

‘The China Factor in Indo-Japan Relations’

**This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirement for the degree of Masters of Philosophy (Arts)**

NAME: Anirban Deb

Exam Roll : MPIN194005

Registration : 119114 of 12-13

YEAR : 2017 - 2019

SUPERVISOR: Prof. Anindya Jyoti Majumdar

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY

KOLKATA - 700032

‘The China Factor in Indo-Japan Relations’

**This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirement for the degree of Masters of Philosophy (Arts)**

Submitted by

Anirban Deb

Class Roll: 00700703005

Exam Roll: MPIN194005

Registration: 119114 of 12-13

YEAR: 2017 - 2019

SUPERVISOR: Prof. Anindya Jyoti Majumdar

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY

KOLKATA - 700032



DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Certified that the thesis entitled "The China Factor in Indo-Japan Relations", submitted by me towards the partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Philosophy (Arts) in International Relations of Jadavpur University, is based upon my own original work and there is no plagiarism. This is also to certify that the work has not been submitted by me for the award of any other degree/diploma of the same Institution where the work is carried out, or to any other Institution. A paper out of this dissertation has also been presented by me at a seminar/conference at Jadavpur University thereby fulfilling the criteria for submission as per the M.Phil. Regulation (2017) of Jadavpur University.

Anirban Deb

NAME- ANIRBAN DEB
Class Roll No.- 001700703005
Examination Roll No.:MPIN194005
Registration No. 119114 of 2012-2013

On the basis of academic merit and satisfying all the criteria as declared above, the dissertation work of ANIRBAN DEB entitled "The China Factor in Indo-Japan Relations" is now ready for submission towards the partial fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Philosophy (Arts) in International Relations of Jadavpur University.

[Signature]

Head
Department of International Relations

HEAD
Dept. of International Relations
Jadavpur University

[Signature]

Supervisor & Convener of RAC

PROFESSOR
Department of International Relations
Jadavpur University
Kolkata - 700 032

[Signature]

Member of RAC

PROFESSOR
Department of International Relations
Jadavpur University
Kolkata - 700 032

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I take this opportunity to extend my sincerest gratitude to my Supervisor, Prof. Anindya Jyoti Majumdar for his constant guidance and support throughout the course of this dissertation without his expertise, and patience this thesis would not have been possible. I am eternally thankful to him for giving me the scope to grow along with the thesis. The amount of intellectual freedom I have received from him has opened up avenues for me to think more critically of the relations existing out of countries. It has compelled me to ask and seek answers to questions that I do not think I was capable of answering. I need to particularly mention that apart from being my supervisor, he has always been a great listener and has always given me the space and the opportunity to thrive as a researcher.

I would also like to convey my sincere thanks to Prof. Partha Pratim Basu, who has extensively helped me in building my insight over the research. Sir has provided me with a list of valuable advices which I would keep in mind for my future works. I would also recall Prof. Shibashis Chatterjee who has extensively supported me throughout my career in Jadavpur University. Sir has also provided me a complete list of books which has shaped my knowledge and interest over my research. My utmost thanks goes to Prof. Omprakah Mishra, not only as an HOD but also as a person who has provided me with all kinds of helps in the department. It would not be completed without mentioning Partha Pratim Bose, Librarian of our department, who has provided me all kinds of materials. My sincere thanks also goes to Dr Nandini De , who has helped me with the indexes and journals.

I would like to thank the entire faculty and the Department of International Relations and my University Jadavpur for providing me with this opportunity of completing my Masters of Philosophy.

CONTENTS

1.	INTRODUCTION	1
2.	RISING CHINA	10
3.	CHINAS IMPICATION OVER INDIA AND JAPAN	26
4.	INDIA'S RELATION WITH JAPAN	53
5.	CONCLUSION	74
6.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	81

Chapter- 1

Introduction

As we know countries forms relations with each other based on their geo-graphical locations, political affiliations and economic progress. Today, the question of security is the question of progress. Asia has become a hub of emerging powers. Chinas rise in the twenty first century was marked by certain factors which tend to address the geo politics with a different note. China's move after the cold war was tremendous. China's alarming rise has cautioned many countries with whom China has maintained hostility and fought wars in the past. With the end of cold war the ideological debates were put out of table. The Asian continent has witnessed institutional changes with the coming up of globalisation. The globalisation has not only attracted countries to open up their economies but it has also accelerated competition in gaining more power, security and resources. China's rise was inevitable as it had a large size economy, man power resources and a big market. But, China was drying internally in terms of its resource, which was scarce, this made China to take several moves in future which includes revival of its ancient maritime route and silk route. Chinas move and disputes with many of its neighbours like, Japan, Taiwan and India signalled further alarms about future Chinas intentions in shaping its policies that may destabilize the region and create more tensions. The twenty first century has seen the cross roads where Japan and India are forged together in bilateral and strategic global partnership. My Dissertation tends to entitle China as a factor in Indo Japan Relations. Before entering into details let me provide a detailed analysis of the literature that I have gone through with a concrete Literature Review

The China factor in Indo- Japan Relations, A Literature Review

The area tends to specify the rise of China as an Asian power in the twenty first century.

Many scholars and policy makers are now concerned about the future of Asian security and stability. China's sharp economic rise has also brought China in contrast with the resource scarcity. China's further quest which would lead China to come into conflict with major Asian and western powers , which China considered as its rivals and China would not compromise at any level while considering its march. Similarly, Chinas belligerent move also threatened many countries like, India and Japan, who undoubtedly being China's partner fears the future consequences that China may likely to hurl upon. The region of South Asia is becoming more and more intense with problems that are multiplying over time. These problems further provides us with a scope to draw our research interest, as many recent researchers being working on it and providing solution to several issues which are contested worldwide.

So in order to obtain more knowledge about the area of my research, I have conducted a literature review by going through some important works of authors, literature, books, journals and articles, which has helped me in shaping my knowledge over my area of research.

Frankel R. Francine and Harry Harding (Book): *The India China Relationship, Rivalry and Engagement (ed)*

The book reveals an exciting package of contents that the authors have shared in this prestigious edition. The main content of the book highlights in bringing the key issues like Chinas perception towards India, One side rivalry, China India border disputes Nuclear

weapons and stability. China - India global integration and US, China and India strategic triangle. The book tends to present a huge volume of ideas about China's engagement with its neighbours and what China was focusing to pursue in its future. Though the book was an excellent editing but, there are some important areas which I found the book has failed to address. Though, the book talked about a nuclear balance that both India and China have balanced, the book failed to address the issues of cross border terrorism which is an intense problem of every state. Many North Eastern Indian states are affected by insurgents groups which are reported to have been backed by Beijing. The recent Kashmir attack by Pakistani insurgents whom China supports indirectly raises further question. China has always provided arms and armistice to Pakistan which Pakistan has used against India the book misses out this section. The book further tends to highlight the strategic triangle that US, China and Japan has seen in the twenty first century but, it has escaped key regional players like, India and Central Asia .The book talked about border disputes at length but has not focussed on providing any remedy, which I have found as a big gap. The book has not addressed the issues of China –Pak Economic Corridor which could be seen as a threat by India as border disputes are not resolved even today, Sino-Pak Axis will never be welcomed by the Indian government As India never hold the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir and would not provide any access to China from its North, This gap can be addressed while pursuing a research.

Derek McDougall, *Asia – Pacific in World Politics (Book).*

The book is an excellent collection of issues that addresses the area wise study of countries and their policies. The book tends to highlight the Major Asian powers and their march in Asia

Pacific. The book exclusively narrates Taiwan and its policies with Japan and its threats from China. It also take notes of China and its growing dominance in the South China Sea. Derek McDougal has clearly defined US role in the Asia pacific. And what lead to the US- Japan relations. But, what the book misses out as I felt is the iconic rise of the Indo-Japanese bilateral relations. Though the topic contours around Asia –Pacific, the growing competition and chase for energy security in South Asia can be good area to cover in a research.

J N Mahanty, *Indo- China Relations in the Post Cold War Era (Article)*

J N Mahanty, who is considered as an exponent of Indo-China relations has written extensively about the policies that China and India have actually followed after the end of Cold War. Her article contains a comparative analysis of institution building which China and India have followed after their independence. The author has talked about the increasing pace of Indo-Chinas cultural exchanges, which proved to be a boon for both China and India.. What I found she has not addressed about is the role of globalisation. Both, China and India have to remodel their political and economic institutions. A gap which I personally felt is the divergence of interest and policy log jams that India and Japan had over the past.

Sumit Ganguly: *India's Foreign Policy, Retrospect and Prospect. (ed Book)*

Indian Foreign Policy is an excellent book, which reveals India's relation with its neighbours. The book has many positive sides as it explains economic, politics, new world order, from cooperation to conflict, bilateral relations, terrorism and trade While going through the book, I have found there were certain sections which could have been better addressed for example

India Pakistan nuclear security, China's growing friendship with Pakistan threatening India and its rise. Today many new issues of security, environmental problems and trade relations could be better addressed as the book misses out. Which, I would like to put it in my research.

Vinay Kaura, *India-Japan Relations and Asia's Emerging Geopolitics (Journal Article)*

Kaura's article is highly important for shaping the outlook of the students and scholars working in the field Indo-Japan relations. He in this article has not only stressed on the economic factors that determine the relations between India and Japan. He has brought several issues from maritime security and bilateral ties that India and Japan have worked over years. Kauras has missed out an important area in his writing that India is more inclined in building relations with South East Asia through its Act East Policy from Look East. Though Kaura has mentioned about China's growing interest in South Asia. but, reading his article I could find part from Indo-Japan Bilateral relations there re many areas that seperates China from the interest of Indi and Japan, which is essentially a big gap as I felt and can be worked upon.

R.S. Yadav: *Changing India Japan's Relation in the Post Cold War Era (Article)*

The article discusses many important issues about India Japans bilateral relations. The author has clearly shown the area of convergence which enrolled India and Japan as a global partner in the world. The article tends to highlight where the two powers have actuallyworked from economist environment and what would be the future policies of Japan to India. Despite of

covering such a huge area what I find is gap is the start of relations, which would provide a long and an extended view of research.

Thomas J Christensen: *Chinese Realpolitik (Journal Article)*

The article Chinese Realpolitik is an ambitious presentation of China's rise in terms of its military and economy. The author highlights various areas as China's interest in the Asia Pacific where China tends to come under challenge from the United States, the second area refers to the US –Japan alliance and China's further move in claiming Islands with the disputed regions of Vietnam, Philippines, Japan, Taiwan and Brunei. The entrance of Vietnam further created doubts in the Chinese mind that ASEAN which is a powerful regional organisation may soon turn into a US ally and China has to withstand threat. The author also figures out the real politics that China may worry in the coming days with Japan being increasing its military support in the Asia Pacific. Though the article is of high standards there are certain changes in the policy out breaks of the countries. China may not be bothered much with US penetration but Japan's relation with India as it may lead down to several counter measures like blocking China's 'One road, One belt initiative' this can be a good area of research

The literature review enabled me in coming across some wide varieties of problems and gaps which I will address in my research by raising questions and providing solutions.

Research Question's

1. To what extent will China's rise could be considered to be peaceful?
2. Do you think rising China as a factor has led to the formations of bilateral relations between Japan and India in twenty first century?
3. What factor has brought Japan to think India as a regional power and a balance against China? Is it the Indian economy that attracts Japan today?
4. Can Japan and India work for enhancing Asian peace and stability? If yes, what are the challenges that both the countries should keep in mind for framing their future policies.

Data and Research Methods

My dissertation is based on secondary data which I have retrieved from various books, journals, articles, government websites and Internet sources. And I have used historical approach as a method leading to the narration of research questions.

Chapters

My work is a combination of five chapters; let me explain the theme of the chapter chronologically

Chapter-1: Introduction, which contains the frame work of my research, Review of literature, Research questions, data and research methods, chapterisation.

Chapter-2; Rising China, this chapter introduces China's rise in the post cold war period when China has brought key changes in its policies which led China to grow in terms of its economy, military and politically. The chapter explains the circumstances that enabled China to catch up the competition in terms of its economy. China also realised its resources which are scarce and China has to move out to find alternative sources and that would lead China to modernise its defence as a regional power. China has resolved many political deadlocks and disputes with many countries. This Chapter in the end sums up with what extent China's rise was concerned.

Chapter-3: China's implication over India and Japan. I have tried to identify the factors that China was looking forward while addressing its policies towards India on one hand and towards Japan on the other. While defining Indo-China relations I have explained Indo-China relations in terms of cultural aspects, in terms of economy and in terms of military. While explaining China's implication over Japan I have focussed on the main area i.e. China and

Japans disputes over territory and resources, which includes the senkaku Islands and its areas, Mutual antipathy of China against Japan, Taiwan factor and US-Japan security alliance which creates further tension for china, summary.

Chapter-4: India's Relation with Japan, The chapter tends to highlight, India Japan relationship, explaining history to some extent and then quickly forwarding to explore the political relations between India and Japan, how the two countries moved forward in recognising their necessity, the next area is roads to economic development between India and Japan, where India and Japan has been seen as special strategic and global partner. Japans has provided India with a huge financial aid in terms of Overseas Development Assistance, and India has provided Japan and its firms free access by reducing the trade barriers, the third and most important area of the chapter explains India – Japan's Military and Strategic Partnership. under this section a detailed analysis has been made about Japan and Indias move in terms of its military progress and joint military land and naval exercises that India and Japan have come across over time. It also provided with what move may Japan and India would like to stress in enhancing Asian stability and peace. Undoubtedly with China flexing its muscles in South Asia and Southern Pacific the security issue calls both Japan and India to join hands bilaterally. The end of the Chapter discusses the convergence of Interest and Divergence of interest between India and Japan.

Chapter-5: Conclusion, Chapter wise analysis with an attempt to answer the research questions and findings.

CHAPTER 2

RISING CHINA

China today has become one of the most powerful countries in the world. There is no country in the world where China does not have a market presence. China is strategically located with all important borders that connect China and its market. China as a rising star can be seen after the cold war period. China not only has acquired a decent economic shape it has a strong army, a huge territory full of resources and a sizeable population that can lead China to its future rise. While analysing China's growth, I would discuss in brief what factors will enable China towards establishing itself as an Asian hegemon and how China will deal with the challenges arising out of resource scarcity, border disputes and threat from other regional and International power players. Before gliding over to the main area let us look China from its past. China before 1949 was ruled by Sun Yat Sen, a revolutionary leader who has shaped China's outlook towards its freedom movement against colonialism and imperialism. However, with the peasant revolution in 1949 we have seen the coming up of the Red China under a communist regime known as the People's Republic of China. However, Formosa or Taiwan remained as it was with a democratic government. The Red China was not recognised by the United States and Taiwan was represented in the United Nations Security Council as main land China until 1970's, when finally Henry Kissinger visited China and bilateral relations started to develop with US. China's administration and its sophistications were not resolved until the death of Mao-Tse –Tung. Mao's death in 1976 provided a fresh atmosphere of political reforms that China was long waited for. The end of cold war not only helped China to take decisions independently, it also enabled China to

realise how important is the multi polar world could be. What would China do next to bring China closer to the world and World closer to China? With the absence of Soviet Union will China continue to run its government and administration with a communist ideology? which already has shattered the USSR. How China will take the forces of Globalisation and rebuild its economy? In this Chapter,I will try to answer this questions freely. Firstly, China realised that Chinas systems were outdated over time and hence a reformation was needed which would not be like the Soviet Union but of course a modernised economic vision. There is a need to open up China and its system that has suffocated and went outdated over the years. What China did first was to make its system flexible so as to open its economy step by step. China renamed the process of opening up as Socialistic Market Oriented Economy. With this China started welcoming Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and other Capital flows from across the continents. Chinas battle is not over, China made considerable laws that would benefit China and develop it internally..China then caught to the pace of globalisation, which I will discuss in brief while explaining China's Economic Rise.The new development in science and technology made a considerable growth and introduce new technologies that China needed at that point of time.. The population of china has also drastically drawn the attention of the western world about the Chinese market and its strategic hold over the region. Chinese rise is also evident from the fact that China shares its boundary with fourteen countries. The country is geographically so huge that it has 22,000kms land borders mainly with: North Korea, Russia, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam¹. Some of them fall under the direct influence of the powerful organisation like, ASEAN, SAFTA, SCO, BRICS, etc. The period that determined a rapid growth in acquiring Chinas economic prosperity is post 1990.

¹ Shen Wenwen, China and its Neighbours troubled Relations.

Retrieved from: http://www.eu-asiacentre.eu/pub_details.php?pub_id=46. Accessed on, 05-12-2018.

China shared a bitter experience with its neighbour. Modern China has to develop its self keeping in mind of its large size economy, population, geography and China's future intent i.e a quest for China as a global power. With this prospect I would like to bring three areas which would prove China and its quest for security, power and dominance. The three areas can be defined as Economy, Military and Political terms..

China's Economic March

China grew sharply as an economic power after the cold war .The economic reforms, which was brought after the death of Mao Zedong not only helped China to develop its domestic policies, it has also replaced old institutional setups with a new one. As China was opposed to the west, China named the economic openness as socialistic market oriented economy. Chinese investment grew at a rate of 10% per annum and it gradually increased the level of income as per its household was concerned. But the task of replacing the orthodox trade patterns and planned economy to a new liberal market structure, placed China with a question of trust factor. If china allows the Foreign Direct Investment will it enable China to increase its economy or there may be western imperialistic tendency grabbing Chinese market and transforming profit to the western countries. Chinese policy maker were aware from the fact that in order to impact China's growth, they first need to take account of the Renminbi convertibility rate. Economy cannot grow without a stable currency. This let us believe why China devoted itself in delivering the idea of Asian multilateralism. it has played a leading role in creating one of the most influential regional organisations: the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). China is now not only involved in all these processes, it actively makes proposals on all sorts of issues of regional concern. ² Chinese economic development was inspired from the fact that

² Li Mingjiang, "China's participation in Asian multilateralism: pragmatism prevails".

China is strategically located. It shares borders with many important countries of South and South East and Central Asia. China stands first in terms of population, which can generate employment at a cheaper labour cost. Chinese economic boost was evident from the fact that China was rich in natural resource and has a huge market and labour force. The prospect of selling profitably in these huge markets has attracted exporters and investors of the industrialized countries.³ Now the question was what marked Chinese economic interest?

Introducing China to the world and world to China was marked by four facts –

Firstly, Chinas “Good Neighbour Policy” with other countries, which will enhance Chinese economy to grow as China could launch their products and grab their markets by earning profits. It would finally impact in Chinas rise as an Asian power

Secondly, Chinese Silk Route strategy will help China in gaining access over other nations and it will not only enable China to enhance it bilateral relations but also help China in extracting resource to its home land.

Thirdly, Chinese protectionist policy by labelling the South China Sea as a part of its territory, clearly Indicates Chinese thirst in limiting other powers like, USA and Japan over its territorial water. To consider the South China Sea which China consider to be a resource rich area, as survey and researches concludes of the presence of large volumes of petroleum and other important minerals which China is keenly looking for.

Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24hbzb.16> Accessed on: 16-11-2018

³ Frankel R Francine and Harding Harry, *The India-China Relationship: Rivalry and Engagement*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004., p. 220.

Fourthly, China's competition with other Asian powers like, India, Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Philippines, and United States raises question for China's future move. Though, China's 'Good Neighbour Policy', Starting with the China's relation with its neighbouring states, Chinese foreign policy revolve around in gaining access to its neighbouring states. China after entering into WTO in 2002 clearly realised its vision that instead of conflict, cooperation could best sought Chinese interest. It was during the administration of Chinese president, Hu Jintao, who took office in 2003, China adopted a so called "Good Neighbour Policy", as a part of a new strategy of "Peaceful Development," in which China sought to promote an interdependent, rather than competitive relationship with its neighbour's.⁴In fact, Chinese analysts propose that as part of its strategy to ensure its own rise, China should regard East Asia as its strategic hinterland and should actively participate in regional institution building as a fundamental policy. The Chinese Communist Party's sixteenth congress report in 2002, for the first time, juxtaposed regional multilateral cooperation with bilateral relations—a clear indication that Beijing had begun to attach greater importance to multilateralism. Five years later, Chinese leaders reaffirmed this position at the Seventeenth Party Congress. In recent years, China has regarded good relations with its contiguous neighbours and multilateralism as two of its four basic foreign policy guidelines⁵. While deepening the Chinese relationship with the Far East through its multilateralism, China has also initiated in stepping into good relationship with ASEAN and its member countries. ASEAN was established in 1967 and subsequently expanded to encompass 10 members – Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. It's one of

⁴ Hu Xiaobu, China's Relations with its Neighbours, Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/China's-Relations-with-Its-Neighbors-1106231> Accessed on 5-12-2018,

⁵ Li Mingjiang, "China's participation in Asian multilateralism: pragmatism prevails". Retrieved from:- <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24hbzb.16> Accessed on: 16-11-2018

the most vibrant regional organizations surviving various vicissitudes and flourishing over the decades. China being a close neighbour of almost all the ASEAN members has always attached special importance to its relations with ASEAN and tried to cultivate cooperation in multiple fields as a model of global geo-strategic politics as well as friendship. This year China and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are celebrating the 15th anniversary of their strategic partnership, created in 2003 to reflect a realization of the long-term potential of their ties.⁶ China knows very well that the economic development of the ASEAN states is tremendous and keeping good relations with this organisation will help China is influencing the countries to enter into Chinese lexicon rather balancing China as a threat. After 2010 Chinese vision to strengthen its economic routes through multiple alignment came into the fore. After Chinas inclusion in the world Market the Indo-China duo relationship has been greatly envisaged. a tremendous economic boost, Since, 2009, the economic growth of China has increased doubled the number. As we know China's constant support to Myanmar has resulted in creating many military backed regimes , which has enabled china in gaining access to resources, like oil, natural gas, minerals and a port where China can directly launch its vessels to the Indian ocean'. Myanmar has been described as a "de facto Chinese client state" or "a virtual Chinese satellite," within the construct of China's strategic design to develop its western region⁷. With Xi Jinping declaration of the new silk route in 2013, China has visioned the growing economic threat from India. India's search for energy and growing good relation with other countries after the coming of Narendra Modi as a Prime Minister increased Chinas insecurity. Indias increasing relation with its neighbour state with the last investment plan of 4 billion to Bangladesh, the recent dialogue with the Myanmar and Modi's visit to Maldives, Srilanka, Indonesia, and other South East Asian countries increased China's suspicion. However, the recent development that china was initiating with Pakistan in the creation of China- Pakistan Economic Corridor(CPEC) with the recent

⁶ Mallick Sajjad, "Future of China Asean Relations.Author".

Retrieved from: http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2018-08/14/content_58683673.html. Accessed on 26/12/18

⁷ Zhou Hong, "CHINA AND INDIA: COMPETING FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH MYANMAR", Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23257878>. Accessed on 20-02-19

launch of the China's Border and Road Forum which India has boycotted has led to the sidelining of bilateral issues that India had with China as it would go against India's interest.

China's Military Rise

China's constant development from tools to industries and from policy to markets. China has been upgrading its defence and industries. China's budget has been doubled in the first half of the twenty first century. China's move in military made many countries to act in creating a regional balance. The most probable questions were what China was intending to do with such a rampant rise in its military structure? To what extent China would modernise its Red Army? China answered by stating that modernisation was needed to keep China and its area out of threats. China has failed to convey any message about the deployment of such a huge armed forces, China has made considerable advancement in obtaining sophisticated arms and technologies, we should not forget China as a nuclear power, and China has updated to the most lethal Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles technologies. that has the capability of destroying any country within no time. China's military rise can be based on various factors, China shares complex relation with its neighbouring states and China has border disputes with four to five countries including India, Japan, Philippines, Taiwan , Cambodia and Vietnam etc. China is seen as a hard power rather than a soft power, Where the People Liberation Army could be seen as the most violent and ruthless when they are ordered for any operation. In Tibet many monks were ruthlessly killed by the People's Liberation Army with this China has earned bad name where world largest human rights violations are being

carried. The Korean War, where US armies had confronted the Chinese army along with the North Korean armies portrayed the brutality and destructive instincts that the Chinese army carry. China's brutal crackdown over the protestors at, 'Tianamen Square', where China steam rolled thousands of people. This incident clearly states how violent the Chinese army can be over time. China's military capability can be best seen with Chinas involvement in many wars.

China has fought war with India, China economic development was also marked by Chinas military modernisations. Today, China has acquired the status of an Asian hegemon. No smaller countries can resist China as a factor and balancing China would not be possible as China has already tend to enter trade agreements and financial assistance to such states, who could now no longer resist China's penetration or oppose China internally and externally as it may threaten to affect their sovereignty. China can be seen as upholding world class military regime. Though, the Chinese Communist Party is guiding in policy making. The PLA has their own share of influence over its policies that provides Chinese military with special power. China has increased its bases in the South China Sea, in Pacific Ocean and its planning to create ports in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. The port would help China in harbouring its ships. And China can monitor the Indian Ocean very closely. Chinese cargoes can move more swiftly and securely over the region while carrying resources to China, as it would provide a large horizon of Chinese quest for energy security. China not only have its power manifestation over Indian Ocean, its dream of labelling the South China Sea, as Chinas asset has come true. The South China Sea is dubbed by China as the 'second Persian Sea' for its oil reserves. It has 1,367,000 barrels oil production a day. The Chinese have calculated that the South China Sea will ultimately yield 130 billion barrels of oil. If these calculations are correct then it contains

More oil than any area of the globe except Saudi Arabia. China is desperate for finding new energy resources as Chinese oil reserves account for only 1.1 percent of the world total, while it consumes over 10 percent of world oil production and over 20 percent of all the energies being consumed on this planet. Chinese National Offshore Oil Corporation has invested \$20 billion in the region with the belief that there are vast reserves of oil in the area, which it has exploited. The location and energy reserves can give the South China Sea a critical geostrategic importance. China wants to control it as it imports most of its oil through this trade route. Doing so would enable China to establish hegemony in East and Southeast Asia that no other country involved in the dispute is capable of. It has resulted in territorial disputes

Surrounding these more than two hundred small islands, but only about

Thirty five of them are permanently above water.⁸ From this it is clear, why China consider the South China Sea as its internal lake and hence defending it with a strong military by creating bases around it and restricting other powers became essential for Chinese security interest. Chinas military interest can be understood interms of its building relations with the countries like, Myanmar, Bangladesh, North Korea, Pakistan, Srilanka and many more. As china level it as a ‘String of Pearls’.

Firstly Chinese interest in building its satellite states, China has provided huge arms to the Myanmar’s Junta, China has always s considered Myanmar as its younger brother in defining its strategic aims, Myanmar is the only place from where china can directly launch its ships to the Indian ocean which will enable china in drawing its presence over South Asia.

⁸ Jawli Nandini, “South China Sea and India’s geo-political Interest”, Indian Journal of Asian Affairs, Vol. 29, No. 1/2 (June-December 2016), pp. 85-100

Secondly,

China and North Korea though shared the same ideology, they have developed mutual trust among themselves. China has provided North Korea with all resources and armistice during the Korean War and the duo has confronted the US backed soldiers on the 38th parallel. Since, then China has been a close ally of the North Korea, Even the North Korea has supported China during the Sino-Soviet rift. It is well known that today North Korea has upgraded its military industry and defence system with the recent development of the ICBM's only with the Chinese aid.

Thirdly, China has conceived India to be a regional threat in its growth and development.

The Sino- Indian war of 1962 clearly broke the relation between the two. China's claim was that India has breached the agreement which both the countries have signed on "Panchsheel", by providing asylum to the Tibetan migrants and Dalai Lama. China also claimed the 'Aksai Chin' i.e. Arunachal Pradesh, as South Tibet to be an integral part of its territory which remains a zone of conflict even today.. Chinese help to Pakistan against India during the war of 1965, 1971 and 1999 has clearly proved the Sino-Pak friendship. China has helped Pakistan to become a nuclear state in 1998. China played an active role in enrolling Pakistan as a permanent member to its Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. China's presence in the northern part of India as Pakistan allowed between 7,000 and 11,000 Chinese troops to enter Pakistan-administered Azad (Free) Kashmir, referred to by India as Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir, or PoK, it clearly shows China's presence in the northern border of India. Chinese multi project investment in creation of the Gwadar Port clearly presents Chinese military interest in the Indian Ocean. China has strengthened its military troops in the Indian border and both are suspicious about each other's movements. The Doklam issue which brought a thaw in present India China relations started on 16 June, a Bhutanese patrol noticed a People's Liberation

Army (PLA) construction team working on a road in territory claimed by both Bhutan and China. Authorities in Thimphu promptly notified their security guarantors in New Delhi, and two days later Indian troops and bulldozers rolled across the border and pitched camp, blocking the Chinese road. The ensuing seventy-three-day standoff was the most serious confrontation between China and India for thirty years.⁹The road which China was constructing was closer to the chicken neck corridor which New Delhi could not allow as it would impact the future North Eastern States.

Fourthly, China in the recent decades has strengthened the blue water navy for shaping its maritime security. Chinese search for energy and market has led China in visioning its interest over the Indian ocean. Though China plays an active role in creating a surveillance over the South China Sea, China has also realised the importance of Indian Ocean, which can be treated as a backyard of Asian energy security platform. Chinese Navy has been actively harbouring in creation of the Chittagong port of Bangladesh, Chinas multilateral investment in creating the Sri lankan port distinctly presents Chinese aim of encircling India. Chinas aim of reaching out to the Persian Gulf through the Indian ocean leads China in doubling up its investment across countries which would allow China to station its ships and make cordial atmosphere for maintaining Chinese influence.

Finally, Chinas military interest also rests in securing Taiwan as its counterpart whom china considered it to be the other half of China. However, the western influence by USA, JAPAN antagonises China Military tension is at the core of the Taiwan conflict. It is also a key factor for Washington to contemplate intervention. Since 2016 the level of this tension has risen due

⁹ Chub Andrew, PERIPHERAL TROUBLE: THE SINO-INDIAN STANDOFF, Retrieved from

:<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1rmjm7.14>, Accessed on 27-02-2019.

to Taipei's renunciation of the 1992 consensus and more vigorous U.S. play of the Taiwan card.¹⁰ However, to understand the fact that the penetration of USA into the Asian region boils down China's suspicion to a level that the action-reaction dynamics of the Taiwan conflicts have testified to how fragile the post-Chen Shui-bian rapprochement was, once the political atmosphere changed in Taipei. As the eight-year efforts by Ma and Xi to detriquer war evaporated almost overnight, the military aspects of bilateral tension have gained more currency. This has been further complicated by the deepening of U.S. involvement amid power transition in Asia. The two recent U.S. strategy reports, the U.S. National Security Strategy and U.S. National Defense Strategy, vividly reflect the American view on China and will set the Sino-U.S. rivalry on a new track of escalation. Logically, the Taiwan conflict, more tightly structured into the global power politics. Since Taiwan is an irritant for Beijing, Trump would naturally like to leverage it in the bilateral ties. Increasingly the Sino-U.S. geostrategic strife will come to redefine the nature and features of Strait relations, ultimately in military terms¹¹ with the above mentioned points it is clear that China has evidently played in gaining huge military dominance and increasing its troops and military backups across the borders. Chinas aim of becoming an Asian leader clearly

¹⁰ Yu Ji and Hao Yufan, *The Political and Military Nexus of Beijing-Washington-Taipei: Military Interactions in the Taiwan Strait*, *China Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, SPECIAL ISSUE: Washington-Taipei Relations at a Crossroads (August 2018), pp. 89-120. Retrived from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26484534>. Accessed on 27-02-2019

¹¹ Yu Ji and Hao Yufan, *The Political and M7 military Nexus of Beijing-Washington-Taipei: Military Interactions in the Taiwan Strait*, *China Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, SPECIAL ISSUE: Washington-Taipei Relations at a Crossroads (August 2018), pp. 89-120. Retrived from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26484534>. Accessed on 27-02-2019

China's Political Rise

As we know China has an interesting political history, Before 1949 China was known as Republic Of China (ROC) under Chiang-Kai-Sheikh, However, the peasant revolution led by Mao Zedong brought the People Republic of China with the Communist party in power.

China's political rise can be categorised under four sections:-

Firstly, China's political outlook varies from country to country, With some of its neighbour China maintained a very good relation and while with others China can be seen as a threat. With Mao's leadership China continued to restructure its political setups, China has received huge financial and technical aid from the former Soviet Union until Stalins death. Since, China was upholding communism and it was vehemently against the US policy of containment. While briefing China's political insights it can be said that it was India who was the first country to recognise China as an Independent Nation. The Sino-Indian friendship grew, as Nehru considered the two with the oldest civilisation of the world and the, "Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai", a term being commonly used as it paved the way for "Panch Sheel", which means policy of peaceful co-existence in 1954¹².

However, the Sino-Indian bonhomie was soon over as political tensions began to erupt when China has re designed its map and made Arunachal Pradesh and its other areas as Southern Tibet, However, the India's intense feelings towards Dalai Lama and its supporter disrupted the India China relations. Though a diplomatic session was carried out with the exchange of dialogue but, it could not help and finally with the Nehru's declaration, "Through the Chinese out", the war became an inevitable event. China's relations have been damaged at an

¹² Garver W John, Evolution of India's China Policy, **Ganguly Sumit** (ed), India's Foreign Policy, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011, p.87

extensive level with India. China's growing relation with Pakistan and China's aid during the Pakistan's war of 1965, 1971 and 1999 clearly proved Chinese disharmony and hatred against India. Though, after Indira Gandhi's period, Janata Party sent an ambassador to China to resume dialogues of both the countries which was paused after 1962's war but, it went into a setback when China Invaded Vietnam, who was India's closest friend.¹³ Though it was in 1980's that Huang Hua the Chinese foreign minister visited India and the dialogues between the two countries resumed but, the growing suspicion among the Chinese paused the entire effort. It was after the cold war that India China's relation has entered into a new zone of peace and understanding. Both the countries know the importance of trade and security and focuses on building strong relations with each other. Apart from the Doklam Issue and the Chinese String of pearls, The recent Pulwama attack where the Pakistan backed militants killed more than 40 military Jawan's, China reacted sharply condemning the incident and made statement to go against terrorism, this reaction made by China created new hope where the two Asian giants can work in a cooperation and frame policies which can be win-win for both the Nations.

Secondly, China's political influence and dominance over Asia made the countries of South East Asia to create a regional organisation, where economic stability, security, environmental issues, trade, terrorism can be dealt with and this regional organisation came into existence in 1967 and was known as ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nation). ASEAN ambition was not only to create a regional organisation, ASEAN's main goal was revived after the end of Cold War when United States was least interested in the South East Asia than

¹³ Garver W John, Evolution of India's China Policy, **Ganguly Sumit** (ed), India's Foreign Policy, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011, p.95

to Middle East. The main aim of ASEAN was counter dominance in the region, China was trying to increase its hold within the region, China has multiple disputes with Philippines, Vietnam and Cambodia. However, situation began to change in the twenty first century, Bush declaration on “Global War on Terror”, made ASEAN countries and its member states closer to the United States¹⁴. China considered this event as US penetrations into the Asian region and thus has to balance US.

Thirdly, As we know China has a contrasting relation with Myanmar and other South East Asian countries China is enhancing its political influences over Bangladesh, The Khalida Zia government earlier has warmly welcomed China and its investment and China has shown a great amount of interest in constructing the Chittagong port where China can harbour its own ships while moving through the Sea lanes of communication, The Sino –Pak economic corridor where China has projected a multi billionaire investment benefiting both China and Pakistan however, India sharply reacted against providing an route to China and Pakistan because of security issue and the growing militancy problem in the Kashmir, China was critical about India’s decision over this.

Fourthly, with the Trumps presidency in USA, the idea of China first has been changed. as the policy inputs varied with a divergent set of interest. This approach was clearest in vice President Pence’s October 4, 2018, speech on China. The speech, and subsequent comments by the vice president during his November 2018 trip to Asia, made clear that the United States intends to confront China until Beijing changes its behaviour on a wide range of well-known and longstanding concerns. These include discriminatory trade barriers, forced

¹⁴ Lee John, China’s ASEAN invasion, Retrieved from : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42896029> , Accessed on 06-03-2019

technology transfer, militarization of outposts in the South China Sea, pressure on Taiwan, human rights and religious freedom, government-sponsored cyber-enabled its espionage, and Chinese interference in other countries' political systems.¹⁵. However, with this we have seen how China has overwhelmingly increased its influence through its economic, military and political rise. While witnessing China's rise as an Asian hegemony, it is important to locate China and its future behaviour. Whether China would gain equal level of accessibility in Asia and abroad or what if some other regional powers like, Japan and India who are already China's strategic partner creates barriers will be discussed in the following Chapter

¹⁵ Dollar David, Hass Ryan and Baar. A Jaffrey, Assessing China-US Relationship Two years of Trump Presidency, Retrieved from : <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/01/15/assessing-u-s-china-relations-2-years-into-the-trump-presidency/>. Accessed on 07-03-2019.

Chapter -3

CHINAS IMPLICATION OVER INDIA AND JAPAN

In the previous chapter we have seen how China as rising power in the world and how china shines out in terms of politics, economy and military. This chapter will broadly enlighten us about what implication does China have over India and Japan. As we know China,India and Japan are three rising Asian powers With enormous military and economic capabilities. These countries have a strong man power resource that can create anything to everything. In this chapter at first I will discuss about the India – China relations, explaining cooperation and conflict between the two. And in the second part I will highlight Chinas Differences with Japan Though the trio seems to be uneven with the past histories of conflict against each other. China stands out in creating dominance over the region. Whereas, Japan which is a close ally of US is suspicious over Chinas move.

China's relation with India

China shares a close and a distinct geo-political, economic and cultural relation with India. The two countries are culturally linked over centuries. While analysing the Indo- China relations, I would like to split the topic into three different areas, such as,Cultural , Military and Economic development. Here, I will present what factor have led China and India to forge out from cooperation to conflict. Will there be a Sino Indian rise in future? And how China and India will balance the external factors towards the Asian rise?

Sino-Indian Cultural Relations

China and India have a rich cultural heritage. While Indian civilisation started beside the Ganges, China too has been blessed with the flow of the Hwangho river. India and China, the two Asian giants represent the world oldest civilisation. The two countries have a unique history and a culture, Though India is known as a land of diversity. China varied its magnificence and spirituality. The ancient silk routes have been found in stitching the cultures of both India and China. Buddhism a philosophy and religion has speeded to the Chinese shores connecting their minds and hearts of people from India. China's trade with the central Asia through India defines their friendship. The hospitality grew over time and with Indian traders moving to China. Chinese Buddhist monk like Fa- Hsien, Huan Tse-Tung and many other visited India in the past. Though, China and majority of its people are believer in Confucianism which has no direct connection with India. But, there are still links that hold China and India culturally. If one talks of thousands years old Sino-Indian cultural interface then there must be a starting point for this., the historical records of the Sino-Indian interface has a two way traffic, and the two elements of exchange can be categorised as material exchange and spiritual cultural exchange. And these exchanges were carried out through the Silk route¹⁶ India's relation grew in the ancient and medieval period. Many literary records of Sino-Indian interface could be traced from Han Dynasty. The first information is provided by 'Si Maqian', the great Chinese historian in his master piece *Shiji Xinanyizhuan* , the record narrates that Zhang Qian, who was Han envoy in the western regions returned to the court in 122 BC, he reported to Han Emperor Wu Di that while in Bectria, he saw clothes

¹⁶ Deepak, B. R, *India China Relations in the first half of the 20th century*, A.P.H Publisher, New Delhi, 2001, p.1.

made in Shu (another name of Sichuan province) and walking Bamboo sticks, while questioned them where from this came from, they answered Shendu (Shindu from India). This clearly states that India and China have trade relations from about second century BC. It was not only a trade route that carried out commerce over land.¹⁷ The India China cultural ties were forged during 1954, when Chinese Premier Chou En Lai and Jawaharlal Nehru has agreed to sign 'Panchsheel', which is also known as the policy of peaceful co existence. This bolstered a quick Indo-Chinese cultural link and a popular slogan like; "Hindi Chini Bhai-Bhai" became quite popular. though it was short lived. The second phase of cultural exchanges began after 1990's. It was for the first time after the pause that P.V. Narasimha Rao has engaged in resolving disputes and started dialogue between the two countries. Later higher officials and diplomats have resumed their services to India. As a mark of ancient civilisation and their contacts, it was found that India has built a temple in the Luoyang Henan Province Inside the white Horse temple complex which was said to have been built in honour of the Indian monks. Kashyapa matanga and Dharmaratna. The temple was inaugurated in May 2010 by then Indian President Pratibha Patil during her visit to China.¹⁸ Sino-Indian cultural bonhomie has picked up its pace in 2003, the centre for Indian studies were started in Peking, which has initiated a joint platform for the student exchanges across both the countries. However, not only the student exchanges that took place, it was Chinese Universities which has shown their utmost interest in opening Indian Studies. By then, Department of Hindi was already being established in Shenzhen University, Jinan University and Shanghai International University.

¹⁷ Deepak B.R, India China Relations in the first half of the 20th century, A.P.H Publisher, New Delhi, 2001.p.1

¹⁸ Embassy of India, Beijing China, Bilateral Brief on India China cultural relations, Retrived from :

<http://www.coibeijing.gov.in/cultural-relation.php> . Accessed on- 24-04-2019

Today, as June 21st, declared as World Yoga Day, China has shown positive gestures in uplifting Yoga in China and has recommended the United Nations for considering it across the World. During the visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to China in May 2015, a Yoga-Taichi performance in the world heritage site of Temple of Heaven was witnessed by Premier Li Keqiang and the Prime Minister. During the same visit, an agreement was signed to establish a Yoga College in Kunming, Yunnan Province¹⁹

Indian movies are popular in Chinese theatre, and Chinese movies in the Indian theatre. Many Chinese actors like Jackie Chan, Li Xuanji has visited India. Many film production units have signed joint co production by which they can mutually produce movies and earn profit.

‘Bahubali’ a movie that was telecasted in Chinese theatre, the movie gained such popularity that it brought a profit of more than 250 crores of Indian money. An exhibition of Gupta Art, titled "Across the Silk Road: Gupta Sculptures and their Chinese Counterparts, 400-700 CE" featuring 56 sculptures gathered from 09 museums in India was held in different cities of China in 2016-17.²⁰ With this China and India, the two cultures have shown a positive attitude in rekindling its ancient ethos and traditional virtues. Both the countries have a rich cultural heritage and Thus Sino-Indian bonhomie can initiate more peace and cooperation in the coming future.

¹⁹ Embassy of India, Beijing China, Bilateral Brief on India China cultural relations, Retrieved from : <http://www.eoibeijing.gov.in/cultural-relation.php> . Accessed on- 24-04-2019.

²⁰ Embassy of India, Beijing China, Bilateral Brief on India China cultural relations, Retrieved from : <http://www.eoibeijing.gov.in/cultural-relation.php> . Accessed on- 24-04-2019.

India - China's Military Relations

India China the two Asian giants not only have a rich cultural heritage but also today have the world strongest standing army ..The long colonial rule made both the countries aware to strengthen its security The two countries have the most sophisticated weapons of the world. Both the countries are nuclear rich and maintained a strong army , navy and airforce that can launch any operation within no time..To know China, we should remember it as one of the permanent member of the UN Security Council. Initially India and China maintained a very friendly relation. However, situation began to change with Chinese expedition to integrate Tibet to the mainland China , which was a buffer between the India and China.. A turning point came in 1954 with the conclusion of an Indo-China agreement.on Tibet. In that agreement India relinquished its inherited special rights. in Tibet and recognised china's claim to Tibet²¹ The Panchsheel was known as the policy of peaceful coexistence. Jawaharlal Nehru and chou en –Lai the two countries prime minister signed this agreement. The agreement was short lived as the new Chinese map marked Arunachal Pradesh as an integral part of Chinese territory.this created tension and Indo-China friendship collapsed with the war of 1962.

After the war of 1962 , the Sino-Indian relation deteriorated almost for three decades .China in the mean time developed its nuclear weapon and for the first time China tested its nuclear bomb in 1964. The Sino-Indian war took to a new turn with Chinas immediate friendship grew with Pakistan and China supplied with all arms and armistice during the war of 1965, 1971 and 1999, Though several initiatives were made during the Indira Gandhi period to

²¹ Garver W. John ,Evolution of India's China Policy,, Sumit Ganguly, INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY *retrospect and prospect*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011.

enhance the relation between the two countries , The Sino-Indian relation took a major stride after Rajiv Gandhi's china visit in December 1988. In a meeting with Rajiv Gandhi in December 21, Deng Xiaoping the then Chairman of Central Military Commission stated, "Let us forget the unpleasant phase in our past relations and do everything with an eye on future".²² India's relation with China started to develop after the cold war period, the disintegration of Soviet Union sought to bring more fortune to China and greater loss to India. India was left with no choice rather to accept the unipolar world with one super power or to welcome multipolarity. India and china's development on defence led on four grounds. Firstly, China's policies towards its neighbours restraining India, Secondly, Chinas policy towards Indian ocean, Thirdly, China and India's hard power military balance to the border conflict. As it is clear from the previous chapter that China's excitement have been doubled within three decades. In the very first place I will explain What policies China led towards its neighbouring states that affected India many a times ? China today not only has grown its economy it is presently strengthening its defence from all aspects..It is quite obvious that the Sino-Pak Axis has always proved to show its confrontation against India, The post Pokhran II, has resulted in Pakistan's testing of its nuclear bomb quite possible with the Chinese help and China positively agreed that it would balance nuclear deterance between India and Pakistan. To continue to observe the Chinese military rise China continue to influence its neighbours as a part of Chinas strategic interest. Such as, Myanmar, whom China considered as all weather brother. Our expositions are clear from the very beginning that Myanmar is a Chinese satellite state, the insurgent groups operating in Myanmar could not have grown that strong as it is today without the Chinese help.. The NSCN(K), i.e the Naga Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang) most vibrant insurgent groups that operates in North East,specially in Nagaland , has their safe heavens in Myanmar. There are other insurgent groups like

²² Deepak B.R, *India China Relations in the first half of the 20th century*, , A.P.H Publisher, New Delhi, 2001. p.19

United Liberation Front of Assam. (ULFA), sources said of China backing this groups to mke India weak internally. It is China who provide assistance to this groups against India. Chinas strategic interest lies in the fact is that China needs Myanmar as it is resource rich in terms of natural gases and mineral reserves that could benefit China in near future, the more obvious reason was Myanmar could provide China a space from where China can launch its Ships directly to the Indian Ocean. Chinas close relation with Myanmar has forced Indian government to have dialogues with Myanmar and a trade negotiation was carried out with Myanmar where Myanmar government has assured India,that they would not allow any insurgent groups to take shelter into their territory. China quickly resolved its differences with Vietnam, so that Vietnam which remained an old friend of India could not counter China in its strategic march

Secondly, while defining the Sino-Indian military relations, Chinas revival of the century old maritime sea routes and the Chinese expansion towards the Indian Ocean may bring India towards introspection. China not only has claimed the South China Sea as an integral part of Chinas territory. China has moved further in constructing various ports encircling India in the Indian Ocean. Such as the recent plan for the construction of the Chittagong Port in Bangladesh, the Hambontota Port of Sri Lanka and the Gwadar port of Pakistan. China has led multi billion projects which would in return enable China to increase its naval fleet and would be more promising in drawing resources across the region. Chinas policy of the pearl of strings led India to the several counter measures. Though, with the change of Indian leadership after 2014, India has taken a different strategy. India has declared to renovate its cotton route and has named it as 'Mausam'. While doing this, we have witnessed that Inda is much more focussive in building the bilateral relations with its maritime neighbours. Such as, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Maldives, Indonesia, etc.The reason behind India fears Chinese

penetration and hence India emphasised on a strong blue water navy. Just as China will not concede India's primacy in South Asia and the Indian Ocean region, India seems unwilling to accept Southeast and East Asia as China's sphere of influence.²³ Resource scarcity has added a maritime dimension to this geopolitical rivalry. As China's and India's energy dependence on the Middle and Africa increases, both are actively seeking to forge closer security ties with resource supplier nations (e.g., Saudi Arabia and Iran) and to develop appropriate naval capabilities to dominate the sea lanes through which the bulk of their commerce flows. Since seventy-percent of China's oil comes from the Middle East and Africa, Beijing has increased its activities in the Indian Ocean region by investing in littoral states, economies, building ports and infrastructure and weapons and acquiring energy resources²⁴ For India the decisions that New Delhi is today pursuing has a similar reflections .India knew it well that Chinas future activities may neutralise India in the future over its geo graphical locations. More than 90 percent of Chinas arm supplies reaches out to the neighbouring states of India. A recent commentary from the official Xinhua news outlet called for setting up three lines of supply bases in the northern Indian Ocean, the western Indian Ocean, and the southern Indian Ocean. It stated: "China needs to establish overseas strategic support stations for adding ship fuel, re-supply of necessities, staff break time, repairs of equipment, and weapons in Pakistan, Sri navy Lanka, and Myanmar, which will be the core support bases in

²³ Malik Mohan, CHINA AND INDIA TODAY: Diplomats Jostle, Militaries Prepare, World Affairs, Vol. 175, No. 2 (JULY/AUGUST 2012), p. 79, retrived from : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41639008> .

Accessed on 07-09-2018

²⁴ Malik Mohan, *China and India Today: Diplomats Jostle, Militaries Prepare*, World Affairs, Vol. 175, No. 2 (July/August 2012), pp. 78 - 79, Retrieved from : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41639008> .

Accessed on 07-09-2018

the North Indian Ocean supply line; Djibouti, Yemen, Oman, Kenya, Tanzania, and Mozambique, which will be the core support bases in the West Indian Ocean supply line; and Seychelles and Madagascar, which will be the core support bases in the South Indian Ocean supply line; and Seychelles and Madagascar, which will be the core support bases in the South Indian Ocean supply.²⁵ China's heavy investment in the recent time with Maldives turning future opportunities to China was looked down by India. Today India is playing its cards across its neighbours. After Modi's visit to Bangladesh where Sheikh Hasina warmly received Modi's presence and further assured Bangladesh's fullest assistance to India clearly shows that a strategic shift is seen towards Bangladesh towards India. Though it may cause disappointment to China. The growing Indo-US relation where USA today can be seen as a big investor and interest holder in South Asia grieves China internally.

Thirdly, apart from the Indian Ocean, China and India the two continental giants though started resuming its dialogues through exchange of diplomats and higher officials, by enhancing Confidence Building Measures, but China did not move by an inch when the issue of border settlement were discussed. Chinese official says the border issues have grown sophisticated and it would take time in dealing with the disputed issue. China's growing friendship with Pakistan as China's arm sale has gone more than 90 percent and Pakistan being the largest buyer. While shaping its defence policies India has to maintain its strategic balance of China on the one hand and Pakistan on the other. The related controversy, is with regard to Arunachal Pradesh. The Dalai Lama and his activities may be seen as the thorniest

²⁵Malik Mohan, *China and India Today: Diplomats Jostle, Militaries Prepare*, World Affairs, Vol. 175, No. 2 (July/August 2012), p. 80, Retrieved from : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41639008> .

Accessed on 07-09-2018

issue by far in the entire imbroglio. In comparative terms, the Chinese responses to the reported incursions were standard ones. The strongest protests from China were directed first at the proposed visit of the Dalai Lama to Tawang²⁶ China has also shown deep resentment with the visit of Manmohan Singh to Arunachal Pradesh because of election campaign in 2009, the then Prime Minister of India. The US – India’s nuclear deal and continues naval exercise informed Beijing’s assessment that US and India’s friendship was aimed at containing China’s rise. China’s more aggressive claims to the disputed northern border – a new challenge over India’s sovereignty over Kashmir- and the entry of Chinese troops and construction workers in Gilgit Baltistan region escalated the conflict.²⁷

The recent standoff in ‘Doklam’, a plateau situated near to the Indo-Bhutan border where China could be seen constructing roads near to Indian borders and India reacted sharply in destroying Chinese development. The particular phase witnessed heavy deployment of armies across the borders, sources have said that it could have turned into a conventional war and thus could bring nuclear threat over the two countries. The standoff however cooled down as China began to move its military away from the border to prevent any mishap. The entire scene could be portrayed as China’s military dominance have grown over time that could impact India’s security. China in the recent times has also threatened to blow the Bogbeel

²⁶ Acharya Alka, *Whither India China Relation?*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 44, No. 45 (November 7-13, 2009), p. 10, Economic and Political Weekly, retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25663756>. Accessed on : 27- 09 – 2018

²⁷ Francine. R Frankel, THE BREAKOUT OF CHINA-INDIA STRATEGIC RIVALRY IN ASIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, NO.2 Sino-Indian Relations (Spring / Summer 2011) P. 2.

Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24385531>. Accessed on: 27-02- 2019

bridge that has connected upper Assam with Arunachal Pradesh which China considered as Southern Tibet. It is within four years that many launch pads, roads connecting to Indian border and a vast Indo – Tibetan Border Force have been seen to be deployed so that any attempt made against India, India could swing to reply. Thus, it can be stated that though China holds far a superior position to India in terms of its defence industries and development with more ICBM'S and other satellite based technologies, India has also modernised its industries where the budgeting presents a massive spending on defence. The up gradation was essential to withstand China's threat over India. And hence, China and India can balance each other militarily.

While concluding the Sino-India relations, the recent break out of the admirations of India's attempt to engage China through the Modi - Xi Wuhan informal meeting has faded away in the recent month. India has decided not to participate in China's second Belt and Road Forum (BRF),²⁸ where almost forty heads of the government would be present. The reason behind China –Pak Economic Corridor agenda is in front. And it was China's initiative to block India's request to UN to designate Jaishe –E- Mohammad as global terrorist. I cannot harm its strategic concern by being present on such events that would hamper India. Though it may breach the Beijing-New Delhi's cooperation, The Doklam brought both the countries face each other eyeball to eyeball. It would not be such an easy step for India to forget everything and participate into such an event.

²⁸ Hashmi Sana, India's response to China's BRI linked to its Territorial Concern, THE INDIAN EXPRESS, Accessed on 23-04-2019.

China-India's economic implications

The twenty first century is a century of progress, the waves of scientific enlightenment not only has caught Europe in its hold it has today spreaded across seas and reached Asia. The Asian rise would not have been possible if the countries like, China and India have not been freed from the yolk of imperialism. Globalisation has tide up policies where market has become a very important factor. A successful country is not successful, if it could not meet the needs of its citizen, China has successfully learnt the art of trade from its ancestors, as its trade policy has tended to revive the century old Silk route, that used to bring fame and wealth to China. However, India's rise as an economic power is iconic that can be dated back to Nehru who laid down the first economic blue print on which India stands today. India's economic progress could not be defined without explaining its strategic location. The Indian Ocean is the world busiest and most expensive sea route after the Strait of Mallaca, as it is treated to be the back yard of Asian energy security carrier. Many countries of South East Asia and Far East are looking forward in building economic relations with India. While devising the trade strategy China is forced to free its economy to the modern waves of globalisation, where policy of isolationism has been transformed into the policy of interdependence. The post cold war period has witnessed a rampant Change in both China and India's attitude towards trade, security and energy chase. The Sino-Indian relations can be gauged from many ways. As I have discussed while explaining the cultural and military relations that China today cannot ignore India in its rise.. The Sino-Indian bonhomie can be seen as a greater opportunity for building Sino-Indian economic vision. both the countries have nuclear weapons and each of them knows their consequences if misused.hence engaging in commerce can bring them more returns which proxies and conventional war could not. Today, China has its own capital, as we can see from the Chinese trade statistics, The Asian

Development Bank (ADB) has its headquarters in Shanghai, which is a key investor in major South East Asian countries.

However, India's look East Policy with its future interest in South East Asia draws China's concern over losing this region economically. India's promising relation with ASEAN member states has increased over the last two decades which would provide India in enhancing a multilateral trade initiative with the rising economies. The globalisation which means one size fits and the China's entrance to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has made the South East Asian countries aware of China's penetration into their market which may drive out profit into China's hand. While expanding India's talks with the ASEAN members, India has now signed a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. ASEAN in return has signed the framework agreements with China, Japan, and India to set up a free trade area within the next ten years, in addition to seeking bilateral FTAs, with Singapore taking the lead.²⁹ China though has resolved its conflicts with Vietnam. China still continues to claim certain Islands that belong to Philippines. These Islands are resource rich in minerals and energy reserves from which China can benefit out. While bidding the Sino - Indian economic relationship, China has already started its dialogue with the Central Asian countries, China though share border with them. India did not remain behind in this scene but Indian geographical differences of Himalayas in the north increases the transport cost. India and Tajikistan maintains a close relation with each other, India considered Tajikistan as its strategic partner and has signed many agreements over trade, joint military ventures and terrorism. Many Indian IT companies are rendering services to the Tajik government. This shows India's presence in Central Asia, the recent Visit of India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Tajikistan clearly diminishes every doubts of the

²⁹ Gaur Seema, *Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-operation between India and ASEAN: First Step Towards Economic Integration*, ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Vol. 20, No. 3 (December 2003), p. 283
Published by: ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25773788> , Accessed on 17-04-2019.

Indo-Tajik partnership. From the global perspective, China and India represent two unique players combining two huge GDP's of the world which represents a new trend setter in the international relations. Though China and India are growing in terms of their economy, poverty, unemployment and a very low per capita income is still a major problem which both the economy should address.. Unlike Deng Xiaoping of China, it is Manmohan Singh of India who is considered as the architect of Indian economic reforms and policies. However, without government initiatives many sectors have come up independently which has been competing with Beijing. The telecom industries, automobile sector and other giants have grown up sharply giving a tough competition with China. Though China and India has shown up their present interest by creating Military bases in the Indian Ocean Region, it also has a direct economic implication. The fuel that China receives from the Middle East that boost the Chinese economic engine moves through the Indian Ocean. In 2013, Xi Jinping, the Chinese President, announcement of China's revival of ancient silk route which would be a maritime route as well as a land route defined China's economic expansion. Many Indian firms have been blocked by China while entering the China's market or those who have been permitted reports strict legal laws preventing them to operate internally. On the other hand China has flooded the Indian market with China's products, specially the electronics i.e Xiaomi mobiles, micro chips, catridges, speakers, led lights etc. China has seen the growing middle class in India and a huge size population which has a large scale consumption level. With India's close partnership of the European countries and the recent bilateral and multi lateral trade investment and economic summit. China is skeptic whether it would deprive China and its investors from obtaining profit. India recently has developed a close relationship with Japan and Japan has vowed to help India economically and financially, Though I will discuss this in the next chapter. The Sino-India economic horizon is now not only expanded to its domestic market, both the countries are trying their best to tie up bilateral relations with newly emerging economies to

grab their resources and markets. For instance China and India's present interest in South Africa. India has opened its automobile wing of Mahindra and Tata in the Latin American countries. With the emergence of the BJP government and the Make in India project, which has assured India to be capable of building and manufacturing its own products. From this it can be assumed that India will soon take the lead of exporting its goods and supplies to the world.

Defining China-Japan's Relation

While talking about the past mishaps and fortunes that favoured Japan in wars against China and the World War II, which witnessed Japanese army parading into Chinese territory capturing Mongolia and other part of China created a greater impact on the minds of Chinese people. China's past have marked many events which Japan has seen with a positive and negative note. Since 1949, with the formation of the People Republic of China has viewed with Japan with a mixed admiration, envy and occasional hostility.

As Jian Yang assert "China's relation with Japan are characterized by contradiction of deep distrust on one hand and important interest on the other".³⁰ Both the country though have normalised their relation in 1972, however, its China who needs Japan to consider it as a peaceful neighbour that could benefit China economically. Finally, Sino Japanese relation can be shaped just only after the cold war. The post 1990 has proved more fresh bonds that China can make use of in building the Sino Japanese relationship. . It was China's desire not to withstand any enmity with Japan that could hamper China and create obstacles for China's

³⁰ Smith, J Paul, *China-Japan Relations and the Future Geopolitics of East Asia*, Asian Affairs, Vol. 35, No. 4, China in 2010 (Winter, 2009), p. 230. Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd, Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30172699>. Accessed on 20-09-2018

rise as an Asian power. China's relation with Japan can be discussed by explaining certain issues (1) Resource management and disputes over Islands (2) Nationalism and Mutual Antipathy, (3) Taiwan's Status and China's claim, (4) A whistle to China's military rise, and (5) the U.S.-Japan security alliance.

Resource management and disputes over Islands

China and Japan the two Asian powers though have vowed to forget the past mishaps and continue their quest for economic development and progress. Still they tend to infringe bilaterally as China would continue to claim certain Islands as a part of its territory that Japan could never consider. China named this group of Islands as Diaoyu and Japan called them Senkaku. The islands are rich in natural gases. However, in 1992, it is with the Chinese legislation which have made laws to take this Island and bring them under China's sovereignty. This did not please Japan, even the period has witnessed that both the countries as put a team of researcher, surveillance boats and fighter jets to claim their control over the region.

The actual game of distrust began when in 2007 China opted a surveillance boat that would introspect any external threat to the Diaoyu or Senkaku Islands, In 2008, China protested against Japan's Diet, when a decision came that Japan would undertake an arial introspection. However, the politics revolve around the Senkaku Island does not only confine to regional power projection, the interest here is economic with more profit in drilling the area which contains some 7 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and upto 100 million barrels of oil ³¹ Tokyo

³¹ Smith. J Paul, *China-Japan Relations and the Future Geopolitics of East Asia*, Asian Affairs, Vol. 35, No. 4, China in 2010 (Winter, 2009), p. 234. Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd, Retrieved from : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30172699>. Accessed on 20-09-2018

asserts that both China and Japan should maintain a line that would be equidistant enough to their Exclusive Economic Zone. However, China did not agree to this and has extended its continental shelf that touched the line which Japan has set even to the Okinawan Trench. In order to extend their claims over this groups of Islands China has even deployed their military ships and war assets, it was also reported that a missile carrier and a launcher was also installed. China and Japan could not risk further to unnecessary tensions and have set their plans for explorations without contesting the area and its possession. This, decision came in late 2008, as China set that it has fixed many unresolved problems with Vietnam and Philipines in the South China Sea. After this agreement it was Wu Dawei remarked that as the Chunxiao oil and gas fields falls directly under the Jurisdiction of East China Sea, China would have sovereign rights over this Islands and further China will develop it in accordance with its own law. From the above mentioned area it is clear that aboth China and Japan is in tough chase for energy. Japan calls Chinas initiatives as 'Energy Diplomacy', as it shocked Japan that the per day fuel consumption of China is approximately 8 million barrels which may go up in the coming years. Nither Japan, nor China could remove its interest to rise as an Asian power. With Chinas growing interest in the Central Asian, African and Latin American countries with further plan to gain access to the region and their energy reserves.

Nationalism and Mutual Antipathy

The cusp of Sino-Japan relations tends to bifurcate irrespective of close cultural links and past histories. The reason behind is history, politics and a fear from other powers, which has not been removed till today. Though, exchange of officials, dialogues and Confidence

Building Measures have been carried out from time to time. The Sino- Japanese relation is marked by unfriendliness. In 2006, in a poll a survey was conducted where Japan has been seen as a positive force towards development by other countries , It was China and its citizens that obstructed and said they do not hope any kind of positivity from Japan. Instead they named Japan as ruthless, imperialist power, the anti-Japanese sentiment in China has grown that much that it often returns to violence and riot based situation. Which even created diplomatic relation worst, it was in 2005, the violence and anti Japanese hatred has risen to its peak, When the Chinese came to know that the schools in Japan teaches a chapter on war which displayed atrocities against the Chinese. It created tremendous protests, thousands gathering in Beijing's street, burning Japanese flags and created ways for damaging the Sino-Japanese diplomatic endeavours. Local people say they still have the scars that Japan has pt on their histories through wars and it cannot be washed out of their blood. This creates how internally Japan and China is breached and if there could be any solutions to turn the hatred out of heads. Just as anti-Japanese sentiment flourished in China similarly anti-China sentiment has also grown in Japan.³² Japan has insisted that after cold war and the Tianamen Square movement, Chinese Communist Party has tried to provoke more patriotism and patriotism in China, so that no such protest may come on Chinas way. Through this China has aroused anti- Japanese sentiment and past war memories which were intentionally created by the Chinese leader to avoid any upsurge that may attract Chinas citizen towards democracy and potray Japan a soft power.

³² Smith. J Paul, China-Japan Relations and the Future Geopolitics of East Asia, Asian Affairs, Vol. 35, No. 4, China in 2010 (Winter, 2009), p. 236. Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd,Retrived from : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30172699>. Accessed on 20-09-2018

Taiwan's status and China's claim

A historic moment was well received when on 29th September 1972, a final communique was held. Both Tokyo and Beijing normalised their relationship that was affected by past wars. Along with USA, it was Japan who considered Taipei to be the Capital of China as real China. But, with signing the friendship agreement it does not mean that Tokyo would infringe away in recognising Taiwan and its independent status. Though, People Republic of China received its status as Main land China. Japan shares a close economic relation Taiwan. The democratic politics has helped both the countries in developing their trade and Taiwan remains a closer partner to Japan. The Japan-Taiwan relationship and US –Taiwan relationship further increased Japan China disharmony as China claims Taiwan to be a part of its territory.

Though, with the normalisation of relation took place in 1972 it was Japans Liberal Democratic Party, who stood in establishing a council that would also build relations with between the two country diplomatically. While defining Taiwan relations with Japan, It is Japan's largest opposition party, The Democratic Party of Japan, established a relation with Taiwan's opposition party, The Democratic Progressive Party which is also known as Japan – Taiwan Friendship Diet Members. which at one time has as many as fifty members³³. There are a few factors that will enhance Japan Taiwan relation and how they viewed China.

Firstly, love for Political Liberty and Democracy, Both Taiwan and Japan has a liberal Democratic government, As we know democracies establishes peace. The 1989, Tianamen

³³ Smith. J Paul, China-Japan Relations and the Future Geopolitics of East Asia, Asian Affairs, Vol. 35, No. 4, China in 2010 (Winter, 2009), p. 238. Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd, Retrived from :

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/30172699>. Accessed on 20-09-2018

Square and its ruthless suppression by China made both Taiwan and Japan clear about China's problem of being authoritarian in nature.

Secondly, Taiwan's fast growing economy has made the country closer to Japan. Both Japan and China is good partners in trade. China and Japan may have higher investment in economic sector, but, it is Taiwan who maintains a closer and a peaceful relations with Japan.

Thirdly, Both Taiwan and Japan keeps links with each other. It was during 2007 election campaign that the Taiwanese presidential candidate Frank Hsieh stated that if he comes into power, he would bring more friendship towards Taiwan and Japan relationship and with this Taiwan has made plans to enter into the Kyoto Protocol with Japan.

Fourthly, in 2005, Japan went ahead to define Taiwan common objective which would induce US, Japan and Taiwan multi lateral trade and strategic partnership. This depressed Beijing entirely.

Many Taiwanese companies like ASUS and Frontech have their key firms in Japan. Taiwan receives a large scale capital and Foreign Direct Investment which creates a win win situation for both Japan and Taiwan. Even sharp reactions were received when in 2009 Japan referred Taiwan as a country. China believes in one country policy. Japan's policy should be restricted to not to indulge into China's internal matter over Taiwan. Japan understands very well that if Taiwan be unified with China it would lead to the creation of naval and land bases and it would open up door for China in the western Pacific through which Japan links with South East Asia and Middle East and China will further try to block the region like the South China Sea. On 2nd January , 2017, president Xi Jinping of China gave a speech which stated fulfilment of an historic event i.e Taiwan integration to China ,if needed force could also be asserted. This rised severe concern and President of Taiwan asked help from the International community. It was Japan and US who stood in the Chinese way protecting Taiwan as it may

lead to Tsai the Taiwanese president to develop more confidence as Donald Trump has sworn as the new president to the US. In late 2015, while a presidential candidate, Tsai met key officials in Tokyo. One thing she lobbied for was Taiwan membership in the Trans Pacific Partnership Trade accord. On Jan 18, 2016, two days after her electoral triumph, Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshihide Suga indicated Japan's support for Taiwan in the TPP³⁴. Japan-Taiwan relations were enhanced when the Japan-China relation became frozen because of territorial disputes. Shinzo Abe extended its full partnership to China not as a competing agent but as a friend in cooperation, stating that Japan would take part in China's Belt and Road initiatives.

A whistle to China's Military Rise

While defining the Sino-Japanese relationship, China's rapid rise to power with its sophisticated weapons and space-based missile technology takes the security dilemma of East Asia. It was after 2009 that China has aggressively started spending on defence. In 2010 it was noted that China's spending was more than 22% of its annual expenditure on defence. China's ambition is not only to rise as an economic power, it has bigger dreams to capture the region with a fat military boost. The sudden rapid military rise has also provided Japan to act immediately to increase its defence budget. Both the USA and Japan have criticised China to reveal its motivation for such a huge defence initiative. In 2008, with Ishiba Shigeru, the then Japanese Minister, has asked China to be transparent as Japan has always otherwise it would induce threat and misconception, as China lacks transparency. Tokyo by the end of 2009 has

³⁴ Ching Frank, Can Japan balance its ties with China and Taiwan?, Japan Times, Retrieved from : <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2019/02/21/commentary/japan-commentary/can-japan-balance-ties-china-taiwan>. Accessed on 23/04/2019

witnessed how fast China has built its naval and air war ships. while recognising the growing Japanese anxiety over the Chinese build up , it was China who assured that they were modernising their defence and it possess no threat. Since Chinese defence were outdated for a long period of time, it is in 2007 that Cao Ganchuan , the Chinese Defence Minister stated that they have increased the budget as it require increasing of salary, inland protection and to catch up defence within International standards. He exclaimed that the threat from China is unnecessary and it would further lead to mistrust and sophistication of relations in between Japan and China. Though not withstanding such assurances Chinas military upgradation has led the power dynamics beyond East Asia. It was from 1998 to 2010 that China has deployed more than 28 submarines with an underground war fare capabilities, however, with Chinas blue water navies China once has transited into Japanese territory and it alarmed Tokyo. The surge comes amid an intensifying internal discussion in Japan on what types of capabilities are allowed under Japan's constitution, which renounces war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. By literal reading it seems to forbid Japan from maintaining forces at all, but in the 1950s Japan determined self-defense only was allowed., It was Shinzo Abe, The Prime Minister of Japan and the LDP have pushed for the rewrite of that Article 9 clause to wording that self defence force are constitutional.³⁵ With Abe's revision of Article 9, it became clear that Japan would not only have position in self defence but, it would also have war making capabilities, if anything that posed a threat to Japan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Japan would not infringe in sending its forces out of its territory, when situation would call for. The article 9

³⁵ Copp Tara, Japan surges new weapons, military roles to meet China's rise, Retrieved from:

<https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2019/01/15/japan-surges-new-weapons-military-roles-to-meet-chinas-rise/>
Accessed on 23-04-2019.

and its revisioning created further suspicion for China, whether it would lead to contain Chinas growth in future? I will answer this question in the conclusion.

The US =Japan Security Alliance.

The US –Japan security alliance can be found just after the end of World War II, Japan and US relation sparked off after the World War II and Japan remained under United States till the end of USSR. It was in 1960, when United States and Japan has agreed to sign a treaty on mutual cooperation and security. It led to the replacement of the older treaty, which Japan signed with US during 1950s. The US Japan alliance provided a fresh ground for US in extending its opportunities that would lead to the containment of the Soviet Union. USA will also gain special access to the South Asia and Middle East. Chinas policy of revisionism against USSR made China closer to the US. China asserted that US relations if bolstered with Japan it would create a new opportunity for both US and China, rather Japan falling under the grip of Soviet Union may Jeopardise South Asian security. China never bothered about the extent that would lead to the Japanese militarism in the region. China instead thought that Japan-US security alliance will keep Japan and its military under check. It was soon after the cold war that the US-Japan security alliance entered into a turning point. The power rivalry within blocs soon disappeared and a new international setting of trade and competition peaked up. Apart from US- Japan security alliance the country has manifested in enhancing trade relations that can bring them profit. Japanese engineers were hired in US defence industries and US submarines and warship were imported by Japan. Japans capital grew over time. However, with the change of leadership in China, US penetration in the Asian region. China feared that US –Japan alliance may isolate. China and leave China under US domination On April 17 1996 both, USA aand Japan has significantly upgraded their security

relationships with the signing of the Japan US Joint declaration of security, they named this as 'Alliance for Twenty First Century'³⁶. It would enable both the country to renew their old defence cooperation which was signed in 1978. The September 11, 2001, the attack on the Twin towers in the World Trade Centre led to both Japan and USA to think differently. With Bush declaration of 'War on Terror', Japan has to draw its concern over its security to avoid any impending danger in future. With this Japan started to modernise its military, though terrorism was one issue there were several other factors that were guiding Japan to increase its military presence over the region. After that Japan has substantially increased its military capabilities and command over its maritime zone. Japan US alliance has helped to acquire more sophisticated missile based technologies which includes under water squadron nuclear war head submarines, F-16 and F-22 fighter jets. Chopper's and Ballistic missile launchers. By 2014 Japan had a strong army, navy and air forces, Japan's command over its technology was so superior that it can now move its troops out of its land for combatting at any places. Japan US security alliance has spurred new threats in the regional dimension. With US growing interest in the South China US pivot to Asia increased with more confidence than before as US Japan security alliance can help US in extending its fleet towards South East Asia. This raised tension in China's mind. China threatened both Japan and US that would not tolerate any kind of discrepancy in the South China Sea; China warned both US and Japan that it would lead to grievous consequences.

While defining the Sino Japanese relation it is quite evident from the fact that China's rise or Japan's rise together as an Asian power may not be possible as both the countries have mutual disputes both internally and externally and it would not leave them, where suspicion, hatred

³⁶ Smith. J Paul, China-Japan Relations and the Future Geopolitics of East Asia, Asian Affairs, Vol. 35, No. 4, China in 2010 (Winter, 2009), p. 242. Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd, Retrieved from :

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/30172699>. Accessed on 20-09-2018

and distrust may continue to grow. However, sharp competition in accessing markets, territorial claims over disputed islands and militarisation of the region creates the divergence for Sino-Japanese Interest. China today has a sound economy, it has already made a blue print for 'One road, One belt' initiatives. Japan in order to catch up with China has to reinvest its capital and technological knowhow's into the developing economies. Which would generate more returns.

Summary

The chapter tends to explain the implication that China has over India and Japan. In the first place I have discussed how China and India have moved in their past holding cultural ties that connected two civilisations together where exchanges of material, led to the exchange of a belief system, religion and traditional virtues deeply rooted in the countries. Notwithstanding difficulties China and India reached out to the future. However, with the Change of time, the two brother have been separated due to misunderstanding and distrust which even led them to war . Chins relation with India was muted for three decades and how the post cold war turned to provide reset button to both China and India. Then comes the China –India military developments, that tend to discuss how border issues still remained unsettled, which provide Pakistan with a golden opportunity to join China in its external and internal policies. The Sino-Pak Axis created further disappointment to India as it would lead to proxies and violation of laws across the line of control. Chinas arm trade provides the insurgents with handful of logstics which they use for harbouring terror in the Kashmir valley and other Indian provinces. China's economic rise leads to introspection that whether China intentionally plans to contain India through encirclement or it is India who tends to follow a different route avoiding China. It is quite obvious that China has a vision to reunite

economies with its One Road ,One Belt initiative But China is aware of the Indian market and its resource consumption ability so China would always lend its cooperation and it is how India and China to undertake mutual peace and security towards each other. The tendency of suspicion has to be balanced India today has gained more priorities from other nations than China who has been its neighbour. With this China's implication over India as come to a close as policy inputs and outputs varies . Secondly, while defining the Sino-Japanese relationship. I have provided a brief introduction and stated about what tend to bring China –Japan to a negotiating platform and what further breaks them down. Since, accessing the Sino-Japanese relation made me accountable to present a list of factors that defined their relation from cooperation to conflict and further I have elucidated the grounds, such as, Territorial disputes over the Island i.e. Diaoyu or Senkaku. and why the countries started militarising the region by acquiring more naval and air powers. In the second place, I have found why Sino-Japanese relation suffocated. The scars of wars that traumatised both the countries could never be forgotten. Though, they may have tried innumerable times but, it faded with mutual hatred and antipathy. The third factor which blowed China far from Japan, was Japans more inclination towards Taiwan. Japans policy has always being seen as pro Taiwanese and anti Chinese. China restricted Japans interference over the region. Which sometimes brought bilateral talks to an end. Fourthly, China –Japans relations have endured both pleasure and pains. Chinas military build up's led to the questioning of Japans security and strategic interest over Asia. Chinas growing budget alarmed Japan and Japan has also played its card by revisioning in 9th article. Which made Japan capable of both offence and defence making capabilities. Now, Japan can fight wars and send it troops if it feels any impending danger coming towards Japan, and lastly. The entrance of United States into Asia with whom Japan has formed a security alliance took China Japanese relation to a nightmare. Beijing could not bear US power projection in South China Sea and US war ship navigating around its

boundaries. US policies of containing China by using Japan as an instrument further creates question about Sino Japans future relations. Thus, the chapter come to a close with China and its implication over competing India and challenging Japan

Chapter 4

India's Relation with Japan

The friendship between India and Japan can be traced back to the histories when both the countries were linked spiritually and culturally. In spite of century old civilisational links and bonds, there is hardly any change in matter of friendship, love and brotherhood which they cherish even today. In this chapter, I would like to bring several issues that brought Japan closer to India and what implication does Indo –Japan relationship may carry out in future. While analysing the entire research, I have found three areas to be fruitful that would bring the political, economic and strategic relations between the countries to the fore and how India-Japan relationship will bring more stability to Asia.

History at a glance

Both India and Japan shares a close bond of friendship from centuries. As we know, India's rich civilization has spread across oceans. It is Japan, who endured India's religion in terms of spirituality. The Buddhist philosophy had a profound impact over Japan and its citizens. Many Buddhist monks took their voyage to India. Some reports from research has shown that Indias relation with Japan is as old as 1400 years. Document revealed that India's had a direct contact with Japan that was with the 'Todaiji' Temple in Nara, where the consecration or eye-opening of the towering statue of Lord Buddha was performed by an Indian monk, Bodhisena, in 752 AD.³⁷ In the contemporary times many Prominent personalities like,

³⁷ India Japan Relationship, Retrived from

https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/14_Japan_Nov_2017.pdf. Accessed on:-25-04-2019

Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Viveknanda and others were associated with Japan. It was in 1952, that Japan and India has signed a treaty of peace, which took both the countries to enter into a diplomatic relationship.

Both Japan and India, carried their positive legacy with the old association with the values of democracy, peace and trust for each other. It was India who facilitated the Japanese entry to the mainstream international and regional politics. Japan was invited many a times by India and even the first Asian games witnessed Japan participation in sports that New Delhi has organised in 1951. Japan has to struggle hard to rebuild its economy after the devastating Second World War and it was India who helped Japan with supplies like iron, steel, mineral ores, petroleum and so forth. With the exchange of culture, religion and trade both the countries have set their histories and build good relations..

Exploring Political Relations between India and Japan

It was quite uneventful that the post World War II brought India to its independence and Japan under the subjugation of the United States. Both the countries have to rebuild their economies after the devastating war and long walk of colonialism that Japan and India faced. Japan has always been a key player in shaping Asian regional politics. It was India first to take an initiative to bring Tokyo and New Delhi together. India's relation with Japan started to grow politically with the signing of the peace treaty in 1952. It created a free platform where Japan and India can interact mutually and bring several plans and policies that would favour both the countries to deal with several issues together. The bilateral visit of Japanese Prime Minister Nobuuke Kishi with Jawharlral Nehru , the Indian Prime Minister enhanced their political relations to the further.³⁸ However, the cold war period further created a dead

³⁸ Sahu Ashima, *The Trajectories of India-Japan Relations: A Growing Convergence of Interests*, ISA Asia-Pacific Conference ,Hong Kong, Retrived from::

lock in Sino-Japan's relation. With India and her policy on Non Alignment refraining away from joining either blocs and Japan who could not resist but had to form alliance with the US.

India started to resume its close relation with Japan after the cold war with US growing of interest in Asia, this led Japan to formulate its policies that could best served its national and domestic interest. Though there was a pause in the Indo Japanese relation during the Cold war period with India's tilt towards Soviet Union, Japan did not find India to be useful in any way, as the population of India were poor and uneducated. However, a setback came in Indo – Japan's relations when India tested its second nuclear bomb in Pokhran in 1998, as the test is known as Pokhran II, Japan reacted sharply along with the US, as Japan was already pursuing a policy of Non proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction as it would lead to create more environmental issues and insecurities for the international community. Japan has experienced what impact a nuclear bomb can create as it destroyed two large cities of Japan such as; Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan fears that after India and Pakistan the nuclear race would provoke other countries like, North Korea to become nuclear which may hamper Japan's security directly at any moment. With the pace of globalisation Japan could be seen extending its political relations with many South East Asian and South Asian countries.. Japan resumed its bilateral ties with India after the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori. Mori asserted for the first time that Indo-Japan's relation can create a shared platform and transform them into global partnership, a term which Japan used for the first time for a state like India apart from United States. Both Japan and India have to take the responsibility of sharing democratic values and freedom that would inspire other countries towards establishing Asian peace and prosperity. Japan's political bonhomie with India can be envisioned as Japan made a qualitative change in its foreign policy from a "Commercial

<http://web.isanet.org/Web/Conferences/AP%20Hong%20Kong%202016/Archive/c23e7d86-1829-4ef0-b242-c0a8c2ef6169.pdf> Accessed on 25-04-2019.

liberalism to a reluctant realism”.³⁹ India’s Look East Policy further assured India’s political move with Japan.

With China’s belligerent move in South Asia and South East Asia with a huge defence spending created insecurity in the mind of India and Japan. So it is Japan and India have found many mutual grounds to work on such as, international peace , disarmament, free sea lanes of communication in the Indian Ocean, joint Asian Pacific collaborations, connecting the Central Asian States and finally balancing Chinas threat perception. The political developments of Indo Japan can be seen at an accelerating stage after 2010. Japan has shown special interest in the Indian Ocean with free sea lanes of communication it would help Japan in importing oil from the Middle East. It is also well known that more than 88 percent of India’s trade takes place through the Indian Ocean. Hence, working together with India may help Japan in its inclusion in the Indian Ocean Region where construction of ports and bases would serve to navigate and create surveillance for the duo. A Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement has been concluded between India and Japan in 2011. This agreement prioritised the trade relation among the countries of South Asia with India and Japan. A magnificent gesture of Indo-Japan political relation was witnessed with the visit of Emperor Akihito and his wife Michiko to New Delhi which further glorified the relation in 2013. With this Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was invited to India by then Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh as a chief guest to the Indian Republic Day parade in 2014. Many legal bonds and and MOU’s were signed between India and Japan in that visit. The main picture of two countries changed with Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s coming into power. The 9th

³⁹ Yadav R.S, Changing India-Japan Relations in the Post-Cold War Era, Volume: 58 issue: 2, p.191 Indian Quarterly, 2002.

Retrieved from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/097492840205800212> Accessed on 26-04-2019

annual summit meeting were held from August 30th to September 3rd 2014. The relation upgraded to the next level with a status of Strategic and global partnership which fostered Indo Japanese trade and investment to 3.5 trillion over the next five years with more Japanese technologies and investment in Indian market. With Japans strategic boost over Indian subcontinent, China is suspicious of Japans intention as it may contain China in its boost. The Doklam issue clearly proved Japans support to India which portrayed China as an aggressor and hence should not interfere in India's internal affairs. With this Indo-Japans political relation has come to a close extending more importance to the next section i.e Economic Partnership between India and Japan. Here, I will provide more impetus where the convergence of economic interest lies and to what end Japan and India will rise? What are the restrains and what will enable them to win in the creation of stability and better resource facility, and how China will react to the Sino- Japanese March.

Roads to Economic Development. Indo –Japan Relations

When it comes to the context of economy it is Japan who strives hard for maintaining bilateral relations with India and other countries. Though it is very difficult to separate politics from economics but, there is always a way out. In the previous chapter, while emphasising on Sino Japanese relationship through various areas that arouse Japans competition with China in acquiring resources. It is 21st century where resource management has become a serious issue with many countries finding hard to sustain their economy with the modern demands of the market. Japan is not an exception, to kick start a resource hunt campaign. It is Japan which has undergone the shock waves of recession and was drowning down the economic ladder. With China moving up to the second position. Japan during the cold war was looking forward in building economic institutions of South East and East Asia.

Japan has led a considerable role in the creation of ASEAN. Unlike, India who has to depend on the western countries for financial aid and investment. The post cold war brought a paradigmatic shift in India with the upcoming of liberalisation and privatisation. The disappearance of Soviet Union created an economic vacuum and it was Japan who has shown interest in fulfilling the gap. Though Japan being India's oldest partner in trade and commerce, a relationship that emerged after India and Japan has established its diplomatic relation in 1952 and with that Japan provided financial assistance to India. The past good relations and strategic partnership further directed Japan and India to shift their focus over economy. In 2006, in a joint statement, India and Japan had affirmed that "a strong and prosperous India is in the interest of Japan and a strong prosperous Japan is in the interest of India".⁴⁰ The two countries have set targets to work on trade that was running low at that time. It was in 2011, Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) which forged India and Japan to proceed over five issues.

Firstly, both the countries should cut down tariff walls so that goods and investment can reach out to their markets without any complexities.

Secondly, The strategy to lower tariff increased the flow of bilateral trade and within a year of implementation of CEPA, the bilateral trade jumped to 18 billion US dollars by the end of fiscal 2012, which was hovering around 12 billion US dollars at the end of fiscal 2011.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Khan Shamshad .A, Deconstructing "Tokyo Declaration" 2014: Takeaways from Indian Prime Minister's Japan visit. p.3 Published by Indian Council of World Affairs, 2014,Retrived from: <https://icwa.in/pdfs/IB/2014/DeconstructingTokyoDeclaration2014.pdf> , Accessed on 27-04-2019

⁴¹ Khan Shamshad .A , Deconstructing "Tokyo Declaration" 2014: Takeaways from Indian Prime Minister's Japan visit. p.3 Published by Indian Council of World Affairs, 2014,Retrived from: <https://icwa.in/pdfs/IB/2014/DeconstructingTokyoDeclaration2014.pdf> , Accessed on 27-04-2019

Thirdly, Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) to India has played a key role in the construction of major infrastructure projects across the Indian Ocean, such as, The Vishakhapatnam Outer Harbour Project and Cochin Shipyard in Kerala are some important infrastructure that India built with Japanese aid.⁴²

Fourthly, The India-Japan synergies reached to new level with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visit to Japan, Singh is considered as the architect of Indian economic reform. PM Singh who was also an economist quickly realised the injection of Japanese capital into Indian economy which will create a new evolution, which would enable India to free itself from the debts of World Banks and IMF at an arbitrary rates of interest. Thus, he acted immediately in forging economic and strategic ties with Japan.

Lastly, India –Japan global partnership programme will devise new strategies that could help India from Poverty, unemployment, advanced technology, capital transfer, irrigation facilities, transport of petro chemicals, export of iron ores and advancement in space based technologies.

Indian economic policies varied from time to time and the most dynamic phase can be found with the coming of BJP government. On PM Modi's visit to Japan, both the countries rekindled its relationship to more progress. Abe's promise to Modi that Japan would further doubles its ODA's and Japan-India trade partnership will cross 35 billion over five years in completing developmental projects. PM Modi acknowledged that Japanese technologies and

⁴²Khan Shamsad .A, India –Japan Political Economic Engagement : Between the Entrepreneurial Interests and Strategic Objectives. p.6,

Retrieved from: <https://www.ide.go.jp/library/English/Publish/Download/Vrf/pdf/482.pdf> . Accessed on; 27-04-2019.

firms are already functional in India and it is Indian market which has shown positive outcome in generating capitals for both the countries. Modi also stretched that India would also stand with Japan in Japans vision of Free and Open Indo Pacific Strategy and Abe promised aiding India in constructing road facilities in India's Act East Policy. This could be a win - win for both the countries. Cause Japan has already launched its technology for instance the Delhi Metro project which has been completed under a Japanese company like, . Maruti Suzuki Arena i.e. automobile assembler has their key firms in India. And many technical firms in Bangalore, Delhi such as Dedicated Freight Gate Corridor has already set hold of their grip in the Indian Market. Japan recently has set its new investment plan of constructing Indian Railway Network; it would also introduce bullet trains that would connect Ahmadabad to Mumbai, a stretch of 500 kilometres. It is said that the Bogibeel bridge, India's largest river water bridge, which connects the Dibrugarh, a place of upper Assam with the Rohing district of Arunachal Pradesh was created with the help of Japanese architectural design aand technology. India on the other hand is doing its best to keep Japanese economy unaffected with China closing its door against Japan while providing important rare earth materials that could create greater impact over Japan, as Japan would need it for manufacturing high tech commodities which may even squeeze Japan's economy internally. India recently has gone in an agreement to provide such materials and hence an impressive relation between India and Japan being followed. Further, the signing of Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement bolstered a new level of mutual confidence.⁴³

However,Indias trade with Japan is lesser than Japans trade with China. It was during 2013 that India's trade went down with Japan from 2012. It was USD \$16.31billion in 2013,

⁴³ Kaura Vinay, India-Japan Relations and Asia's Emerging Geopolitics, Indian Journal of Asian Affairs, Vol. 29, No. 1/2 (June-December 2016), pp. 17-38, Published by Manju Jain, 2016. Retrived from; URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44123127>. Accessed on: 27-09-2018.

which is 11.89% lower compared to the \$ 18.43 billion in 2012.⁴⁴ Though Japan's investment over India is 2 % compared to its world investment. The only factor which led Japan and India together is India's huge economy and population which spends huge on consumption and also human resource which could provide labour at a very cheap price. Japan has world largest ageing population, and Japan's geography is further a disadvantage as it has very less natural resources Japan has to import resources, minerals and other commodities and food stuffs. Japan in mean time realised the importance of South Asia and is for bearing plans to reach out to Central Asian States, who are attracting countries for their oil and natural gas reserves. Japan needs India in setting its markets in South Asia specially in Nepal, Srilanka and Bangladesh. And it is Indian Ocean which provides 100 percent of Japan's oil import from Middle East. Japan's bilateral ties with India will help in accessing the free sea lanes of communication. China's growing interest in South Asia creates a greater threat for both Japan and India. Today, Japan and India are mutually assigned where Japanese Overseas Development Assistance will create projects like smart cities, cleaning of Ganga and other rivers, transport facilities, agriculture and animal husbandry. Oil refining machineries, space based technologies, robotics, and clean energy drives are the vital installations that Japan will help India to achieve. India has signed many rounds of agreements and is Washington, Tokyo and New Delhi who has shown specific interest in joining multilateral trade engagement in the coming future. Indian relations with ASEAN has been improved with ASEAN member states interacting with India to forge close trade partnership, Japan who has also played a key role in forging ties with ASEAN nations can work together. While defining

⁴⁴ Sahu Ashima, *The Trajectories of India-Japan Relations: A Growing Convergence*

of Interests, ISA Asia-Pacific Conference ,Hong Kong, p.10, Retrived from:

<http://web.isanet.org/Web/Conferences/AP%20Hong%20Kong%202016/Archive/c23e7d86-1829-4ef0-b242-c0a8c2ef6169.pdf>, Accessed on 25-04-2019

Indo Japan relations in terms of economic development. Let us see now how Japan and India has moved to Central Asia.

Japan and India in Central Asia

Central Asia as we know has become one of the most important regions of the world .Though the region is land locked and is reported to have highest reserves of minerals, natural gases and rare earth metals. Unlike, other countries both New Delhi and Tokyo have resumed their fresh interest over the region. Although, Tokyo has established bilateral relations with each Central Asian states through, diplomacy named as Silk Route in the later part of 90's. It was Japan who has created many multilateral agreements with the region and more profoundly, A treaty named 'Central Asia Plus Japan' has come into being in 2004. Today Japan can be seen as a catalyst in restoring Asian peace and stability and it has also assured Japans role to a more secure and developed Central Asia. Shinzo Abe's visit to Japan clearly depicted what Japan was finally looking for. Japans investment through its ODA has been doubled. With Japans entry India has also made a quick move to Central Asia with whom India shared its civilization and history. Both India and Japan has decided to forge ties that would enable in building regional security arrangements, countering terrorism, nuclear non proliferations, mutual trade and cooperation. Notably, Tokyo and New Delhi has sought priorities straight in building socio economic infrastructure and create immediate contacts that would enable them in energy coprations. Though Japans role is marginal in the landlocked region, there are also other factors like, China and Russia. As we can remember that Japan and India has signed Special Strategic and Global Partnership agreements, it would enable both the countries in retrieving benefits. Inda through its project "Connect Central Asia Policy ", has made clear statement that India shares its strategic interest with Central Asia and soon it will take part in regional security and energy cooperations. Indeed, the development of Iran's Chabahar port

and Afghanistan's Zaranj - Delaram Highway, in which India played a critical role with the support of Japan, have begun to provide Tokyo and New Delhi valuable access to energy-rich Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan bypassing Pakistan. Furthermore, India's proposal to integrate land routes in Central Asia with the International North-South Transport Corridor, to which Japan could also contribute, would expand the geographical scope of connectivity to include not only Central Asia, Caucasus and South Asia but also Europe.⁴⁵ While defining Japan and India's economic relation and progress which we have seen while defining Japan India's economic relation, it is highly important for us to discuss in details what implication does India and Japan military and strategic alliance would do towards securing Asia and its stability and what forth coming factors will likely to create challenges in Indo-Japans military rise.

India – Japan's Military and Strategic Partnership.

While contesting with the question of defence and strategic partnership, it is Japan along with India who has shown an active interest in increasing its security over the region. As we know that cold war kept both the countries out of reach with Japan being a camp follower of the US as stated by an Indian policy maker. It was India who was portrayed as a poor and under developed country with more relations with the Soviet Union. It was with the beginning of

⁴⁵ Sano Shutaro, INDIA'S ROLE IS KEY FOR INCLUDING CENTRAL ASIA IN JAPAN'S FREE AND OPEN INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY, Asia Pacific Bulletin, No. 424, Publisher: Washington, DC: East-West Center, 2018. Retrived from : <https://www.eastwestcenter.org/publications/indias-role-key-including-central-asia-in-japans-free-and-open-indo-pacific-strategy>. Accessed on 28-04-2019

21st century that compelled Japan to establish bilateral talks with India. India Japan's strategic relation went into a pace as US has also drawn its focus to the South Asia. Japan India's strategic partnership was marked by various factors such as, growing China's presence in the Indian Ocean region and its special interest in India's encirclement. China and Japan has always shown mutual hatred against each other at both home and abroad. As we know Japan's disputes over China in addressing the Senkaku Island over the past decades brought further controversies over the region. It was reported in 2010, a Chinese ship was detained entering Japan's territory of the disputed region this created severe deadlocks in China Japan's bilateral relationship. China decided to block Japan and its firms internally and it has stopped providing rare earth metals to Japan, which bolstered enmity between Japan and China. Today, India and Japan has witnessed that China has considerably increased its fund over defence. Even China is aiding North Korea in creating its missile based technology systems which poses direct threat to Japan. In a report named "National Defence Programme Guidelines for FY 2014 and beyond", With Japan expresses discomfort of gray zone situation in serious contingencies. The document expresses serious concern about the rapid advancement of Chinese military capabilities and the intensification of Chinese activities in seas and airspace. Which are viewed as "China's aims to change the status quo by coercion".⁴⁶

However, if we draw a strategic triangle keeping China on the top and marking it as A and other two end of Japan and India as B and C, we can establish strategic relations between the three, where one connects the other strategically. In this case both Japan and China have strategic relations and Japan cannot ignore such an important neighbour like China. While

⁴⁶ Kaura Vinay, India-Japan Relations and Asia's Emerging Geopolitics, Indian Journal of Asian Affairs, Vol. 29, No. 1/2 (June-December 2016), pp. 17-38, Published by Manju Jain, 2016. Retrieved from; URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44123127>. Accessed on: 27-09-2018.

India - Japan are also strategic and global partners. It is quite evident that Japan, China and India have a crucial role to play in world politics today.

United States today have made many changes in visualising policies towards Asia, the Trump administration has sought to align not only to Japan as its strategic partner it has also urged India to Join the trilateral partnership. While defining the bilateral relation Indo Japan Axis is obviously important as we have seen Sino-Pak Axis has taken a new shift. China in its Belt and Road Forum (BRF) urged its entire neighbour to participate. India has to boycott this as China is constructing roads that would connect Beijing to Islamabad following the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) which China named it as China Pakistan Economic Corridor. In order to check Chinas rise in South Asia. India needs Japan for a strategic move in the Indian Ocean as it would create obstacles for Japan and India in maintaining Free Sea Lanes of Communication which enables both Japan and India to borrow oils from the Middle East and other Gulf countries. To free the region from instability and China's threat both Japan and India has started its defence modernisation. It is just after China, India and Japan stands as largest military spenders in Asia. 2015 has witnessed India's defence spending was about 51.3 billion and Japan spending on its military requirement was about 41 billion⁴⁷.

Further, Japan has to revision its Article 9 of its constitution, which was basically peacemaking and antimilitaristic in nature and Japan has to consider its revisioning to protect itself from the threats that China and North Korea posses. Japan was reluctant to achieve a strong military force that can withstand any threats and Japan could directly deploy its force

⁴⁷ Kaura Vinay, *India-Japan Relations and Asia's Emerging Geopolitics*, Indian Journal of Asian Affairs, Vol. 29, No. 1/2 (June-December 2016), pp. 17-38, Published by Manju Jain, 2016. Retrived from; URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44123127>. Accessed on: 27-09-2018.

and take immediate action if situation calls for. With the 2 + 2 dialogues both India and Japan convenes an annual meet, it has been started annually since 2006, alternatively in New Delhi and Tokyo. The 2 + 2 dialogues ensures the exchange of secretary level meets between the Ministry of External Affairs and Defence, where a range of issues are discussed and then the Prime ministerial level meets takes place, which defines bilateral pacts and agendas of co-operations between the two countries takes place. If we trace how India and Japan has moved from a bilateral partner to a full fledge strategic partner it is very important to note that the year 2006 marked a special link in connecting Japan and India. The first transformation that took place from a bilateral to a strategic partnership agreement was in 2006, when Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan and Manmohan Singh of India has sought to discuss the issues annually it bolstered Indo-Japan partnership to a next level..In 2008, Manmohan Singh and Taro Aso agreed on “ Joint declaration on security cooperation between Japan and India”, With this the Japanese Maritime Self Defence Force joined the Malabar naval exercise with United states and Indian Navies in 2007, and in 2012 Japan first naval exercise with India named as JIMEX was held⁴⁸. Though Japan and India has flagged another military exercise in 2014, this clearly demonstrate how capable for the countries have become over time. India and Japan concluded their first land based military exercise on 1st November 2018. This military exercise was based on Jungle warfare and it was going to be held at Vairengte with a focus on strengthening counter terror measure and various other cooperation, this land based military exercise was called as “Dharma Guardian”. Which means responsible powers. Many scholars and army officials have said that it would lead to the deepening of bilateral relations and strategic ties.

⁴⁸ Tatsumi Yuki, *Japan-India Relations: Toward a Special Strategic Partnership*, p.35, publisher Stimson centre (2015). Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10937.8> Accessed on 01-05-2019

By coming to a close of the Indo-Japan military and strategic relations it can be stated that both the countries have been engaged in developmental activities such as conducting bilateral ties, convening annual diplomatic meets, discussing issues like counter terrorism and more profoundly India's role in the Asia Pacific regional co-operations and securing Indian Ocean for better energy securities.

Now let me summarise the entire chapter by detailing certain important areas as the convergence of interest and the divergence of interest.

Convergence of Interest

Firstly, both India and Japan have a long civilisational history, both the countries are connected culturally from the very beginning. The spread of Buddhism in South Asia and far east established the spiritual links between India and Japan. Many pilgrimages took place from the past to the present. Netaji Subash Chandra Bose is well known to the Japanese people for his struggle against India's independence, Similarly, Rabindra Nath Tagore and Vivekananda were prominent personalities that defined India as a strong Asian culture and their philosophies have inspired Japanese people to an extent.

Secondly, after Second World War both Japan and India have signed a bilateral agreement and there by India helped Japan to reconstruct its economy through the exports of iron, steel, minerals, etc. A substantial amount of capital was received by India during 1980's/

Thirdly, with India's opening up to the western world, Japan along with USA have shown special interest in joining India towards its future rise.

Fourthly, the post 2000 has seen the growing relationship between India and Japan. Japan felt that Japan alone cannot stand China and its domination over the region. The rift between Japan and China over Senkaku Island made Japan more in need of a partner like India. India's war with China and China's more inclination towards Pakistan provided Japan an opportunity to establish bilateral relations with India, as it would help both the countries to confront terrorism, China's threat, growing disputes in South Asia and far east more profoundly.

Fourthly, Japan – US security alliance have also shown positive gesture in bringing India towards creating a strategic alliance in Asia Pacific, The trilateral agreement between US, Japan and India have further bolstered institution building in Asia. US has acknowledge that US Asia pivot policy may be treated as contain China policy, which a Chinese official has once commented. So Japan and India can create better regional collaboration which may induce more stability in the region.

Fifthly, India's Look East policy, which India opted during the P.V Narsimha Rao's government with a firm determination of establishing India's relations to the South East Asian Nation and far east, Japan may help India in building interntional highways, transport facilities and capital investment in cherishing India's dream. Though with the coming of BJP in power and Modi's declaration of 'Look East Policy' into 'Act East Policy', we can clearly spot India's interest in connecting South Asia to South East Asia, with whom Japan is being very friendly. as Japan has immensely contributed in the formation of ASEAN, as a powerful regional organisation which can counter China and its threat over the region. India has already been a vital partner with the ASEAN member states. and there are Free Trade Agreements. being carried out with India and other members.

Sixthly, Japan and India, are the two Asian oldest democracies, as we know democracies creates peace and stability with Immanuel Kants Democratic Peace Theory. Japan and India continue to inspire other countries to opt for democracies such as the recent Indian neighbour instead of being China's ally, Myanmar has followed the suit of India along with Bangladesh in the past and Nepal at present. Taiwan in the east, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore draw inspiration from Japan. Thus, Indo-Japanese relation can foster more peace and stability in Asia.

Seventhly, Japan after recession has faced tremendous loss and it has to take several policies that would benefit Japan from many areas. like, positive investment in markets which are huge in structure. Though, mutual antipathy has created several deadlocks in Japan-China relations. Now Japan needed a larger market access and it would be no other country than India who would provide this access. Japan has also marked India as a special strategic and global partnership in the world.

Eighthly, Indian economy is not only huge but, it has a huge man power resources which Japan lacks with its fastest and largest ageing population. India's biggest problem today is how to employ the youth. The recent start of 'Make in India' where India can be presented as acquiring the status of global manufacturer can help Japan in investing in to the economy and derive profit at a huge scale.

Ninthly, The ninth point of convergence in Indo-Japan Relation is how to balance China and its rise in the Indian Ocean. China's move across India's neighbours by building multiple ports in Bangladesh, Srilanka, Myanmar and Pakistan increases threat perception in India's mind. China's recent standoff in Doklam could very clearly intensify the future risk that both India and Japan might face. The question of Japan's comes here as Japan has to move its oils and

energies from Middle East, the belligerent move of China may block the free sea lanes of communication, as China did in the South China Sea. So the unending quest for security could not be defined if Japan and India don't support each other.

Finally, US policies in Asia may bring several trilateral agreements. With the global north to global south Washington today with the Trumps presidency has received India as a global power. So Japan, US and India today has convened the idea of Indo-acific rather than, Asi Pacific. Where the three powers can deal effectively with counter terrorism, environmental challenges, non proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and clean energy drives which are vital areas to be located.

With this we come to a close of the convergence of interests,

Now lets us see how the divergence is further created between India and Japan

Divergence of interest

While contesting to the claims of divergence that both the countries have claimed which differed their positions from time to time with a set of anomalies defines India and Japans quests into a set of issues where the countries have actually failed to meet.

Firstly, both Japan and Indi tends to represent different demography's and their problems varied over time. Instead of their century old civilization the countries were distanced by huge landmass and oceans which kept them away in communicating directly.

Secondly, Japan has maintained its power by creating its own empire, where as India has been under the British rule for a long time. India was forced to fight war by the Britishers in the two World Wars; Japan took its independent stance and raised its own army to fight wars. This proved international relations differed from countries to countries. Where Japan and India had a very little connections with each other.

Thirdly, cold war played an important role in shaping the politics of the nations. India achieved its independence after a long struggle and bloodshed and could not risk its sovereignty at any cost India along with some Afro-Asian nations decided to follow the policy of Non Alignment Movement, which kept India away from the bloc politics. Though India was later seen in developing relation with the Soviet Union. It was Japan who was finally being placed under the United States. Japan's defeat in the Second World War made Japan in accordance with the support of the USA and it was quite obvious that Japan would shape its policies with a capitalist vision, This defused links between India and Japan during the cold war.

Fourthly, when India tested its second nuclear bomb in 1998, this created severe resentment by Japan and US. Even there was economic sanction imposed by Japan against India for a period of three years. Japan has experienced the devastating impact that the nuclear bomb have created so Japan has taken an active initiative to make the world nuclear free. While India being not a member of the NPT further deteriorated Indo-Japan relation to the further.

Fifthly, though Japan and India have signed bilateral relations, it is very difficult to trace to what end India will be benefitted. No doubt Japan's investment has been huge in the recent

years but, Indian economy is moving at a very slow pace, so Japan has to wait for a long time to receive its return of Capital.

Sixthly, China's inflow of capital has been multiplied to Indian markets. China has become a dominant player with its goods being available at much cheaper rates in Indian market.

Japanese goods except automobiles and computer parts remained very low with this Japan can only be seen as an investor rather than a supplier like China.

Seventhly, though India conceive Japan as a strategic partner in Asia Pacific. It is very important to know that their actual implication in defending aggressive China remains only in paper. Japan is also a strategic partner of China and trade between Japan and China is more than India and Japan. So Japan cannot directly resist China in its move against India.

Eighthly, as we know North Korea's recent test of ICBMs were over the Pacific ocean that were nearer to Japan's territory. Which poses Japan a direct threat. If any situation persists will India come out of its land to act jointly against such a threat? This is doubtful as India has always acted in favour of self defence.

Ninthly, the Kyoto protocol which was designed to cut the emission of green house gases Japan did not consider India's need to enter into the summit. As Japan said that India's global emission would not be that of any developed countries. This created an unfavourable atmosphere for both Japan and India.

Finally, though Japan and India have considered themselves as strategic and global partner but in reality, Japan's decision is backed by US plans, as US wanted to use India as a card to lobby in South Asia and South East Asia. Which both the countries fails to locate sometime. Thus, Indo-Japan's relation is based on various factors that has changed over the years and will continue to change in the coming years.

Chapter - 5

Conclusion

This dissertation tends to explain the growing influence of China over the Asian region. What was more important for me was locating China as a factor and its move towards South Asia. Chinas belligerent move have made Japan and India to act cautiously while flexing their strategies at regional level and building bilateral ties. As my dissertation is entitled as China factor in Indo Japan relations I have undoubtedly come across a huge volume of data and information, which I have opted from the secondary sources as I have already mentioned in the introduction. After observing Chinas Realpolitik from such a close angle it is not very easy for me to come directly to the conclusion. Many factors have determined the rise of China, for instance, The Rising China, can be seen as a major power while contesting to the questions of transformation that China has brought in its system. Though China upholds communism from the very first place there was a transformation of Chinas vision. The end of Cold War provided China with a bunch of opportunities, China who has started the modernisation of its economy in the later parts of 1980's, opened up more space for trade and investment. To locate China in terms of its economy, which is in its giant size, with a cheap labour cost and more consumption abilities China began to earn the attention of the western powers. However China's resources were not sufficient as China was a global manufacturer and hence, China felt the resource scarcity on the very first place. China in order to improve its economy has newly defined the policy of Good Neighbours, this would allow China in gaining confidence of its neighbour and promote China in procuring its resources. Chinas economic move has also made China to increase its spending on defence with this China has upgraded its defence which has reflected in Chinas Military budget, China has provided with three reason, First, China wanted to secure its borders externally as it has

territorial disputes with many countries. Secondly, China felt an urgent need to balance US and its allies in US Asia pivot policy, A weaker security system will welcome further threats so China needs to upgrade its military. Thirdly, China's military rise was based on China's internal problems, China today is prone to Islamic fundamentalism in Xinjiang province as the constant rise of riots between the Uyghurs and Han Chinese took China in revising its security setups⁴⁹. So China needs to increase its security to tackle such groups. There are other issues like Japan's military modernisations have also created China to show its concern over its military. Now to locate China in terms of its political rise, I have made a detailed analysis of China's leadership and their recent interactions with the third world countries. China's leaders explain China's role as a guardian state in upholding Asian stability and safety. China assures that it would provide all facilities to the member states that would ally with China in China's future rise. Xing Jinping the Chinese president clarifies greater China policy and it would also integrate Taiwan into one China policy, which Formosa has expressed as a threat.

In the next Chapter with a continuity from rising China to China's implication over India and Japan, the section tends to highlight what factor has brought Japan and India closer to each other, the chapter points out the differences that exist in explaining the relations that China has followed over India on one hand and China's relation with Japan on the other hand. The chapter takes us to a moment where the convergence and divergence of Interest of Indo-

⁴⁹ Harris Rachael, Securitization and mass detentions in Xinjiang: How Uyghurs became quarantined from the outside world, published by Quartz, 2018. Retrieved from : <https://qz.com/1377394/secritization-and-mass-detentions-in-xinjiang-how-uyghurs-became-quarantined-from-the-outside-world/> ; Accessed on 08-05-2019.

China is explained in terms of their cultural, Political, military and economy interests on one hand, and expresses the China Japan's bonhomie to divergence at present on the other. The main trend is to locate China and its behaviour towards Japan and the factors that have departed them from the zone of cooperation.

The factors which took to the shaping of the Indo China relations are:-

China's rivalry and claims over the 'Diaoyu' islands and its territory, China's nationalism and mutual antipathy towards Japan, Taiwan issue and US Japan security alliance in the post cold war era. These factors have played a crucial role in mapping China – Japan's relations in the twenty first century. With this I can come to the final area of my research. We have seen China's rise, China's implication over Japan and India, now it's more important to see India's relation with Japan which has been affected by China's rise. The Chapter is highly important as it explains what factors have led Japan and India from a distance brother to a close partner in the post Cold war era. The chapter exclusively focus on exploring Indo-Japan's political relations, It tends to excite the readers in understanding the economic relations between the two countries. From where has Japan seen India and its rise? The Chapter explains that with a slow pace the two countries have become bilateral partners from economic reforms to military, the two country have moved hand in hand, India's progress is slow but future of Indian economy is definitely big. Japan who is considered to be India's fat investor as further became India's most important strategic partner. Both, the countries have signed the special strategic and global partnership agreement. Japan after remodelling its article 9 can be seen as an important power; it has the most sophisticated weaponry and technology that can counter any threat. India needs Japan in surfacing the China's policy of encirclement. Japan's interest in South Asia was concerned as it would provide access to the markets and can contain China by working in freeing the Sea lines of communications. India is a hub of unexplored resources, due to unavailability of proper technology the search for resources is a challenge, which

Japanese firms have already been engaged. While catching up with all major developments, It should also be remembered that as India is a strategic partner of Japan, Japan also have strategic relations with China. Though mutual antipathy and past war scars have tended to keep the two powers away. But, Japan could never ignore Chinas potential.

With this it is highly important for me to answer the research question without which the conclusion would not be completed. As my chapters are set answering the questions as a whole, for better understanding of the future scholars and readers, I would answer them individually narrating the research questions in a sequence. The first question tends to ask to what extent would China's rise could be considered to be peaceful? As we know, peace is best sought when the country is not engaged or enraged in some violent conflicts. China can be seen in maintaining peace and security unless it is blocked by some external powers or regional power. China can be seen as an upholder of peace in the 21st century as it has brought some qualitative changes in its foreign policies. The Good Neighbour policy which China opted in 2003 was a key to Chinas peace project. Chinas recent economic march which China proclaims as the revival of maritime route and silk route tends to question if Chinas rise tends not to be peaceful rather violent. The recent 'Doklam Standoff' is a concrete example, where Chinas road construction has come nearer to a disputed area of the Bhutan – India border, India has reacted sharply, the two sides have witnessed heavy deployment of soldiers. Though the Standoff has been cooled down, but the questions remain the same. The second example of China and its aggressive actions could be seen against Japan and Philippines. China has deployed its navies across the Southern Pacific, It has installed short range ballistic missiles across the Diaoyu / Senkaku Island. China and Japan have an unending struggle to get these Islands as they are naturally resource rich. China's peace march in Asia is guided by absolute nuclear balance. Any suspicion or mistrust can put a dead end to their security. As security is a zero sum game China could not turn itself to

aggression. There are many factors that China have not yet considered for example Indo-China border disputes, are the areas which still remain sensitive. While going through this entire research I have felt if India would have compromised the Mac Mohan line which is a huge stretch of some 15000 kilometres with Arunachal Pradesh the problem could have resolved. India needs a huge army to guard that area which increases India's defence budget to an extent.

The second important question asked if we think rising China as a factor which has led to the formations of bilateral relations between Japan and India in twenty first century? Yes, consider Chinas active rise have made Japan and India not only an important bilateral partner but also a global strategic partner. If we read the chapter -3, it will clarify our all doubts. Chinas vibrant rise not only in terms of economy but also, in terms of military. The first reason behind India Japans friendship is Chinas mutual antipathy wth both Japan and India with whom China has fought warsecondly, China has territorial disputes with both Jaapan and India. Chinas economic march in South Asia has threatened India as China could be seen as increasing its military presence in the Indian Ocean by engaging in the construction of multiple access port. Indian Ocean is treated to be the backyard of sian energy security. Indi and Japan fears that if China penetrates into the region it would intend to dominate the area as China does the same in the South China Sea. Japans 100% of its oil imports are from Middle East so Japan and India has forged ties to free up the Sea Lanes of Communication from Chinas grip. Finally Chinas relation with Pakistan has led a considerable impact on Indias security system. Pakistan and its insurgent groups have always been found in violating the Lines of Control, and the recent Pulwma attack on the Indian soldiers clearly defined Pakistan as an aggressor. China after the Pulwama attack still consider Pakistan as its close partner and have provided with military surveillance drone which can put down any Indian

aircraft across the line of control. China has further blocked India's request to register Masood Azher in UN's terrorist list, where Japan have clearly supported India's claim. Today, Japan and India's and India's bilateral partnership have benefitted both the nations in acquiring resources and investments. These could be the reasons which made Japan and India as important bilateral partners while countering the China factor.

The third question addresses, What factor has brought Japan to think India as a regional power? Is it the Indian economy that attracts Japan more?

After India has accepted the global norms of trade and welcomed globalisation, it is not only US but also, Japan which has soon realised India and its future to be a global power. There is hardly any doubt that led Japan to criticize India and its nuclear rise but, later Japan realised that India's nuclear rise would enhance more peace in the region and not conflict as India has defined its nuclear policy as 'No first use'. Japan has realised the strategic importance of India, as India connects with important oceans that would provide Japan with future opportunities. Japan's ageing population and affect of recession have made Japan to change its policies. China has blocked Japanese firms in China's market, Japan has to withstand huge loss. Just Japan needed a stable country with which it would share its economy and trade partnership. Yes, Indian economy is far more attractive to Japan and other countries. Japan has seen the huge market as an opportunity where Japan can invest its capital and acquire profit at an extensive level. Japan has set its key automobile plants like Maruti Suzuki, Freight gate corridors, and many IT based firms. Japan has recognised India as its global partner. With the make in India drive Japanese firms have shown more positive investment. The annual partnership meeting clarifies what India and Japan would tend to locate. Japan's PM Shinzo Abe and Narendra Modi's visit ensured Japan and its Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) to more than 100 billion USD within the next five years.

While answering the last questions, . Can Japan and India work for enhancing Asian peace and stability? If yes, what are the challenges that both the countries should keep in mind

Yes, since Japan and India are believer and upholder of democracy bot h the countries can work mutually in establishing Asian peace and stability. The second reason is India believes in the policy of no first offence, Inspite of being surrounded by hostile neighbours India continue not to interfere in the internal matters of anotherstate. India in the recent years have shown her interest in establishing trade relations. Japan has also been implementing its policies so that it does not affect other countries. Japan has contributed immensely for the creation of ASEAN, a regional organisation, which would enhance more peace and refrain away from conflict. Japan has provided huge investment to many Asian countries at a very low rate of interest, so that these countries can come up economically. Japan and India today are projected as an active partners, both the countries are about to raise several measures against global terrorism, global climate change and cleaning river and opening recycling plants Japan and India can be seen as an important soft power but, both the countries have uplifted the status of being a hard power. Japan and India posses the most sophisticated weapons and space based technologes that can counter threat and attack at a very fast speed.. With this we come to a close that yes Japan and India can take their active stand in promoting Asian peace and stability.

Bibliography

ACHARYA, A. (2009). Whither India-China Relations? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(45), 8-12.

Available at - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25663756>. Accessed on : 27- 09 – 2018

Chubb, A. (2018). PERIPHERAL TROUBLE: THE SINO-INDIAN STANDOFF. In Golley J. & Jaivin L. (Eds.), *Prosperity* (pp. 98-103). Acton ACT, Australia: ANU Press. Available at - http://www.eu-asiacentre.eu/pub_details.php?pub_id=46

Ching Frank, Can Japan balance its ties with China and Taiwan?, Japan Times,

Available at -: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1rmjm7.14>, Accessed on 27-02-2019.

Copp Tara, Japan surges new weapons, military roles to meet China's rise.

Available at: <https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2019/01/15/japan-surges-new-weapons-military-roles-to-meet-chinas-rise/>

Deepak B.R (2001) India China Relations in the first half of the 20th century, A.P.H

Publisher, New Delhi.

Dollar David, Hass Ryan and Baar. A Jaffrey, Assessing China-US Relationship Two years of Trump Presidency,

Available at - <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/01/15/assessing-u-s-china-relations-2-years-into-the-trump-presidency/>. Accessed on: 07-03-2019.

Embassy of India, Beijing China, Bilateral Brief on India China cultural relations,

Available at - :<http://www.eoibeijing.gov.in/cultural-relation.php>zzzzzzzz

Frankel R Francine and Harding Harry, *The India-China Relationship: Rivalry and Engagement*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004

Frankel, F. (2011) THE BREAKOUT OF CHINA-INDIA STRATEGIC RIVALRY IN ASIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN. *Journal of International Affairs*, 64(2), 1-17. Available at - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24385531>

Garver W John, (2011) *Evolution of India's China Policy*, **GangulySumit**(ed), India's Foreign Policy, Oxford University Press, New Delhi,

Gaur, S. (2003) Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-operation between India and ASEAN: First Step Towards Economic Integration. *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 20(3), 283-291. Available at - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25773788>

Hashmi Sana, India's response to China's BRI linked to its Territorial Concern, THE INDIAN EXPRESS, Accessed on 23-04-2019.

India Japan Relationship, Retrieved from ;

https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/14_Japan_Nov_2017.pdf

Jawli Nandini, (2016) "South China Sea and Indias geo-political Interest", *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs*, Vol. 29, No. 1/2 .

Kaura, V. (2016) India-Japan Relations and Asia's Emerging Geopolitics. *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs*, 29(1/2), 17-38. Available at - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44123127>

Khan Shamshad .A, (2014) Deconstructing “Tokyo Declaration”: Takeaways from Indian Prime Minister’s Japan visit. p.3 Published by Indian Council of World Affairs,

Lee, J. (2007). China's ASEAN Invasion. *The National Interest*,(89), 40-46. Available at - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42896029>. Accessed on 06-03-2019

Li, M. (2009) China’s participation in Asian multilateralism: Pragmatism prevails. In HUISKEN R. (Ed.), *Rising China: Power and Reassurance* (pp. 147-164). ANU Press. Available at - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24hbzb.16>

Malik, M. (2012). CHINA AND INDIA TODAY: Diplomats Jostle, Militaries Prepare. *World Affairs*, 175(2), 74-84. Available at - ; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41639008>
Accessed on 07-09-2018

Mallick Sajjad, “Future of China ASEAN Relations”. Available at http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2018-08/14/content_58683673.html Accessed on 26/12/18

Sahu Ashima, The Trajectories of India-Japan Relations: A Growing Convergence of *Interests*, ISA Asia-Pacific Conference, Hong Kong, Available at - <http://web.isanet.org/Web/Conferences/AP%20Hong%20Kong%202016/Archive/c23e7d86-1829-4ef0-b242-c0a8c2ef6169.pdf>

Sahu Ashima, The Trajectories of India-Japan Relations: A Growing Convergence

Sano Shutaro, (2018) INDIA'S ROLE IS KEY FOR INCLUDING CENTRAL ASIA IN JAPAN'S FREE AND OPEN INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY, *Asia Pacific Bulletin*, No. 424, Publisher: Washington, DC: East-West Center,

Shen Wenwen (2012) China and its Neighbours troubled Relations.

Smith, P. (2009) China - Japan Relations and the Future Geopolitics of East Asia. *Asian Affairs*, 35(4), 230-256. Available at - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30172699>

TATSUMI, Y. (Ed.). (2015). (Rep.). Stimson Center. Available at - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10937> Accessed on 01-05-2019

Yadav, R. S. (2002). Changing India-Japan Relations in the Post-Cold War Era. *India Quarterly*, 58(2), 191–212. Available at - <https://doi.org/10.1177/097492840205800212>

You, J., & Hao, Y. (2018) The Political and Military Nexus of Beijing-Washington-Taipei: Military Interactions in the Taiwan Strait. *China Review*, 18(3), 89-120. Available at - <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26484534> Accessed on 27-02-2019.

Zhao, H. (2008). CHINA AND INDIA: COMPETING FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH MYANMAR. *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 22(1), 175-194. Available at - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23257878>. Accessed on 20-02-19