideology** "The more similar two or more governments' domestic ideologies are, the more likely they are to ally." Common ideologies are frequently described as shared interests or ideals. During World War I, the Russians allied⁶ with the Serbians on the basis of common "Slavic" ancestry. Another example of ideological creation is the Arab League⁷, whose 1946 charter commits all member governments to support the Arab community's culture, security, and well-being.

(d) **Foreign Aid** "The more help given by one country to another, the more likely the two countries will establish an alliance." The more help given, the more power the giver has over the recipient." "According to the set of arguments for alliances formed around the provision of 'foreign aid,' economic or military assistance can create effective allies, because it communicates favourable intentions, evokes a sense of gratitude, or because the recipient becomes dependent on the donor," Walt explains. Simply put, the greater the help, the closer the subsequent bond. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union attempted to purchase allegiance from Cuba and Nicaragua⁸, as well as the United States' post-World War II Marshal Plan in Europe.

(e) **Penetration** "The more one state's access to another's political system, the more likely the two will ally." This logic may be summarized as one state's domestic political system being manipulated by another. Some argue that the

⁶ (PDF) Russian Soft Power in the Balkan Peninsula | Christopher T. Barber - Academia.edu accessed on 05 Sep 21

⁷ "The Arab League Charter (Pact of the League of Arab States), 22 March 1945," The Mid East Web. accessed on 05 Sep 21

⁸ Cold War – Modern World History (pressbooks.pub) accessed on 15 Sep 21

relationship between Israel and the United States⁹ exhibits this justification for alliance formation. They claim that the American Israeli lobby has effectively fine-tuned US safeguards for Israel. Walt was credited with a sixth justification — détente — after his book was published.

Détente After the release of Thomas Gangale's book in 2003, a new justification for coalitions emerged: détente. "The development of amicable interactions on a voluntary basis in order to alleviate tensions." The détente logic allows two or more historic foes to relax tensions in order to generate greater mutual prosperity in the absence of a common external danger. During WWI, for example, the alliance between Austria-Hungary and Italy¹⁰ was created to prevent Italy from attacking Austria's allies.

Chanakya, also known as Kautilya or Vishnugupta, an adviser to the Indian king Chandragupta (reigned c. 321–c. 297 BCE), argued that in pursuing alliances, countries should seek support and assistance from distant states against the threat of neighbouring ones (according to the logic that the enemy of one's enemy must be one's friend). The Maratha confederacy¹¹ began as a defensive coalition against the Mughal Empire and a few minor Muslim sultanates, but it swiftly expanded into a kingdom until 1772, when the vast empire became too huge to manage successfully, and the Maratha elites reverted to a confederal system. In the first Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82), the confederacy defeated the British, but by 1871, the British had defeated and outfoxed the last significant state to oppose British hegemony.

⁹ John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby", London Review of Books, Vol 28, No 6, 23 March 2006. accessed on 15 Sep 21

¹⁰ "The Causes of World War One," FirstWorldWar.com, accessed on 06 Sep 2021

¹¹ 10 of History's Most Important Alliances | RealClearHistory accessed on 08 Sep 21

Partnerships

The Oxford Dictionary defines partnership¹² in terms of a relationship between people or organisations. Other associated words include *association*, *cooperation*, *collaboration*, *participation*, *joint decision making* and *long-term relationship*. Yet, there exists a lack of clarity surrounding what exactly is meant by partnership, and the principles which underlie a partnership approach.

Gutierrez (2008) describes that Partnership is a term which evokes much sensitivity with its implicit connotations of sharing and trust. While aid and charity may refer to a more unequal aid relationship, the term ‘partnership’ suggests equality, respect, reciprocity and ownership. Some partnerships can be abusive and unequal in practice, and the term continues to mean different things to different people, sectors and institutions.

Fowler (2000) says that partnership¹³ as the ‘highest stage of working relationship between different people brought together by commitment to common objectives, bonded by long experience of working together, and sustained by subscription to common visions’. Moreover, certain characteristics distinguish partnership from other relationships, such as cooperation or collaboration, and present partnership as a more superior working relationship. Typically, ‘authentic’ partnership is associated with the following characteristics; long-term, shared responsibility, reciprocal obligation, equality, mutuality and balance of power.

¹² partnership noun - Definition, pictures, pronunciation and usage notes | Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary at OxfordLearnersDictionaries.com accessed on 07 Sep 21

¹³ (PDF) Partnerships: Negotiating Relationships-A Source for Non-Governmental Development Organisations (researchgate.net) accessed on 08 Sep 21

Alliances Before World War I

Before World War I, the alliance systems referred to the two primary alliance systems that split Europe's major nations and prepared the setting for the First World War¹⁴. In a nutshell, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente are included. These alliance arrangements were crucial because they paved the way for the onset of World War I in 1914. As a result, historians see the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente as major causes of World War I. They contributed to the division of Europe in the early twentieth century, creating a tense situation that resulted in war with the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 1914.

The Triple Alliance was a mutual defence alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, three important European powers. This implies that each member nation promised to come to the other member nations' military help and defense if they were attacked. On 20 May 1882, the participating countries formally founded the Triple Alliance. The Triple Alliance had a significant role in partitioning Europe among the European nations of the time. Indeed, historians believe that the alliance systems before the World War 1 were a major factor in the start of the war since they prepared the ground for hostilities between states such as Germany and France. As a result, following the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, tensions between the states rose drastically.

As we can see from the examples above, nations form alliances based on their common interests and concerns. When the interests of nations coincide, alliances are

¹⁴ Alliance Systems Before World War I - HISTORY CRUNCH - History Articles, Biographies, Infographics, Resources and More accessed on 07 Sep 21

formed. Formation of an alliance is usually predicated on the presence of shared enemy nation(s).

Perspective of India Post Independence

India selected non-alignment as a main component of its foreign policy when it gained independence in 1947. India and many other Asian and African nations did not want to join any neocolonial powers since they had witnessed the tyranny of colonial control and the loss of human lives as a result of World War II. The background of the Non-Alignment Movement was the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. India believed that associating with one of the military blocs meant being reliant on one or more international powers. The Marshall Plan was the United States' economic aid programme, while the Molotov Plan was the Soviet Union's. India broadly avoided joining any formal military alliance headed by the United States or the Soviet Union.

Pakistan attempted to seize Kashmir shortly after independence, in 1947-48, using regular soldiers and lashkars (militias). India had chosen to seek good offices of the United Nations Organization. The Panch Sheel Agreement, or Five Rules of Coexistence, a set of principles that governs interactions between states was the idealistic core principle of our foreign policy. It was the high ideal of India's founding fathers and their trust in United Nations. They were signed in 1954 as a bilateral agreement between India and China. In 1955, Pakistan joined the Central Treaty Organization¹⁵ (CENTO) under the auspices of the United States. During the Cold War, China became a communist country. In 1959, a Tibetan rebellion occurred, and the Dalai Lama arrived in India. India and China have had border conflicts since 1959. China, led by Mao Zedong, launched

¹⁵ CENTO (Baghdad Pact). Pakistan joined Baghdad Pact on May 19, 1954 accessed on 04 Sep 2021

war on India in 1962 in order to acquire regional hegemony and teach India a lesson. In 1965, Pakistan launched another invasion on India. India deemed it wise to negotiate a Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation¹⁶ with the Soviet Union to assist India in the event that the United States utilized military action against India in the war with Pakistan. In 1971, India launched a huge operation along the eastern border, carving off Bangladesh and alleviating the misery of the Bangla people in East Pakistan. Since then, Pakistan has been stinging from the setback. As a matter of state policy, it has been fomenting terrorism in Kashmir and other Indian states. In 1964, China became a nuclear power¹⁷. In 1974, India conducted its first test, followed by three more in 1998. Pakistan tested nuclear weapons in 1998 as well. In 1999, Pakistan invaded the steep heights of Kargil¹⁸ with the goal of cutting off the route between Srinagar and Leh. In a small fight, Indian defence troops pushed it to retreat. Relations between India and the United States have improved since Dr. Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush signed a nuclear accord in 2005, following numerous rounds of discussions between Dr. Jaswant Singh and Strobe Talbot. The Indo-US Civil Nuclear (123) Agreement¹⁹ was signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2008.

Indo Pakistan Relations

India and Pakistan have fought three wars i.e. in 1947 – 48, 1965, 1971 and limited war in Kargil. Pakistan continues to occupy a part of Jammu & Kashmir and has also gifted a part of it to China. It claims balance of Jammu & Kashmir and has made it the

¹⁶ Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation (mea.gov.in) accessed on 04 Sep 2021

¹⁷ Atomic Heritage Foundation gives out details of nuclear program of China, India and Pakistan

¹⁸ mygov-10000000001922219640.pdf accessed on 04 Sep 2021

¹⁹ INDO – US Nuclear Deal and 123 Agreements (ijsrp.org) accessed on 05 Sep 2021

most important foreign policy objective. Pakistan supports terrorists morally and militarily in Kashmir and other parts of India. It has long supported secessionist activities in North East and Punjab. It has a policy of training, financing and protecting terrorists against India on its soil. Pakistan is mainly supported by China. Since 2018, Pakistan has been on the Financial Action Task Force's²⁰ (FATF) grey list. Its economy is still in a precarious condition. Prime Minister, Modi, has pursued a tough stance towards Pakistan. Surgical strikes²¹ on terrorist launch sites along the Line of Control (LoC) were carried out by the Indian Army in 2016. After a deadly terror incident in Pulwama, the Indian Air Force carried out air strikes against the Balakot²² terror base in PoK in 2019. Thus, in my view relations between India and Pakistan are not likely to be good in near future.

Indo China Relations

In 1976, India and China established diplomatic ties following the 1962 war. In 1982, a 'Joint Working Group'²³ was created to address the border dispute. Following Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in 1988, the borders were mainly quiet. Several institutional safeguards, such as the 'Accord'²⁴ on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility' in 1993, the 'Border Defense Cooperation Agreement' in 2013, and a 'Closer Developmental Partnership' inked when President Xi Jinping visited India in 2014, were put in place over time. Despite several meetings of working groups, India and China have not been able to achieve an agreement on boundary alignment.

²⁰ Pakistan to remain on 'Grey List' of global terror financing watchdog FATF - The Economic Times (indiatimes.com) accessed on 05 Aug 2021

²¹ Surgical Strike Day: Facts About A Surgical Strike And 2016 Indian Line Of Control Strike - Zee5 News accessed on 05 Jan 2021

²² <https://www.aninews.in/news/national/general-news/india-salutes-iaf-for-its-daring-strike-on-jems-biggest-terror-camp-at-balakot-in-pakistan20190226224133/> accessed on 05 Jan 2022

²³ ²³ What is India-China Line of Actual Control (LAC)? (indianexpress.com) accessed on 04 Sep 2021

²⁴ Agreement india china 1993.doc (un.org) accessed on 06 Sep 2021

In the Indian North East, China has a strategy of assisting insurgencies²⁵. China has been a strong political, financial, and military technological supporter to Pakistan. From the early 1980s until the early 1990s, the Chinese enabled the delivery of crucial missile and nuclear technologies²⁶ to Pakistan. China also implicitly accepts Pakistan's deployment of Islamic terrorists against India. China has used its veto power in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to favour Pakistan by vetoing an internationally renowned terrorist like Masood Azhar²⁷. China had imposed a 'stapled visa' policy on people of Arunachal Pradesh and had also criticized the repeal of Articles 370 and 35 A in Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. Through its Belt and Road (BRI) initiative, China has been investing in infrastructure along India's borders and in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. India opposes the BRI because it crosses through territory of Pakistan occupied Kashmir.

India has pursued a policy of economic cooperation with China under Prime Minister Modi while still safeguarding its geopolitical interests. In recent years, China and India have exchanged a number of high-level bilateral visits. Although bilateral commerce between the two nations has increased, there have been certain points of dispute. In 2017, a two month-long significant military standoff between two armies occurred in Doklam²⁸, which is located at the tri-junction of India, Bhutan, and China.

²⁵ China's Insurgency Card in India's Northeast Is Overhyped – The Diplomat accessed on 07 Sep 2021

²⁶ Pakistan Nuclear Proliferation - 07 Feb 2004 - Page 7 - Bharat Rakshak (bharat-rakshak.com) accessed on 10 Aug 2021

²⁷ China blocks US move to designate Jaish chief Masood Azhar a terrorist at UN - Pakistan - DAWN.COM accessed on 11 Aug 2021

²⁸ Doklam standoff: Explaining two months of tensions between India and China | India News, The Indian Express accessed on 10 Aug 2021

Present Realities in the Region

Despite the fact that India and China had nearly equal GDPs²⁹ in the early 1980s, China's economy has developed dramatically in the subsequent three decades in comparison to India's. In contrast to China's one-party dictatorship, India is a thriving democracy with a diverse range of people's interests and political parties. According to some academics³⁰, the Chinese people place a higher importance on economic development than personal liberty. The PLA plays a critical role in maintaining the Communist Party of China's totalitarian government. China's political system is opaque, and there is no free press, thus all information is controlled and strictly vetted. Chung-Kuo³¹ – the middle kingdom, the heart of the cosmos, and the world's oldest civilization and society — is how China perceives itself. From India's northern borders to Myanmar, China has created massive infrastructure including roads, trains, bridges, and airports. This infrastructure enables it to transfer and deploy its Defense Forces from deep locations to borders, as well as sidestep them in different places depending on the situation. China has been actively spending in upgrading its Armed Forces as a result of its economic power. In recent years, the Chinese Navy has been spotted increasingly frequently in the Indian Ocean.

The Line of Actual Control (LAC) along the Indian border is severely mountainous and cold, making movement of forces slower and infrastructure development difficult. India has been slowly but gradually improving its border infrastructure in the North. In

²⁹ In 2021, China is almost 5.4 times richer than India on the nominal and 2.58 times richer in the PPP method. Source. Comparing China and India by Economy - StatisticsTimes.com

³⁰ Prosperity Without Democracy? Demystifying the China Model | Freedom House accessed on 05 Sep 2021

³¹ Why did China considered themselves the center of the world and universe? – SidmartinBio accessed on 05 Sep 2021

addition, several infrastructure development projects are being done in the North East to assure the people's economic prosperity. China does not like such terrain because it gives the Indian Defence Forces the potential to fight the PLA.

In April-May 2020, when the world's attention was focused on combating COVID - 19, the Chinese occupied territories around Galwan³² Valley. After a long period, fierce combat between the Chinese and Indian armies erupted in the Ladakh Sector on June 15, 2020. The skirmishes cost India 20 troops. China later claimed that four troops were killed in the clashes. Various sources, however, suggest that the death toll³³ of China in skirmishes was between 38 and 42. Despite several meetings at the political, MEA, and military levels, the situation on the northern sector of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) has not been resolved so far.

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) is attempting to build a power disparity in its favour over the Indian military through upgradation and modernization. China's defence expenditure³⁴ in 2020 was USD 179 billion, more than three times that of India. The reality of a hostile and confrontational China on land boundaries and in the huge Indian Ocean has dawned on Indian security specialists. Since its independence, India has been steadfast in its refusal to join any military alliance. The motivation was primarily ideological, but there was also a fear of losing strategic decision-making authority.

³² Explained: What Are The Origins Of India-China Border Conflicts In Ladakh & Arunachal Pradesh (indiatimes.com) accessed on 05 Sep 2021

³³ India-China Border, India-China Relations, India China Galwan Clashes: 42 Chinese Soldiers, Not 4, Killed In Galwan Valley Clash, Claims Report (ndtv.com) accessed on 04 Feb 2022

³⁴ China hikes defence budget to USD 179 billion, nearly three times that of India | World News, The Indian Express accessed on 05 Aug 2021

Some scholars fear that there may be a two-front conflict between India versus China and Pakistan is feasible. In recent years, India has shifted from a policy of non-alignment to a closer relationship with the United States. Earlier, the majority of defence imports came from the Soviet Union or its successor, Russia. Now, the United States, France, and Israel are all key defence partners. Despite US pressure, India maintains its sovereignty in the acquisition of defence equipment, such as Russia's S-400 air defence system.

Emergence of Quad

In the last few years, a grouping of USA, Australia, Japan and India has come up called Quadrilateral Security Dialogue in short called Quad with a view to ensure Free and Open Indo Pacific (FOIP). This grouping has a potential of having a major bearing in security of member countries, littoral states of Indo Pacific and cooperation in many other fields of mutual interests. Various countries have reacted to formation of Quad differently.

As a result of the above, it is necessary to critically study and research the implications and potential outcomes of the Quad's formulation and its significance for India.

Problem Statement

The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) arose from cooperation in Asia Pacific post-tsunami relief operations in 2007. The United States, Japan, Australia, and India formed a grouping of democracies to cooperate in a variety of areas, including joint

military exercises. There was a period of lull in Quad from 2008 to 2017. In 2017, the concept was resuscitated once again.

China initially viewed the grouping as the one which will not last long but condemned it later. After the first ever virtual Quad meeting, China said that Quad is formation of Asian NATO against it and to counter China's growth. It also considered that the organization would not be as successful as the original NATO since China wielded significant economic weight in the region and there were differences between member nations and Asia Pacific countries. It sees the coalition as a de facto anti-China alliance. China's mouthpiece, the 'Global Times,' advised India not to play with fire³⁵ because it would end up burning itself. As a result, there is a need for scholarly research on the Quad, its different aspects, and its relevance for India.

Need and Significance of the Study

In India's inter-se relationship between China and Pakistan, the former poses a very severe threat to India. Due to poor productivity and the FATF grey list, Pakistan's economic and military strength, as well as overall influence, has suffered a substantial setback, which is projected to remain same for the foreseeable future. In comparison to Pakistan, India is projected to maintain a stronger economic and military position. In addition, owing to wins in the 1971 war and the Kargil conflict, the Indian military will enjoy moral supremacy. China, on the other hand, has risen economically faster than India and continues to help Pakistan in a variety of ways. The fall of Kabul to Taliban 2.0

³⁵ <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202103/1218194.shtml>

in August 2021 adds to India's concern. As a result, India's China strategy must be carefully considered, as China remains a possible present and future danger.

India does not have the luxury of doing nothing in the current and growing situation. To oppose Chinese influence and accomplish Indian security objectives, it is necessary to implement a well-thought-out, war-gamed, and synchronized approach. As part of India's new China policy, the country must choose from a variety of strategy alternatives or combine a few of them. Strategic planners must choose a strategy (or a mix of tactics) that maximizes Indian security while combating China's antagonistic influence. It is necessary to consider if forming alliances with like-minded countries is beneficial to our country in terms of reducing China's regional and global influence and balancing military capabilities along our northern frontiers and in the Indian Ocean.

Objectives of the Study

The research objectives are given below:-

1. To study the genesis, rationale and features of Quad.
2. To analyze the interests and concerns of member countries for cooperation in Quad.
3. To examine the future of Quad and its significance for India.

Research Questions

1. Why and how did Quad evolve in its present form and which areas does it cover?
2. What are the areas of interest and concern of USA, Japan and Australia in joining the Quad?

3. What are the interests and concerns of India in joining the Quad?
4. What has been international response to formulation of Quad?
5. What dynamics may Quad have with other multilateral groupings?
6. What can be potential areas of cooperation in Quad in future with special reference to India's interests?

Research Methodology

The study is exploratory in nature. The methods used are qualitative and analytical. The study covers the genesis by tracing the history of formation and evolution of Quad. The study is primarily dependent on secondary data. Leading and reputed magazines, research journals and newspaper articles available both offline and online have also be utilized for the research. Chinese views have been taken from their documents, newspapers and magazines available in public domain.

Further, a semi structured, open ended questionnaire was canvassed to seek opinion from senior military and civil government officers with sufficient seniority and knowledge. Their opinions have also been taken into consideration for analysis. Interaction was also carried out with experts in foreign policy and defence studies as well. The dissertation covers genesis of the Quad along with its interplay of interests and concerns of member countries. An endeavour has been made to look into the future of Quad and assess its significance for India.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

Nuances of some of the multilateral forums in which India and China do not form part of will not be covered in the study. The timeframe envisaged for the paper is limited to the near term, in order to keep it in realm in context of present realities. The study covers the time period from the beginning of Quad. The victory of Taliban 2.0 in Afghanistan has added another uncertainty in the already complex environment. The impact of Taliban will become clearer only with passage of more time. China, Pakistan and Taliban nexus would certainly add to Indian concerns. Since it is still an evolving situation, the complete implications may not get covered. Since a lot of information about China is not available in public domain, that is also a constraint. Rapid changes have been seen in geo political environment since the breakout of COVID-19 pandemic. Full contours of its impact may unveil only in future. India has good relations with Russia. Russia also needs China at this point of time. Full impact of Russia and Ukraine war, which is in progress, will only be known later and has not been fully factored in my dissertation.

CHAPTER II : EMERGENCE OF QUAD

For better understanding the Quad and its dynamics, it is necessary to first comprehend geography and politics of the 'Asia – Pacific'³⁶ area. The Asia Pacific Region includes nations in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Australasia. On 26 December 2004, one of the largest earthquakes came with an epicenter near Sumatra, Indonesia, leading to large scale tsunamis. This led to huge loss of lives and devastation. Post this event, the US, Japan, Australia, and India's navies worked closely together to deliver post-tsunami aid in 2004 in Asia-Pacific. Cargo aircrafts, hospitals, naval ships, helicopters and other military assets were deployed in a major humanitarian operation along with troops and emergency relief workers. The group, later known as the "Tsunami Core Group," worked for nine days in relief and rescue operations. So, Quad has beginning in this cooperative disaster relief activity.

Mr Shinzo Abe, the Japanese Prime Minister, formally initiated the Quad in 2007. "The numerous streams, having their sources in diverse regions, all mingle their water in the sea," Mr Abe stated in his address to the Indian Parliament in 2007. He urged the littoral states in the Indo-Pacific to speak out in support of a rule-based Indo-Pacific. (The Indo Pacific area is a relatively new idea; it encompasses the South Indian Ocean and Pacific Oceans, up to Japan.) Mr Shinzo Abe is known as father of concept of Quad.

It is widely believed that the twenty-first century belongs to Asia³⁷. The Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean have very busy sea lines on which the bulk of the world's trade goes through. As a result, all the significant players in the international arena have a stake in this region. Initially in 2007, the initiation of the dialogue was supported by Dick

³⁶Importance Of India And Indo-Pacific Region In 2021 – Inventiva accessed on 05 Dec 2021

³⁷ Asia 2050: Realizing the Asian Century | Asian Development Bank (adb.org) accessed on 06 Dec 2021

Cheney and John Howard, the then USA vice president and the Prime Minister of Australia, respectively. Manmohan Singh, the then Prime Minister of India, also took part in the quad grouping initiation process. The strategic dialogue was formed with a common objective of ensuring and supporting an open, free, and prosperous Indo-Pacific region through the minimization of China's influence. The quad countries agreed that an open, free, inclusive, and prosperous Indo-Pacific would positively impact all the nations' interests in the area and those of the entire world. The officials also shared ideas on tackling common propagation linkages and terrorism affecting the region, among other discussions. They also shared views on the best ways to use present-day technology to enhance connectivity. China, which saw the formation of this informal diplomatic and military organization as an anti-China alliance in their backyard, raised official concerns with Quad members. As a result, Australia under the then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, withdrew from the Quad in 2008, and India, too, did not want to offend China at that time. So, there was a period of lull in Quad from 2008 till 2017.

In June 2016, the United States designated India as a "major defence partner"³⁸, upgrading India's status to that of the United States' closest NATO allies and other close partners. India was granted 'Strategic Trade Authorization Tier 1' status by the United States in 2018, allowing it to gain license-free access to a wide variety of military and dual-use technology controlled by the Commerce Department. The name "Asia-Pacific" was replaced with "Indo-Pacific"³⁹, stressing India's potential involvement in the area as envisioned by the earlier Quad 1.0 grouping.

³⁸ U.S. Security Cooperation With India - United States Department of State accessed on 05 Dec 2021

³⁹ The Indo-Pacific in the Strategies of the U.S. and Japan — Russia in Global Affairs accessed on 05 Dec 2021

Quad was resurrected as a result of China's sustained aggressive behaviour and unyielding territorial claims in the South China Sea (SCS). So, on the margins of the ASEAN summit in Manila⁴⁰ in November 2017, delegates from the four Quad states addressed the revitalized plan, which resulted in simultaneous agreements to preserve a free and open Indo-Pacific order. The phrase "free and open Indo-Pacific area" was used repeatedly by US President Donald Trump during his first five-nation visit to Asia⁴¹ in 2017. In response to the November quadrilateral summit, India issued a press release declaring that "a free, open, prosperous, and inclusive Indo-Pacific region serves the long-term interests of all countries in the area and the globe at large." The US and its allies are seriously concerned over China's belligerence. The US believes that China aims to be the sole super power in world by leveraging its military modernization, influence operations, and use of ruthless economics to force other states into submission.

Following the border incident at Galwan, India also requires strategic allies who can stand up to China's rising influence. These allies will require substantial economic and military might to achieve the desired objectives. For India, the problem is exacerbated by the close ties between China and Pakistan.

The diplomats from the four countries of the Quad met for the second time in 2018 after the dialogue was reinitiated. They discussed ways to meet their shared objectives in development and connectivity, humanitarian assistance, regional security, maritime cooperation, and disaster relief. Another complementary meeting was again held between the Quad countries, wherein officials reassured their support for an open, accessible, inclusive, and prosperous Indo-Pacific Region. Members again confirmed their joint

⁴⁰ IB # 229 (orfonline.org) accessed on 05 Dec 2021

⁴¹ Trump gives glimpse of 'Indo-Pacific' strategy to counter China | Financial Times (ft.com) accessed on 08 Dec 2021

commitment, built on shared principles and values to ensure order in the Indo-Pacific. It appears to me that the desire to strengthen the Quad has grown among major democracies in order to dissuade China's unilateral confrontational behaviour against its land and maritime neighbours. As a result, the desire is stronger for forming a more formal and tighter Quad with broad collaboration than previously envisaged. In the nutshell, the timing, circumstances, Chinese belligerence, and changing global environment has led to closer Quad. Following Galwan incidents, India's stance also has become harder and stronger to actively engage nations of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD) or Quad.

Recent Happenings In Quad

Quad has seen a lot of action in the last 2 years. The first⁴² virtual meeting of heads of member states was held on March 12, 2021. The virtual summit was attended by Mr. Modi, President Joe Biden of the United States, Japanese Premier Yoshihide Suga and Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison. The decisions included cooperation on COVID – 19 vaccine, climate change, emerging & critical technologies and security in Indo Pacific. The leaders agreed to work as a unit to stop China's rising influence in the Indo-Pacific and tackle the Covid pandemic. Quad members spoke about their plans to function alongside the World Health Organization to make Covid-19 vaccines available to more than one billion people in the Indi-Pacific region. With the Australian logistics, the United States' technology, Indian manufacturing, and the Japanese financing, Quad members are confident with their plan of creating as many Covid-19 vaccines as possible to supply among their target population (Satake, 2020). Besides China's aggressiveness

⁴² The first meeting of the Quad could test Australia's relationship with China - ABC News accessed on 06 Dec 2021

and Covid-19, the members also agreed to work together to address climate change. The group also reiterated its assurance to denuclearize North Korea and encouraged the restoration of the democratic government in Myanmar.

The first in person summit meeting⁴³ of Quad was held on Sep 24, 2021 in White House. The meeting's substantive agenda included a review of the Vaccine Initiative as well as collaboration in areas like as climate, education, critical technologies, 5G, disaster relief, infrastructure development, and cyber and maritime security. The Quad summit was highlighted by the member countries desire to build a “free and open Indo-Pacific” while expanding freedom at seas and further fostering strategic multilateral cooperation. In the joint statement⁴⁴, the four nations delineated the pivotal points discussed during the meeting. The statement mentioned the QUAD’s strong support for ASEAN’s unity and centrality and ASEAN’s outlook on the Indo-Pacific and welcomed the European Union’s Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific.

Mr Fumio Kishida⁴⁵, the Japanese Prime Minister, has already declared his desire to hold the Japan-Australia-India-United States Summit Meeting in Japan in the first half of 2022 by inviting President Joe Biden to visit Japan. According to the White House, President Biden has accepted the invitation and is expected to visit Japan for an official visit and the summit in the coming months. Parliamentary elections in Australia are expected to take place by the end of May 2022. While the exact dates have yet to be

⁴³ What the Quad Leaders’ Summit Means for the Indo-Pacific Amid Rising Tensions with China | United States Institute of Peace (usip.org) accessed on 06 Dec 2021

⁴⁴ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/09/24/joint-statement-from-quad-leaders> accessed on 06 Dec 2021

⁴⁵ Japanese PM offers to host 2022 Quad summit, US President Biden makes travel plans - Details (timesnownews.com) accessed on 05 Feb 2022

notified, the next Quad summit conference is scheduled to take place after the Australian elections.

The Quad alliance's foreign ministers⁴⁶ met in Australia on February 11, 2022. Following their meeting in Tokyo in October 2020 and the first meeting in New York in September 2019, it was the third in-person gathering of Quad foreign ministers. The meetings in Melbourne were attended by External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken, Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshimasa Hayashi, and Australia's Marise Payn. In words conveying a warning to China, Payne said the Quad foreign ministers reiterated their support for values of openness, respect of country sovereignty, observance of norms, and fair play at a joint media briefing following the meeting. Afghanistan and Pakistani terror were also mentioned in the joint declaration⁴⁷.

Russia has invaded Ukraine on 24 Feb 2022. Reasons of the same are outside the ambit of my dissertation. USA and its NATO allies have refused to send troops in support of Ukraine. USA, Japan and Australia voted in UNSC and UNGA in favour of Ukraine. India maintained a neutral stance and abstained. This may not have gone well with the US. Former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe⁴⁸ spoke up on the matter of American “strategic ambiguity” regarding Taiwan on 27 Feb 2022. He felt that the Russian invasion of Ukraine could embolden China to annex Taiwan. In this background, heads of Quad summit meeting was held at short notice on 03 March 22 in a virtual mode. The leaders resolved to speed up collaboration in order to achieve measurable results by the Quad

⁴⁶Quad foreign ministers' meet resolves to work towards free, open Indo-Pacific- The New Indian Express accessed on 12 Feb 22

⁴⁷ Joint statement by the Foreign Ministers of Australia, India and Japan and the Secretary of State of the United States following the 4th Quad Foreign Ministers' Meeting (mea.gov.in) accessed on 12 Feb 22

⁴⁸ https://www.theepochtimes.com/japan-intensifying-its-stance-against-china-amid-russia-ukraine-war_4321106.html

Summit in Japan later this year, and the meeting assessed progress on Quad objectives since the September 2021 Quad Summit. In sectors such as humanitarian and disaster relief, debt sustainability, supply chains, clean energy, connectivity, and capacity-building, the Indian Prime Minister urged for tangible and practical forms of collaboration within the Quad. As per the joint statement⁴⁹, the leaders recommitted to fostering a free, open, rules-based order established in international law and unafraid of coercion to boost security and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific and beyond. They supported the rule of law, freedom of navigation and over flight, peaceful conflict settlement, democratic ideals, and state territorial integrity.

The Quad leaders reaffirmed commitment to a free and open Indo-Pacific in which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states is respected and countries are free from military, economic and political coercion. Before the joint statement was released, Japan and India issued separate statements. The Indian readout said the humanitarian implications of the “developments in Ukraine” were discussed and Prime Minister Narendra Modi stressed the need to return to dialogue and diplomacy. Japanese PM Kishida Fumio had tweeted that “Unilateral changes to the status quo by force or coercion like the recent Russian aggression against Ukraine are also unacceptable in the Indo-Pacific region. It is critically important for us to bring about a free and open Indo-Pacific.”

⁴⁹ Joint Statement from Quad Leaders | The White House accessed on 04 Mar 22

CHAPTER III : LITERATURE REVIEW

A lot of literature has emerged in various books, documents, and articles elucidating details and analysis on the selected topic which has been consulted and reviewed. Since common factor in the alliance is China and free and open Indo – Pacific, views of various authors on China and comments of Chinese experts on Quad alliance and its member countries have also been brought out in the chapter. The aim of literature review is to study formation of Quad and its future prospects with reference to their own countries and Indo Pacific and how various member countries and political analysts view rise of China, and its belligerence, as this country has strongly reacted to formation of Quad.

In his book, Walter Lohman (2020) carries out analysis of the significance and likely future of Quad. The author explores the Quad from the standpoint of individual countries. According to the author, Quad is an informal strategic alliance founded on shared democratic ideals with the goal of establishing a rule-based global order to maintain a free and open Indo Pacific (FOIP) region. As the four members of the Quad have a profound interest in preserving a stable balance of power in the Indo-Pacific and avoiding a regional state from becoming a hegemon, this FOIP serves the long-term interests of all democratic countries in the area. The hegemon is a state with the capability of establishing a sphere of influence in the region and establishing an order that benefits its own interests at the expense of others. Furthermore, the Quad states have an interest in preventing the use of coercion and force to resolve political and territorial issues, particularly in the South and East China Seas. The four countries also have common interests in maintaining maritime order and permitting free trade throughout the

world's waterways. Furthermore, one of the Quad's declared common interests is to promote and enhance liberal democratic governance in the Indo-Pacific Region, because a region hostile to liberal ideals at home is less likely to support a free and open international system. The growing number of military drills, strategic consultations, and technological agreements are evidence of the democratic nations' developing cooperation. India's strategy in the area has evolved dramatically as a result of its membership in the Quad, giving it a platform to further its interest in East Asia. It also gives India clout in influencing US policies toward Afghanistan and Pakistan. It enables the four democracies to adapt their roles to the Indo-Pacific region's shifting security circumstances. Australia's concerns about China's strategic position in the Indo-Pacific and militarization of the South China Sea are heightened by Beijing's meddling in Australian domestic affairs.

Jha, Pankaj & Karmakar, Kritika S and others (2021) in their book discuss India's role in the Indo Pacific. They say that the Quad offers a chance for like-minded nations to work on regional security, maritime cooperation, counter-terrorism, non-proliferation, connectivity, development, and engagement with ASEAN and other regional forums that are in their common interests. The writers discuss the history of QUAD as well as its significance in the Indo-Pacific region. Quad 2.0 is an informal strategic discussion between four countries, to maintain an open, free, prosperous, and inclusive Indo-Pacific region, signaling a reaction to China's expanding influence. It is a chance for like-minded nations to work together on regional security, maritime cooperation, counter-terrorism, non-proliferation, connectivity, development, and participation with ASEAN and other regional forums that are of mutual interest. During the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak in 2020, three additional Indo-Pacific powers: New Zealand, South Korea, and Vietnam

participated in a virtual meeting with the Quad members known as Quad-Plus to coordinate their efforts to combat the spread of Corona Virus and, more importantly, ways to get the global economy back on track without suffering significant setbacks. According to the authors, Quad Plus needs to include more regional powers like Indonesia, Singapore, and the Philippines because of their strategic position, and India has to interact with regional countries to protect its interests in the Indo-Pacific. The book also discusses India's Indo-Pacific foreign policy perspective. India and ASEAN have agreed on a plan of action for the years 2021-25, which calls for increased cooperation in sectors such as commerce, marine security, and counter-terrorism. It also includes an agreement on joint exercises and activities to improve defence capabilities in the face of threats such as terrorism, cyber security, peacekeeping operations, disaster relief, and humanitarian assistance, as well as a commitment to provide "freedom of navigation and respect for international law of the UNCLOS, 1982 for dispute resolution."

Dr S. Jaishankar (2020) has highlighted in detail the changing geo-political environment including some critical times in Indian history and elucidated a number of existing and emerging international uncertainties. From 2009 until 2013, Dr. S Jaishankar served as India's ambassador to China. In Beijing, Jaishankar worked on developing China-India economic, commercial, and cultural relations, as well as resolving the Sino-Indian boundary conflict. Dr. Jaishankar's time as India's ambassador to China coincided with a number of significant advancements in the two nations' ties. His briefing to the Indian Cabinet Committee on Security in 2010 on China's reluctance to give a visa to the chief of the Indian Army's Northern Command resulted in a suspension of Indian defence cooperation with China, which was resolved in April 2011. Dr. Jaishankar advocates for

realism in foreign policy, i.e., a strategy that is not utopian, does not believe that establishing peace is simple and inexpensive, and views national security as a critical component of foreign relations. The previous "political romanticism," or belief in the Non-Aligned Movement, has been abandoned. The United Nations, for example, does not figure in the text very much. Such international entities, according to the author, are incapable of resolving India's problems. "[m]ultilateralism may well take a backseat as rules and norms come under increasing scrutiny and the agreement among the Permanent Five (US, China, Russia, China, UK, and France) weakens," he adds, referring to the changing global environment. Jaishankar does not seem to have a firm opinion on how much New Delhi should formalize its connections with the US, but it appears that he prefers less formalized ties, with India remaining outside of formal alliances but taking use of various regional groupings based on its interests. Global politics, according to Dr. Jaishankar, is approaching a more tumultuous period. Not only is multilateralism at risk, but some of the world's most powerful countries may no longer be as open to trade as they once were. "India will not have the same level of global economic openness as China," the author predicts. As a result of these conditions, New Delhi will be forced to pursue a policy that is even more pragmatic and flexible. In his book, he emphasizes the need of India developing its strengths and remaining watchful to seize opportunities when they arise. He has provided India with some critical foreign policy guidance. Dr. Jaishankar finished his book before the Galwan River Valley skirmishes and the ensuing tensions. Still, the context in which China appears in the book is noticeable as China does not figure as a potential partner or an economic opportunity. The book lacks the so-called Wuhan spirit of India-China collaboration (although the Wuhan summit itself is

mentioned and defended as an example of realism). Dr. Jaishankar argues, "This is a time to engage America, manage China, develop Europe, reassure Russia, and bring Japan into action." One essential word is allocated for each country or area - "manage" is the one reserved for China. Another often used word is "equilibrium" between India and China, which Jaishankar believes that India should achieve. This would imply that the ultimate objective is to achieve a certain level of power balance. A condition of equilibrium does not always indicate friendship, but it should reduce the likelihood of a disagreement.

Dr Jagannath Panda (2019) along with other scholars in a special issue of US Department of State, "Indo - Pacific Strategy Report" examines Quad's possibilities in depth and concludes that, in order to be completely successful, grouping will have to overcome a number of hurdles. According to the author, China's government and strategic circles have long held that the sole purpose for the United States' Indo-Pacific strategy and its Free and Open Indo-Pacific policy is to restrict China's rise to power. The Indo-Pacific has become an area of the US–China competition in recent years, and it will continue to be a stage for their competition in the ensuing years. The competition between the United States and China has the potential to redefine important geopolitical, geo-economics, and geostrategic aspects in the regional and global order. In many respects, this competition is poised to take on a new age "cold war" dimension, forcing smaller governments in the area and beyond, such as the Quad 2.0 and Quad Plus nations, to choose between the security assurances provided by the US and their economic reliance on China. Many Indo-Pacific countries have already adjusted their foreign policy plans to accommodate for the new geopolitical challenges. Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific strategy, India's Act East Policy, South Korea's New Southern Policy, and

Australia's Pacific Step-up policy were all designed to foster deeper and more focused bilateral cooperation in the face of a more hostile China and the United States. This bilateral synergy might be carried through under a Quad Plus framework that is more international than US-centric in the long run.

In her article, Dr. Rajeswari (Raji) Pillai Rajagopalan (2020) writes that Quad has regained strength in the face of an aggressive China. She goes on to say that China's brazen attempts to exert pressure on other nations have been greeted with increased resentment, of which the Quad is a vivid example. She claims the coalition has gained traction since early 2020 as a result of Beijing's role in the COVID-19 pandemic and its attempts to capture international organisations including the World Health Organization (WHO) and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). The four nations are also concerned about global supply chain issues, seeing their heavy reliance on China as a weakness.

In his book, Pradeep Baijal (2019) covers details of China's rise and its bringing to fruition its 100 year old plan of world hegemony. By focusing on China and India, this book captures the post-World War II Asian story. He has analysed and contrasted alternate development patterns, government functions, and provided a systematic analysis, as well as the role of the US in helping China's rise. The book depicts China's growth trajectory over the previous four decades and provides unique insights into the major causes of its development, while also criticising India's missed prospects. According to the author, Donald Trump is the first US President to recognise China's existential danger to the rules of international engagement and mutual benefit that democratic, open economies have established through time. He has bravely seized the

Dragon's tail in order to limit its advance. However, the United States cannot accomplish it alone. They require assistance. As per the author, the democratic world, led by the United States, Japan, and India, as well as South Korea and others, should unite and strike back against Chinese dominance, according to Baijal. Some of this is already taking place with Prime Minister Modi's aggressive India. Strategic collaboration is already in the works to keep the Indo-Pacific open. India, like the United States, has raised duties on a variety of Chinese imports, including metals. For the construction of its "Bullet Train," India has picked Japan over China.

The importance of Quad has been documented by various governments who have some role and capability in the region. Some important documents include 'National Security Strategy of the United States of America', issued by White House in Dec 2017, 'Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Region' dated June 01, 2019 by US Department of Defence. '2013 Defence White Paper', issued by the Government of Australia. 'Priority Policy for Development Cooperation FY 2017 and 'Basic Concepts' dated Apr 2017, issued by International Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. Joint statements issued by heads of Quad virtual meeting⁵⁰ on 12 March 2021 and first in person⁵¹ meeting on 24 September 2021 in Washington DC are also important references.

Lavina Lee (2020) in her detailed article covers the Quad alliance from Australian point of view including its reasons for the country's earlier withdrawal and rejoining the alliance. It identifies flaws in Quad 1.0 and suggests fundamental modifications for Quad

⁵⁰ Quad Leaders' Joint Statement: "The Spirit of the Quad" | The White House (Virtual Summit) dated 12 Mar 21 accessed on 11 Sep 21

⁵¹ Joint Statement from Quad Leaders | The White House (In person Summit) dated 24 Sep 21 accessed on 30 Sep 21

2.0. She claims that the member nations have a lot of potential and can cooperate in various sectors, including intelligence and military. According to her, the Quad could work together to oppose Chinese economic pressure and statecraft that threatens the rules-based order. As an 'alternative' to the BRI, the four nations were said to be exploring establishing a combined infrastructure finance plan. Although this has yet to be revealed, Australia, Japan, and the United States took the lead in establishing a Trilateral Partnership for Infrastructure Investment in the Indo-Pacific in late 2018, with the goal of mobilizing and assisting private sector investment in infrastructure projects, digital connectivity, and energy infrastructure. Japan's enhanced infrastructure spending of US\$200 billion between 2015 and 2020 in Asia and Africa, could provide a model for such a quadrilateral infrastructure fund. Japan promotes the Ise-Shima⁵² Principles, which emphasize infrastructure investment where projects are economically feasible and sustainable, use transparent and open tendering and terms, create local jobs, transfer skills to host country workers, consider social and environmental impact, and further real development needs, which were endorsed by the G7 in 2016. A Quadrilateral effort is the natural next step in halting the BRI's fall in governance standards and norms, as well as opposing China's larger narrative to developing nations that Beijing is the only one who understands their development requirements. The objective would be to offer a beneficial alternative to developing countries to the BRI and to strengthen the rules-based order in the process. A Quadrilateral infrastructure fund would be able to take advantage of each country's unique expertise and strengths in infrastructure development, ensuring that scarce resources are directed to projects and countries with the greatest geostrategic

⁵² G7 Ise-Shima Principles for Promoting Quality Infrastructure Investment (github.org) accessed on 12 Oct 21

significance, as well as the needs of the host country. Small island nations and littoral states, in particular, should be given priority for constructing ports and key infrastructure since they are located along critical maritime lines of communication that might be targeted by China for force projection objectives. The Quad nations should continue to campaign in multilateral forums for broader recognition and implementation of the Ise-Shima Principles as the pattern for international infrastructure investment, putting the onus on Beijing to show why it should their way. A Quadrilateral infrastructure fund involving extra-regional powers also has the benefit of assuring small states in Australia's (for example, the South Pacific) and India's (for example, the Bay of Bengal) orbits that such funding will not be used to exert influence in ways that do not benefit or serve their national interests.

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) brief dated 16 March 2020 titled '*Defining the Diamond: The Past, Present, and Future of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue*', analyses the history and reasons for formation of Quad and recommends further strengthening the alliance in a calibrated and planned manner keeping the interests of all the members. The article explains why it failed in the early years and how it recovered after 2017. It cites China's revisionist behaviour over the previous decade as the catalyst for the four countries' agreement to work together closely to resist China's rising hegemony in the area. It covers each country's engrained interests in the area, which have formed links between the nations, and it makes the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue more vibrant and viable.

In the book edited by Harsh V Pant (2019), Chinese economy, military, technology and politics have been examined. Other nations' concerns about Chinese predominance in

the region and global order have also been examined. According to the author, China may have sparked a new arms race in which weather, academia, law, culture, the internet and social media, the Arctic, rivers, ocean depths, and outer space — in short, every aspect of our lives on this planet — have been weaponised, and thus deserve a chapter in this anthology. China's spending for internal security is larger than its budget for overseas defence, indicating that the country's society is strained. Reading about the various social fault lines — the country's forced urban/rural divide, its middle class's concern about climate change, and a human rights crisis in Xinjiang's "re-education camps," which has attracted the attention of ISIS and al-Qaeda — one gets the impression of a country stretching itself dangerously thin to meet its ambitions. The Chinese political economy is a house of cards based on a Faustian deal with its populace, meaning that any black swan occurrence may swiftly develop into an existential crisis for the governing regime. "China's façade of social stability is wearing thin," writes Gautam Chikermane⁵³ in his article, "at exactly the moment when its economy is under great strain owing to the trade war with the United States and nations across the world are beginning to re-calibrate their relationship with China." While a result, China is continuously compelled to glance over its shoulder as it attempts to lead.

Jabin T. Jacob (2019) in his article says that formation of the Quad is seen by the Chinese as a sign that in addition to blocking it in the Pacific Ocean, and the Indian Ocean. The Americans' designation of the Indian Ocean as having a "strong geopolitical flavour" also suggests that they regard India as a key component of the alliance. For the sake of cooperation, he favours a broader gathering. In contrast to China, he believes

⁵³ <https://thediplomat.com/2019/08/book-review-china-ascendant-its-rise-and-implications> accessed on 09 Mar 22

India should make a larger effort to demonstrate how it believes in the finest of both the West and the East, both in concept and in practice.

In his book Brigadier Narender Kumar (2018) analyses China's economic development narrative critically. According to the author, China is on the threshold of becoming a worldwide powerhouse in the next two decades if its economic growth continues apace. Economic expansion, on the other hand, has not been able to mend China's physical, demographic, or social fault lines. China's neighbourhood is tumultuous, and new threats have emerged that have the potential to cause regional instability. Despite the plan of constructing bases in the Indian Ocean Region, the maritime dilemma will endure, and the debt trap policy has revealed the true aim of colonization via the Maritime Silk Route. Only when people become partners in government and share power can a state's comeback be deemed comprehensive. With the restoration of one-man rule, China is unlikely to see any power sharing with the people anytime soon. India and China's unresolved border issues and opposing interests have the potential to escalate into a military war. As a result, India should concentrate on developing comprehensive military capabilities, ranging from a deterrent posture to deterrence, before the capability gap widens. The author has critically examined the fault lines inside China and the path it has taken to become a worldwide powerhouse in this book.

In their book, Dr Roshan Khanijo and Dr Anurag Tripathi (2018) examine Prime Minister Narendra Modi's foreign policy efforts to proactively engage the global powers for creating favourable climate for India's growth. The book also discusses India's efforts to strengthen bilateral and multilateral ties with its neighbours, as well as different

strategic relationships with the United States, Russia, South Korea, Japan, and the Asia Pacific region. India's Act East Policy has taken a positive turn, and her interaction with Southeast Asian and East Asian nations has grown. India's Look West Policy aims to strike a balance between its connections with the Gulf States and Israel. As a result, India is gradually expanding its diplomatic presence and outreach to both old and new allies.

Dhruv Jaishankar (2018) noted in his paper that the increasing number of military exercises, strategic discussions, technical agreements, and coordinated actions are expressions of increasingly shared strategic worldviews, increased comfort levels, and expanding cooperative habits. These are the trends that will have a far greater impact on the power balance and the chances for a free, open, and inclusive Indo-Pacific than any amount of hype about the formal quadrilateral conversation.

Harsh V Pant and Kartik Bommakanti (2018) argue in their essay that China's criticism of "western models of liberal democracy" is not new, as Xi's presentation to the 19th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) demonstrated. What was noteworthy was Xi's deliberate endeavour to export what has been dubbed the "Chinese model of government" to other developing countries. Furthermore, it "provides Chinese knowledge and a Chinese perspective to tackling the world's issues." The notion that China was not only battling the 'West' on its own, but was also prepared to present the 'Chinese alternative' came across loud and clear in the speech. China's 'international ambitions' have this as a significant ideational element. Quad is still a work in progress, and its members are still figuring out what their priorities should be. However, structural developments in the Indo-Pacific region over the last several years, owing to China's ascent and international behaviour, have given this arrangement a new feeling of

significance. According to the author, China's fast ascent and expanding military posture has shifted the danger matrix for India. China's economic revolution has enabled it to become a significant military power.

According to Pravin Sawhney and others (2017), India's security professionals must examine the danger presented by the Chinese PLA and establish a robust military capacity to confront it as soon as possible. The authors believe that India's China strategy is fundamentally wrong since the military dimension has been repeatedly overlooked. "India is maybe the only country in the world," they write, "where foreign policy with countries with disputed boundaries, such as China and Pakistan, is determined without respect for military advice." They contend that India's decision-making has been hampered by a lack of "appreciation of military strength," which the writers emphasize via a comprehensive examination of India's military history with Pakistan and China. Their solution is for the military leadership to "become an important element of diplomacy" by far-reaching reforms, such as constitutionally incorporating the three service chiefs into decision-making and giving them more input in foreign policy, as in the United States.

Scott W. Harold (2017), a senior political scientist at the Rand Corporation, and other researchers analyze the regional dynamics of the Quad from the perspectives of the United States, Japan, Australia, and Indonesia, as well as India's step-by-step approach to the Quad. According to the authors, the Quad elicits both optimism and skepticism in a manner that few other efforts do. This prospective alliance of the willing and capable, however, is still in the works. Concerns over China's actions have triggered its resurgence, but it will not be the sole factor determining its fate. India's actions will

influence how far and how quickly it evolves—if it evolves at all—but so will Australia's, Japan's, and the United States'. Their decisions, not only on the Quad but also on China and the Indo-Pacific in general, may and will influence Delhi's perspective on the four-country conversation. If their positions are regarded as constant, it will help those in India who are advocating for the Quad to be strengthened. The four democracies will continue to disagree, but if India believes that the others are committed to maintaining a rules-based order in the area and that this platform is useful, it will likely strengthen collaboration with them—through the Quad and other means. Even while its major aspects are clearly visible, India's strategy to the Indo-Pacific will continue to evolve. Although this strategy will differ from those of the other Quad nations, there will be numerous points of commonality. Today's countries "won't have shared score-sheets... everyone would have their own lyrics and songs, but there would be notes that they would strike together," as Indian External Affairs Minister Jaishankar recently stated. And, in order to guarantee a free, open, and inclusive Indo-Pacific, India will most likely work alongside—or in conjunction with—the other Quad nations on a regular basis. And it's possible that, in the future, it'll feel safe giving the Quad its own acronym—some have suggested AJAI, a term that means "unbeatable" in Hindi, based on the JAI trilateral.

In their book, Lohman, Walter, Lt General Sawhney, Ravi K, and others (2015) address the common viewpoints and aspirations of democracies in joining the Quad grouping. The Indo-Pacific is one of the world's most critical strategic regions nowadays. In what has been known as the Quad, the four vigorous, committed democracies across the Indo-Pacific—India, the United States, Japan, and Australia—have joined hands in a

Track II discussion to address their common security interests, including management of the China's belligerence. The Heritage Foundation, Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF), Tokyo Foundation, and Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) met in Canberra, Australia, in 2013 to re-energize efforts for the Quadrilateral Strategic Dialogue. Scholars from the Philippines and Indonesia were brought in to broaden the conversation to other democracies with strategic interests. The book presents the perspectives of numerous researchers from various nations.

Mr Ajay Lele and others (2011) attempted to foresee and comprehend the security climate in Asia in 2030 using the scenario building approach in their book. The book covers India's and China's projected growth paths, as well as their global and Asia Pacific interactions. Military domain, cyber security, climate change, geopolitical and regional challenges, and ballistic missile shields are among the topics covered in the book. This book looks on long-term development challenges for ASEAN members. It concludes that with the right policy mix—including domestic structural reforms and bold regional integration initiatives—ASEAN has the potential to achieve the average quality of life enjoyed in advanced economies by 2030, as well as achieve its goals of becoming a resilient, inclusive, competitive, and harmonious (RICH) region. Enhancing macroeconomic and financial stability, supporting equitable growth, promoting competitiveness and innovation, and protecting the environment are the major tasks ahead. To overcome these obstacles and create a truly borderless economic zone, residual impediments to the movement of products, services, and production components must be removed, competitiveness and the institutional framework must be strengthened, and some governing principles must be updated. However, ASEAN should not simply follow

in the footsteps of the European Union. It must keep its pragmatism and flexibility without bloating the regional bureaucracy. The study's major conclusion is that ASEAN can build a partnership for shared prosperity in the region and throughout the world by integrating more closely.

Summary

On examination of literature, we see the economic and military rise of China and its desire to be global leader. This creates significant challenges for India in South Asia, Asia Pacific region and international order. Therefore, Indian strategic community needs to think of various strategic policy options to aide India growth story. ‘Atmanirbhar Bharat’ or indigenous capability development as enunciated by Prime Minister Modi, supported by double digit economic growth remains the ideal strategy option. But international and national economic environment due to COVID - 19 will delay its achievement by at least a couple of years. Most of the strategic planners agree that the parity with China cannot be achieved till the time India’s economy and GDP grows significantly.

It is also seen that China’s foreign policy which was long guided by a doctrine that was summed up in 1990 by Deng Xiaoping, as “hide your strength and bide your time⁵⁴” has been abandoned. For almost seven decades, the US has served as the undisputed hegemonic power in the region. China seems to have ever-expanding global ambitions and showing determination to supplant a US-led order in the region. Under Xi Jinping, China’s first paramount leader in decades, China has accelerated its efforts at challenging American hegemony, on both economic and military fronts.

⁵⁴ Xi Jinping signals departure from low-profile policy | Financial Times (ft.com) accessed on 07 Sep 21

CHAPTER IV – INTERESTS AND CONCERNS OF MEMBER COUNTRIES

USA

Rise of USA as Super Power

Following WWII, the United States established itself as the world's preeminent military and economic force. The United States' interests extended to every corner of the globe. The United States likewise saw itself as a major "moral force" in the globe. Many Americans believed that the era in which they lived could justifiably be referred to as the "American Century." With the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States became the world's sole superpower.

The US economy had suffered no damage as a result of WWII. In fact, during the war, the problems caused by the Great Depression were resolved. The post-war period was one of unprecedented economic prosperity for USA. From 1940 to 1987, the GNP⁵⁵ rose from about \$ 100 billion to about \$ 5,200 billion while the population rose from about 132 million to about 240 million. The affluence of the American people was reflected in the growth of what is usually described as "consumer culture" or "consumerism". There was an unprecedented growth in the production and consumption of a huge variety of consumption goods. The motor car became a symbol of this consumer culture. Every technological innovation, minor or major, made the existing product obsolete and worthless. The US was able to sustain this "consumerism" because of her own vast natural resources as well as the control she exercised over a variety of natural resources of many other parts of the world.

⁵⁵ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/303049/what-will-make-america-great-again> accessed on 08 Mar 22

As in previous times, economic expansion was accompanied by an increasing centralization of the economy. A small number of enterprises and corporations controlled the majority of the economy. The rise of companies related to weapons was significant, and a large amount of government funds were spent on buying defence equipment that benefitted a few large corporations. Many Americans were alarmed by the rising "interfusion" of the military and business in peacetime, and US President Dwight D. Eisenhower, when he left President's office⁵⁶ in January 1961, warned the country against "the acquisition of unwarranted power... by the military-industrial complex".

The interactions between political leaders and higher levels of government bureaucracy and the military establishment, as well as companies and huge financial institutions, is far more closer in the United States than in most other democratic nations with capitalist economies. When faced with a budget deficit, the government frequently used to decrease spending on medical care and other social welfare programs rather than raising corporate taxes. The European Recovery Plan, generally known as the Marshall Plan after the then US Secretary of State, gave around \$12 billion to Western European countries between 1948 and 1952. This concept had aided Europe's economies in returning to pre-war levels in a relatively short time. The economy of West European nations grew at a breakneck pace in the years that followed. Japan assisted by USA became a significant economic force in the globe, and Japanese goods began to compete with US goods not just on the global market, but also in the home market in the United

⁵⁶ <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-dwight-d-eisenhowers-farewell-address> accessed on 08 Mar 22

States. In 1950, the United States⁵⁷ accounted for more than 60% of global industrial production; by 1980, it had dropped to around 45%.

USA and USSR Cold War

During the Cold War, the United States' confidence in its global dominance was undermined for the first time when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, its first satellite into orbit, in 1957. Three years later, the Soviet Union made its first manned space voyage. These developments prompted the United States to make a concerted effort in areas where it believed the Soviet Union had outperformed it. The space research program was given access to a large amount of funding. When two US astronauts landed and stepped on the moon in 1969, they accomplished a spectacular feat. For many years, the Cold War had a negative impact on living in the United States. In the United States, a "paranoid fascination" with "godless communism" developed. Anti-communist and anti-radical panic led to the labeling of any viewpoint that differed from the US perspective on the Cold War as "un-American" and subversive. The allegiance of government employees was probed during Truman's administration (1945—52), and hundreds of them were fired. Thousands of school, college, and university professors were fired for promoting "un-American" beliefs. For refusing to divulge their former communist links, several film writers and producers were imprisoned, and many were blacklisted and prevented from working in Hollywood. The anti-radical panic persisted for several years under Eisenhower's presidency, which he won twice, in 1952 and 1956.

⁵⁷ Donald Trump's 1950s Self-Help Foreign Policy – Foreign Policy accessed on 05 Feb 22

For the majority of the post-World War II period, the United States' foreign policy goal was to contain' communism. The US stance in Latin America remained mostly unchanged, with the US sending troops or actively assisting rebels in overthrowing administrations in a number of Latin American nations that she accused of being communist and so anti-American. When John F. Kennedy was elected President of the United States in 1960, he began an era of fresh dynamism in US domestic affairs. During his presidency, however, the United States entered into the Vietnam War, the Bay of Pigs disaster, and the standoff on deployment of missiles by USSR in Cuba happened.

In 1963, US President John F. Kennedy and Soviet Union Premier Nikita Khrushchev signed a pact prohibiting nuclear testing in the atmosphere, outer space, and beneath the sea called the Partial Test Ban Treaty⁵⁸. On November 22, 1963, however, President John F. Kennedy was killed. The United States later suffered a defeat and loss of face in Vietnam. However, to check the spread of USSR's influence, during the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson, the Vietnam conflict had started to grow (1963-69). During Richard Nixon's administration, it became even worse (1969-74). Cambodia was bombed, the government was toppled, and a pro-American government commanded by a military officer was created. The US also expanded the conflict to include Laos. China was admitted to the United Nations in 1971 when President Nixon began the process of normalizing ties with the country. Nixon visited China in 1972. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) was held between the USA and erstwhile Soviet Union in 1972. In 1973, the US agreed to end the war in Vietnam and withdraw her troops. However, the conflict lasted another two years, ending in April 1975, when North Vietnamese soldiers

⁵⁸ Nuclear Test Ban Treaty | JFK Library accessed on 05 Feb 22

and National Liberation Front of South Vietnam troops captured Saigon, the capital of the pro-US administration in South Vietnam. After Nixon resigned as president following a huge scandal known as the Watergate incident, the Vietnam War came to an end. In the name of controlling the spread of communism, USA many times supported dictators and unpopular regimes which created problems for the US and led to acts which were illegal under US law e.g. United States had long backed and supported the dictatorships of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines and Jean-Claude Duvalier, often known as Papa Doc, in Haiti. However, in certain cases, these dictatorships proved so unpopular that the US was forced to ensure their downfall.

Following a revolution⁵⁹ in Iran in 1979, the Shah of Iran, who was one of the most prominent allies of the US in Asia, fled the nation. Iran's government requested that the US return the Shah, who had gone to the US for medical treatment. The Iranian authorities desired to prosecute the Shah. The Iranians kept several Americans as hostages as a result of the United States' rejection. Jimmy Carter, who had been elected president in 1977, dispatched US commandos to free the hostages in April 1980. The commando operation failed. The hostages were ultimately released in early 1981, after the US government released Iranian funds held in US institutions that had previously been blocked by the US government.

US forces were dispatched to Panama in 1989, when George Bush Senior was president (1989-92). General Noriega, the dictator of Panama, was deposed and sent to the United States to face cocaine trafficking accusations. Following Iraq's conquest of

⁵⁹ <https://www.sidmartinbio.org/why-did-the-shah-of-iran-get-overthrown/#:~:text=On%20the%2011%20th%20February%20> accessed on 05 Feb 22

Kuwait in 1991, the US went to war against it, backed up by soldiers from other nations. The Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was ended as a result of the United Nations-authorized war. Iraq was not occupied despite the fact that US-led soldiers were victorious. The conflict, however, had major effects for the Iraqi people. Iraq was subjected to a slew of restrictions, including limits on the sale of oil, the country's sole export commodity.

USSR collapsed⁶⁰ on 26 December 1991. Few expected the fall of the Soviet Union, which on the surface looked to be a formidable military state with a vast security structure. Scholars today see how little legitimacy the system had, and how it was rotting on the inside due to corruption, a lack of confidence in doctrine, low living standards, and, finally, elite infighting and rivalry with the United States. It was finally brought down by elite defection, as well as a general lack of legitimacy. For over three decades, the United States has been the single arbitrator of the globe.

USA launched multiple military campaigns⁶¹ after this. The US and its allies attacked Iraq again in 2003, this time on the pretence of producing weapons of mass destruction. There were a number of small military interventions in Libya, Kosovo, Syria, and Yemen. Post 9/11 a long and bloody military campaign was launched in Afghanistan from Sep 2001 to Aug 2021 called War on Terror.

USA – Japan Relations

Japan launched attacks on the Allies, notably the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, which severely damaged the US naval base and signified the start of

⁶⁰ What Caused the Soviet Union to Collapse 30 Years Ago? – Bloomberg accessed on 08 Sep 21

⁶¹ Listing of the Campaigns of the U.S. Army Displayed on the Army Flag | U.S. Army Center of Military History accessed on 07 Sep 21

World War II in the Pacific. According to Sadao Asada (2006), in order to induce a surrender, the Americans destroyed Japanese cities in a methodical manner, culminating in the August 1945 atomic bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan was forced to surrender and was occupied by the United States for seven years, during which the American forces, led by General Douglas MacArthur, abolished the military presence and reconstructed the economic and political structures in order to convert Japan into a democracy.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Japan entered into a military alliance⁶² with the US and experienced unprecedented economic growth while under the protection of the US nuclear umbrella, taking full advantage of US funds, investments, free trade agreements, and supplying American troops for the Korean and Vietnam wars. In the postwar period, Japanese exports to the United States skyrocketed, with Japanese autos and consumer electronics highly prominent, and Japan overtook the United States as the world's second-largest economy. (in 2010 it dropped to third⁶³ place after China). The United States' goods trade deficit with Japan remains the third largest in the world. The United States and Japan have had strong and active political, economic, and military ties since the late twentieth century. The United States views⁶⁴ Japan to be one of its most important allies and partners.

The United States-Japan relationship has grown in depth as a result of the two nations' combined economic and diplomatic impact on the globe. The US and Japan work

⁶² The U.S.-Japan Military Alliance: A Documents Primer | National Security Archive (gwu.edu) accessed on 10 Jan 22

⁶³ China Passes Japan to Become No. 2 Economy - The New York Times (nytimes.com) accessed on 10 Jan 22

⁶⁴ U.S. Relations With Japan - United States Department of State accessed on 10 Jan 22

together on a wide variety of international problems, including development aid, global health, environmental and resource conservation, and women's empowerment. The nations also collaborate to guarantee that information and communications technology supply chains are safe and that the transition to 5G networks is smooth. On international diplomatic endeavours as well, Japan and the United States work closely together. On policy with North Korea, the US interacts with Japan and South Korea. Under the framework of the Trilateral Strategic Dialogue and the Security and Defense Cooperation Forum, the US coordinates with Japan and Australia. The US and Japan collaborate with India on a trilateral⁶⁵ basis and through the US-Australia-India-Japan Consultations.

USA – Australia Relations

Both Australia and New Zealand were members of the British Empire at the start of WWII, so when Britain entered the battle, they did as well. For the first time in their contemporary histories, these two geographically isolated nations were threatened with direct assault during the conflict. In 1942 and 1943, as the Japanese advanced south into the Pacific Ocean, mainland Australia, particularly Darwin Port, was subjected to frequent Japanese air strikes. Following the Japanese capture of the crucial British colony of Singapore on February 15, 1942, the Antipodean⁶⁶ nations expressed fears that the British government was too preoccupied with the war in Europe to adequately protect its colonies, and they turned for the first time to the United States for assistance. The governments of Australia and New Zealand remained anxious about the risk of future Japanese expansionism and grew concerned about the consequences of communism,

⁶⁵ <https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/29744/IndiaJapanUS+Trilateral+Meeting> accessed on 30 Jul 21

⁶⁶ Antipodean - definition of antipodean by The Free Dictionary accessed on 31 Jul 21

particularly in East Asia, as the other Allied powers focused on the rebuilding of postwar Europe and Japan. Even before the war was won, Australia and New Zealand signed a memorandum of understanding indicating that they had same interests and would cooperate in international affairs. The Australia, New Zealand, and United States Security Treaty, or ANZUS Treaty, was signed in 1951 to safeguard Pacific security.

The commencement of the Korean War in the 1950s prompted Australia and New Zealand to commit soldiers through the UN and beside NATO allies, expressing both their apprehension about communism's menace and their willingness in doing their bit to help contain it in the area. Most crucially, the United States' intention to cease the occupation of Japan and seek a peace treaty was seen with mistrust and disfavour by leaders in the South Pacific, prompting the US to negotiate a security pact in order to garner Antipodean support for the eventual peace accord. In April of 1951, U.S. President Harry Truman announced that negotiations on a tripartite security treaty between the United States, Australia and New Zealand would occur concurrently with the negotiations for a final peace treaty with Japan. Both treaties were concluded in mid-1951, and the ANZUS Treaty was ratified by the United States and entered into force in 1952. United States suspended its treaty obligations toward New Zealand in 1986 because New Zealand refused to permit US nuclear submarines in its territory. Australia has participated in almost all USA led military campaigns including North Korea, Vietnam, Iraq and war on terror.

The United States-Australia Free Trade Agreement⁶⁷ (FTA) came into effect from Jan 2005. FTA has increased U.S. goods exports to Australia by more than 80%, while services exports have increased by more than 200 percent. According to estimates from the United States Department of Commerce, exports of products and services to Australia support roughly 250,000 workers in industries such as equipment, travel, industrial supplies and materials, consumer goods, and financial services. Australia exports foodstuff, feeds, drinks, as well as industrial supplies and materials.

Australia is the United States' Partner for Cooperation with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), a NATO Enhanced Partner, a member of the Pacific Islands Forum, and a signatory to the Five Eyes Intelligence Agreement. In September 2021, it signed a new military agreement with the United States called AUKUS⁶⁸. AUKUS is a new trilateral strategic military alliance between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, formed to build a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines, and also to collaborate in the Indo-Pacific region, where China's rise is seen as a growing threat, and to develop new technologies. Australia has ended its deal, signed in 2016, with France to build 12 diesel-electric submarines to replace its ageing Collins class submarine fleet. The agreement is the first time the US has shared nuclear propulsion technology with a country other than the United Kingdom.

Indo - US Relations

The Civil Nuclear Deal between India and the United States is seen as a watershed moment in India-US ties and adds a new dimension to worldwide nonproliferation

⁶⁷ U.S. Relations With Australia - United States Department of State accessed on 17 Jan 22

⁶⁸ What is the Aukus alliance and what are its implications? | Defence policy | The Guardian accessed on 07 Feb 22

efforts. The agreement has abolished a three-decade-old US nuclear commerce embargo with India since July 18, 2005. It enhances India-US collaboration in energy and satellite technologies and gives US help to India's civilian nuclear energy programme. The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) approved the lifting of the embargo on India, allowing other nations to sell nuclear fuel and technology to India. George Bush Junior, the president of the United States at the time, ensured this approval. India can now procure dual-use nuclear technology from the United States, including materials and equipment that may be used to enrich uranium or reprocess plutonium, potentially producing nuclear-weapons-grade material. It can also get imported nuclear fuel for its reactors.

In 2014, India and the United States established a bilateral Investment Initiative with a focus on enabling FDI, portfolio investment, capital market growth, and infrastructure funding. USA is now the second largest source of foreign direct investments into India. In 2020-21, the United States was India's top export destination and second-largest trading partner⁶⁹. Despite the fact that US exports to India were marginally lower than imports from the nation last year, India remained among the US's top 15 export customers. The United States is India's greatest trading partner in products and services, and commerce between the two nations has been steadily increasing in recent years. In the previous 15 years, trade has expanded tenfold, reaching 87.95 billion dollars. US Trade Representative⁷⁰ Katherine Tai, who was in India on her first official visit to India in November 2021, stated that trade relationship between the two countries was a top priority for US President Joe Biden and for her.

⁶⁹ Explainer: All about Indo-US trade relationship - The Hindu BusinessLine accessed on 19 Jan 22

⁷⁰ India-US Trade Policy Forum has key role in deepening understanding of each other's positions: former Obama admin official - The Financial Express accessed on 19 Jan 22

With the signing of the 'New Framework for India-US Defense Relations' in 2005, the defence relationship has become a major pillar of the India-US strategic partnership, with increased defence trade, joint exercises, personnel exchanges, collaboration and cooperation in maritime security and counter-piracy, and exchanges between the three services. The Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Association (LEMOA), the Fuel Exchange Agreement, the Technical Agreement (TA) on information sharing on White (merchant) Shipping, the Information Exchange Annexure (IEA) on Aircraft Carrier Technologies, Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA), an India-specific version of the Communication and Information on Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA), and the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement have all been signed (BECA). Following the Trump administration's increased attempts to strengthen the strategic military ties with the United States, India purchased arms⁷¹ from the United States for a whopping US\$3.4 billion in 2020.

Malabar Naval Exercises The Malabar Exercises began in 1992 as an annual bilateral naval exercise between the Indian and US navies. In 2015, Japan joined the Malabar naval exercise, making it a trilateral affair. The Australian Navy joined the Malabar Exercise in 2020 and 2021, making it a quadrilateral naval exercise. Australia had previously participated in the exercise in 2007. Maritime interdiction operations, anti-submarine warfare, diving salvage operations, amphibious operations, counter-piracy operations, cross-deck helicopter landings, and anti-air warfare operations are all part of this exercise. The exercise's goal is to improve interoperability between the naval forces.

⁷¹ Defence deals: India's weapons procurement from US jumps to \$3.4 billion: What is India buying? | India News (timesnownews.com) accessed on 19 Jan 22

The 3.5 million-strong Indian American community is a significant ethnic group in the United States, accounting for roughly 1% of the overall population. The Indian American community includes a considerable number of doctors, engineers, professionals, business owners, and educators who are gaining societal clout. The United States is the most popular location for Indian students for studies abroad.

Is the corona virus outbreak a future opportunity for India and the United States?

To some sense, this is a self-created situation by USA, given the United States was the one that started the process of bringing China into the WTO in the 1990s. China has used the WTO Rules and Regulations to improve market access for itself and control the industrial process in China after joining the WTO. Following the trade war between the United States and China, some of the businesses that had shifted out of China relocated to the United States, Vietnam, and other nations. A few others came to India as well. Spread of corona virus from China has caused a serious problem to humans and economies across the world. It has caused the supply chains to be disrupted. The United States has sent a strong signal that it intends to address and overcome China's technological threat. As a result, India will have to decide what role it would play in the new value chain arrangements. India must also concentrate on the development of newer technologies, since new value chains will revolve on 5G technology, quantum computing, and machine learning, among other things. India must seek possibilities inside the global supply chains, as well as in the decoupling of manufacturing processes between the United States and China. However, in order to do something like this, India must first focus on its capacity development in order to be able to take advantage of global events.

Rise of China & Its Relations with USA

When Mao Zedong founded the People's Republic of China in 1949, he fashioned China's political institutions along the lines of the Communist Soviet Union, Soviet funding helped Chinese economic growth, and positioned it ideologically opposite the USA. The relation between Russia and China was initially fruitful. In a backward rural community like China, Soviet financing accelerated industrialization. In February 1950, Mao signed a mutual defence treaty with the Soviet Union, declaring the Sino-Soviet relationship to be "everlasting, indestructible, and inalienable." After Mao launched his own unsuccessful modernization effort in 1958, the relationship began to deteriorate. Many of China's economic advantages were undone as a result of Mao's initiatives to change the country's society. Russia publicly chastised China and withdrew military help. The mutual friendship faded over a period of 15 years. Both philosophically and practically, the Chinese began to move away from Soviet Union and began seeking help for economic development elsewhere. The relationship between China and Russia had shifted dramatically. When Russian and Chinese soldiers fought a boundary skirmish⁷² in 1969, the relationship had hit rock bottom.

Henry Kissinger visited China in 1971. The People's Republic of China gained membership in the United Nations, raising its status to a major world political power. The following year, U.S. President Richard Nixon visited China, the first step in formalizing relations between the two countries. The visit paved the way for the robust economic ties the two nations share today.

⁷² <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/1969-russian-chinese-skirmish-almost-started-nuclear-war-96321> accessed on 04 Feb 22

Prior to the start of economic reforms and trade liberalization about 40 years ago, China's policies kept its economy underdeveloped, stagnant, centrally managed, inefficient, and isolated from the rest of the world. China's economic development truly began to take off in the 1970s. By December 1978, China took a step away from communism by allowing farmers to sell their crops in local marketplaces. Individual enterprises were also authorized to trade with foreign companies by the government. China's gross domestic product expanded⁷³ at an annual rate of 9.4% on average from 1978 to 2012. No other country's economy has expanded at such a rapid pace for such a long time. China's economy is currently the world's largest by certain criteria, such as buying power, after 35 years of practically unbroken boom. China's per capita gross domestic product rose from \$439 in 1950 to \$7,578 in 2014. China has been able to double its GDP every eight years on average, lifting an estimated 800 million people out of poverty. In 2019, China contributed \$22.5 trillion⁷⁴, or 17.3%, of the world's \$130 trillion in gross domestic product (GDP), according to estimates by the World Bank. According to the NBS, China's GDP per capita⁷⁵ in 2021 was roughly \$12,551 ahead of EU. That is an exceptional feat. China has overcome its traditional isolation by opening up commerce to international markets. China has not only become the world's largest economy (on a purchasing power parity basis), but also the world's largest manufacturer, goods exporter, and foreign exchange reserve holder. As a result, China has become one of America's most important trading partners. China is the United States' largest merchandise trading partner, largest import source, and third-largest export market. China

⁷³<https://tradingeconomics.com/china/gdp-growth-annual> accessed on 09 Feb 22

⁷⁴ Largest Economies in the World (thebalance.com) accessed on 09 Feb 22

⁷⁵ 27-member bloc's GDP falls behind that of China in 2021, EU data shows | Pakistan Defence accessed on 30 Jan 2022

is also the largest foreign holder of US Treasury bonds, which help pay the federal debt and keep interest rates low in the United States.

The relations between China and Russia significantly improved when Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev visited Beijing in 1989. The two nations settled their border disputes in 1991 and signed a "friendship cooperation pact" in 2001. In 1996, the two countries established the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to develop political and economic ties with Central Asian countries. China is currently Russia's largest trading partner, and Russia provides China with important oil and natural gas.

China has been broadening its relations with the rest of Asia over the past two to three decades. China started its "One Belt, One Road" project⁷⁶ in 2013, which aims to create transportation infrastructure for trade between Asia and Africa and Europe. It encompasses a region that has 55 percent of global GDP, 70 percent of the world's population, and 75 percent of known energy sources. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, a new Chinese-run international bank, was established in 2016. The bank intends to replace the US dollar with the Chinese Yuan in trade, reducing Asia's reliance on the World Bank, which is indirectly controlled by the United States and its old allies in the West. When the bank was announced in 2013, the US sought to persuade other countries not to engage, but even its closest allies were not convinced. This resulted in an embarrassing setback for the United States and unambiguously indicated that China is actively seeking to supplant the United States in key areas.

⁷⁶ World Economic Forum, "China's \$900 billion New Silk Road. What you need to know," June 26, 2017, available at <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/06/china-new-silk-road-explainer/> accessed on 10 Sep 21

China and Russia have also increased their military cooperation. Both the countries' militaries have been conducting joint military drills since 2005. The two variables, namely China's expanding economic might, ambition, and deepening ties with Russia, will determine in future whether China's ascent is peaceful or violent. What China is doing militarily is the clearest indicator that its approach may not be peaceful. China overtook the United States as the world's second-largest military spender in 2008. It has been upgrading its fleet, and in 2021, it had more⁷⁷ ships than the US Navy.

China escalated its territorial claims in the South China Sea in 2014, when it began building and militarizing man made islands in contested areas. Some of the islands are 800 miles away from mainland China, and just 150 miles away from the Philippines. Such territory belongs to the Philippines, according to UN law and a 2016 judgment by the International Court of Arbitration⁷⁸. China, on the other hand, refuses to acknowledge the verdict of the court or international norms. So, even International Tribunal's Award remains unimplemented.

China has been infiltrating US research institutes, universities and industries. In its competition against the United States, China has also opened a new front in space⁷⁹ warfare. China launched a ballistic missile into orbit in 2007 to destroy an obsolete weather satellite, demonstrating that it has the capability to threaten American satellites. China hacked and stole two dozen significant weapons system designs⁸⁰ from the United States in 2013. It was one of the most serious security breaches in US military history. Several high-profile cyber attacks have since targeted American utility firms and political

⁷⁷ China's navy has more ships than the US. Does that matter? (navytimes.com) accessed on 17 Jan 22

⁷⁸ <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/R44555.html> accessed on 17 Jan 22

⁷⁹ USCC_China's Space Power Goals.pdf accessed on 07 Sep 21

⁸⁰ China infiltrated and stole two dozen significant weapons from the United States in 2013.

officials. China has been troubling Japan in East China Sea and Taiwan in Sea. Japan is a treaty ally of USA. Taiwan has been given commitments by USA to protect it against external aggression. All of these efforts demonstrate China's intent to challenge and eventually supplant⁸¹ the United States as the world's leading power.

China has acquired infrastructural assets⁸² in many important ports and choke points. It bought Panama's largest port i.e. Margarita Island Port. China controls Pakistani port of Gwadar⁸³ close to the Strait of Hormuz and also Sri Lankan port of Hambantota⁸⁴. It now also controls Darwin, the Australian port city⁸⁵. Port de Djibouti⁸⁶, sitting at the mouth of the strategic strait of Bab al-Mandeb, between the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, has been acquired by China as a naval base. The United States and the British Empire previously controlled the majority of these gateways, but the tide has shifted in recent decades.

Since China's economy had grown very fast earlier, and its GDP growth has slowed dramatically now, from 14.2% in 2007 to 6.6 percent in 2018, with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) lowering estimates to 5.5 percent by 2024. Slower economic growth has been endorsed by the Chinese government, which has dubbed it the "new normal" and acknowledged the need for China to embrace a new development model that focuses less on fixed investment and exports and more on household

⁸¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/sep/22/is-china-accelerating-plan-supplant-us-top-superpower> accessed on 17 Nov 21

⁸² China Establishes Its Silk Road in Greece by Purchasing the Port of Piraeus | theTrumpet.com accessed on 17 Sep 21

⁸³ China to take control of Gwadar Port (tribune.com.pk) accessed on 17 Sep 21

⁸⁴ Dragon's New Lair: How China's Expansionism is Taking Root in Sri Lanka (news18.com) accessed on 17 Sep 21

⁸⁵ Why China has control of Darwin port during trade war with Australia | news.com.au — Australia's leading news site accessed on 17 Sep 21

⁸⁶ Port de Djibouti: China's First Permanent Naval Base in the Indian Ocean | Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (idsa.in) accessed on 17 Sep 21

spending, services, and technology. As per the experts, further reforms are required for China to avoid falling into the "middle-income trap," which occurs when countries reach a given economic level but are unable to adopt new engines of development, such as innovation, resulting in significantly declining economic growth rates. Through a variety of high-profile projects, such as "Made in China 2025,"⁸⁷ the Chinese government has made innovation a primary priority in its economic strategy." This is a 2015 plan to update and modernize China's manufacturing in ten important areas with considerable government aid, with the goal of making China a major global participant in these sectors. However, similar initiatives have sparked fears that China may employ industrial policies to reduce its reliance on foreign technology (including by keeping out international enterprises) and eventually dominate international markets.

USA has been talking about unfair trade practices and non compliance of international conventions for some time. US congressional report expresses concern that China's expanding worldwide economic dominance, as well as its economic and trade policies, have enormous ramifications for the US. While China is a significant and rising market for American businesses, the country's imperfect transition to a free-market economy has resulted in measures that are detrimental to American business interests, such as industrial restrictions and intellectual property theft. Many US businesses are

⁸⁷ The 2015 "Made in China 2025" document identified these 10 for support These ten key sectors are (1) next-generation information technology, (2) high-end numerical control machinery and robotics, (3) aerospace and aviation equipment, (4) maritime engineering equipment and high-tech maritime vessel manufacturing, (5) advanced rail equipment, (6) energy-saving and new energy vehicles, (7) electrical equipment, (8) agricultural machinery and equipment, (9) new materials, and (10) biopharmaceuticals and high-performance medical devices.

concerned that China's attempts⁸⁸ to promote indigenous innovation and technology may result in more state involvement (such as subsidies, trade and investment obstacles, and discriminatory laws), which would harm IP-intensive enterprises.

Some US experts see China's BRI as a big threat to US global economic interests. They are concerned that China will use the BRI primarily to benefit its own businesses, that the project implementation process will be opaque, that BRI participation may burden countries with huge debts. They also feel that China will use the BRI to spread its economic system to other countries and leverage their foreign and security policies with debt and trade sanctions.

In 2017, the Trump Administration launched a Section 301 investigation⁸⁹ of China's innovation and intellectual property policies deemed harmful to U.S. economic interests. It subsequently raised tariffs by 25% on \$250 billion worth of imports from China, while China retaliated by increasing tariffs (ranging from 5% to 25%) on \$110 billion worth of imports from the United States. Such measures have sharply decreased bilateral trade in 2019. In May 2019, President Trump announced he was considering raising tariffs on nearly all remaining products from China. A protracted and escalating trade conflict between the United States and China will have negative consequences for the Chinese economy. In May 2021, though the trade war between China and the United States took a back seat due to the overall a negative impact of COVID-19 on the global

⁸⁸ ⁸⁸ The Economist, "Our bulldozers, our rules, China's foreign policy could reshape a good part of the world economy," July 2, 2016, available at <https://www.economist.com/news/china/21701505-chinas-foreign-policy-could-reshape-good-part-world-economy-our-bulldozers-our-rules>.

⁸⁹ USTR, 2017 Report to Congress on China's WTO Compliance, January 2018, p. 10, available at <https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/Press/Reports/China%202017%20WTO%20Report.pdf>. accessed on 18 Sep 21

economy, however US President Joe Biden announced that no 'urgent action' to reduce trade war tariffs will be taken before a full study.

Present Perspective USA - China Relations

The current US-China relationship is complicated. There are commercial ties, a trade conflict, human rights concerns, and disputes over Taiwan and Hong Kong. Not to mention the general public's hostile attitude against China. As per their statements, United States views its relationship with the People's Republic of China through the lens of strategic competition⁹⁰. The United States wants to approach its relationship with the China from a position of strength, working closely with friends and partners to protect their interests and values. The United States seeks to pursue its economic interests, challenge Beijing's aggressive and coercive activities, maintain important military advantages and crucial security relationships, re-engage aggressively, and stand up to Beijing when it violates human rights and basic freedoms. The US wants to engage in result oriented diplomacy with China on shared concerns like as climate change and global public health crises when it is in its own interests.

The economic dimension of the battle between the United States and China is critical. The Biden administration claims to be steadfast in its determination to confront China's abusive, unfair, and unlawful activities. The United States is encouraging firms to invest in the United States while also protecting American workers and commercial interests. The US is serious about keeping its competitive advantage by investing in US technology and scientific advances while refusing to assist China's unscrupulous

⁹⁰U.S. Strategic Competition with China: A RAND Research Primer | RAND accessed on 18 Sep 21

operations. In December 2021, US President Joe Biden approved laws prohibiting imports from China's Xinjiang area because to reservations about forced labour, prompting an outraged Chinese response. The Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act is part of the United States' response to Beijing's treatment of China's Uyghur Muslim minority, which Washington has described as genocide. The legislation factors that all goods from Xinjiang, where Beijing has established detention camps for Uyghurs and other Muslim groups, are made with forced labour. Imports have been prohibited until there is proof to the contrary.

The United States wants to collaborate with democratic partners throughout the world to build a shared agenda to counter China's abusive and oppressive economic policies in trade, technology, and human rights.

From a cautious, pro-cooperation approach to a full-fledged confrontation with Beijing, the Biden presidency⁹¹ has made a significant change. While the Biden administration has not declared openly that the Chinese Communist Party should be replaced, it has not denied this strategy. As a result, the new US strategy toward Beijing appears to be more robust, implying that some of the Trump's policies on China would continue.

⁹¹ Analysis of Biden US Foreign Policy Toward China in 2022 (transatlantictoday.com) accessed on 19 Jan 22

Japan

Japan – Australia Relations

In May 1942, Japanese submarines invaded Sydney harbour in the Second World War with the goal of sinking Allied naval vessels. Between February 1942 and November 1943, the Japanese Air Force launched a series of air attacks in Northern Australia, in particular focused on Darwin Port, to prevent Australian bases from being utilized to oppose Japan's capture of the Dutch East Indies (present day Indonesia). In Papua New Guinea, Japanese and Australian soldiers were engaged in a violent conflict from 1942 until the Japanese surrendered.

Following the conclusion of WWII, Australia and Japan developed strong bilateral relations based on their common goal in keeping the United States in the region. Japan and Australia progressively deepened their security collaboration, with an emphasis on intelligence sharing. As Yusuke Ishihara⁹² (2013) points out, this cooperation was driven by “a combination of multiple factors, among which were Australia’s concerns over Southeast Asia, in particular the “confrontation” with Sukarno regime in Indonesia”. Both the countries were allied to USA and bound by security treaties. Viewing Japan and Australia relations solely from a bilateral perspective misses the importance of the US in their foreign policy. Tomohiko Satake⁹³ (2015) looks at how trilateralism developed between Australia, Japan, and the United States and its implications, post the Cold War.

⁹² Y. Ishihara (2013), ‘Japan-Australia security relations and the rise of China: Pursuing the “Bilateral-Plus” Approaches’, UNISCI Discussion Papers, No.32, May, p. 83 accessed on 19 Jan 22.

⁹³ T. Satake (2015), ‘Why a strong Japan-Australia relations matter’, East Asia Forum, 2 June, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2015/06/02/why-a-strong-japan-australia-relationship-matters/> accessed 13 Jan 2021

In 1957, Japan and Australia signed an economic pact, making Australia the first country after the United States. The negotiation of the "Commerce Agreement and its revision cemented the economic foundation to a growing political friendship, and confirmed in the minds of many in both governments that the two countries could work together effectively at an official and political level," according to Alan Rix (1999). From the early 1960s until 2007, Japan was Australia's largest⁹⁴ trade partner. (China became the largest trade partner of Japan in 2007)

Australia, like Japan, has concerns from powerful neighbours. Both Japan and Australia have been rattled by China's rise. Recent geopolitical upheavals in Asia have impacted Japanese and Australian security concerns. On January 6, 2022, Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida and his Australian counterpart Scott Morrison signed a military pact, permitted joint military exercises and vowed to deepen security cooperation in the Indo-Pacific area in the face of China's rising military power. The Reciprocal Access Agreement⁹⁵ (RAA) will allow Japanese Self-Defense Forces and Australian Defense Force troops to deploy more quickly and remove limitations on the movement of weapons and supplies for collaborative training and disaster relief missions. In signing the deal, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Kishida remarked, "This is a milestone agreement that will push Japan-Australia security cooperation to a new level." The agreement, according to Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison, would allow the two countries to collaborate at a high level. After the United States, Australia is the second country with whom Japan has signed an agreement.

⁹⁴ Chapter 5 - Australia and Japan—A trading tradition – Parliament of Australia (aph.gov.au) accessed on 10 Dec 21

⁹⁵ Japan, Australia sign defense pact to counter China's rise - Nikkei Asia accessed on 11 Dec 21

Indo - Japan Relations

India and Japan share a common vision centered on sustainable development of peace, stability, and shared prosperity. The bilateral partnership between the two nations is based on shared democratic ideals and commitments to human rights, pluralism, open society, and the rule of law. The long-term political, economic, and strategic interests, goals, aims, and concerns of India and Japan are reflected in their worldwide alliance. In line with their global collaboration, Japan and India see each other as partners who share responsibility for and are capable of responding to global and regional concerns. As a result, a strong, affluent, and energetic India benefits Japan, and vice versa.

Japan contributes funds and technology to a variety of disciplines and initiatives. The first Ministerial-level Economic Dialogue between India and Japan took place in New Delhi in 2012. The basic engine of the India-Japan relationship is economic contact. India continues to be Japan's top beneficiary of official development assistance (ODA). In the fiscal year 2011-12, ODA disbursements hit a new high of Yen 139.22 billion (approx. Rs 8497 Crores). Japanese technology is being used in a number of significant projects across India, mostly in infrastructure projects such as Metro rail projects in various metropolitan areas. Japan also approved ODA financing to two projects, the Dedicated Freight Corridor Western Project Phase II and the Chennai Metro Rail Project, totaling Yen 184.81 billion (about Rs 11,000 Crores). Japan is also assisting in the construction of the Delhi-Mumbai Bullet Train. Japan's ODA⁹⁶ pledge in FY 2018-19 was at an all-time high of JPY 537.4 billion, a new record.

⁹⁶ India-Japan Partnership: Trade And Beyond (cnbctv18.com) accessed on 27 Jan 22

Japan is seen as an important member in India's economic transition. In recent years, the India-Japan relationship⁹⁷ has evolved into a strong and strategic cooperation. Japan's interest in India is expanding for a variety of reasons, including the country's enormous and developing market as well as its resources, particularly its human resources. In fiscal year 2018-19, Japan's bilateral trade with India totaled US\$ 17.63 billion. During this time, Japan's exports to India were \$12.77 billion, while imports totaled \$4.86 billion. For the fiscal year 2019-20 (April to December), bilateral trade between India and Japan was US\$ 11.87 billion. India's exports to Japan totaled US\$ 3.94 billion, while the country's imports totaled US\$ 7.93 billion. Petroleum products, chemicals, elements, compounds, non-metallic mineral goods, fish & fish preparations, metalliferous ores & scrap, clothes & accessories, iron & steel products, textile yarn, textiles, and machinery are among India's main exports to Japan. Machinery, electrical machinery, iron and steel goods, plastic materials, non-ferrous metals, components of motor vehicles, organic chemicals, metal manufactures, and other items are among India's main imports from Japan.

Two leaders announced "the Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation between Japan and India"⁹⁸ during Prime Minister Singh's visit to Japan in October 2008. The Foreign and Defense Ministerial Meeting ("2+2"), the yearly Defense Ministerial Discussion, and the Coast Guard-to-Coast Guard dialogue are all examples of security and defence dialogue between Japan and India. The inaugural "2+2" meeting was conducted in New Delhi in November 2019. The Agreement between the Governments

⁹⁷ India-Japan_Bilateral_Brief_feb_2020.pdf (mea.gov.in) accessed on 27 Jan 22

⁹⁸ Japan-India Relations (Basic Data) | Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (mofa.go.jp) accessed on 17 Jan 22

of Japan and the Republic of India Concerning Reciprocal Provision of Supplies and Services between the Self-Defense Forces of Japan and the Indian Armed Forces (also known as the "Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement" or ACSA) was signed on September 9th, 2020. The ACSA took effect in July of 2021.

Japan – China Relations

China and Japan, according to Toda Nakeshi and others (2014), are an excellent example of two nations having a complicated relationship. The tense relationship between China and Japan stretches back to 1894, when the two countries were still at odds. Since then, the two nations' relationship has gone through a rollercoaster. Several armed and unarmed battles have occurred between the two nations over the years, notably 1894, 1937, and 1945. Eventually, the nature of the Sino-Japanese tensions changed especially 1971, when China came closer to USA. A certain amount of collaboration between the two nations is currently required by obvious economic realities. Despite the peace, there is fierce competition⁹⁹ between the two economic behemoths.

In China in 1949, the rule of the Qing Dynasty was replaced with communist rule of Mao. As per Ming Wan (2006), after 1949, the two countries' animosity was transformed into a lack of communication. Despite the fact that Japan had lost much of its military capability, China nevertheless saw it as a danger due to its partnership with the United States. Furthermore, the Chinese were concerned about Japan's remilitarization. On the opposite side of the split, the Japanese were becoming increasingly concerned about China's expanding military and economic might. The issue of an existing treaty of

⁹⁹ <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10308-021-00609-3> accessed on 06 Jan22

friendship between Russia and China was also reason for worry in Japan. Usage of Japan as a base for US military during the Korean War also had an impact on China's psychology. As per author Katherine Richards (2014), China Japan relations were further affected by the "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan signed in 1951". Japan, like the majority of Western countries, regarded Taipei as the sole legal Chinese government, which was changed in 1972.

Tensions between China and Japan were eased when US President Richard Nixon visited China in 1972. As a result, China and Japan were able to establish diplomatic ties. The Chinese saw themselves as the winners of this conflict since the Japanese agreed to most of their requests. During the 1970s, the two nations' commercial connections increased at a rapid pace, with Japan sponsoring twenty-eight trade missions to China and the latter dispatching thirty. Mao Zedong's death in 1976 ushered in a slew of reforms in China, and brought a surge in Japanese investment. According to Richard Katz (2013), by 1985, the capitalization of trade between China and Japan stood at \$20 billion. Most of this trade involved industrial equipments, construction materials, technology, and crude oil. When Japan opened up to China, the rest of the world followed. All these cumulatively led to huge foreign investment in China. Some Japanese industries, such as electronics and automobiles, became reliant on China's low cost labour. A considerable technology transfer took place to China as a result of these collaborations. In the last two decades of last century, Japan also saw a huge inflow of tourists from China, many of them were interested in purchasing Japanese gadgets.

Historic rivalry between Japanese and Chinese people remains in the background. The conflict over the Senkaku Islands put relations between the two countries to the test

once more. There were massive protests in China against Japan in many Chinese cities on this issue in 2012 leading to attack on Japanese embassy. China has been flying military aircraft along the air defence zones of these islands. Japan was also critical of human right abuses in Hong Kong and Xinjiang. In Japanese public, the consensus has been growing that the economic and public engagement with China was a mistake¹⁰⁰. China has not changed politically, nor has it acquired appreciative or friendly emotions for Japan, according to the Japanese. On the contrary, it is rapidly becoming Japan's greatest fear — a powerful, Communist-led one-party state that is bitter and spiteful toward Tokyo. Worst of all, China is rapidly expanding its naval military capabilities, which appear to be increasingly targeted towards Japan's interests. Complacency about China and Japan being able to get along and never clash again would betray a lengthy history of confrontations and wars which has wreaked havoc on the area and the two nations themselves.

Australia

Indo – Australian Relations

Since well before India's independence, Australia and India have maintained diplomatic ties. Australia backed India's admission to the Commonwealth of Nations as a republic. Robert Menzies¹⁰¹, the first Australian Prime Minister to visit India, met with Governor-General Chakravarti Rajagopalachari and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in 1950. During the Cold War, however, there were some disagreements in foreign policy goals.

¹⁰⁰ The Most Dangerous Problem in Asia: China-Japan Relations – The Diplomat accessed on 19 Jan 22

¹⁰¹ Menzies on Tour - India (unimelb.edu.au) accessed on 17 Jan 22

During the 1950s and 1960s, many Indian students were sponsored to study in Australia. Following the relaxation of immigration rules in the late 1960s, an influx of Indians, particularly professionals, migrated to Australia. Indians were major source of new immigrants to Australia in 2011–12, as well. With over 60,000 Indian university students on student visas in Australia in 2019, Australia is the second most popular location for Indian university students.

The two countries formed a "Strategic Partnership"¹⁰² in 2009, and their relationship has grown tremendously since then. A K Antony was the first Indian Defence Minister to visit Australia in 2013. Mr. Narendra Modi, the current Prime Minister of India, visited Australia in November 2014, just a few months after taking office.

The commercial connection between India and Australia has grown significantly in recent years, owing to several complementarities between the two economies. The value of two-way products¹⁰³ and services trade has increased from \$13.6 billion in 2007 to \$24.3 billion by 2020. India is Australia's fifth-largest export market and seventh-largest trade partner. Coal, copper, and gold are key exports to India, while refined petroleum, pearls and stones, and pharmaceuticals are major imports. Refined petroleum, services (such as outsourcing), pearls, gems, jewellery, and medicines are all samples of Indian exports to Australia.

¹⁰² PA5009 INDIAN AND AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTERS AGREE A STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP (embassy.gov.au) accessed on 17 Jan 22

¹⁰³ Australia-India Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (AI-CECA) | Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (dfat.gov.au) accessed on 27 Jan 22

Following an agreement reached in 2014, Australia exported its first supply of uranium¹⁰⁴ to India in 2017. This is significant, as it has the potential to deepen the two countries' relationship. This is the first time Australia has provided uranium to a country that has not ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). This is also crucial in terms of meeting India's growing energy demands.

In November 2014, Prime Ministers Abbott and Modi inked a historic agreement to strengthen¹⁰⁵ their countries' defence ties. Annual Prime Ministerial meetings and cooperative marine exercises are part of the framework for security cooperation. Counter-terrorism, border control, and regional and international organizations are among the areas where cooperation has strengthened. In an address to the Australian parliament, Prime Minister Modi declared that "Our common values and objectives, as well as our vital maritime positions, have led to this natural cooperation... For furthering regional peace and stability and battling terrorism and transnational crimes, security and defence are crucial and increasing sectors of the new India-Australia collaboration¹⁰⁶." India and Australia inked an agreement on June 4, 2020, to provide access to each other's military sites in order to conduct cooperative military exercises. The Mutual Logistics Support Agreement¹⁰⁷ permits each nation to utilize the other's bases for aircraft and naval vessel refueling and repair. Due to the COVID-19 epidemic, this agreement was signed during a virtual summit between Prime Ministers Narendra Modi and Scott Morrison.

¹⁰⁴ Australia quietly makes first uranium shipment to India three years after supply agreement - ABC News accessed on 27 Jan 22

¹⁰⁵ India, Australia vow closer security and trade ties (yahoo.com) accessed on 22 Jan 22

¹⁰⁶ India and Australia sign military base and cyber accords | Reuters accessed on 26 Jan 22

¹⁰⁷ Joint Statement on a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between Republic of India and Australia | Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (dfat.gov.au) accessed on 26 Jan 22

Australia – China Relations

The Australian-Chinese diplomatic relationship was established in 1941. After the Republic of China (ROC) lost the Chinese Civil War and fled to Taiwan in 1949, Australia continued to recognize the ROC government, but on December 21, 1972, it exchanged recognition to the People's Republic of China (PRC). China and Australia's cooperation has expanded significantly over the years. Both nations became involved in a variety of economic, cultural, and political organizations, including APEC, the East Asia Summit, and the G 20.

China initiated market-oriented reforms a few years after diplomatic relations were established, resulting in a considerable and growing development of bilateral trade. Between 2007 and 2011, China overtook the United States as Australia's most important commercial partner, owing to China's high demand for iron ore, coal, and liquefied natural gas.¹⁰⁸ Australia was able to avoid the harshest consequences of the global financial crisis because to its exports to China. For exports, several large Australian mining corporations looked to China and other fast-growing nations like India. Clothing, telecommunications equipment and components, computers, toys, prams, and athletic equipment are among China's primary exports to Australia.

China also relied on Australia for high technology, including the technology transfer of the Houbei class missile boat.¹⁰⁹ During a trip to Shanghai in 2013, Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard announced the currency arrangement, which would see the Australian dollar become just the third currency after the US dollar and the Japanese Yen

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/fs/chin.pdf> accessed on 19 Jan 22

¹⁰⁹ Insight: From a ferry, a Chinese fast-attack boat | Reuters accessed on 19 Jan 22

to trade directly with the Chinese Yuan. Australia and China signed a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the two countries in 2015 and called it as ‘The China–Australia Free Trade Agreement (ChAFTA), to pave the way for the next phase of Australia's economic relationship and seek Chinese investment.¹¹⁰ In 2010-11, bilateral trade between the two nations was valued A\$105 billion, but by 2019-20, it had increased¹¹¹ to A\$ 231 billion.

Every year, the Australia-China Business Awards¹¹² (ACBA) were held by the Australian Chamber of Commerce in Greater China to recognize firms that have worked to offer Australian products or services in China. In addition, Canberra had taken a number of pro-Beijing positions, including joining the China-run Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank, leasing Darwin Port for 99 years to a Chinese corporation, Landbridge, and failing to follow up on US freedom of navigation missions in the South China Sea.

The relationship between Australia and China has generally been driven by global geopolitical and strategic concerns, although the two nations have developed a range of shared bilateral and regional interests, including substantial economic links, since the 1980s. However, as a rising global power, China continues to approach bilateral ties in the perspective of larger global challenges. Because of Australia's alliance with the United States, the country's ties with China are inextricably connected to the health of the US-China relationship. The relations started to deteriorate between them after spread of COVID 19 and US - China trade war. According to Australian Centre for Independent

¹¹⁰ China–Australia Free Trade Agreement | Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (dfat.gov.au) accessed on 18 Jan 22

¹¹¹ Australia's exports to China are jumping despite their trade fight (cnbc.com) accessed on 19 Jan 22

¹¹² <http://austcham-china.com/content/basic-page/about> accessed on 19 Jan 22

Studies executive director Tom Switzer¹¹³, “It’s difficult to pinpoint a precise turning point in the deterioration in Sino-Australian relations, but I would say it was sometime in 2017,” and “it was not just the Australian government’s shift in policy and rhetoric, but China’s increasingly assertive stance owing to the rise of President Xi Jinping.”

Huawei, a Chinese firm, was barred from supplying 5G technology in Australia in 2018. Australian government also believes that China had subverted the system and interfered in internal politics of Australia. So, the Australian Federal Parliament passed legislation in December 2020 the federal government to veto in wide range of sectors, including infrastructure, trade cooperation, tourism, cultural collaboration, science, health, and education, including university research partnerships. This legislation follows Australia's National Security rules, which were introduced in 2018 to prevent overt foreign involvement in the country's domestic affairs. Following that, several collaborations with China were cancelled by state governments and publicly financed universities in Australia. The decision was made amid a severe deterioration in ties with

China had imposed a series of trade sanctions on Australian exports to the country. China targeted at least a dozen Australian goods worth around \$ 25 billion, including cotton, coal, barley, meat, wine, lobster, sugar, copper, and log wood. In 2020, Australia pushed for an impartial investigation into the origins of the corona virus pandemic. China expressed its deep anger on this issue.

Australia is also very concerned about the Chinese the Belt and Road initiatives in the Pacific Island States and feels that the unsustainable debt levels have been reached in

¹¹³ Why has the China-Australia relationship deteriorated into ‘trade war 2.0’? | South China Morning Post (scmp.com) accessed on 19 Jan 22

these countries. Australia feels that these countries will fall under China's political sway, posing new security threats to Australia and the United States.

The United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand have all denounced China for removing pro-democracy MPs from Hong Kong's legislature and also raised concerns about Chinese tech companies' intentions in other countries. The Australian Defence Minister has warned that a war¹¹⁴ over Taiwan cannot be ruled out, citing China's "very obvious" objective of reunification and the "animosity" between the two countries, as well as Home Secretary Mike Pezzullo's allegation that the "drums of war" are pounding in the region.

Indo - China Relations

Many aspects pertaining to Indo China relations have been covered in Chapter I. Due to 24x7 news channels and widespread availability of mobiles and internet, the Indian public is much more aware of Indo – China relations. The mainstreaming of anti-China sentiment in India has prompted the formulation of policy choices that become operational when metaphorical red lines get crossed. It is critical to recognise that the Galwan Valley battle in 2020 was indeed a terrible but watershed moment in Sino-Indian relations. This didn't not come as a surprise to many experts, as China had been refusing to settle the boundary dispute since long. According to documents maintained by the Indian Parliament¹¹⁵, Chinese military committed over 1,000 breaches between 2016 and 2018. China's ventures into South Asia, such as adventurism in the Indian Ocean Region or along disputed frontiers, are sometimes intended to spoil India's image. The Sino-

¹¹⁴ The deterioration in Australia China relations - The Financial Express accessed on 17 Jan 22

¹¹⁵ Questions : Lok Sabha (loksabhaph.nic.in) accessed on 11 Jan 22

Indian relationship is increasingly being seen through the lens of the Sino-US split in Beijing. Despite 14 rounds of diplomatic and military talks up to January 2022, there has been only limited de-escalation between the two neighbours on freezing borders.

Meanwhile, during a news conference held ahead of Army Day 2022, Army Chief General MM Naravane stated that the Indian Army "maintained the highest levels of operational preparedness, while engaging in persistent engagement with the PLA." "Force levels are more or less the same and from our side strengthened," the Indian COAS said. Both sides appear to be determined to "keeping over 1 lakh soldiers... stationed in the high altitude zone throughout the harsh winter." He went on to explain that the current standoff is the consequence of the PLA's large-scale deployment, but it is unclear if "they will permanently station themselves there or whether they will be receptive to some type of de-induction in the future." There are now additional friction points too. China has long called the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh "southern Tibet," and in December, it renamed 15 places¹¹⁶ in the state including eight residential areas, four mountains, two rivers and a mountain pass. In fact, the Chinese foreign ministry a year ago said that its position on the eastern sector of the border is "consistent and clear," adding that "We have never recognized so-called 'Arunachal Pradesh' illegally established on Chinese territory." The Indian Ministry of External Affairs responded¹¹⁷ to the latest development harshly by replying that "Arunachal Pradesh has always been, and will always be an integral part of India. Assigning invented names to places in Arunachal Pradesh does not alter this fact."

¹¹⁶ No Progress In China-India Military Talks – Analysis – Eurasia Review accessed on 31 Jan 22

¹¹⁷ No Progress in China-India Military Talks | ORF (orfonline.org) accessed on 27 Jan 22

Interests of Member Countries in Joining the Quad

After examining Quad's countries relations with each other and their relations with China, we will see why these countries have come together in forming the Quad. All the countries of Quad have their own interests and concerns in joining the Quad partnership. These are being discussed in succeeding paragraphs.

US interests in Joining the Quad

It is natural for the United States to collaborate closely with Quad countries. Australia and Japan are treaty allies of the United States, while India is a key strategic partner. The Trump presidency collaborated extensively with these nations, and the Biden administration is working to broaden the Quad's scope.

The Indo-Pacific, which straddles two seas and numerous continents, is vital to American maritime security and trade interests. In 2019, the area had \$1.9 trillion in commerce¹¹⁸ from the United States. According to a UN estimate, 42 percent of global exports and 38 percent of global imports are anticipated to travel through this year.

Washington is concerned about China's growing willingness to disrupt the regional status quo, and Beijing's recent challenges to democratic ideals have heightened concerns among other Quad allies. The COVID-19 virus has not deterred China's pursuit of its regional ambitions, particularly its attack on Hong Kong's freedoms and condemnation of countries that disagree with its policies. USA is also concerned about sovereignty of Taiwan, to whom it has given its 'protection.' USA also wants to provide

¹¹⁸ Trade in Goods Outlook in Asia and the Pacific 2020/2021 | ESCAP (unescap.org) accessed on 27 Dec 21

security in East China Sea and stability to ASEAN countries. It along with Quad nations wants to pursue these goals in Indo Pacific. The Quad's goal, however, is not just focused on China. Leaders from the four countries also perceive the need for a more aggressive approach to addressing COVID-19's humanitarian and economic concerns.

Japan's Interests in Joining the Quad

Mr. Shinzo Abe, Japan's former Prime Minister was a firm believer in the Quad's ability to secure a "free and open Indo-Pacific." Abe attempted to persuade Trump's administration of the need of an Indo-Pacific coalition strategy. Japan's trade with the rest of the world is primarily reliant on free maritime lanes. Japan's Self-Defense Forces have progressively forged partnerships with their Australian and Indian counterparts, and the US and Japanese forces already interact closely across the area. Similarly, Japan has played a key role in promoting industry, commerce, and infrastructure development throughout the area.

Concerns over China's influence in the area, as well as Beijing's threats to the rule of law and freedom of navigation, are shared by Japan and its Quad allies. Beijing's assertion of sovereignty in the South China Sea, as well as Chinese provocations in the East China Sea over islands claimed by both China and Japan, has made Tokyo apprehensive of Beijing's military presence. For its energy and trade channels, strategic interactions with other Quad members are critical.

As China puts conditions on economic aide to nations, Japan is worried about its backyard, and it seeks to provide Southeast Asian countries with other sources of support and trade to counter China's expanding influence. Japan has teamed up with America and

Australia to increase the availability of funds for high-quality infrastructure projects. The Japanese focus will be to strengthen the Quad nations' resilience, particularly in vital supply networks for items like semiconductors and other advanced technologies, for which the region is mainly dependent on China.

Australia's Interests in Joining the Quad

Ironically, Australia's decision to leave the Quad in 2008 was prompted by expanding trade¹¹⁹ with China. This aspect has now become a lead motivator to rejoin the grouping. By 2017, China had surpassed the United States as Australia's main export destination, accounting for 35% of the country's total exports (iron ore and coal). This trajectory persisted in 2019, putting Australia in jeopardy of being totally economically dependent on China. Australia¹²⁰ has been the victim of China's use of exports as a weapon to silence international opposition and bully its way to accomplishing its foreign policy goals.

Just before the 2019 parliamentary elections, China is believed to have waged cyber assaults¹²¹ on the networks of Australia's parliament and three major political parties. For a rising number of overseas fee-paying students, Australian institutions are highly reliant on China. Relations with China have also posed a danger to Australia's societal cohesiveness. Concerns over China's purported influence operations via Chinese

¹¹⁹ Australia-China Economic and Trade Relations Are Heading for a Hard Reset – The Diplomat accessed on 24 Dec 2021

¹²⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2020/oct/28/how-much-is-chinas-trade-war-really-costing-austr>

¹²¹ <https://www.republicworld.com/world-news/rest-of-the-world-news/australia-says-china-behind-cyber-attack-on-parliament> report dated 16 Mar 2020 accessed on 25 Dec 2021

students, Chinese-Australian organizations, and Australian politicians of Chinese heritage have polarized opinion in the public.

The defence of maritime South East Asia and the South Pacific is now a top priority for Australia. Concerns over Beijing constructing and purchasing ports, infrastructural facilities, and bases across the area, especially in Fiji, Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea's Manus Island, have given new fuel to a South Pacific foreign policy.

Indian Interests in Joining the Quad

Following a difficult year that saw the bloodiest China-India border skirmishes in the Galwan Valley in June 2020, the two countries agreed in early 2021 on a simultaneous military pullback from one section of their contested border in the Ladakh area. The imminent threat of an armed clash was somewhat reduced as a result of this tactical arrangement. As soldiers on both sides stay positioned on snowy heights, tensions remain high and conflict warning indications linger. As India's Foreign Minister, Dr. Jaishankar¹²², put it, the year 2020 "profoundly impacted" the Sino-Indian relationship. Even if they stick to the painstakingly negotiated parameters of their recent disengagement agreement, the jockeying for tactical advantage along the China-India land boundary will continue. Both sides will try to achieve their military objectives and employ tactics that may bring highly armed soldiers in closer and more deadly contact.

¹²² Galwan clashes left India's relationship with China 'profoundly disturbed': Jaishankar | India News, The Indian Express of 17 Oct 2020 accessed on 27 Dec 21

India has been a ‘Net Security Provider’¹²³ in the Indian Ocean Region since long time. For India to assert this role as a Region, its dominance in the IOR needs to be maintained and sustained. Quad provides India a platform to enhance security through partnership in the region as well as emphasize that its idea of Indo-Pacific stands for a free, open, and inclusive region. Inclusive here means one that includes all countries within the geographical concept as well as others beyond with a stake in it. The Quad provides a platform to India to seek cooperation from like-minded countries on various issues such as ensuring respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and peaceful resolution of disputes. It also demonstrates a united front to check the unceremonious and belligerent activities of China. India is also looking at Quad to not only recover from the effects of the pandemic through several integrated and coordinated responses but also secure for itself a place in the new world order. It is believed that if Chinese aggressions increase on the borders, India can take the support of the other Quad members to counter the Chinese.

¹²³ <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/minister-of-state-for-external-affairs-v-muraleedharan-india-has-emerged-as-a-global-pharmacy-during-covid-233039> accessed on 13 Aug 21

CHAPTER V – INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO FORMATION OF QUAD

In this chapter, an endeavour has been made to study and bring out the reaction and responses of different groupings and countries, which have interest and stakes in Indo Pacific, to formation of Quad. The formation of Quad is viewed by various countries differently. It is enhanced security infrastructure of many countries against Chinese hegemony. Almost all the countries in the region want rule based free and open Indo Pacific region. Many island countries in the Indo Pacific have had to deal with disputes with China over exclusive economic zones or island chains. China is the largest trading partner for many countries of the region and had to face economic turbulence due to Covid 19 and threat of trade sanctions from China.

Views of ASEAN and some of its Important Members

ASEAN. On 08 August 1967, five Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand sat down together and signed a agreement to form the Association of Southeast Asian Nations¹²⁴ (ASEAN). In 1976, the members signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia¹²⁵, which emphasizes mutual respect and noninterference in other countries' affairs. Brunei joined in 1984, followed by Vietnam in 1995, Laos and Burma in 1997, and Cambodia in 1999. Today the ten member countries of ASEAN are Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. ASEAN Plus three includes the consultative group, which was initiated in 1997 and brought together ASEAN's ten members, China, Japan, and South Korea.

¹²⁴ History – ASEAN accessed on 25 Dec 21

¹²⁵ Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) – ASEAN accessed on 28 Dec 21

ASEAN nations fear conflict between the big powers will have collateral damage for them. Their fundamental concern is to avoid being caught in between China and the US and having to choose between them. Some nations have already apparently chosen, despite any rhetoric to the contrary. Cambodia and Laos are firmly in China's camp, while Singapore and the Philippines seem to be siding with the US, although not as firmly as Washington would like. Clearly the cracks in ASEAN are widening under the pressure of external powers. It appears to some ASEAN countries that the US wants to use the Quad as a regional tool¹²⁶ to advance its effort to constrain and contain China. Rather than supporting ASEAN centrality, the Quad – if effective – will become central to regional security management, particularly in the South China Sea. While the Quad members give lip service to ASEAN's aspirations, they have apparently lost confidence in ASEAN because its members increasingly eschew Western democratic values and it is ineffective in its managing regional security affairs.

Lt Gen AS Lamba¹²⁷ says that purchase of Brahmos by Philippines adds a new dimension towards evolving the much-needed idea of a collective regional deterrence to challenge arbitrary actions as the nine-dash line. The tacit approval of Southeast Asian countries to AUKUS is also seen as a bid to balance China's growing influence in the South China Sea region.

Philippines

Initially, Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte underscored his anti-U.S. and pro-Chinese orientation. On his first trip to Beijing in 2016, he announced it was “time to say

¹²⁶ <https://asiatimes.com/2021/09/the-quad-and-aucus-will-weaken-asean> accessed on 17 Feb 22

¹²⁷ To counter China, invest in regional deterrence - Hindustan Times accessed on 17 Feb 22

goodbye to Washington”—much to the delight of his host, Chinese President Xi Jinping. He had welcomed Chinese Belt and Road Initiative investments, had threatened to suspend joint military exercises with the United States, and called China “a good friend.” However, on July 12, 2020—the fourth anniversary of the 2016 ruling by the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague that rejected Beijing’s claims to the disputed waters—the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs finally acknowledged¹²⁸ the ruling publicly. The Duterte administration had previously avoided being so explicit to preserve positive ties with China.

After this Philippines stance had changed. Duterte’s 23 Sep 2020 speech¹²⁹ at the United Nations General Assembly was another indication he had turned the corner on China. He directly addressed the issue of South China Sea disputes by noting the 2016 ruling was “beyond compromise,” adding “we firmly reject attempts to undermine it.” It was the most direct confrontation with Beijing Duterte ever risked, and it showed his position against China was hardening. The shift back to the United States’ camp logically followed from there. Quad presents an additional foundation for the Philippines¹³⁰ to craft more effective policies and actions in the South China Sea in support of its bilateral and regional efforts. In 2022, Philippines decided to buy a USD 375 million package of Brahmos supersonic anti-ship missiles from India, tapping China’s main strategic rival in Asia to shore up its defenses in the disputed South China Sea. The acquisition of the Brahmos, said to be the world’s fastest cruise missile, marks a breakthrough in efforts to

¹²⁸ After Four Years, the Philippines Acknowledges the 2016 Arbitral Tribunal Award! | Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative (csis.org) accessed on 21 Dec 21

¹²⁹ <https://www.rappler.com/nation/full-text-duterte-unga-speech-2020> accessed on 22 Dec 21

¹³⁰ <https://www.philstar.com/business/2021/05/28/2101256/indo-pacific-quad-relevance-philippines> accessed on 06 Jan 22

upgrade the Philippines' defense arsenal¹³¹, according to an analyst. The version of Brahmos acquired by the Philippines has a range of 290 km and is expected to support control of disputed sea spaces also claimed by China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Taiwan and Brunei. Philippines¹³² government feels that Quad presents an additional foundation for it to craft more effective policies and actions in the South China Sea in support of its bilateral and regional efforts.

Indonesia

In December 2019, Chinese coast guard¹³³ vessel escorted several Chinese fishing boats into Indonesian waters that were within China's self-proclaimed "nine-dash line," This was in Indonesia's exclusive economic zone (EEZ) near the Natuna Islands in the South China Sea. By the end of December 2021, the stand-off between Indonesia and China over their respective claims to the waters around the Natuna region became more strident. This is an area of contested claims from the Chinese side that violates the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS); Beijing claims roughly 80% of the maritime spaces in the South China Sea. For Jakarta, the regions extending north of the Natuna Island fall under Indonesian waters, where the country can carry out exploration of resources. Tensions between Indonesia and China in the territorial waters of this region were clear, as Jakarta has been liaising with international companies to explore its EEZ for resources. Indonesia's response to China has been complex as it has tried to balance its sovereign rights and its economic relations with China. Beijing has

¹³¹ <https://euro-sd.com/2022/01/articles/exclusive/25101/brahmos-anti-ship-missile/#:~:text=BRAHMOS%20Anti-> accessed on 08 Feb 22

¹³² <https://www.philstar.com/business/2021/05/28/2101256/indo-pacific-quad-relevance-philippines> accessed on 08 Feb 22

¹³³ <https://www.fpri.org/article/2020/01/the-next-front-china-and-indonesia-in-the-south-china-sea> accessed on 08 Feb 22

become one of the largest investors in infrastructure development in Indonesia. In September 2020, the AUKUS deal went through between the US, UK and Australia, which saw diplomatic stress between China and Indonesia. This was because the Chinese foreign ministry summoned the Indonesian ambassador and expressed its concerns over the AUKUS deal, pushing Jakarta firmly into a tight corner on the US-China rivalry issue. Given that Indonesia is neither a member of the AUKUS, nor a party to the South China Sea dispute, this diplomatic pressure by China was clearly misdirected as Jakarta had no leverage on how regional states of ASEAN would respond to the AUKUS. Recently, Vice-Admiral Amarulla Octavian, Rector of Indonesia Defense University¹³⁴ said that Indonesia has a strong interest in security and stability in the Indian and the Pacific oceans and Indonesia views the Quad as an attempt by several countries to offer different solutions to resolving conflicts in the South China Sea.

Vietnam

China and Vietnam had fought a war in 1979 which ended in a stalemate and return of PLA back into Chinese territory after five weeks of fighting. There were a series of border and naval clashes between and Vietnam following the Sino-Vietnamese War. These clashes lasted until the normalization of ties in 1991. However, in 2014, the China National Offshore Oil Company (CNOOC) sent the oil rig deep into Vietnam's claimed exclusive economic zone (EEZ). For weeks, Chinese and Vietnamese vessels harassed each other intensely and appeared to be on the brink of violence. That incident is seen as the closest Hanoi and Beijing have come to escalating into open confrontation. Vietnam

¹³⁴ <https://stratnewsglobal.com/defence-security/indonesia-hopes-the-quad-aligns-with-asean-interests/> accessed on 07 Feb 22

has experienced intensified Chinese coercion particularly in the maritime domain in recent years. To hedge its bets and in recognition of the similar views, Vietnam has strived to further strengthen its diplomatic ties and partnerships with key powers, including the United States, Japan, the EU, Australia, and India. These powers have improved security collaboration with Vietnam, paying special attention to maritime issues. Hanoi's reconciliation with Washington and improving relations with other powers are important steps toward containing the threat China poses. Hanoi remains heavily invested in encouraging Washington to stay attentive to issues in Southeast Asia and the South China Sea. Vietnam has seemingly welcomed the Quad precisely because of its utility as a counterweight to Beijing. In turn, a common perception of Vietnam's own strategic utility¹³⁵ as a forward-leaning counter-claimant to China in the South China Sea has motivated the Quad to gradually draw Hanoi closer to it.

Taiwan

The leaders of Taiwan feel that China's aggressive rise for regional dominance continues to upset the rules-based order. It feels that China is an existential threat to Taiwan. Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen delivered her National Day address in Oct 2020, in which she stressed her administration's determination to safeguard Taiwan's national security and outlined the country's post-pandemic economic strategies including defend not only through investment in defence capabilities and military preparedness, but also by playing an active role in establishing alliances based on shared values with like-

¹³⁵ <https://thediplomat.com/2018/05/the-quad-vietnam-and-the-role-of-democratic-values/> accessed on 06 Feb 22

minded nations. Tsai¹³⁶ is, therefore, cognizant about the Quad's role in the region, describing that "countries in the region have forged alliances to ensure that their national security and democratic systems are not affected by external influence." Thus, such statements signal Taiwan's bet for the Quad. Taiwan hopes that Quad members shall recognize it as a way to counter Chinese revisionist behaviour. However, this prospect remains less likely because the Quad members restrain themselves from doing so due to domestic and foreign policy considerations. Taiwan also feels that there is a growing Indian popular support for Taiwan amid an aggravating Indian mistrust to deal with China. It also feels that a call to ignore – if not totally abandon – India's One China policy is now present. A reciprocal Taiwanese view is also present in its polity to upgrade Taiwan-Indian relations. Brahma Chellaney¹³⁷, (2020) a professor of strategic studies at the New Delhi-based Center for Policy Research in his article writes that the Quad once merely symbolized an emerging international effort to establish a discreet check on Chinese power. However now, if Xi's increasing threats toward Taiwan lead to military action, then a grand international military coalition, with the Quad at its core, will become inevitable.

European Union

The EU has been present just as an economic actor in Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific for long. The strategic and political developments in this region did not fall in its immediate radar. Until 2020, the EU had not engaged with the idea of the Indo-Pacific and neither did it define its policy or priorities for the region. The reason for this

¹³⁶ The Limits of Taiwan's Bet for the Quad – Taiwan Insight accessed on 17 Jan 22

¹³⁷ The Quad sharpens its edges - Taipei Times accessed on 29 Dec 21

hesitance was the strong economic relationship of some member states of the EU with China, EU feared that doing so would indicate alignment with the US and would alienate China.

Since China's coercive diplomacy in Europe during the height of the covid-19 pandemic, the EU and its member states are doing a significant recalibration in their relationship with China. There is a growing understanding in Europe of the need for economic diversification, especially in terms of supply chains. This involves 'thinking beyond China. Recently, members¹³⁸ like Germany, France, and the Netherlands have all started embracing the notion of the Indo-Pacific and are also integrating the Indo-Pacific in their own national security strategies. Therefore, these EU member states have been the driving force behind pushing Brussels to adopt the Indo-Pacific as a strategic concept.

The French have a big interest in Indo-Pacific because the French inherited huge territories in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific and France holds the second maritime domain¹³⁹ in the world at 11 million square kilometers and sixty percent of it is in Indo-Pacific. There are 1.6 million French people living on islands from New Zealand, New Caledonia, and to the Pacific islands. In 2020 the Italian government froze some ongoing deals with Chinese big enterprises in infrastructure and space, such as the participation of the China Communications Construction Company in the renovation and connectivity plan of the Port of Trieste. Similarly in space cooperation, Italy stopped the assistance to Chinese space program. Germany¹⁴⁰ released its "Policy guidelines for the Indo-Pacific

¹³⁸ What does an EU Indo-Pacific Strategy entail? | ORF (orfonline.org) accessed on 25 Dec 21

¹³⁹ <https://www.navalnews.com/naval-news/2022/02/the-future-of-the-french-navy-csis-conversation-with-adm-vandier> accessed on 08 Mar 22

¹⁴⁰ Friends in deed: How the EU and the Quad can promote security in the Indo-Pacific – European Council on Foreign Relations (ecfr.eu) accessed on 26 Dec 21

region” in September 2020, soon followed by the Netherlands’ own guidelines on the subject. The concerns were slowly growing in EU over China’s rise and its anti – democratic, aggressive and expansionist policies in the South China Sea, the Taiwan Strait, Hong Kong and Xinjiang. Additionally, the growing USA - China rivalry and how that could negatively impact European interests was one of the factors that could not be taken lightly any longer by Europe.

Given Europe has mostly engaged with this region in the trading realm, security of the Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOCs) and the safe passage of commercial vessels is an important concern for the EU. Given China’s expansionist tendencies in the Western Pacific and its growing footprints in the Indian Ocean, it is only logical for the EU to think of working alongside other like-minded countries in the Indo-Pacific region like India, Japan, Australia, and the US in the maritime domain. Europe¹⁴¹ looks at the Quad as an effective docking point for the EU to engage in the region, allowing the diversification of relationships with like-minded partners in the Indo-Pacific.

New Zealand

New Zealand has been discussing how it might fit within a re-emerging Quad, and it was a major topic of discussion at the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand trilateral¹⁴² meeting in November 2017. Although New Zealand engages many of its regional neighbours in security dialogues, including the Five-Power Defence Arrangements¹⁴³ and the ‘Five Eyes’ intelligence sharing mechanism, the formalization of Quad talks would

¹⁴¹ <https://ecfr.eu/article/friends-in-deed-how-the-eu-and-the-quad-can-work-together-to-promote-security-in-the-indo-pacific> accessed on 26 Dec 21

¹⁴² <https://www.dfat.gov.au/news/media/Pages/third-india-australia-indonesia-trilateral-senior-officials-dialogue> accessed on 03 Mar 22

¹⁴³ FPDA (iiss.org) accessed on 27 Dec 21

create a considerable dilemma for New Zealand, given its interest in maintaining strong diplomatic and economic relations with all the major players in the region. The Five Eyes alliance is an intelligence-sharing arrangement between five English-speaking democracies: the US, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. But recently it has suffered an embarrassing setback. In November 2021, four of the members of the alliance jointly condemned China's treatment of its Uyghur population in Xinjiang province and expressed concern over China's de facto military takeover of the South China Sea, its suppression of democracy in Hong Kong and its threatening moves towards Taiwan. However, New Zealand opted out of confronting China. Surprisingly, perhaps, for a nation that prides itself on respect for human rights, New Zealand's Foreign Minister Nanaia Mahuta declined to join in this Western condemnation¹⁴⁴ of Beijing, saying "it felt uncomfortable" with expanding the alliance's role by putting pressure on China in this way. Although New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern recently admitted that its differences with China are becoming "harder to reconcile", the country still prefers to pursue its own bilateral relations with Beijing.

South Korea

As North Korea remains the core driver of South Korea's foreign policy, Seoul attempts to maintain a good relationship with China, which is the biggest trade partner and main benefactor of North Korea, enabling sustainment of the momentum of inter-Korean dialogue. South Korea fears that, forging Quad networked security architecture would strengthen Chinese fear of encirclement, which is likely to lead to Beijing undertaking strategic or economic countermoves toward US allies and partners

¹⁴⁴ Five Eyes: Is the alliance in trouble over China? - BBC News accessed on 27 Dec 21

participating in the architecture, as evidenced by Chinese economic coercion¹⁴⁵ during the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) deployment dispute in South Korea in 2016. As long as North Korea is the core driver of South Korea's foreign policy, Seoul needs to maintain a good relationship¹⁴⁶ with China to preserve the momentum of inter-Korean dialogue. This explains Seoul's relatively accommodating foreign policy attitude towards China. During President Moon's visit to Washington in May 2021, the two sides' joint statement explicitly mentioned the Quad, stating¹⁴⁷ that they "acknowledge the importance of open, transparent, and inclusive regional multilateralism." The statement also affirmed "support for enhanced cooperation with Pacific Island Countries," which can be interpreted as leaving room for working with New Zealand. Political leadership at this time, Democratic Party's Moon Jae-in is ineligible for reelection in March 2022, ending a China-friendly and US-skeptical administration. As Moon famously wrote in 2017, South Korea should learn to "say no to the Americans." On the other hand, Yoon Seok Youl, the presidential favorite for the People Power Party (the conservative opposition party), has doubled down on its pro-US and China-critical roots. As Yoon said in July, "there must not be any light in South Korea-US relations, and given that close relation with the US, other countries like China will pay attention to us." However, during President Moon's visit to Washington in May 2021, the two sides' in their joint statement¹⁴⁸ explicitly mentioned the Quad, stating that they "acknowledge the importance of open, transparent, and inclusive regional multilateralism." Elections have

¹⁴⁵ South Korea's Perspective on Quad Plus and Evolving Indo-Pacific Security Architecture (defense.gov) accessed on 17 Nov 21

¹⁴⁶ Why South Korea is balking at the Quad | East Asia Forum accessed on 27 Jan 22

¹⁴⁷ South Korea's Formal Membership in the Quad Plus: A Bridge Too Far? - 38 North: Informed Analysis of North Korea accessed on 27 Jan 22

¹⁴⁸ <https://thediplomat.com/2017/12/south-korea-and-the-quad-missing-out-or-opting-out> accessed on 02 Jan 22

happened in South Korea recently. Conservative candidate, Mr. Yoon Suk Yeol has been elected as successor to Mr. Moon and there could be a shift in South Korean policy on Quad.

United Kingdom

Although the U.K.'s foreign policy strategy¹⁴⁹ was officially released in 2021, evidence already pointed to a substantial orientation of its security, development, and trade policies toward the Indo-Pacific. Prior to the U.K.'s official exit from the EU, the Johnson government started pursuing partnerships and initiatives beyond EU. Mr Johnson is also leading an initiative to build a “D10” alliance of democracies – the G-7 plus Australia, South Korea, and India – to create alternative suppliers of 5G equipment and other technology to reduce China’s domination of global digital infrastructure.

As per report of January 2020, defending “Europe: Global Britain and The Future Of European Geopolitics” by James Rogers notes that the U.K. is playing catch-up in the military sphere. It has moved to strengthen security cooperation with several Indo-Pacific countries, including Japan and the members of the Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA). The U.K. also continues to maintain a military outpost in Brunei and access to a naval support facility in Singapore. As per an article¹⁵⁰, “A new era for UK maritime air power: testing times, testing waters,” plans are underway to deploy the Royal Navy (RN)’s biggest flotilla of warships in a generation to the Indo-Pacific region in near future. In December 2021, British Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab had identified India, as a “major strategic partner” in the post-Brexit era with the “rise of China” providing the

¹⁴⁹ ‘Global Britain’_ The UK in the Indo-Pacific – The Diplomat (1).pdf accessed on 02 Jan 22

¹⁵⁰ A new era for UK maritime air power: testing times, testing waters (iiss.org) accessed on 27 Jan 22

context for closer strategic ties with India. As per a recent media¹⁵¹ report, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson was also looking at the possibility of the UK joining the Quad as part of its efforts to find a new global role in the wake of leaving the European Union. However, now it is part of AUKUS.

Pakistan

Pakistan has largely stayed away from saying anything on Quad because of competing interests of USA and China. However, its response is largely from the prism of Indian perspective. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi, in an interview¹⁵² in May 2021 published on Nikkie Asia, responded to the question by the interviewer, whether Pakistan would grant access to the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) & Navy to strategic ports such as Gwadar port, and allow the Chinese to have bases there, the Pakistan Foreign Minister said it depends on how Quad turns out. When the interviewer quipped and asked if the Quad worries or concerns Pakistan and how Pakistan views the Quad, Qureshi said, he sees the Quad 'with interest'. He also ranted about how the USA has left Pakistan high and dry, forming an alliance with India. He mentioned "the Quad" at least thrice in the interview despite the interviewer not making any mention.

Dr. Zafar Nawaz Jaspal¹⁵³, Professor at School of Politics and International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad was of the view in a security seminar that

¹⁵¹ <https://www.telegraphindia.com/world/boris-johnson-keen-on-uk-joining-the-quad/cid/1805192> accessed on 07 Mar 22

¹⁵² India & US axis in Quad spooks Pakistan? Foreign Minister Qureshi spills the beans (republicworld.com) accessed on 10 Dec 21

¹⁵³ "Transformation of QUAD into a military alliance and Policy options for Pakistan" – Webinar by Pakistan House | Pakistan In the World accessed on 27 Dec 21

QUAD is a new kind of 21st Century security alliance and countering China's rise remains high on the agenda of the QUAD. He said that China views QUAD as Asian NATO, as it is decreasing the security of non-member states in the region. However, U.S. has rejected this narrative, as QUAD members are not bound by compulsions of Article 5 of NATO Charter. He believes that if India joins QUAD it will be detrimental for the interests of Pakistan as well as China. India will be able to advance strategically and QUAD might help it to rise from a middle power status to great power status. India's approach to QUAD is for balancing along with those states that are threatened with the rise of China. Through QUAD, India might try to isolate Pakistan globally. The geostrategic rivalries are deepening. Biden administration is investing in the new alliance so that it can contain China." Pakistan¹⁵⁴ feels that America's support to India as a bulwark against China has also upset the balance of power in South Asia, with New Delhi harbouring superpower illusions. Instead of forming competing blocs with military dimensions, a much better option would be to integrate regional economies and promote trade and people-to-people exchanges.

Russia

Russia sees the Quad as an anti-Chinese construct and hence primarily targeted at China. From the Russian perspective, challenging China is akin to challenging the basics of a multipolar world. Close on the heels of the first Quad summit that took place in March 2021, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov visited China, Pakistan, South Korea and India to re-emphasize Russia's relevance in the region. Mr. Lavrov's visit to Pakistan raised some concerns in India, especially the potential possibilities of greater

¹⁵⁴ 'Quad' meeting - Newspaper - DAWN.COM accessed on 05 Dec 21

Russia - Pakistan defence and strategic cooperation. Russia feels that Quad¹⁵⁵ reflects the United States' persistent, aggressive and devious policy intended to ensnare India in its anti - China game. Secondly, Russia feels that Quad is meant to undermine the close partnership between India and Russia. Third, that Quad is divisive and undermines the centrality of the ASEAN grouping of South-East Asian countries. Russian foreign minister had called Quad as Asian NATO. Vladimir Putin, the Russian President's remarked¹⁵⁶ in Jun 2021, in response to a question on Moscow's views on Quad as well as India's participation in the grouping, were a veiled endorsement of the Chinese claim that Quad is meant to contain Beijing's influence in the strategic Indo-Pacific region.

China's Response to Quad

In 2018, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi derided the Quad and Indo-Pacific concept¹⁵⁷, as a "headline-grabbing proposal" that would "dissipate like sea foam." A Global Times (GT) editorial, a daily tabloid newspaper under the auspices of the Chinese Communist Party, said that the inclusion of Australia in the Malabar exercise after formation of Quad is aimed at putting pressure on China. The tabloid blamed the US for turning the Quad into 'Asian NATO'¹⁵⁸. "The three [India, Japan and Australia] have seen a "threat" because they are unaccustomed to China's rise, but have developed relationships with each other because of China's rapid growth." While the editorial addressed the territorial disputes with India and Japan, it blamed Australia for following the US that resulted in tensions between Beijing and Canberra. The so-called Indo-Pacific

¹⁵⁵ India between Russia and the Quad | Deccan Herald accessed on 02 Dec 21

¹⁵⁶ Vladimir Putin's Reply On Quad Alliance After His Foreign Minister Calls It 'Asian NATO': Report (ndtv.com) accessed on 27 Dec 21

¹⁵⁷ Quad 2.0 Is Off to a Good Start – It Must Keep Going – The Diplomat accessed on 13 Aug 21

¹⁵⁸ Propelling 'Asian NATO' beyond US capacity: Global Times editorial - Global Times accessed on 30 Dec 21

strategy is a legacy of the Trump administration, and no one in the strategic community doubts that the Biden administration has inherited it and plans to advance it with the long-term goal to include more countries in containing China. The report further stated that Quad is an Asian version of NATO, and it is widely believed to fit well with Washington's ambitions. The Quad focuses on security and military cooperation, and is well known to be aimed at China. That being said, China won't sit idly by without taking countermeasures, which will for sure affect bilateral ties between China and the Quad members.

Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi¹⁵⁹ speaking to Chinese press on 07 Mar 2021 just prior to US Defence Secretary's visit to India said that the similar situations faced by China and India, mean the two share the same or likeminded views toward many major issues, which makes China and India friends and partners, not threats and opponents. Wang further said that the border issue is a historical problem, and doesn't represent the entirety of bilateral relations. "The rights and wrongs of last year's border fight are quite evident; and the triumphs and failures are also obvious," the minister added, emphasizing that unilateral confrontation solves no problems and that peaceful discussion is the way forward.

Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman¹⁶⁰ Zhao Lijian speaking about Quad first in person summit on 24 September 2021, told the media that cooperation between the countries should not target third parties. He said that "It is China's consistent belief that

¹⁵⁹ Peaceful negotiation 'only way out' of China-India border clash: Chinese FM - Global Times accessed on 25 Nov 21

¹⁶⁰ Abandon Narrow-Minded Geopolitical Rivalry Concept: China On Quad Meet (ndtv.com) accessed on 27 Jan 22

any regional cooperation mechanism should follow the trend of peace and development, and help promote mutual trust and cooperation among regional countries rather than target a third party or undermine its interests.” "Forming closed and exclusive 'cliques' targeting other countries runs counter to the trend of the times and deviates from the expectation of regional countries. It thus wins no support and is doomed to fail," he said.

China initially also wanted to convey a message that the Quad would have a limited impact¹⁶¹ on Asian affairs, as there are only four countries in the Quad and Asia is a very vast continent with many countries with varying interests. Besides, the Quad countries themselves are not always on the same page: each having its own interests and different policy preferences. China also says that the Quad is focused on cooperation in the many fields including security. The four countries in fact have a lot of different interests. India, for example, has always had a very close relationship with Russia, which is considered a security threat by the US. India is also not a US ally, unlike Japan and Australia.

China while waging information and influence operations also subtly warns about rare earth material¹⁶² supply chains. It says that Chinese rare earths companies have long held the near-monopolistic position and it is not possible for other nations to shake off their reliance on China's supply chain in a short period. Chen Zhanheng, deputy head of the Association of China Rare Earth Industry has recently said that China has been investing substantially in improving its refining technologies over the past few years, thus has a distinct advantage in this regard. China feels that the western countries as of now

¹⁶¹ Quad's scope too limited to kill 'Asian Century' - Global Times accessed on 25 Dec 21

¹⁶² Quad may pose some challenge to China-produced rare earths, but too costly and unsustainable: analysts - Global Times accessed on 27 Nov 21

lack the necessary skill pool and efficiency to compete with its industries and the cost of producing locally in their own countries is more than importing from it.

During the epidemic, China's ties with each of the Quad members have deteriorated. Tensions between the United States and China remained high; Beijing's dissatisfaction was palpable when the new Biden foreign policy team¹⁶³ met with its Chinese counterpart in Alaska in March 2021. As previously mentioned, Australia continues to face the burden of Chinese economic penalties after suggesting a World Health Organization probe into the origins of COVID-19 last year. China had conflict with India and Japan over territory disputes. China's envoy to Tokyo has openly criticized Prime Minister Suga, alleging that the new Quad diplomacy is "100% archaic" and shows a "Cold War mindset." Furthermore, public opinion polls¹⁶⁴ conducted by the Pew Research Center during this time period revealed that negative opinions of China had risen among the general public in the area.

As of now, very few policymakers in the Quad countries see any advantage in trying to contain Chinese influence militarily. Instead, the Quad leaders have emphasized cooperation across areas of shared interest to bolster confidence in the democracies' ability to counter China's assertion of regional influence. As long as tensions with China remain, the Quad's agenda is likely to expand as the democracies of the Indo-Pacific seek to balance China's growing power.

¹⁶³ Secretary Antony J. Blinken, National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan, Director Yang And State Councilor Wang At the Top of Their Meeting - United States Department of State accessed on 27 Dec 21

¹⁶⁴ Unfavorable Views of China Reach Historic Highs in Many Countries | Pew Research Center accessed on 27 Dec 21

CHAPTER VI : ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Analysis

Introduction to Survey A survey of close ended questionnaire consisting of 15 Questions with sub questions, was carried out among a sample of 50 senior officers to seek the opinion of the respondents on the current thought process about Quad alliance, its ability to bring peace and stability to Indo-Pacific region, formation of a joint strategy, technology sharing, their opinion about the concerns of ASEAN and possibility of including new members. The questions also included impact of Quad on Indo – Russia relations. The questionnaire had multiple options varying from ‘selecting an option’ to selecting multiple options and in the end giving policy options. The questions and responses were also intended to bring out important recommendations for the research.

Background of Respondents. 86% respondents have an interest in foreign policy of India and 14% have some knowledge. All the respondents are minimum graduates, 82% are minimum post graduates and 8% are doctorates. 68% respondents have an armed forces experience as officers and 32% are officers in government with civil background. All respondents are above 40 years old and 56% respondents are above 50. All the respondents have at least 11 years of work experience and 50% of respondents have above 31 years of experience in various government departments.

Reasons for Formulation of Quad

When asked about reasons for formulation of Quad and its objectives, most of the respondents have selected Security, Cooperation and Stability (in that order) as the

objectives for the formulation of Quad. Only 2% respondents have selected any other reason.

1. What do you think are the objectives of Quad alliance in the Indo-Pacific? You can tick on multiple options.

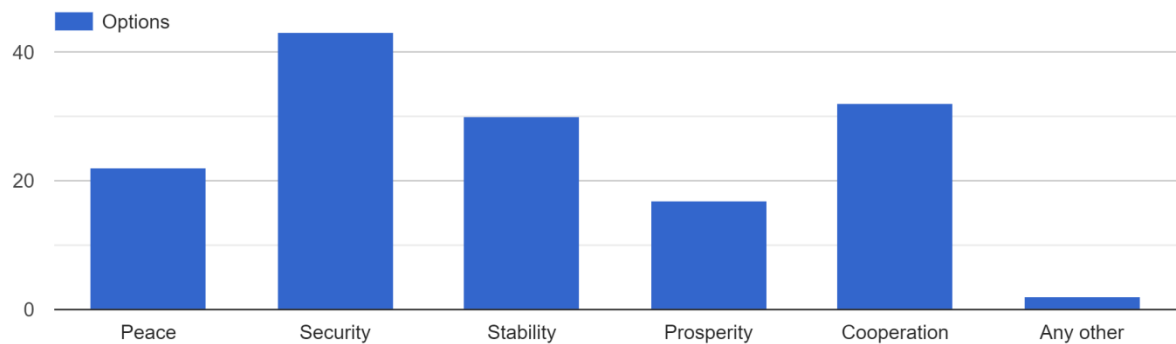


Figure 4 : Objectives of Quad

Dr Teslu Singh¹⁶⁵ said that Quad is evolving to changing situations. It is now cooperating in various fields including vaccines, cyber security, emerging technologies, infrastructure and free and open Indo Pacific. She feels that as long as Quad keeps on evolving to deal with the changing geo-political situation, future of Quad is optimistic.

Dr Amit Kumar¹⁶⁶ was of the opinion that Quad is not a military alliance. The direction, motto and nature of Quad is a grouping for benefit of like minded countries and

¹⁶⁵ Dr Teslu Singh is an expert on China and Indian foreign policy. She works for Indian Council of World Affairs, Delhi. I discussed this topic i.e. Formation of Quad and its Significance for India with Dr Teslu Singh on 11 Feb 22. Views expressed are her own and do not belong to her institution.

¹⁶⁶ I discussed this topic with Dr Amit Kumar on 17 Feb 22. He is an expert on Geo politics and has done his PhD in the same field. He has worked earlier at Observer Research Foundation (ORF), Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) National Maritime Foundation Delhi and has considerable experience on the subject. He is presently working as Research Fellow, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. The views expressed are his own and do not belong to his institution.

small littoral states with a view to ensure economic growth and peace and stability in Indo Pacific. The agenda before Quad is very vast and broad. Approach of Quad is to win hearts and minds of small island states and work together to balance China in future. Of course, Chinese aggressive behavior has led to the formation of Quad. But till date Quad is working towards prosperity of Indo Pacific Region and not as Asian NATO as China had called it.

Lt Gen Vinod Bhatia, PVSM, AVSM, SM¹⁶⁷ (Retired) said that Quad is a good partnership between India, USA, Japan and Australia. But Quad suffers from an infirmity that it does not have a security angle. Hence, he feels that Quad has not fully arrived. China is either the biggest trading partner or one of the bigger trading partners of Quad member countries. Sometimes there are conflicts of interests between member countries and own national interests are supreme for respective countries. These aspects can be exploited by China. South China Sea, Korea, Line of Actual Control (LAC) with India and East China Sea are conflict points of China. Some serious action along these conflict points could bring Quad together with security aspects.

Formation of Quad is a coming together of democracies. It is seen as a strategic grouping to preempt and reduce Chinese influences. The core objectives of the QUAD are to secure a rule based global order, liberal trading system and freedom of navigation. It seeks to contain a rising China and work against its predatory trade and economic policies. Another purpose of the QUAD is to offer alternative debt financing for nations in the Indo-Pacific region. It also includes maritime, military, cyber security and

¹⁶⁷ Lt Gen Vinod Bhatia, PVSM, AVSM, SM (Retired) is a former Director, Centre for Joint Warfare Studies, Delhi. He has experience of 40 years and was also the DGMO of Indian Army. He is a well known expert on Defence Studies and International Relations.

technological cooperation. Quad is also cooperating on provision of made in India vaccines for population of Indo Pacific countries.

China's Rise and Expansionism

The growth of China is the most pressing concern confronting the current geopolitical system. As its economic might has grown over the decades, along with the military might, it is increasingly adopting unilateral policies and projecting its dominance across the area. Controlling China's ascent, let alone containing it, is a massive task. This can only be accomplished in one of the two ways: on the basis of an existing "open rules-based system established on international law," as the Quad Leaders assert, or on the basis of a new one, as China desires. Therefore, it is essential for India to have partners like USA, Japan and Australia to counter China.

An overwhelming majority i.e. 94% respondents believe China as the worst external threat to India.

2. Whom do you consider as India's worst external threat?
50 responses

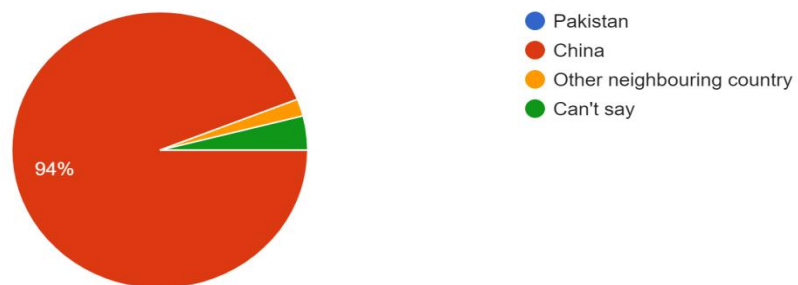


Figure 5 : Worst External Threat to India

Lt Gen Vinod Bhatia, (Retired) was of the opinion that India and China have a large LAC which is disputed. So far both the countries have managed our disputes well. There has been no escalation after Galwan. Border skirmishes can't be ruled out. Force posturing, information warfare and public opinion campaigns will continue. China is looking to become biggest super power by 2049 therefore war between India and China is unlikely. However, we may invite war, if we are not prepared for war. China respects strength. We are very late but now building infrastructure in forward areas. Mountain Strike Corps was sanctioned earlier but its raising is still incomplete. India needs three D strategies against China 1) Defend LAC, 2) Dominate the Oceans and 3) Deter the aggressive behavior with like minded nations. Quad is very important grouping in this, we have to ensure dissuasive war avoidance with China to not to invite a war.

3. What is the China's opinion on Quad? You can tick on multiple options.

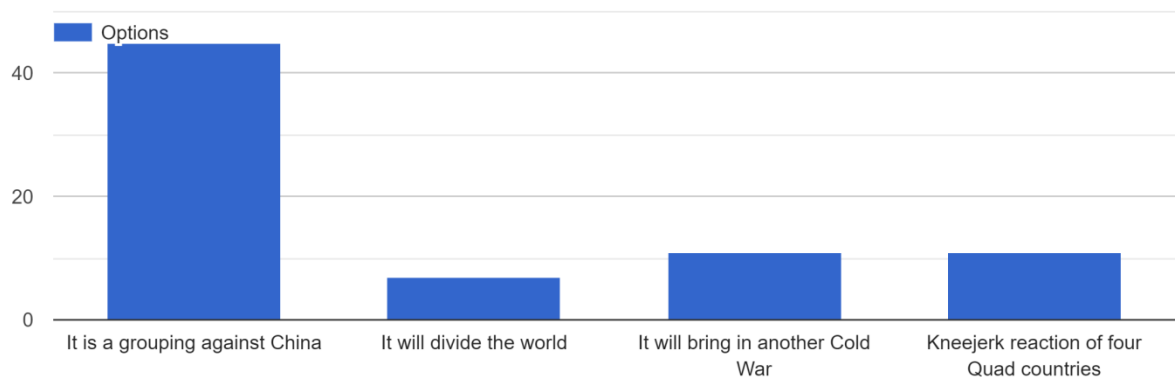


Figure 6 : China's Opinion about Quad

Most of the respondents feel that India can benefit from Quad through enhanced Security, advanced technology and close diplomatic ties with member countries.

7. How do you think India can benefit by being a member of the Quad? You can tick multiple options.

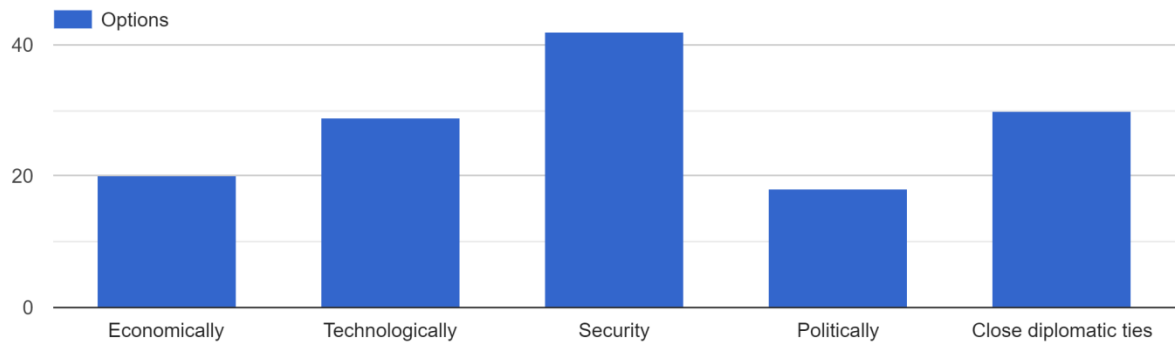


Figure 7 : Benefits to India in Joining the Quad

Lt Gen (Retd) Sunil Srivastava¹⁶⁸ (Retired) opined that US the strategy of Feb 2022 on Indo Pacific specifically states that India will be assisted in its growth. USA and Japan are already assisting with the technology. The cooperation has just started, it will only grow. The limitation with the USA is that the niche technology is with the private sector. But state to state cooperation will continue. India and the US have signed a deal to jointly develop air-launched unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) in the 11th Defence Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) group in Nov 2020. France may also offer nuclear submarine technology to India.

¹⁶⁸ I discussed this topic Lt Gen Sunil Srivastava, AVSM, VSM** (Retired), Director Centre for Joint Warfare Studies, Delhi and his team of research scholars 17 Feb 22. The views expressed are their own and do not belong to the institution.

Lt Gen Vinod Bhatia, (Retired) is of the opinion that India will not get a benign geo strategic environment for its growth. Geo political situation has changed a lot in last 2 or 3 decades. New global order is emerging in which power is shifting from West to East. China has risen politically, diplomatically, technologically, economically and militarily. After the breakup of USSR in the 1990s, USA was the sole super power in the world. China wants to challenge this unipolarity in the coming decade. USA is also looking for ways and means to slow down rise of China. India and China are neighbours and are competing for the same power and resources. So, we will have to compete for becoming a global power. However, India does not have a seat on high table in UNSC. It does not have so much say in World Bank, IMF, WTO, WHO and such other organizations. India aspires to be a global power and there is a rethink on this going on in India. We must utilize all multilateral organizations where there is convergence and congruence of interests between member countries. Quad is one such platform.

Post the formation of Quad, three heads of state level meetings of Quad have already taken place. The next meeting is expected in first half of 2022. Foreign ministers of Quad grouping have met four times in a period of less than two years. India had reasons to be satisfied with Foreign Ministers meeting in Melbourne on 11 Feb 22, as all its concerns have been taken into account in the Joint Statement¹⁶⁹. The Joint Statement expressed concern about China and called for respect to international law, including the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), to address threats to the maritime rules-based order, particularly in the South and East China Seas. ASEAN centrality in security architecture, made-in-India Corona vaccines for the region,

¹⁶⁹ Quad Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific | Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs Minister (foreignminister.gov.au) accessed on 13 Feb 22

humanitarian assistance and disaster response (HADR), maritime security, resilient clean-energy supply chains, climate change, disinformation countermeasures, and cyber security are all issues that need to be addressed. For the first time terror attacks, the joint statement condemned terrorist actions in India, particularly the Mumbai and Pathankot, and emphasized that Afghan land should not be used to threaten or attack any country, or to harbour or train terrorists. It also includes North Korea's de-nuclearization. This is a huge and massive agenda.

Post the foreign ministers meeting on 11 Feb 22, USA released Indo Pacific Strategy¹⁷⁰ dated Feb 2022. This is the third sequel after 'Pivot of Asia' and Indo Pacific policy (first edition) issued by Trump Administration. The document's policies are consistent with past administrations' efforts. These include a focus on China's problems, strengthening the US-India alliance, forming a 'Major Defense Partnership,' and bolstering India's position as a net security provider in the area. Working with other nations, not only from the area, but from around the world, is emphasized. The US will continue to promote India's ascent and regional leadership, according to the policy paper, by engaging with India bilaterally and via organizations on a variety of problems. In the Quad, India is described as a "like-minded partner" and "driving force."

The US policy document emphasizes the need of forging alliances and developing partnerships, highlighting the US efforts to improve security cooperation in the Indo-Pacific in the face of growing threats. Second, the major goal of the US policy is to create the environment in which the PRC functions, not to modify its attitude. It prefers to work with regional nations rather than pick between the US and China. It recognizes that the

¹⁷⁰ U.S.-Indo-Pacific-Strategy.pdf (whitehouse.gov) accessed on 13 Feb 22

smaller nations may not be keen to take sides in the US-China tussle. As per the policy document, the United States wants to keep a strategic balance in the area that will fight any hegemonic attempts and handle strategic competition responsibly. This strategy closely resembles India's Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IPOI) given by Prime Minister Modi during the 14th East Asian Summit. It is also part of the SAGAR¹⁷¹ mission to expand and facilitate regional cooperation of India's maritime neighbours. The emphasis on teamwork and a positive dimension are the foundations of IPOI.

In light of the current geopolitical climate and a powerful and belligerent China, I believe the Quad will continue to thrive. Quad is adapting to the changing conditions, as seen by the vast agenda in front of it. It has added a number of new sectors and areas for collaboration that were not previously listed in the charter. Quad grouping can only get better as long as it keeps improving its agenda.

Economic Growth and Sharing Technology

62% respondents have replied that Quad member countries will share defence technologies amongst each other, however 24% have said can't say and 14% have replied in the negative.

¹⁷¹ India's SAGAR Policy in the Indian Ocean Region | Diplomatist accessed on 15 Jan 22

4. Do you think the Quad members would share defence technologies among each other?

50 responses

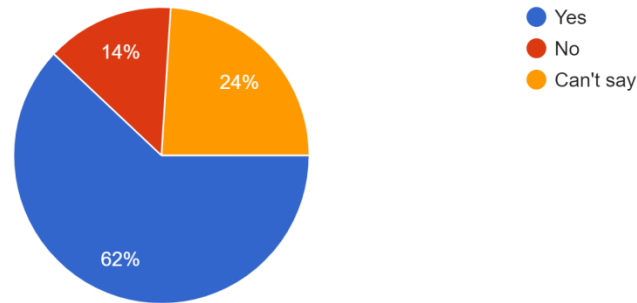


Figure 8 : Sharing of Technology in the Quad

Dr Stuti Banerjee¹⁷², she said that ‘Technology’ is part of our foundational agreement with USA. Japan also cooperates with India on technology. India has to build capacities to absorb technology. We have to build industrial base, infrastructural development and develop skill sets to gain maximum from technological cooperation. Some of the work in this regard is happening. China was able to absorb the technology that it received from the US and other nations with capacity buildup.

Lt Gen Vinod Bhatia (Retired) said that USA believes in unipolarity, China in bipolarity i.e. USA and China. India believes in multipolarity. India is looking at growth, economic development and becoming a modern and prosperous nation with peace and security. ‘Security and Growth for All in the Region’ (SAGAR) is India’s policy or doctrine of maritime cooperation in the Indian Ocean region. There are four pillars of national policy i.e. Geo political, Geo economic, and Geo strategy and Geo technology.

¹⁷² Dr Stuti Banerjee is an expert on USA and Indian foreign policy. She is working at Indian Council of World Affairs, Delhi and has considerable experience on the subject. The views expressed are her own and do not belong to her institution.

Now Geo technology directly affects all others. Hence, cutting edge and emerging technologies are very important. India must utilize all multilateral forums including Quad to obtain cutting edge technology. Quad can also be utilized for mutual economic growth and enhanced trade by signing free trade agreements (FTA) as we are not part of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) of the Asia-Pacific nations.

Leveraging Ties

In the survey, an overwhelming majority of 86% respondents believe that by joining the Quad, India can leverage to its advantage, competition between USA and China, however 10% have said no and 04% feel can't say.

9. Do you think India can leverage to its advantage competition between USA and China?
50 responses

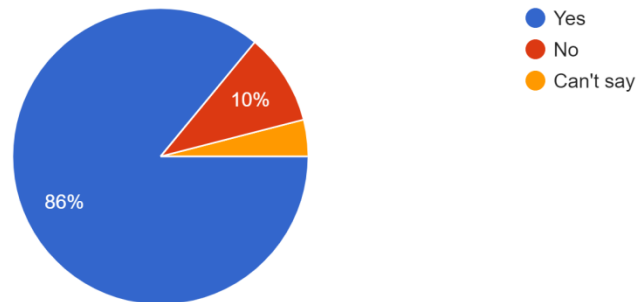


Figure 9 : Leveraging Relations

Dr Amit Kumar was of the opinion that after the Indo- US nuclear deal, our mutual relations are becoming stronger. We are not an ally of USA but a friend. So, there is a difference between ally and a friend. We should utilize all platforms improve our economy and get cutting edge technology. We are becoming strong economically and

militarily and nobody can ignore India. And as economy improves further, India would be able to bargain better.

Lt Gen Vinod Bhatia (Retired) said that technological absorption requires vision, strategy, roadmap and clear action plan. We are on the right path but it is too little and too less. Group of Secretaries have come up with ‘Vision 2047¹⁷³’. There is a requirement of civil military fusion for defence sector. India is a military force. It has to transform into military power. 80% of the technology used by Indian Armed Forces is in the low to medium category and most of it is imported. We need to invest heavily in Research and Development, transfer of technology (TOT), skill development and participation of private sector. For this, we have to carry out policy changes to improve lethargic procedures and processes. Through cutting edge technology cooperation with USA, Germany, France, Israel or Japan, we need to get the technology, absorb it and make 80 to 85% of high end military equipment in India for Atmanirbhar Bharat in defence sector.

Impact on Foreign Relations with ASEAN

62% respondents have replied that India’s joining Quad will have positive impact on foreign relations with ASEAN members’ however 6% have said negative impact and 32% feel no impact.

¹⁷³ India 2047: India's blueprint to be a \$40 trn powerhouse by 2047 will be ready this week - The Economic Times (indiatimes.com) accessed on 15 Feb 2022

5. How do you think India's ties with ASEAN nations would be impacted as a result of joining Quad alliance?

50 responses

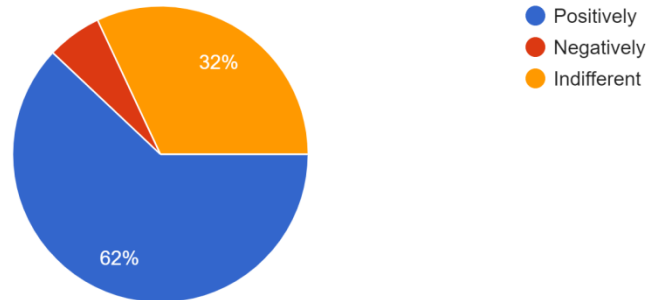


Figure 10 : India – ASEAN Relations after Quad

Dr Teshu Singh was of the opinion that ASEAN countries by and large support formation of Quad. Most of the countries are economically engaged with China. On the other hand, for security purposes they look forward to the US. Overall, the ASEAN countries are maintaining a very fine balance between China and Quad.

Majority of the respondents believe that Indian ties with China will be negatively impacted on India joining the Quad through hostile attitude, increased border conflicts and increased Chinese naval presence in Indian Ocean Region.

Impact on Indo China Relations due to Quad

6. How do you think India's ties with China would be impacted as a result of joining Quad? You can tick on multiple options.

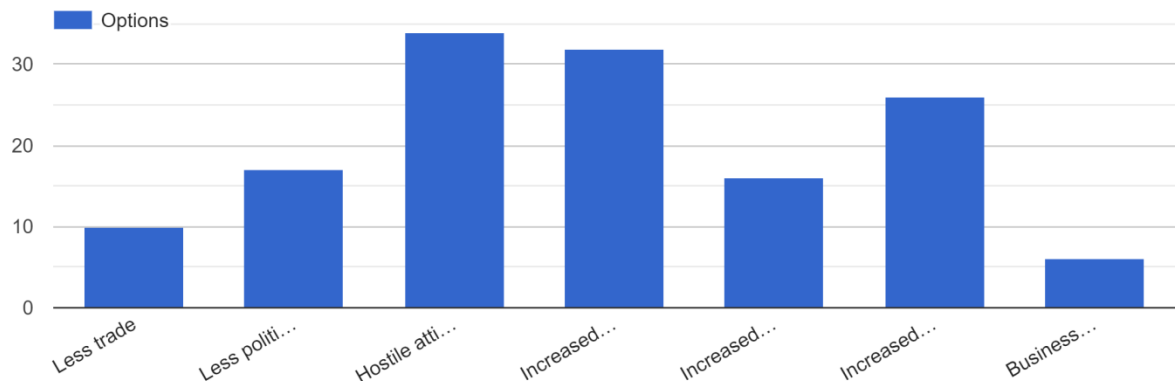


Figure 11 : Impact on India – China Relations after Quad

Lt Gen Sunil Srivastava (Retired) said on the subject that China finds grey zone conflict a better tool for coercion. State to state military wars produce only limited solution and may not produce lasting solutions. China may not want a conventional war with India, but India certainly doesn't want a war with China. There are economic and demographic stresses in China. Nuclear technology with China may be higher, but whatever, India has is sufficient for strategic deterrence. India will have to deal with psychological and information war. However, border conflicts or jockeying for position of advantage may escalate due to miscalculation. Having said that, pushed to a corner, India is not hesitant to fight a war. 50 to 60% of Indian Army is already on the borders. It will not hesitate to mobilize further.

I asked Dr Amit Kumar that whether Quad can become a military alliance if China's belligerence increases. He replied that though it was a hypothetical question but all nations are guided by their own national interests. This question can't be answered in straight 'Yes' and 'No'. Balancing China is one of the core agenda of Quad. There is scope to cooperate militarily for freedom of seas, navigation and rule based order. So, the answer is 'May be'. It will also convey a message to smaller countries.

Military Cooperation in Quad

In the survey, 46% respondents have answered that Quad will support each other in case of a conflict with China, however 22% have said no and 32% feel can't say.

8. Do you think members of the Quad will support each other militarily in case of conflict with China?

50 responses

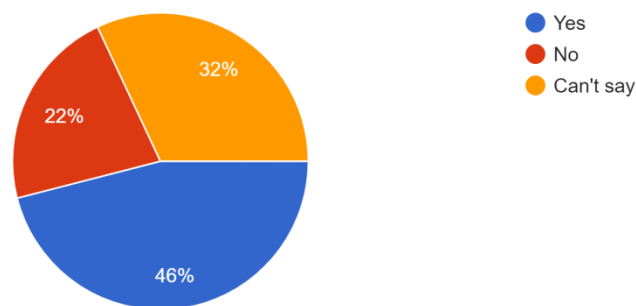


Figure 12 : Military Cooperation in Quad

Dr Stuti Banerjee said that nature of war has changed. Future wars will happen in advanced technologies and cyber security domain. China has made good progress and is ahead of India in this field. China is catching up with USA. I don't envisage a full-fledged war between China and India, however, border skirmishes can't be ruled out.

Similarly, a full-fledged war between China and USA is also not likely. However, cooperation in the fields of military intelligence and technological exchanges will continue as part of partnership. India does not expect USA to send soldiers to fight in Himalayas nor does USA expect India to fight in Taiwan.

Quad Expansion

EU 60% of the respondents feel that Quad should be expanded to include friendly EU countries, however 34% have replied in the negative and 6% have said can't say.

11. Do you think Quad should be expanded to include UK , France and other friendly EU countries?
50 responses

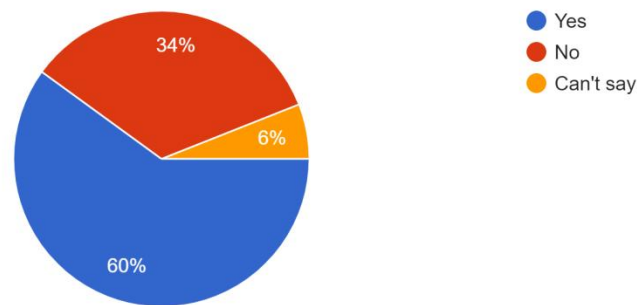


Figure 13 : Expansion of Quad to include EU Countries

Dr Stuti Banerjee was of the view that Quad is already getting support from friendly European countries and ASEAN countries are also cooperating. Dr Amit Kumar discussing this issue expressed that today's India is not a country that used to be in 1980s, It is a very different country. India needs to engage Indo Pacific countries in traditional and non- traditional areas in bilateral, trilateral and multilateral forums, simultaneously in different fields strategically, economically and trade. This is with a view to ensure India's rise and growth, the unstated aim being balance China in the region. We should not

ignore anything. European countries particularly France, Germany and UK have shown renewed interest in Indo Pacific. We can cooperate with them in Western Indo Pacific along with countries of Indo Pacific. India, Australia, and Indonesia can cooperate on mutual interests in the Eastern Indo Pacific. We can't forget Japan which is our partner in many fields. We need USA and US also needs India. We have many shared interests. We can cooperate with many countries in maritime domain. Geography of Indian Ocean is a boon for India. In 2007, we half heartedly joined the Quad. Now, we have a policy on Indo Pacific. Our foreign policy is more realistic and guided by nationalism. There is still idealism in foreign policy but in the core realism and pragmatism. We have got the will now to take sides. We ignored China's concerns and joined Quad. We have to move forward in two directions i.e. cooperation with the countries having mutual shared interests and building military capacity. Looking at China's plans for next 20-30 years, their focus on building aircrafts, aircraft carriers and submarines, we have to make sure capacity building particularly in maritime domain. We are doing better than before. Considering Chinese pace, we have to hasten our actions, otherwise the gap will be very widened.

74% of the respondents feel that Quad should be expanded to include regional powers like South Korea, Vietnam and Taiwan friendly, however 18% have replied in the negative and 8% have said can't say.

12. Do you think Quad should be expanded to include South Korea, Vietnam and Taiwan?
50 responses

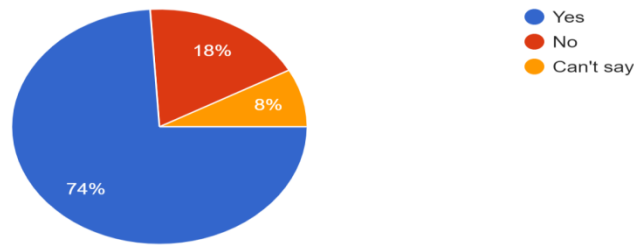


Figure 14 : Expansion of Quad to include South Eastern Countries

Lt Gen (Retd) Sunil Srivastava (Retired) opined on the subject that Quad 2.0 was formed based on initiative of former Japanese Prime Minister Mr Shinzo Abe based on genuine interest of member countries. It is not an alliance but grouping of like minded countries with congruence of interests. Expansion of Quad can happen. When AUKUS was announced, there was no adverse statement from India or Japan. Many European countries including France and UK who have EEZ or interests are coordinating and cooperating with India. New Zealand and Vietnam could be part of Quad plus. It has to keep ASEAN sensitivities in mind. It is a grouping and many other groupings have grown, so Quad can also grow in future. Many countries in the region do joint exercises with other South Eastern countries. So, expansion may happen in future.

62% of the respondents say that Quad will have positive impact on security of Taiwan and South Korea, while 22% feel no impact, 12% say no effect and 4% say negative impact.

14. How do you think formation of Quad will impact security of Taiwan and South Korea?
50 responses

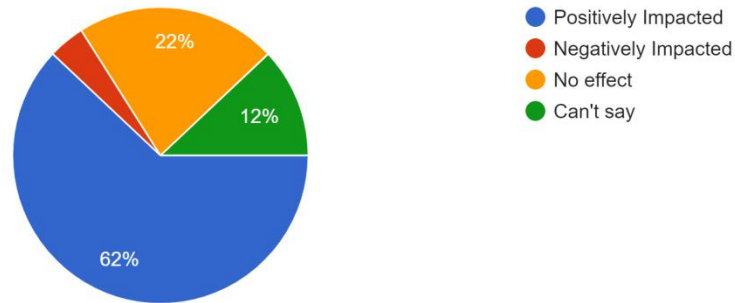


Figure 15 : Impact of Quad on Taiwan and South Korea

Lt Gen Bhatia does not think there will be a war between USA and China on this issue. War is required to impose your will on the adversary. When different means are available to impose will and raise cost on adversary in different domains like cyber and space warfare. There is too much interdependence in economic and technological fields between China and USA, so war is not an option. Therefore, I draw the conclusion formation of Quad and AUKUS with USA interwoven in security architecture enhances security of the region and bulwark against China.

Interaction with AUKUS

62% of the respondents say that Quad complements AUKUS, however 28% feel AUKUS reduces focus on Quad and 10% have said no impact.

13. How do you think military alliance between USA, UK and Australia (AUCKUS) affect Quad?
50 responses

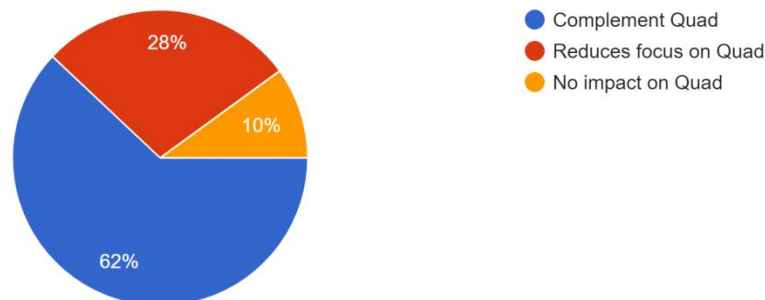


Figure 16 : Quad and AUKUS

Dr Stuti Banerjee said that Quad is not an ‘Alliance’. It is a partnership and a platform for cooperation. AUKUS is a military alliance and India is not part of alliance. AUKUS and Quad are talking to each other and working together. So, she believes they complement each other. Dr Teshu Singh opined that there is a talk going on to include Japan in AUKUS. So, it is too early to say whether India wants to be included in expanded AUKUS.

Russia Factor

One of the question asked to the respondents that how do they think India would balance complex relations between Quad members on one side and Russia on the other side. Most of the respondents were of the opinion that India would have to do a very tight walk in balancing the relations between Russia on one side and USA, Japan and Australia on the other side. One more complementary question was asked regarding effect of Quad on relations between China and Russia. 62% respondents have replied that formulation of

Quad can bring China and Russia closer to each other, however 24% have replied in the negative and 14% have said no impact.

10. Do you think Quad can bring Russia and China closer?
50 responses

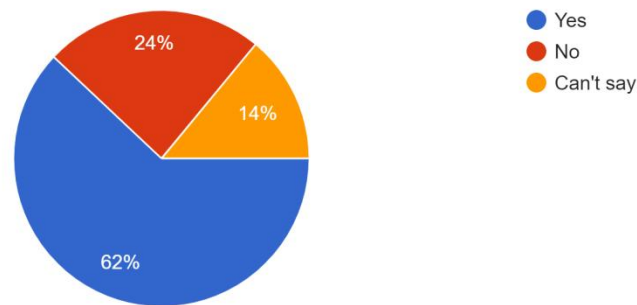


Figure 17 : Impact of Quad on China – Russia Relations

I am of also of the opinion that India will have to manage relations with Russia very astutely and carefully while being part of Quad at the same time to leverage maximum gains for our country.

Comments and Findings

From the above study, it will not be an understatement by me that China owes its rise to USA and other Western Bloc countries including Japan, Australia and South Korea. Since the USA wanted to split the Communist Bloc during the cold war, President Nixon sent US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on a secret but a historic visit to China in 1971. From here on relations between USA and China began to improve. It joined UN in 1971 thus enhancing its political and diplomatic power in the world. Slowly but

steadily mistrust between China and USSR began to increase and relations deteriorate. China opened its economy in 1979. On 15 Nov 1999, USA signed a deal with China allowing China's entry into WTO thinking that economic integration will move China towards more liberal governance. USA, Europe and Japan lead companies heavily invested in China in manufacturing sector utilizing its good infrastructure and cheap labour.

Developed countries provided finance and transferred advanced technology to Chinese industry to make China factory for the world. Chinese leaders assured the outside world that their intentions were peaceful and that China's rise would not mean major disruptions to the international system or pose a systemic threat to the liberal international order. All this time, it followed Deng Xiaoping's policy of hide your capacities and bide your time. It became largest trading partner of most nations in Indo Pacific and USA, thus giving it enough political and economic leverage with other nations. China's rise is also attributable to benign and favorable international order till 2017 - 18. It became the largest economy in the world in 2017 and had largest surplus of foreign exchange. As China was rising, USA was engaged with its own wars in Middle East and war on terror. USSR had broken and its successor Russia was largely busy stabilizing its fragile polity and economy.

Xi Jinping became the President of Peoples Republic of China in 2013. Slowly, China started leaving principle of benign rise and thought that its time has come to be the Centre of the World. China started investing heavily in modernizing its armed forces and flexing its muscles.

China loathes appeals from other countries that it should adhere to the current rules-based system, and it says that others do not have the authority to define it unilaterally. It is an anti-status-quo force that aims to construct a new international order while preserving components of the old system that suit it while redefining features that limit its perception of "central concerns" and domain of influence. China continues to categorize Indo-Pacific countries as Asian or South Pacific states, obfuscating any reference to the Indo-Pacific in order to downplay India's prominence in the area. China is gradually pursuing a "mare clausum"¹⁷⁴ (closed seas) strategy, similar to the antiquated colonial powers, particularly in the South and East China Seas. It has built militarized islands chains in South China Sea, lay claim and send its Navy and military aircraft in Exclusive Economic Zones of Japan, Philippines, Vietnam and Indonesia. It has also embraced the colonial techniques of "island growth," linking together various naval basing arrangements to allow for further expansion. China has increased the frequency of air space violations of Taiwan and disputed islands of Japan. China adopts the 'Salami Slicing' method to seize territory and create pressure on its neighbours on land borders. It has increased military activity on India's northern and eastern borders leading to violent clashes in Galwan and eye ball to eye ball deployment of PLA and Indian Army.

It crushed the democratic movement in Hong Kong and violated the human rights of Uyghurs and Tibetans. The spread of Corona virus which has devastated the world economy and killed millions of people is also blamed on China. China punished Australia with trade barriers when it was fighting Corona virus. USA, Japan and Australia are also very sensitive to trade sea lanes of Indo Pacific, with China continues to invest heavily in

¹⁷⁴ Yes, The Quad Will Endure! – South Asia Journal of 12 Apr 21 accessed on 01 Feb 22

PLA Navy (PLAN). China is adamant on maintaining a hierarchical structure in which its own self-defined political, economic, and security objectives take precedence.

In January 2018, erstwhile U.S. President Donald Trump began setting tariffs and other trade barriers on China with the goal of forcing it to make changes to what the U.S. said were unfair trade practices and intellectual property theft called US – China trade war. The Trump administration stated that these practices contribute to the U.S.–China trade deficit, and that the Chinese government forcing industry to transfer American technology to China. The Chinese diplomats started to practice confrontational and combative wolf warrior diplomacy and loudly denouncing any criticism of China on social media and in interviews including personal attacks on leaders of host countries.

For some time now, China wants to supplant USA as top world power. Spread of Corona virus has also brought to notice of the world limitations of producing goods in only one country. When Covid – 19 spread in Hubei in China, it seriously affected the supply chains of the world and exacerbated already difficult economic situations in Europe, USA and many other countries. The supply chains of the world have still not been streamlined. Many countries have asked their industries to shift out of China. India, Vietnam and many small South Eastern countries are likely to benefit from the relocations¹⁷⁵ and diversification of supply chains. India has intensified efforts at diplomatic and political level to attract supply chains. Moving out of industrial production even partially will eventually and slowly damage already slowing Chinese economy.

¹⁷⁵ Global firms look to shift from China to India (livemint.com) accessed on 02 Feb 2022

Summary of Findings

This chapter provides strong reasons for the Quad's potential to provide peace and stability to the Indo-Pacific region, as well as how it can boost India's security and stability. The survey backs up the arguments made in the research so far, such as: 1) The Quad is being formed primarily to contain China; 2) China is India's number one external threat; 3) The Quad will enhance India's economic and technological capability; 4) The Quad complements positively the ASEAN-based security architecture and AUKUS and Quad needs to collaborate with EU countries in areas of mutual interest; 5) The Quad may be extended to include friendly countries of Asia Pacific in future; 6) The divergent issues of joint Quad strategy and important challenges Quad may face, need to be managed diplomatically; 7) India's diplomatic heft, economic clout and technological needs can be in part fulfilled from Quad and 8) India will have to manage relations with Russia with deft diplomacy. The survey also answers my research questions numbers 2 to 6. Geo strategic expert opinions clearly bring out that Quad is here to stay. It has been formed because of mutual convergence of interests. Quad has a massive agenda on its table. It does not want to usurp the centrality of ASEAN architecture. AUKUS complements the Quad. India will have to be prepared for war to avoid any war.

Summary of Recommendations

There exists a major opportunity before India to gain in terms of technology, skill development and economic cooperation by joining the Quad. The grouping will attempt to influence the Chinese neighborhood and balance China. India has to partner with Quad members, other friendly countries like France, Germany and South Korea to gain

economically and technologically. Technology absorption is a major challenge. We will have to build up infrastructure to absorb technology, emphasize on transportation sector, information highways and ensure mass production of quality products.

To ensure dissuasive deterrence, India will have to build its military capacity to deter any Chinese miscalculation during border skirmish leading to vertical escalation. Maritime capacity needs particular emphasis to ensure trade and energy security. India needs to develop amphibious capacity to be a net security provider in Indo Pacific. Considering the pace of Chinese modernization, actions will have to be taken in time bound manner. Indian military has equipment of Russian origin. Through regular exercises with Quad countries interoperability and common standard procedures need to be developed to operate together. As Indian economy grows, it needs to convert its military 'force' into military 'power'. India will also have to ensure capacity building to deal with information and hybrid warfare. There is a requirement to finance research and development in unmanned offensive technologies, Artificial Intelligence, space and missile technologies to avoid major gap with China.

Since most of the niche technologies in USA and Europe are with the private sector, India need to assist joint ventures and participation of our private sector. There is a need to invest in cyber security with the assistance of world leaders like Israel, Germany and USA. India in collaboration with Quad should also take an initiative to develop the parameters of an Indo-Pacific institutionalized trade infrastructure that will look at a new supply chain network based on new realities. This will need changes in outlook of bureaucracy, changes in land and labour laws.

Indian universities need to tie up with their counterparts in Quad to improve their rankings and ensure world class skill development. India with the assistance of its friends should endeavour to come to rule making position in UNO, FATF, NSG, WTO, IMF, WHO and other such organizations to enhance its stature and diplomatic heft. Depending on the circumstances, Quad can continue to cooperate with like minded countries with mutually converging interests for economic prosperity, security and rule based order in Indo Pacific region. India remains dependent on Russia for its defence equipment spares etc. It needs to prioritize development and production of these components indigenously. India needs to handle relations with Russia with astute and deft diplomacy while balancing its relations with USA.

In the end, there is no substitute to Atmanirbhar Bharat policy. Self sufficiency in defence equipment involving private sector, indigenizing transfer of technology and establishment of military industrial complex in the country is a priority. Production of cryogenic engines, aircraft engines and nuclear submarine reactors in India needs no emphasis. Research and development in niche technologies, space technologies, semi conductors, cyber security technologies, super computer hardware, AI, internet of things, 3D printing, biotechnology, pharmacy, UPI, banking messaging software and development of own operating systems needs all seriousness. These are the technologies even friendly countries do not share with others. India should also spread its basket for import of rare earth metals rather than depending on one or two countries.

Relations with Russia will have to be managed deftly to avoid any collusion of Russia, China and Pakistan axis against India. The national interest takes precedence. Even Russia is aware that in present form, Quad is not an alliance to worry about. The

India presently continues to be Russian partner in military hardware be it rifles, S-400 or Naval Ships. Even Russia will not like to lose this market. We can leverage this aspect in our relations with Russia. In addition, we need to move away from being over dependent on Russia for supply of at least low technology spare parts, through indigenization.

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