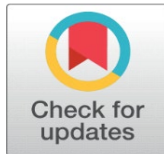


FROM BALANCE TO DOMINANCE: THE INDO-PACIFIC POWER TRANSITION AND MAJOR POWERS' RESPONSES

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ABSTRACT

The Indo-Pacific region has emerged as a central focus of global geopolitics, characterized by its strategic significance and economic dynamism. The evolving global and regional geo-strategic landscape has shifted the international focus from the Euro-Atlantic region to the strategically crucial Indo-Pacific. The ascent of China, coupled with the United States' efforts to maintain its primacy, has created a power transition that is reshaping the regional order. China's global ambitions hinge on establishing dominance in the Indo-Pacific region. In contrast, the United States is not seeking dominance but is committed to maintaining a stable and cooperative global order. China's aggressive behavior significantly elevates the risks of miscalculations and inevitable conflicts. This paper explores the transition from a balance of power to a dominance paradigm in the Indo-Pacific, focusing on the responses of major powers and the implications for regional and global stability. Furthermore, the paper analyzes the repercussions of this power transition, including security dilemmas, economic interdependence, and challenges to global governance.

Keywords: Indo-Pacific, Dominance, Transition of Power, Assertiveness, Military Bases

1. INTRODUCTION

The Indo-Pacific Region is highly significant from geoeconomic and geostrategic perspectives. The Indo-Pacific region is widely acknowledged as a vast stretch of ocean that bridges the Indian and Pacific Ocean. This geographic region includes important maritime zones such as the South China Sea (SCS), Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea, Strait of Malacca, and Philippine Sea. The Indo-Pacific region encompasses approximately 43 countries (De & Kumarasamy, 2020, p 2). The Indo-Pacific region is a vital global hub, encompassing 65 percent of the world's population and contributing 63 percent to the global GDP. This region plays a crucial role in global trade, with over 60 percent of the world's maritime shipments transiting through its waters (Dev, 2022). It is endowed with extensive natural resources and present prospects for economic growth. The ASEAN nations are situated within this region, where substantial maritime trade flows, facilitating the transfer of energy from the West to East and natural resources in the opposite direction.

2. THE TRANSITION OF POWER IN INDO-PACIFIC

The transition from balance to dominance occurs when one state or coalition of states achieves a preponderance of power, effectively reshaping the regional order. This shift can be driven by various factors, including economic growth, military expansion, and strategic initiatives. In the Indo-Pacific, China's assertive foreign policy, characterized by its military modernization and territorial claims, has significantly disrupted the existing balance, prompting responses from other major powers. China aims to undermine the core elements of U.S. influence, such as military strength, economic connections, technological advancements, and political clout, to secure Beijing's uncontested control over the region. For China, global ambitions are contingent upon dominating the Indo-Pacific (Wong, 2023). The United States is not pursuing a strategy of dominance in the international arena; rather, it is focused on maintaining a stable and cooperative global order. In contrast, China's ambitions reflect a clear intent to assert dominance, driven by its pursuit of national rejuvenation and global influence. These factors push China to seek dominance and compel Indo-Pacific nations to align with its interests. However, achieving dominance is extremely difficult in the Indo-Pacific.

This shift is perceived as disrupting the existing balance of power, with significant repercussions for other major regional players. In response, the United States has formulated its Indo-Pacific strategy, widely regarded as a containment effort to check China's ascent. This strategy seeks to consolidate like-minded nations within a unified strategic framework to counteract China's expanding influence.

3. CHINA'S ASSERTIVENESS IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

China has profoundly transformed the strategic landscape of the twenty-first century. China's primary aim is to establish political dominance in the region. Pursuing a nationalist and mercantilist agenda, China seeks to exclude the United States, Europe, and India from the region, essentially endorsing an "Asia for Asians," as articulated by Xi Jinping. To fully integrate its economy with more advanced global counterparts, China needed to demonstrate itself as a peace-oriented and reliable member of the global community. Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, successor leaders to Deng Xiaoping, adopted strategic pragmatism in foreign policy, deliberately shifting the Communist Party of China (CPC) away from ideological entanglements. This pragmatic stance enabled China to pursue its national interests with greater efficacy and adaptability. A significant achievement of this strategy was China's successful integration into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 (Yang & Lee, 2022). Chinese grand strategy has transitioned from Deng Xiaoping's strategic principle of "hide your strength, bide your time" to Hu Jintao's doctrine of "peaceful rise," adhering to a largely consistent trajectory. Recently, this trajectory has shifted with the emergence of assertive "wolf-warrior diplomacy." From the 1980s to the early 2000s, China made consistent diplomatic efforts to reassure the international community that its growing economic and security influence would contribute to global peace and security, rather than undermine it (Manhas, 2022). However, under President Xi Jinping, there has been a notable shift towards more assertive policies that challenge the existing rules-based world order. Since Xi Jinping assumed power in 2013, Beijing has implemented a highly assertive foreign policy both within the region and beyond. This approach is fueled by unprecedented economic growth and strong nationalist sentiment within China.

In the present geopolitical landscape, Beijing can no longer assert that its rise is 'peaceful.' This is evident in the heightened tensions across the Taiwan Strait, the South and East China Seas, and the Himalayan borders, where aggressive military posturing and power projection have become increasingly prominent. In the Indo-Pacific region, China leverages military and economic influence to intimidate neighboring countries, enforce contested maritime claims, disrupt vital shipping routes, and create instability in the region. China's rise as a global power has been accompanied by its assertive moves in the Indo-Pacific, mainly through initiative like Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and military buildup in the South China Sea. China aims to expand its economic influence through significant investments in infrastructure and the establishment of trade corridors across Asia and beyond. Simultaneously, the militarization of disputed islands and assertive territorial claims by China have elicited concerns among neighboring countries and the United States, prompting a reevaluation of regional security dynamics. China's military modernization plays a crucial role in its growing assertiveness in the Indo-Pacific region. According to a 2021 report by the U.S. Department of Defense, China has developed the world's largest navy, with a fleet of 355 ships. This fleet is projected to expand to 420 ships by 2025 (Shelbourne, 2021). The current fleet includes submarines, aircraft carriers, major surface combatants, amphibious

ships, fleet auxiliaries, and mine warfare ships. The report from the United States indicates that China's submarines possess the capability to launch nuclear-armed missiles. In addition to their naval strength, the Chinese government provides financial support to maritime militias operated by civilians in the South China Sea, to expand its territorial claims. Approximately 120 of these militia vessels have been identified.

China's ascent in the Indo-Pacific is not solely based on military and economic means; it also involves extensive diplomatic engagements and the use of soft power. China has actively sought to build and strengthen bilateral and multilateral relationships with countries in the region. Through high-level visits, economic incentives, and strategic partnerships, China aims to enhance its influence and counterbalance other major powers. China's engagement with ASEAN is a notable example of its diplomatic efforts. Despite territorial disputes, China has cultivated strong economic ties with ASEAN countries. The China-ASEAN Free Trade Area (CAFTA), established in 2010, has boosted trade and investment flows between China and Southeast Asia. Additionally, China has supported regional initiatives such as the ASEAN-China Maritime Cooperation Fund to promote collaboration and mutual trust. China's use of soft power is also evident in its cultural and educational exchanges. Confucius Institutes, Chinese language programs, and scholarships for international students have helped promote Chinese culture and foster goodwill. These efforts aim to project a positive image of China and strengthen people-to-people ties across the Indo-Pacific.

China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has involved strategic investments in ports across the Indian Ocean, potentially serving as naval bases. These bases could enable China to encircle neighboring countries and gain closer access to key chokepoints in the Indo-Pacific region. Western officials and academics often describe the BRI as 'debt-trap diplomacy.' They argue that China funds infrastructure projects in other countries, leading them into unsustainable debt. This financial leverage then allows China to exert influence and manipulate the governments of these countries. A prominent example is Sri Lanka's Hambantota Port. When Sri Lanka could not repay its loan to China, it leased the port to China for 99 years (Stacey, 2017). This arrangement not only enhances China's control over a crucial maritime route connecting the Gulf of Hormuz and the Strait of Malacca but also establishes a strategic naval presence in the Bay of Bengal. China has strategically established vital overseas strongholds at various significant locations. These include Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka, Gwadar Port in Pakistan, Kyaukpyu Port in Myanmar, Ream Naval Base in Cambodia, Laem Chabang Port in Thailand, Dar es Salaam Port in Tanzania, and a logistics facility located in Djibouti. China's assertiveness in the Indo-Pacific has not gone unchallenged. Several regional actors have responded with strategies to counterbalance China's influence and protect their own interests.

4. ROLE OF UNITED STATES IN INDO-PACIFIC

If China's strategic aim is to achieve regional dominance, what is the United States' goal? In a simple word, it is "balance". The Sino-US rivalry is the most influential factor affecting the security landscape of the Indo-Pacific region. China's rise represents the most significant challenge the United States has encountered since the end of the Cold War, leading America to direct substantial efforts toward addressing this issue. The pivot to Asia is, at its core, a strategic initiative by the United States to counterbalance China's growing influence (Deb & Wilson, 2021).

The aggressive behavior of China heightens the risks of miscalculations and potential conflicts. The United States actively supports its Southeast Asian allies in promoting a free and open Indo-Pacific region. Historically, the United States has dominated the Indo-Pacific, perceiving the area as essential to its national security and economic interests. The U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy prioritizes the enhancement of alliances, the augmentation of military presence, and the promotion of a free and open Indo-Pacific region. Furthermore, the United States has sought to counterbalance China's influence through initiatives such as the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy, which aims to uphold international law and ensure freedom of navigation.

5. INDO-PACIFIC GEOPOLITICS: MAJOR POWERS' STRATEGIC RESPONSES

As the economic and security interests of the People's Republic of China (PRC) expand through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI or OBOR), the country is working to enhance its global military presence to safeguard these interests. China is strategically developing global logistics and support infrastructure, enhancing the capabilities of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to project and maintain military power over extended distances. The PRC often uses commercial agreements at ports in host countries to support military activities, while obscuring the true nature of its overseas installations. Beijing aims to supersede international law with a doctrine of "might makes right." China should not be

permitted to claim the South China Sea as its maritime territory. The United States unequivocally stands with its Southeast Asian allies to defend their sovereign rights to offshore resources, as dictated by international law. Furthermore, the United States will vigorously support the international community in upholding freedom of navigation and countering any attempts to impose a "might makes right" approach in the South China Sea or beyond (U.S. Department of State). In response, regional countries have undertaken several actions, such as enhancing alliances and partnerships, augmenting their armaments, and developing joint deterrence policies. This balancing act was relatively easier when China was pursuing a more peaceful rise. However, with China's recent rise, this balancing act has become more challenging. This balance facilitates a collective effort to mitigate China's more aggressive actions and ensures the U.S. access in the region. The United States will achieve balance by positioning itself as crucial in both mitigating risks and maximizing benefits for all stakeholders involved.

China's ascent and its rivalry with other major powers such as the United States, India, Japan, Philippines and Australia have led these nations to perceive China as a security threat. According to the theory of balance of power, states will engage in counterbalancing actions against any power they consider a threat to their security. In the existing scenario, United States regards China as a principal strategic competitor. China's expanding power projection capabilities have also influenced Indian security and strategic assessments, with New Delhi perceiving China's rise as a challenge to its security. The recent border clashes further illustrate this competitive dynamic with China. In Australia, tensions with China have strained bilateral relations, with Canberra considering China a major competitor. Relations between China and Japan have also deteriorated due to ongoing disputes over the Senkaku Islands. Therefore, the balance of power theory in the Indo-Pacific region is closely tied to China's rise and its implications for regional security. The resurgence of the Quad alliance under these circumstances reinforces the balance of power framework in the Indo-Pacific (Deb & Wilson, 2021).

US Response: The United States has long been a dominant security guarantor in the Indo-Pacific region. In response to China's growing assertiveness, the U.S. has adopted a strategy known as rebalancing or pivoting to Asia. This approach includes expanding its military presence, deepening alliances with regional partners, and advocating for a rules-based international order. These measures are aimed at preserving stability and security while addressing the challenges posed by China's growing geopolitical influence in the region. The United States remains a key strategic partner for many ASEAN countries, providing security guarantees and supporting freedom of navigation operations (FONOPs) in the South China Sea. The U.S. has also expanded its military presence in the region and engaged in joint exercises with ASEAN members. ASEAN countries are also enhancing their strategic partnerships with other regional powers, such as Australia, Japan, and India. These relationships provide additional security and economic options, reducing over-reliance on China.

The United States has voiced significant concerns over China's expanding influence in the Indo-Pacific region. These concerns are reflected in various strategic documents, including the U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy, NATO's strategic concept, and the National Security Strategy. Additionally, these worries are evident in America's bilateral security agreements with several Indo-Pacific nations. For the United States, China's ascent represents a formidable challenger within the region. China's assertive actions and strategic posture pose threats to U.S. allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific, as well as to the overall preeminence of the U.S. on the global stage. The U.S. has been a vocal critic of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Washington's Indo-Pacific Strategy emphasizes the region's critical importance to U.S. interests.

The US has adopted an integrated deterrence strategy focused on military tactics. Specifically, Washington intends to deploy 60% of its surface fleets to the Indo-Pacific region in order to uphold territorial integrity and to secure vital trade routes. The US naval presence in the Indo-Pacific encompasses approximately 200 vessels and 1,500 aircraft. The United States maintains several strategic bases across the region, including a naval support facility in Diego Garcia, a naval base in Djibouti, a combined naval and airbase in Singapore, a naval base in Thailand, four airbases in the Philippines, a naval and air force base in Guam, three aviation bases and three naval installations in Japan, two military bases in South Korea, and an air and naval base in Australia (Jochheim & Lobo, 2023).

India's Response: India's strategic considerations are significantly influenced by China's activities both in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) and along their disputed Himalayan border. The showdown in the Galwan Valley in 2020 underscored the potential for conflict between the two nations. In response to these challenges, India has intensified its military capabilities, enhanced its naval presence in the IOR, and deepened strategic partnerships with key allies like the United States, Japan, and Australia through initiatives such as the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad).

The growing significance of maritime security within India's foreign policy reflects its response to China's expanding maritime dominance. In response to China's 'String of Pearls' strategy, India has developed a corresponding approach

known as the 'Necklace of Diamonds' strategy. This term was introduced by Lalit Mansingh, the former Foreign Secretary of India, during a think-tank event held in August 2011. This strategy emphasizes building robust naval cooperation among major powers in the Indian Ocean region (Jha, 2022). To counter China's control over the Mozambique Channel chokepoint, India took strategic steps. In 2015, India formalized an agreement with Seychelles to utilize Assumption Island for military purposes. This agreement was subsequently revised in 2018 to authorize India to develop military infrastructure on the island. Similarly, India reached an agreement with Mauritius in 2015, granting access to facilities in Agalega for military use, including the development of a runway and jetty with prior notification. India's Indo-Pacific strategy emphasizes key partnerships, notably with ASEAN and the United States. In 2015, a comprehensive strategic vision was formulated for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions in collaboration with the United States. Recently, India's participation in the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD), which includes the US, enhances its ability for strategic power projection in the region. India conducts regular military exercises with key partners such as the United States, Japan, and Australia. The Malabar Exercise, which includes the armadas of the US, Japan, and Australia, is a notable example aimed at enhancing interoperability and demonstrating collective resolve.

The 2018 Sabang agreement conferred military access to India at Sabang Port, which is strategically situated at the northern entrance of the Strait of Malacca in Indonesia. This arrangement enhances India's regional presence and operational capabilities in a vital maritime corridor. India has attained military access to Changi Naval Base in Singapore, thereby reinforcing its strategic presence at the southern end of the Strait of Malacca. In 2016, the Government of India made a strategic decision to invest USD 500 million in the development of Iran's Chabahar Port. This investment is intended to establish a transportation corridor to Central Asia, utilizing Afghanistan as a transit route while circumventing Pakistan. Since 2018, India has also gained access to the Port of Duqm in Oman, enhancing its strategic foothold near the Strait of Hormuz. In 2020, India and Japan took a significant step towards strengthening their defense ties by signing an Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement. This agreement decisively establishes the framework for the reciprocal exchange of military supplies and services, reinforcing their commitment to enhanced cooperation and operational effectiveness. These initiatives bolster India's regional influence and strategic capabilities in countering Chinese initiatives in the Indo-Pacific region. India has strategically countered China's Belt and Road Initiative through several key initiatives.



Map: United States, Indian and Chinese military bases in the Indo-Pacific

Japan Strategic Shift: Japan has also significantly raised its defense budget, concentrating primarily on stealth aircraft and long-range missiles. In addition to military enhancements, some analysts view the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor, launched by Tokyo and New Delhi, as a prominent countermeasure to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This development highlights the diverse strategies employed by Indo-Pacific nations to bolster their military and economic power. In recent years, Japan's defense posture has undergone a significant transformation, shifting from a primarily defensive stance to a more proactive offensive approach. This shift is detailed in key strategic documents, including the National Security Strategy (NSS), the National Defense Strategy, and the Defense Build-Up Program. In 2022, Kishida Government has announced plans to raise defense spending by 2 percent annually over the next five years,

up to 2027 (National Security Strategy of Japan, 2022). This move underscores Japan's commitment to enhancing its defense infrastructure.

China's ongoing military activities around Taiwan, including maritime operations and the launch of multiple ballistic missiles, pose a potential threat to Japan, as these activities could intrude into Japanese sovereign waters. Furthermore, joint military exercises conducted by Russia and China in the Sea of Okhotsk raise concerns for neighboring countries in the region. To mitigate this threat, Japan is committed to reinforcing its alliance with the United States through enhanced cooperation across diplomacy, defense, and economic spheres. At the same time, Japan plans to strengthen its connections with other "like-minded" nations, such as India and Australia, through the QUAD framework. This strategy includes advancing joint training and exercises, co-developing defense technologies, and facilitating the transfer of defense equipment and expertise.

There is a growing ambition in Japan to achieve greater "self-reliance" by broadening its defense capabilities and strengthening partnerships with various countries. This ambition is reflected in recent developments. For instance, in January 2023, Japan, Italy, and the UK unveiled a plan to consolidate their fighter jet development programs. Additionally, Japan has entered into a contract worth 380 billion yen (approximately US\$ 2.8 billion) with Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, the nation's largest defense exporter, to mass-produce long-range missiles by 2026 (Ghosh, 2023).

Australia Defense Doctrine: The relationship between Australia and China has deteriorated significantly. China's growing assertiveness in the South China Sea and increasing interactions with Pacific Island nations have raised significant security concerns for Australia. The United States is Australia's primary security ally, backing Australia's substantial involvement in addressing the economic and security issues of the region. This partnership is vital for maintaining peace and fostering development in the Indo-Pacific region. The ongoing power competition in the Indo-Pacific has prompted Canberra to significantly boost its defense expenditure and enhance its military capabilities. This is exemplified by the formation of the Australia–United Kingdom–United States (AUKUS) alliance on September 15, 2021. This trilateral security pact involves the Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. One of the initial objectives of the AUKUS partnership is to assist Australia in acquiring a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines, to be constructed in Adelaide with support from the United Kingdom and the United States. These actions have further escalated the existing power competition in the Indo-Pacific region.

The Philippines Policy Shift: In its National Defense Strategy 2018–2022, the Philippines has identified threats to its "territorial integrity and maritime domain" as paramount concerns. The strategy highlights two major flashpoints: the West Philippine Sea, a segment of the broader South China Sea, and China's construction of artificial islands within the South China Sea, which may potentially be utilized as military installations (Philippines National Defense Strategy 2018–2022). These issues pose significant risks to the Philippines' sovereignty and territorial security. Additionally, the strategy addresses the contentious situation in the Northeast Sea, particularly around the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, where overlapping claims by Taiwan, China, and Japan further complicate regional stability.

The Philippines employs two key strategies to strengthen its national security: the Self-Reliant Defense Posture and Joint Deterrence. The National Defense Strategy emphasizes the self-reliant defense posture, which aims to strengthen the country's indigenous defense capabilities. To support this, the Philippine Aerospace Development Corporation signed a contract worth US\$ 374.96 million with India in January 2022 to procure BrahMos cruise missiles for the Philippine Navy (Ghosh, 2023). Additionally, the Philippines actively seeks support from major regional powers to counter Chinese aggression, reinforcing its defense posture through both self-reliance and strategic alliances. The second strategic approach, known as Joint Deterrence, involves strengthening the Philippines' security relationship with the United States to address the threat posed by China. This includes allowing U.S. troops to be stationed in the Philippines. Both countries share common national interests, particularly the commitment to maintaining free and open navigation in the South China Sea. This cooperation enhances the Philippines' defense posture while promoting regional stability and security.

6. QUAD AND AUKUS: A BALANCING ACT?

China's emergence as a major economic, technological, and military power over the past two decades has been a significant factor in the formation of the Quad, consisting of the United States, Japan, Australia, and India. This alliance is designed to serve as a 'balance of power' mechanism within the Indo-Pacific region. To boost its military presence in the Indo-Pacific, the U.S. must fortify its alliances and security partnerships in the region. Priority alliances should be with

Japan and, under the AUKUS framework, with Australia and the United Kingdom. These countries have significant military capabilities and a strong political commitment to working with the U.S. in a balancing strategy.

Alongside the Quad, the recent announcement of the AUKUS alliance has sparked considerable debate about the regional security architecture. Unlike the Quad, AUKUS is predominantly seen as a security and military-oriented initiative. Unlike the Quad, AUKUS is widely perceived as having a primarily security and military focus. The agreement among the AUKUS nations includes supplying Australia with eight nuclear-powered attack submarines, which will significantly alter the geopolitical landscape of the Indo-Pacific. Beijing has denounced the pact, viewing it as a containment strategy that could destabilize the region and intensify the arms race (Deb & Wilson, 2021). The formation of AUKUS highlights the region's strategic importance and the growing trend towards joint security alliances. While some speculate that AUKUS might overshadow the Quad initiative, it is premature to make a definitive judgment on this matter.

7. CONCLUSION

The Indo-Pacific power transition from balance to dominance is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that will shape the geopolitical landscape for years to come. This research has highlighted several key findings: First, China's emergence as a dominant power is reshaping the geopolitical landscape, challenging the established order and prompting strategic responses from the United States and its allies. China's military advancements and assertive foreign policy, particularly regarding the South China Sea and Indo-Pacific, have raised concerns among neighboring countries and the broader international community. Second, the United States has reaffirmed its commitment to the Indo-Pacific region through sustained military presence, strategic alliances, and economic initiatives. Key partnerships, such as the Quad and AUKUS, signify substantial efforts to counterbalance China's influence and strengthen security cooperation among aligned nations. However, the effectiveness of these strategies will hinge on the ability of the U.S. to maintain its influence and adapt to the changing dynamics of power. Third, regional players such as India, Japan, Philippines and Australia are actively responding to the shifting landscape, seeking to enhance their strategic autonomy while balancing their relations with both the U.S. and China. Their responses reflect a recognition of the need for a multipolar approach to security and governance in the Indo-Pacific. The interplay between competition and cooperation will define the Indo-Pacific's role in the global order, making it a focal point for international relations in the 21st century. The development of new regional balance-of-power frameworks, like the Quad, is essential for managing emerging hegemonic trends. As a coalition of democracies, the Quad not only counters these ambitions but also provides a credible and systemic alternative for smaller and middle powers in the region.

Note: The Indo-Pacific region encompasses approximately 43 countries (De & Kumarasamy, 2020, p 2). These countries are ASEAN: Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Cambodia, Myanmar; South Asian Countries: India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bangladesh; Latin American Countries: Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Peru; North American Countries: Canada, United States, Mexico; Northeast Asian Countries: Japan, South Korea China, Russian Federation; Pacific Countries: Australia, Papua, New Zealand, Fiji, New Guinea; West Asian Countries: Iran, Islamic Republic, Yemen, United Arab Emirates, Oman; African Countries: Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Madagascar, South Africa, Mozambique, Mauritius, Seychelles, Comoros; European Countries : France and Germany.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

None.

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