

**PROBING INTO THE INDIAN CHALLENGE TO CHINESE HEGEMONY IN
SELECTED COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA**

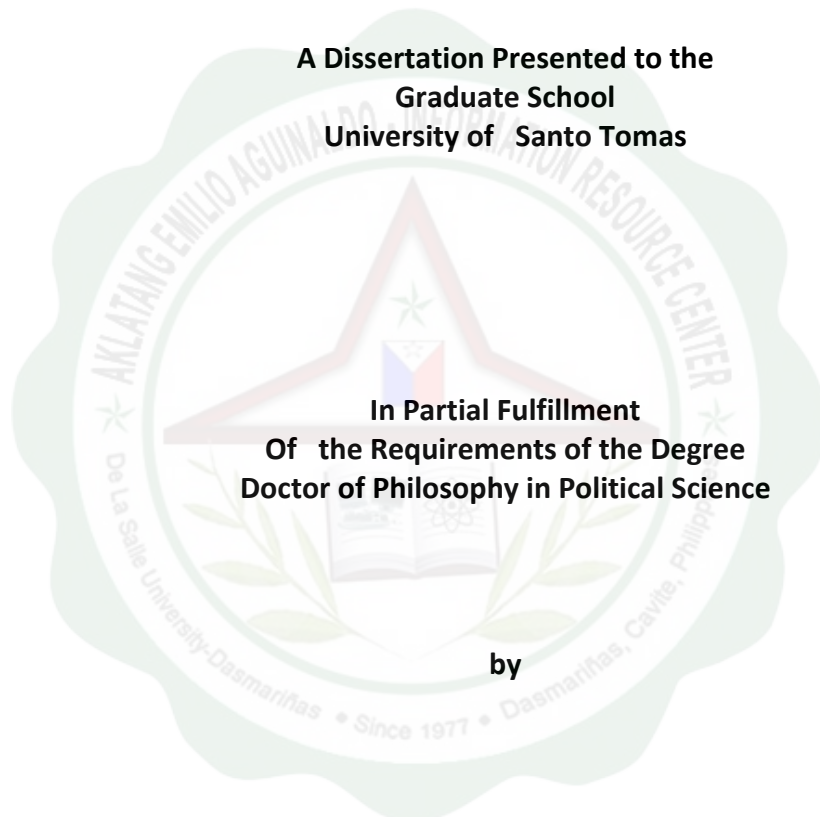
**A Dissertation Presented to the
Graduate School
University of Santo Tomas**

**In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements of the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science**

by

JOSE AIMS R. ROCINA

March 08, 2013



ABSTRACT

China's influence is on the rise in Southeast Asia with its giant economy, modern military and influential diplomacy potentially establishing a potential Chinese hegemony in the region. If such growth is not challenged by another regional power, the balance of peaceful stability will be tilted and economic development hampered. Thus, another rising power, India must face the challenges that a powerful China brings to the table. With its developing economy, well-equipped armed forces and subtle diplomacy, it has the necessary tools and capability to balance the distribution of power in Southeast Asia.

As a matter of fact, both states are already competing for closer relations with their neighbouring states, engaged in trying to protect their interests in boundary states, such as Myanmar, and engaged in a massive development of their armed forces to be prepared for any contingency. To project their powers in the Asian seas, both have acquired a couple of aircraft carriers with support ships and aircraft. To protect vital sea lanes, they have also augmented their arsenal with other weapons such as submarines, advanced ships and vital sea ports.

Both already nuclear capable, they have further increased their military capability with missiles and advanced defence systems. In the quest for vital energy resources, both India and China are constructing pipelines in their neighboring states, to assure a steady supply of oil and gas which are essential commodities in a growing economy. Trade agreements are being explored in surrounding countries for their products to have secured markets. Alliances are also forged with other Southeast Asian states and memberships in international organizations are secured.

Thus, while both states are headed for direct competition in regional leadership, they are also destined to be the next global powers as their relations will have a substantial impact on the economic growth and development of the region. The role of ASEAN as a catalyst for change in India-China relations can not also be underestimated, as well as the actions of other powers such as the United States and Japan.

Keywords: hegemony, diplomacy, economy, military

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
1.0 Introduction	
Background of the Study	6
Statement of the Problem	15
Significance of the Study	16
Theoretical Framework	25
Theoretical Contribution	26
Conceptual Framework	39
Scope and Limitations of the Study	40
Definition of Terms	41
2.0 Literature Review	
2.1 Security Relations	49
India and Countries in Southeast Asia	
China and Southeast Asian States	
India and China's Nuclear Competition	
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty	
ASEAN Security Issues	
India and China Security Relations	
India, China and the UN Security Council	
2.2 Economic Concerns	69
India and Southeast Asian Economies	
China and India Trade Relations	
Impact of India and China in Southeast Asia	
ASEAN Economies	
China and ASEAN	
India, China and ASEAN	
2.3 Diplomatic Relations	81
ASEAN and China	
India and Southeast Asia	
The Role of the United States	
India as an Important Power	
ASEAN's Role in Maintaining Balance of Power	
2.4 Synopsis	90

3.0	Research Methodology	
	3.1 Research Methods	
	3.1.1 Sources of Data (Written)	96
	3.1.2 Data Collection	96
	3.1.3 Research Instruments	97
	3.1.4 Research Procedure	100
	3.1.5 Sources of Data (Oral)	101
	3.1.6 Data Collection	102
	3.1.7 Research Instruments	102
	3.1.8 Research Procedure	103
4.0	Results and Discussions	
	4.1 Areas of Common Interest	106
	4.1.1 Energy Sources	107
	4.1.2 Indian Ocean and South China Sea	116
	4.1.3 Trade Relations	124
	4.1.4 Military Interests	131
	4.1.5 Leadership in Southeast Asia	136
	4.2 A Comparative Analysis of China and India	144
	4.2.1 People's Republic of China	145
	Economy	
	Military	
	Regional Influence	
	4.2.2 Republic of India	153
	Economy	
	Military	
	Regional Influence	
	4.3 Balance of Power in Asia	183
	4.4 ASEAN's Role in Southeast Asian Stability	196
	4.5 Regional Effects of Sino-Indian Relations	203
5.0	Conclusions and Directions for Future Research	
	5.1 Summary of Findings	211
	5.2 Conclusions	218
	5.3 Recommendations	220

6.0 List of Figures

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework	25
Figure 2. Conceptual Framework	39
Figure 3. Map of China, India and Southeast Asia	108
Figure 4. Map of Indian Ocean	119
Figure 5. Map of South China Sea	126

7.0 List of Interviews

Jean A. Berlie, Ph.D. (Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, H.K.)
 William Case, Ph.D. (Professor, Comparative Politics of Southeast Asia)
 Renato de Castro, Ph.D. (Policy Analyst, International Studies)
 Darryl Jarvis, Ph.D. (Risk Analyst, Asian and Policy Studies)
 Yunjong Kim, Ph.D. (Consultant, East Asia)
 Herman Kraft, M.A. (Professor, Political Science)
 Jaime Naval, M.P.P. (Professor, Political Science)
 Ting Wai, Ph.D. (Professor, Government and International Studies)

References

224

Appendices**Appendix A- China's Armaments****Appendix B- India's Armaments****Appendix C- Transcript of Interviews****Appendix D- India-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement****Appendix E- China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement****Appendix F- ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea****Appendix G- Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea**