

DYNAMICS OF INDO-MYANMAR RELATIONS IN POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA: IMPLICATION FOR NORTHEAST

INTRODUCTION:

The relations between that of India and Myanmar is not a new one but rather based on centuries old ties that goes back to the pre-colonial period. This socio-politico and cultural relationship was made stronger with the amalgamation of the two countries under one political administration during the colonial rule. Being under one political rule, the two countries side by side later revolted against the colonial master i.e., British East India Company, for securing the right to self-determination. However, despite such close ties that history has brought the two countries together, the relations between India and Myanmar has not always been very fortifying especially after independence. The only epoch worth calling friendly with mutual and cooperative support was in the early phase of independence which can also be called the first phase of the post-independence Indo-Myanmar relationship. This period was particularly marked by the trust building efforts made on both sides of the border.

During the first phase of the post-independence Indo-Myanmar relationship the two countries indeed signed a peace and friendship treaty in 1951 as part of the effort for building friendship by retracing the past relations. In the meantime the two countries were members of the Non-Aligned Movement and both were eager to rather build the relations into one of a constructive and cooperative path. During this period, the leaders of two countries also assisted each other in matters of security and foreign policies. This early phase of Indo-Myanmar relationship is marked by frequent reciprocal visits by leaders of both sides to discuss and negotiate in issues common to both. For instance, Nehru visited Yangon in 1950, 1954 and 1957, and in return, U Nu came to New Delhi in 1951, 1957, 1960 and 1961.

The second phase of the relationship between the two countries can be said to have begun from 1962 till the second half of 1980s and which is characterized by an unavoidable constraints as India remained adamantly opposed to the Military rule in Myanmar and based its foreign policy on moral philosophy. With both following opposing path of nation building, the relations between two countries gradually

started crumbling down after the 1960s. This became worse after Myanmar underwent coup d'état by the military general in 1962 and instituted an autocratic military regime based on a single party i.e., Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP). The BSPP, subsequently, changed the foreign policy and followed 'isolationism.' Since then, Indo-Myanmar relations became paralyzed and to repair the loose relations was beyond question as India also adamantly held its anti Military stance upright. During the regime of Indira Gandhi, the two countries planned to revive the bilateral and diplomatic relationship but few could be pragmatically converted into action. The rapprochement policy that implies upholding the traumatized relations in the past further failed to rebuild friendship despite series of meetings that were undertaken between the two countries. One of the drawbacks, as mentioned above, was that India followed moral stance in its foreign policy and condemned the autocratic rule of military in Myanmar.

In the year 1988 a new military junta came to control power in Myanmar. Immediately after their assumption of power, this regime abrogated the existing constitution and formed a new military government under the State Law and Order Restoration Council. This government blamed India for supporting the pro-democracy activists and the secessionist movements among the tribal groups in Myanmar. The Indo-Myanmar relations soon came to the lowest level each side standing firm in its position. The relationship touched its nadir and this continued until the two countries realized the intrinsic value of cooperation.

The period from the beginning of the 1990s onwards which can be termed as the third phase of the Indo-Myanmar relationship is the beginning of a new era in the relationship building measures undertaken by both countries. With the Indian government reaffirming the importance of building a good relationship with the neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia, it was felt that India needed to redefine its foreign policy by stressing on the importance of maintaining good relationship with the neighbouring countries, particularly Myanmar. With this, the new chapter of Indo-Myanmar relationship started in early 1990s during the Narahimha Rao government. In a similar way, Myanmar too realized the necessity of mutual relationship with its western neighbouring countries and therefore simultaneously changed its policy to restore harmonious relationship with India. Thereafter, Indo-Myanmar relations, slowly but steadily, grew in a positive environment. This rapprochement brought

bilateral relations in various areas between the two countries. Besides, India and Myanmar found new ways in multilateral cooperation. Some of the areas of cooperation where India and Myanmar are collectively in operation are: the Greater Mekong Economic Cooperation, Kunming Economic Initiatives, Asian Cooperation Dialogue, Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Forum and the Bay of Bengal Initiatives for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) etc. Among these areas of cooperation, India and Myanmar are keenly striving in the lines of initiatives of BIMSTEC as both find this sub-regional cooperation as having the potential to benefit both countries.

The BIMSTEC is an alternative of SAARC and ASEAN to form larger socio-economic ties among the South and Southeast Asian countries. It was first organized on 6 June, 1997 by four countries viz. Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka and Thailand, which was then called BISTEC (Bangladesh India, Sri Lanka and Thailand-Economic Cooperation). Later, during the Ministerial meeting held in Bangkok on 22 December 1997, Myanmar joined the forum and this resulted in the changed name from BISTEC to BIMSTEC (Bangladesh India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand-Economic Cooperation). The membership increased following the participation of Bhutan and Nepal in 2003. Therefore, the BIMSTEC was renamed from a thematic name to a more littoral name as the Bay of Bengal Initiatives for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) during its first Summit in July, 2004. Since the formation of BIMSTEC, member states came together and held several meetings to realize BIMSTEC from word. Initially, the BIMSTEC framed a four-tier structure to implement its policies, objectives, and projects. The resolved mechanisms are: Policy Making Body, Operational Body, Coordinating Body, and Expert Group Meetings.

The purpose of BIMSTEC is confirmed during its first summit and that is to create an environment for rapid economic development; social progress; mutual assistance on common interest; provide assistance to each other in form of training and research facilities; complementary to national development plan of member states; maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international organizations, and cooperation in any projects of the member states. Subsequently, it identifies six priority areas viz., trade and investment, transport, technology, fishery, energy and tourism. Later, the priorities areas have been further expanded to fourteen, during the second summit in 2008, by including agriculture, public health, poverty

alleviation, counter-terrorism and trans-national crime, protection of bio-diversities and natural disaster management, culture, people-to-people contact and climate change. Indeed, each area has a respective leading country, for better pursuance with coordinating country responsible for the sub-sectors. For instance, India is responsible for transport and communication, tourism, counter-terrorism and trans-national crime, protection of bio-diversities and natural disaster management. Similarly, Myanmar is responsible for energy and agriculture.

Besides the summits, there were numerous meetings held among the member countries in recent past. The meetings varied from ministerial to secretary level. In the Ministerial meeting held in December, 2009, BIMSTEC revived its policy of implementing stringent rules for faster and better connection among the members in the areas identified during the last two summits. During this meeting, the delegates of member countries signed the convention on combating international terrorism, transnational organized crime and illicit drug trafficking. Yet, in course of development, the member countries also established numerous centers to monitor the projects as well as to promote BIMSTEC as fast as other regional cooperation. Some of the few centers that have been established through these initiatives are: the Weather and Climate Centre in India; Cultural Industries Observatory in Bhutan; Energy Centre and Trans-Power Energy and Development Project in Sri Lanka; and Poverty Alleviation Centre in Bangladesh etc. In the meantime, the erection of BIMSTEC Permanent Secretariat, BIMSTEC Network of National Centers of Coordination in Traditional Medicine and BIMSTEC Technology Transfer/Exchange Facility in Sri Lanka are also among others which are nearing completion. Besides the above development, there are scores of projects which would have immediate effect through the initiatives of BIMSTEC.

The concord of Free Trade Areas (FTA) that was signed in 2004 is another initiative of BIMSTEC to wisely exploit the resources of the member countries. It encompasses three apparatus viz. trade in goods, trade in services, and trade on investment. Under the BIMSTEC-FTA, trade liberalization is set to be expanded fully and implemented in the region under two phases beginning on July 1, 2006 with a target in 2017 items. For instance, the Non-Least Developed countries have started the elimination of tariff to Least Developed Countries (LDC) by 30 June, 2007 but among

themselves by 30 June, 2009. On the other hand, the LDC group will do so for Non-LDC by 30 June, 2011, but among themselves have started by 30 June, 2009.

Nevertheless, BIMSTEC like many other regional organizations faced structural and functional tribulations. The lingering problem is whether the member states have the potentiality to effectively work on its formulated agreements or vice versa. The doubt is that despite huge volume of trade, infrastructure and political will to convert the regional opportunities into concrete results, BIMSTEC countries are not sincere to materialize the lead items. For examples, Myanmar have great potential in respect of agriculture and natural resources but the policy-making is unclear and severely neglected, under the military regime, in matters of turning those into productive values. Likewise, others also face similar problems in their priority areas. Hitherto, an issue like free trade is sensitive and volatile due to domestic political issues and almost all members, except Thailand, face problems in effectively working the objectives of the forum. Above all, the lack of political commitment among the members is imperative and it may affect the smooth functioning of BIMSTEC.

The North-East region of India is among the most cultural-linguistically rich and diverse regions of all Asia. This is due as much to its position at the cultural-geographical crossroads of East, South, and South-East Asia. The Northeastern region comprising of eight states and it constitutes roughly of around 7.98% of the country's geographical area and accounts for around 3.79% of the total population. Due to various reasons, for a long time development of the region was a neglected topic under the Indian state and as a result the region turned into a hotbed for numerous militant groups. The prevailed conditions in the region directly affected the people of northeast and stood as a major hurdle to country's initiative to strengthening relations with the Southeast Asian countries, particularly with Myanmar. In the last five decades, the policies and strategies adopted by the successive governments of India failed to fulfill the aspirations of northeast people. The cultural, political, security and developmental paradigm to uplift if not integrate northeast people with mainland India did not solve the problems of northeast but further deepened the feeling of alienation among the people of the region.

The sea changes in the international front resulted in significant changes in India's foreign policy. Since the 1990s India realized that by looking eastward it

would be able to enhance its position in the international arena as well as strengthen its own territory by building good relationship with the neighbouring countries. Therefore, as part of boosting its relationship with Southeast Asia, India initiated various measures, along with that, it was also able to give or lay more emphasis on the significance of the development of Northeast region. Eventually, India framed numerous projects to enhance socio-economic development of northeast. One of the major initiatives taken by India to foster such trust particularly in the Northeast region of India is by engaging the region in the relations with other neighbouring countries.

In a similar fashion to develop the region, India initiated, along with sub-regional countries, BIMSTEC with a vision to bring northeast to the mainstream through political integration with India by laying emphasis on the economic impact that the region would benefit through engagements with the rest of Southeast Asian countries. Some of the projects, sooner than later, have been pragmatically implemented through the initiatives of BIMSTEC. For instance, the border trade link opened at Moreh-Tamu Centre and Champhai-Rhi Border Trade Centre are few of them to make the frontier a center of development and better connection between India and Southeast Asian countries. Ever since, northeast has progressively enhanced its socio-economic life as it expanded trade and commerce relations with the bordering countries. Primarily, the political conditions of northeast have relatively changed as compared to the past. The few areas that virtually gave northeast some benefit through the initiatives of BIMSTEC are: border trades, tourism, road and rail linkages with the Southeast Asian countries besides the development of infrastructure within.

Besides the above development, the Government of India is engaging in agreements with the southeast Asian countries since 2001 on many projects concerning aviation, multi-modal transport, networking, Tamanthi Hydro-Electric Power Project, Dawai Deep-Sea Port, and as well as to procure huge volume of drugs from Myanmar to prevent fatal diseases. These engagements have high probability for northeast to assess in diverse economic areas and at the same time enhance better connectivity with other parts of the world in near future. However, many policy analyst, social activists and academia argue that the policies and strategies plays by the Government of India is not sincerely meant to change the northeast into a progressive region but rather just to exploits the resources and use as a passage for the

benefit of the mainland India. Subsequently, others also argue that the ultimate goal was to pull-down the secessionist movement which has been a stagger for India in connecting South, Southeast and East Asian countries. However, the baseline for argument is that the northeast region have had to pay highly due to the indifference of the government of India with regards to the economic isolation of the region and for which various insurgent movements have used the opportunity to further the peril of the people at large. Hence, in the light of the already existing apprehension, the negative impact of India's look east policy is another policy that people feel would be of great danger to the people at large. Some of the pessimistic items which suddenly change the image of northeast in Indo-Myanmar relations are rise of gun-runners, flesh trade, drug smuggling, illegal infiltration, black money, and HIV/AIDS etc. These negative impacts of Indo-Myanmar relations for northeast have given a strong blow at the cost of development of northeast.

REVIEW OF LITERATURES

India and Myanmar, as neighbour, maintained good relations in diverse realms such as: trade, commerce, religion and culture in the pre-independence era since the fifth century A. D. The two countries, moreover, simultaneously came together in the controlled of the British India. This event was not the end but the beginning of Indo-Myanmar relations as the leaders of two countries associated with each other in their struggle against the colonial power albeit to demand for self-determination. These eventualities push the two countries to uphold good relations in the early part of post-independence era. But, the diplomatic relations soon got stranded as the military junta took over in Myanmar. Thereafter, Indo-Myanmar relations came to a complete halt as India criticized the military regime and supported the pro-democratic groups. This moral foreign policy constricted India to develop intimacy with Myanmar. Only after 1990, did the Indo-Myanmar relations spin into new episode. Hitherto, the two countries signed numerous bilateral agreements besides their membership in multilateral cooperation. Some of the areas which India and Myanmar reciprocally dwell their interest are: counter-insurgency, narcotic smuggling across the border, sharing intelligence, promoting trade and investment among others (Aung and Myint, 2006).

Despite the equidistant relations immediately after bifurcation of British India into India and Myanmar (Burma), the two shared common interest and were members of Non-Aligned Movement. But, with the advent of military junta in 1962, Myanmar discontinued its diplomatic relations with the rest, particularly India, and followed the policy of “self-isolation.” The ultimate effect led India to ignore Myanmar even as one can find no credible threats despite 1643 km border connection. In 1980s, India strongly condemned junta and demand to return democracy. The Burmese General, therefore, accused India of collusion with democratic movement and that it sowed the seed of insurgency in Myanmar (Renaud, 2003). However, the geopolitical nature in the region forced India to rethink its moralistic foreign policy and eventually dropped the neglect attitude toward Myanmar. India, indeed, reversed its diplomatic policy from ‘moral stance’ toward ‘realistic’ after 1990 under successive governments. Since then, Indo-Myanmar relations have dramatically changed into the realm of positive development. This slow but rediscovered relation represents a profound landmark in the history of India foreign relations. Thereafter, a new diplomatic era began for both the countries and, indeed, aims to cautiously engage in diverse sectors to relatively benefit both the countries. Thus, Myanmar is a strategic neighbor for India to open ‘eastern door’ in connecting other Southeast Asian countries (Renaud, 2003).

Likewise, India and Myanmar share profound relations even after their independence. The two countries further cultivated a closer relationship through the signing of ‘Treaty of Friendship’ in 1951. The then Prime Ministers of both the countries shared views on many issues regarding the conduct of international politics. However, reality turns into defiance when military coup d’etat occurs in Myanmar. The nationalization program of Myanmar, further, resulted in causing friction in the relationship as it evicted thousands of Indian labourers. Indo-Myanmar relations reached its nadir during 1988 as India strongly opposed the brutality of military suppression against the supporters of pro-democracy and subsequent takeover of power by the generals. The frozen ties between India and Myanmar began to thaw only after 1990. Soon after, there was a period of constructive relations between the two countries as they realized that cooperation alone could bring relative-gains in all the sectors rather than following isolationism. The historic evidence of coming together between the two countries is seen through India’s Nuclear Tests in 1998, Gas Sales and Kaladan project (Yhome, 2009).

Myanmar has not featured in the literature of Indian foreign policy. This is, perhaps, due to non-existence of intrinsic value of relations between the two countries for many decades. On the other, India follows an archaic model of Nehruvian and moralistic discourse in aspects of its foreign policy formulation (Lall, 2008). He further describes that there has been a paradigm shift in Indo-Myanmar relations, focusing on economic and energy-related issues. The reframing of the mutual relations between India and Myanmar began under the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government in the late 1990s which was succeeded by the Congress-led government. This shift in foreign policy is largely due to India's increasing need for energy. Consequently, India has improved and stabilized in its relations with Myanmar (Lall, 2008).

There exists sharing of common interest in varied sectors between the two countries during the early phase of Indo-Myanmar relations. In the course of relations, the then Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru and his counterpart U Nu signed several agreements on bilateral cooperation which can be divided into areas such as: political, social, military and economic sectors. Yet, the two countries support each other in different international platforms and virtually gain out of the cooperation. India and Myanmar were consulting each other, as in the pre-independence period, in the context of national problems which further paved the way for unity in the diplomatic sphere. Eventually, the period from 1954 to 1958 shoot up the phase of turbulence between the two countries when the Government of Myanmar passed the bill of 'Land Nationalization' in 1954 that was forcefully defended by New Delhi as the Indian manual labourers in Myanmar faced problems in securing their livelihood. At this juncture of fluctuating relationship, General Ne Wins staged coup d'etat in Myanmar and slowly abandoned relations with India because New Delhi has supported the pro-democracy activists, students, and rebels. Thereafter, the Indo-Myanmar relations gradually shrunk without rapprochement (Singh, 1978).

In recent past, bilateral relations between the two countries have been aimed in favour of socio-economic development which leads to uplift and the welfare of the people. When the foreign minister of Myanmar, U Win, visited India in 2003, emphasis was largely on how to expedite the proposed India-Myanmar-Thailand road through which Indian, particularly people from northeast and Myanmar can have economic transaction across border as well as facilitate their social and cultural

exchange and develop a feeling of oneness. At the same time, Myanmar also sought assistance for building a deep sea port at Dalwe in southern Myanmar which would help Indian and Thai ships to refuel instead of waiting to cross the 'Straits of Malacca'. Eventually, both the countries thanked each other for realising the need to build an understanding neighbour. During the same visit India reassured Myanmar that it will not allow any groups to launch a rebellion from Myanmar into another country (Bammi, 2006).

BIMSTEC has undertaken a long journey to convert from words into deeds. It was only after the Cold War, India along with other countries of the sub-region strived to form an institution that can reconnect their linkage in a fashion to the past (Chakraborti, 2008). He highlights the fact that there are several pull and push factors in the formation of BIMSTEC as a forum in the 1990s. The push factor is that BIMSTEC countries were inter-linked in regular trade until the advent of Portuguese in these regions. And in the aftermath the colonial powers intervened in the region and the linked between each other was automatically cut off. Therefore, they wanted to revive their relationship with each other under BIMSTEC especially in recent times (Chakraborti, 2008).

Similarly, Bank (2007) emphasizes the development of BIMSTEC as part of India's foreign policy to link the Southeast Asian countries with Myanmar as the strategic point. BIMSTEC is, indeed, formed with an idea of imparting greater socio-economic cooperation among the member nations in sectors of energy, tourism, agriculture, transport and communication, fisheries, technology and human resources development. In addition, BIMSTEC yearns to strengthen cooperation in areas of trade and investment. The entire members, therefore, openly agreed in July, 2007 to set up a Free Trade Area (Bank, 2007).

The first Summit of BIMSTEC highlights its commitment in assessing the challenges and opportunities for economic cooperation in the region so as to strengthen BIMSTEC to realize the means effectively and efficiently. During the summit, all members present agreed to explore expansion of cooperation in these areas viz., culture, education, public health, protection of biodiversity and traditional knowledge, rural community development, small and medium scale enterprise, environment, biotechnology, weather and climate research, natural disaster mitigation

and management among others. The Summit also passed resolution to promote sustainable and optimal energy utilizations through development of new hydrocarbon and hydropower projects, interconnection of electricity and natural gas grids, energy conservation and renewable energy technologies. All member countries endorsed positively to work out the initiatives stated above (Summit, 2004).

Manmohan Singh (2004) describes that sub-regional integration of BIMSTEC is not antithetical to United Nations but part of building block. The cooperation, beyond doubt, offers an opportunity to fulfill the imperatives of all the member states. Singh further draws the strong historical linkage of the regions and ciphered that colonial intervention over the last two centuries has weakened the relationship. BIMSTEC is, therefore, a new and affirmative cooperation to rediscover the coherence of region based on the commonality of many linkages around the Bay of Bengal. To translate the inherent strength of the region into a community of prosperity and goodwill, BIMSTEC gives interconnectivity in spheres of economic, physical and technological. Above all, the cooperation of BIMSTEC is a key facet for India to maintain long standing approach of good neighbourliness towards all the neighbours (Manmohan Singh, 2004).

The second Summit (2008) highlights satisfaction with the progress of priority areas viz., energy, environment and disaster management, and the establishment of BIMSTEC Energy Centre in India and Cultural Industries Commission and Cultural Industries Observatory in Bhutan. Further, the representatives expressed their contentment on the progress of negotiations on 'Agreement on Trade in Goods' with agreed General Rules of Origin and Product Specific Rules under the BIMSTEC Free Trade Areas. Therefore, new agreements were undertaken, during the summit, to improve transportation and communication linkage and greater connectivity between the member states, to harness the region's natural, cultural and historical endowments in order to enhance intra-BIMSTEC tourism and also to cooperate for the sustainable use of Marine Resources through effective conservatism and management of resources in the Bay of Bengal, to establish BIMSTEC Cultural Industries Commission and Cultural Industries Observatory in Bhutan, and to intensify efforts to strengthen cooperation in all areas of activities within the framework of BIMSTEC (Summit, 2008).

North East is a strategic point for India in building relations with Southeast and Far East Asian countries. India, realizing the imperative, launched 'Look East Policy' in 1991 to develop northeast in a different sphere. Similarly, the formation of BIMSTEC as a means of collective cooperation between the sub-regions countries is directly or indirectly to strengthen the socio-economic condition of the northeast. Northeast, soon after, has improved the economic lives and quickly expanded trade and commerce links with the bordering countries. The outcome of this progress is achieved through border trade with Myanmar and Bangladesh. This development would advance if the road and rail links, which are being constructed in the region, are completed as it would create wider areas of socio-economic exchange with the Southeast Asian countries. At the same time, India is rigorously venturing into new areas to uplift northeast in diverse areas such as: tourism, aviation and multi – modal transport among others. Besides, dozens of infrastructure plans are being initiated among BIMSTEC countries that can relatively benefit northeast. The Tamanthi Hydro-Electric Power Project and Dawai Deep-Sea Port are few alternatives for northeast. At the same time, northeast can also better assess in many economic sectors when BIMSTEC FTA is materialized (Suraj Singh, 2008).

Northeast's connection with mainland India has been 'expensive' and 'regressive'. The immediate result was due to rough connectivity within and the adoption of neglect theory by the Government of India. This policy severed the relations between the mainland India and northeast. On the other side, the region has long international borders with China, Nepal, Myanmar, Bhutan and Bangladesh of about 4500 kilometers. These countries expanded their markets after globalization near the borders, which gives easier and more accessibility in terms of trade and commerce. At the same time, the goods and services came at cheaper rates and their marketing takes place on the choice of northeast people as compared to Indian production. As a result, the northeast is shifting its integration to the yellow countries and slowly destroys the basic links with India (Sachdeva, 2005).

Nayar (1995) explains that northeast stands at the crossroads of history as similar to the northwest of India. However, unlike the Northwest where immigrants intermixed with the local populations and got assimilated, immigrating population in northeast confined to its natural boundaries. Conversely, northeast encompasses a diversity of ethnic groups with over 200 ethnic groups following different cultures

and religions. A search for single identity or a holistic approach is fallacious as there are fundamental differences in the region. On the contrary, Nayar highlights that failure to recognize the peculiar historical, social and cultural factors of northeast which have impinged in the minds of people about the movements. The other factor is also due to geopolitical environment of the northeast.

Northeast, perhaps, in a new Asia would not be possible without the fundamental change in the Indian political model. The Indian centralized democracy needs to turn into a more federal form of democracy as the former model is a source of huge contention among the northeast people. The future of northeast, without a doubt, lies in political integration with India and economic integration with the neighboring countries. This is unquestionably the direction which northeast is looking to as a new way of development. In the past, the policies undertaken by the successive governments have been found to have practically failed to fulfill the aspirations of northeast people. The cultural, political, security and developmental paradigm does not solve the problems of northeast but creates more problems than it actually solves. The Government of India, of which, must pursue northeast in a similar model sanctioned for Nepal as it worked successfully (Ramesh, 2005).

Literally, northeast has been neglected for many years by the Government of India in developmental sphere and among several projects enunciated, few has been converted into action as compared to other regions. But, the Government of India has gradually proposed programme to bring forward the region closer to the mainstream in every field, particularly in development. In the recent past, northeast is relatively progressing out of Look East Policy and BIMSTEC initiatives. The region has, therefore, comparatively slowed down the secessionist movements with the progress of political integration to India and economic integration to Southeast Asian countries. Yet, the border trades, tourism, highway connection with Southeast Asian countries and rail link, besides other infrastructure within, is a landmark of progressive development in northeast (Das, 2008).

OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

1. To explore the relationship between India and Myanmar by retracing the historical linkages;
2. To assess the continuity and change in Indo-Myanmar relations in the post independence era;
3. To assess the significance of BIMSTEC in the Indo-Myanmar relations.
4. To analyze the socio-economic impact of BIMSTEC and Indo-Myanmar relationship on development of Northeast India.
5. To examine the extent to which the Northeast region of India can benefit from the initiatives of the Indo-Myanmar relations.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the different phases that describe the Indo-Myanmar relations in the post-independence era?
2. What are the measures taken by India to strengthen its relations with Myanmar?
3. What is the significance of BIMSTEC in the Indo-Myanmar relations?
4. What is the socio-economic impact that the BIMSTEC and Indo-Myanmar relation would have on the Northeast region of India?
5. To what extent can the Northeast region of India benefit through the initiatives of Indo-Myanmar relations?

SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The proposed research tries to unravel the Indo-Myanmar relations by tracing the historical linkage between the two countries. It also aims in assessing the change and continuity in the relations between India and Myanmar in post independence era. In the past six decades, there occurred drastic changes in policy-making and visible empirical exertion in Indo-Myanmar relations. Some of the changes were diplomatic and others encompass geo-strategic national interest. But, the propose research focuses only on the dynamics of Indo-Myanmar relations and its implication on the socio-economic development of northeast in the post-independence era.

Further, the proposed research finds the importance of BIMSTEC as a sub-regional framework having legitimate and effective response to develop trade

relations among countries, particularly between India and Myanmar. However, the implementation of BIMSTEC initiatives is not as easy. Therefore, the scope includes effort to trace the significance of BIMSTEC in building stronger connectivity between India and Myanmar and how this would have an impact on the Northeast region of India. Lastly, this proposed research also intends to highlight the border trade between India and Myanmar which pushes the two countries into realistic relations out of isolationism especially through the role played by BIMSTEC.

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The propose research, as can be ascertained from the objectives, is primarily analytical in nature. As such in the effort to present a value-free analysis it would try to describe the nature of the relationship between that of India and Myanmar through close observation of available data. In this direction, it would focus on collecting data from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources, according to the University of Victoria's Library, are diaries, letters, speeches, records of government and intergovernmental organisations, hand-written manuscripts, dissertations, archival materials, verbatim documents, microfiches, oral histories and other unpublished papers etc. Correspondingly, the secondary data, according to Concordia University's Library, are books, journals, monographs, newspapers, biographies, textbooks, encyclopaedias, reports and other published materials etc. In this research, the study would in first place assess the available secondary data to draw the relations of India and Myanmar as it is difficult to undergo fieldwork on either side due to free transport and communication restriction. The researcher, however, would put an effort to also examine and critically assess the primary data. Meanwhile, the present research is intended to follow qualitative research method as it allows fine distinction of the relationship of two or more countries. This method also facilitates in-depth and open-ended investigation into observed phenomena, often allowing the researcher a great deal of flexibility. At the same time, the qualitative method also helps the researcher to expand understanding of a range of group members' behaviour or relations. It is, in this context, gives an ideal choice for elucidating the steps of processes that have not been well understood and for creating clear description of Indo-Myanmar relations. In order to come up with an ethical conclusion as per the norms of social sciences research, the method that would be followed further also includes first hand observation for example, by visiting the border area to have personal observation. To

collect the first-hand information, interview with government officials, experts of the subject will be used on representational basis. Therefore, the research would scientifically follow its process by following methods as mentioned, to assess the continuity and change in Indo-Myanmar relations in post-independence era, and implication of BIMSTEC and Indo-Myanmar relations for development of the northeast. Besides, internet and electronic data will also be used whenever the need arises along with assessing the verbatim documents and unpublished works.

TENTATIVE CHAPTERIZATION:

The chapters are tentatively divided into seven chapters. They are:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory chapter would highlight the historical relations of India and Myanmar until independence of both countries in 1947 and 1948 respectively. At the same time, the geographical importance of Northeast toward building good relations of India and Myanmar would be critically analysed.

Chapter 2: Indo-Myanmar Relations: From 1947 to 1962

The chapter two would focus on the Indo-Myanmar relations in the early post-independence period up to 1962. It would focus to areas where India and Myanmar initiated to strengthen the relations both bilaterally and multilaterally. Nonetheless, the chapter would also emphasize the northeast position in the early post-independence era of India and Myanmar.

Chapter 3: Indo-Myanmar Relations: From 1962 to 1992

The chapter three is focused on the Indo-Myanmar relations after the military coup d'état in Myanmar. In this chapter, details of how far the relations of India and Myanmar relations went ghastly vis-a-vis measure initiated to bring back normalcy of relations would explicitly examine. Consequently, the condition of northeast during this phase would also be highlighted in brief.

Chapter 4: Indo-Myanmar Relations: From 1993 to 2013

This chapter would highlight the re-strengthening of Indo-Myanmar relations. In India's foreign policy paradigm, this phase is another landmark due to dramatic

shift of India's position on foreign policy and this shift is apparently seen in India's relations with Myanmar. Thus the chapter would explicitly highlights the areas where India and Myanmar have recommitted as well as taking initiatives to uphold the relations. Nonetheless the northeast in the changing Indo-Myanmar relations be also explicitly examined.

Chapter 5: Roles of BIMSTEC in Indo-Myanmar Relations

This chapter is to highlights how the sub-regional organisation BIMSTEC plays in strengthening the Indo-Myanmar relations. It would also try to unearth the areas that BIMSTEC tries to bring the two countries together under one umbrella and renew the past relations that have share historical values. Within a few years, BIMSTEC became a very promising body, particularly for India and Myanmar and the areas that significantly impact both the countries would be unearth. Meanwhile, the implication of BIMSTEC for the northeast, particularly on the socio-economic spectrum is undoubtedly one area this chapter would critically look into details.

Chapter 6: Implication of Indo-Myanmar Relations for the Northeast

This chapter is to critically examine on the overall implication of Indo-Myanmar relations on the India's northeast. This chapter also emphasize on areas which Indo-Myanmar relations' brought changes and how those changes benefit if not detriment the northeast. To understand the gross impact of the Indo-Myanmar relations on the northeast, the political and economic condition of the past would be briefly retrospect in order to unearth the factual impact on the northeast.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The chapter seventh or 'Conclusion' is a summarization of the whole thesis and explicit rationalization of the research findings.

FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

The finding of this research is explicitly illustrated below in a chapter wise, but before dwelling into details it is profound to describe few significant points that this research work, after rigorous studies, probe and co-relate the objectives and research questions mentioned in the synopsis. It is also profoundly unearth that since the inception of relations between the two countries until today, there is undoubtedly a change and continuity. India and Myanmar have come across a time-tested relationship and ideally recognize that India and Myanmar cannot live without a cordial relationship due to various reasons. The two countries, in aftermath of the cold war, have diversified the structure of relationship in order to constantly maintain cordial tie vis-à-vis strengthening cooperation in diplomatic, military, social and economic sphere. The leaders of both sides have initiated an expansion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, and this is resulted in the shape of BIMSTEC to cite among others. The BIMSTEC, as a new sub-regional cooperation, have plays a very significant roles not only in strengthening the tie of India and Myanmar but gave a platform to deal 'common problem' together. The northeast India, being situated in a very important strategic location' draws much benefit from the relationship specifically after the rapprochement between India and Myanmar. The northeast, which has long been accused of alienation, have become integrated politically with the mainland India and socio-economically to the Southeast Asian countries, particularly and directly with the Myanmar with whom it had geographical proximity. The benefit for now may be far below the expectation of the region, but the development and progress would begin to flow in as a strong foundation has been set by the Government of India. The researcher would also state that the hypothesis mentioned in the synopsis and the present finding probe to co-relate in most of the cases. In other words, there is no conjecture or differences with the research hypothesis. This thesis is organized into seven chapters including the introductory and conclusion one. Now, a brief highlight of the thesis is given below in chapterization:

In the **introductory** or the first chapter, it is established that Indo-Myanmar relations are not new but have a long historical one that inherit through share ties over civilizations. Although there are phases of animosity occasionally the two countries endured and overcame those shortcomings and build a very strong and unique

relation. This relation is a time-tested one for both sides and an extraordinary trend of history that people is treasured with much laughter. The intercourse of relation began as early as the reign of Asoka the Great, when he sends two of his Buddhist monks to Myanmar. At the inception, the relations between the two countries were solely on evangelization of Buddhism across the Southeast Asian, but it began to slowly intensify in diverse areas – political, economic, social and cultural relations. Nonetheless the language also deeply brought closer affinity between the two neighbours. The most glorious Pagan dynasty of Myanmar, it is said, was partly due to the influence of Indian civilization. When one looks the historical relationship of India and Myanmar through a prism of realism, it is rather unimaginable to observe the persistent relationship of the two civilizations for such an elongated period, this could normally happened only when the two are wedded as an extended family of Indian sub-continent or either side are relatively devoted on peaceful co-existence. Looking at this paradox, one can presumably consider that both the cases may be true because India and Myanmar endure respect on the principle of equal sovereignty and fostering peaceful co-existence. The relations of India and Myanmar, in accordance with the history, took place through two routes – the maritime and the continental route. The continental route has again two main points to entered Myanmar - one passes through the India's Northeast frontier via Pangsau Pass and connect the Upper Burma (Myanmar), and other is said to have passed across the present Bangladesh and entered into the Rakhine state of Myanmar. Undoubtedly, the Northeast India, since then, represents a geophysical and strategic importance in the India-Myanmar relations. However, it is surprisingly unearth that India and Myanmar sparsely used due to densely forested area with danger to lives from wild animals, deadly diseases, mountainous and big rivers etc. The northeast is geographically a borderland of the two civilizations, after crossing the Ganges Plains and prior to the entry of Upper Burma, mosaic of ethnic groups with Tibeto-Burman origin, partially intertwined with the Aryan race, are richly flourishing unknown to others. For example, the Ahom, Kachari, Tripuri and Meetei kingdoms along with numerous ethnic groups which practically had a system of village autonomy existed as old as 5th Century. Historians have considered that the Northeast was a confluence of both Indian and Burmese and remained a buffer zone. This region is totally protected by its geophysical nature viz. the Brahmaputra River from Indian side, Irrawaddy River from Myanmar side and the great Himalayas in its north and in the south by the Bay of Bengal. Thus there was

hardly an attempt of invasion from either side except on occasional attempt by the Burmese king to the Ahoms and Manipuri kingdom. This geographical antiquity of the region was broke down only by the British imperial force in the 19th century and brought under the British India Empire. On other hand, the Indian and Myanmarese civilizations, in the ancient time, build relations widely through the maritime route because it was easier and safer despite long distance. The trade and commerce of India was widely carried forward by the South Indian kingdoms in the lower Burma. During the British colonial ruled, India and Myanmar were integrated into the administration of British India – the citizenry of either side however shows no symbol of animosity to each other. Instead the nationalist leaders have cooperated with each other in their struggle for self-determination. Mahatma Gandhi's found to be greatly influencing the Myanmarese cross-section of professions. Accounting all these facts, India and Myanmar has built the reputation that has a legacy in its own form.

The second chapter is entitled as '**Indo-Myanmar Relations: From 1947 to 1962**'. In this chapter, the relationship of India and Myanmar is deeply examined and it is found that India and Myanmar had a very cordial relations in reminiscent to the relationship during the colonial ruled. Soon India and Myanmar attained independence in mid-1947 and early 1948 respectively, both adopted a parliamentary democratic system and strive toward same path of non-violence. The then Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru and his counterpart U Nu share a personal relationship and this has resulted in resolving many obstacles which might have marred the development of cordial relations between India and Myanmar. For example, the issues like boundary demarcation, immigration, citizenship, property of Indian capitalist (businessman) in Myanmar, questions of war damages and money transfers, and debt settlement under the separation agreement of 1937, and the like would have really marred the two relations but the leaders of two side wisely exploited a ways and resolve without any hurdles. The Myanmarese Prime Minister U Nu and his Indian counterpart Nehru contributed more than others to bring about an intimate relationship between India and Myanmar. On the diplomatic and political level, the Myanmarese government maintained intimate and informal relations with the Indian government. The Myanmar government has occasionally sought advice of the Indian government and asked for arms and ammunition vis-à-vis financial support during the early phase of independence when Myanmar was reeling against the

separatist and communist groups which were threatening the unity and integrity, India was graciously extended its support, at her capacity, on every count to resolve the problems of a friendly neighbour. Besides, the help and support of India to the Myanmar government the two countries were also signed a Treaty of Friendship in 1953. Remarkably India and Myanmar closely work together toward promoting world peace and security. The two countries shared the same voice in the United Nations and denounced the preponderance of power by the two power bloc – the western bloc led by the United States of America and the eastern bloc led by the erstwhile Soviet Union. In order to stay aside from the bloc games, India and Myanmar collectively campaigned to the newly independent states not to participate in it and initiated to form a ‘third party’ called the Non-Alignment Movement with an objective to remain neutral from warring groups. Both pursued a policy of socialism at home and non-alignment abroad. The common perception and policies of Myanmar and India in world affairs like the Colombo Powers’ Conference and Afro-Asian gatherings, contributed to the growth of India-Myanmar friendship. India and Myanmar believed that peaceful co-existence is the most ardent need toward maintaining a close tie between the two even in the course of future journey. The first decade of post-independence was rather a very mutual relationship between the two and had great value. Many people of Myanmar, prior to the 1962 Chinese invasion, believed that India would pose a counter-balance of great Chinese design in Myanmar. In truer sense, India and Myanmar were motivated by a strong desire to foster close links among the countries of Asia, and being a great advocator of Asian solidarity the two countries felt the need of Asians coming together for achieving their ends and hence they actively cooperated with each other. In their avowed desire to foster a peaceful conditions to prevail in the South and Southeast Asia, Myanmar and India pursued a form of regional integration. Such a promising development was the formation of the Colombo Power Groups in 1954 consisting of Myanmar, India, Ceylon, Indonesia and Pakistan which led to the formation of Asian solidarity, Bandung Conference in 1955 marked a high tide. This chapter clearly demonstrates that until 1962 the India-Myanmar relations has the continuity of pre-independence friendly relations and it was endured with great enthusiasm among all sections of society from either side.

The third chapter is entitled as the ‘**Indo-Myanmar Relations: From 1962 to 1992**’. In this phase the relationship between the two countries was not a cordial

one due to various reasons. India and Myanmar, as stated in the previous chapter, are great advocator of democracy, positive neutrality, and upholders of non-violence, but in a nightmare Myanmar discarded those principles with the military coup d'état under the General Ne Win in 1962 and led to the formation of totalitarianism. India deeply hurt with this transition in Myanmar because it loses a trusted and friendly neighbour, which shares the joy and sadness of each other for centuries. Thus the Government of India severely criticized the military junta for taking-over the popular will in Myanmar. To pacify the broken sentiment of India, General Ne Win clarified position of the coup with an illustration that growing internal crisis in Myanmar, particularly in spheres of political, economic and religious was made a last option for the military forces to uphold the unity and integrity of Myanmar. But India was reluctant to buy that argument and asked the military junta to conduct a general election at the earliest and handover the power to the people. The military junta perceived otherwise and took India's appealed as a dictate with intention to interfere in the internal affairs of Myanmar, and began to distance from the cooperation with India. The military junta formed a Revolutionary Council (RC) as a governing body to look after the affairs of the state under the set up of one party called BSPP (Burma Socialist Program Party). Under the RC administration the citizenry of Myanmar faced tremendous hardship across all the sections because the reforms introduced under the regime people directly get affected due to strict imposition of rules. The nationalization of private properties led to severe price rise and economic breakdown. Thus the students along with groups of public began to demonstrate protest against the military regime. The activists who had jointly participated in the protest to restoring democracy were mercilessly slain and injured hundreds. India immediately came in forefront and helped those demonstrators – injured were hospitalize in the Indian embassy in Yangon and those who seek refuge were shifted to the northeast. Besides that India also launched series of campaign against the arrogance of military junta and mobilized the international community support to impose economic sanction. The international community swiftly order the sanctioned, the military junta felt disserted and order alone 'isolation'. During the time the only country that stood with the Myanmar was China, thus military regime began to lean for its military, infrastructure development and economies on the Chinese in totality. On other hand, the nationalization of private property and banks was directly affected the Indian Diaspora. Besides affecting on the lives of Indian diaspora under this nationalization,

the Myanmar under the influence of military junta hounded the Indian diaspora. In this repressive act, thousands of India loses their lives. The Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi as part of reproach the relations has initiated the process of dialogue with Ne Win, but the negotiations efforts were failed. The military junta to weakened India's strength supported vis-à-vis sheltered Northeast India's insurgency groups. In counter against this India too reacted and supported the Myanmar insurgent groups that were a coalition of various ethnic groups and democracy supporters that has its based in Rakhine state. India's intervention, overtly and covertly, was behind the pro-democracy demonstration. In New Delhi the pro-democracy was also granted permission to broadcast anti-military junta through All India Radio. In 1987 another and more stronger demonstration took place across Myanmar demanding to conduct multiparty election and returned the parliamentary democracy, General Ne Win resigned as thousands were killed in the protest. The successor of Ne Win and Chairman of BSPP Senior General Saw Maung again escalate a new coup d'état Myanmar for the second time in 1988, and this further led to another economic sanctioned. India-Myanmar relations reached the lowest point during this time and openly protested the military regime, but by late 1989 the India's position, under the then Prime Ministership of Rajiv Gandhi, became softened but his untimely dead could not brought mutual trust between India and Myanmar. It was only during the then Prime Minister of India Narasimha Rao, India-Myanmar had a u-turn cooperation and began to start renew relations between the two nations. India's negotiation with the military regime of Myanmar is seen as factor cause by India's new foreign policy. This chapter highlights the change and continuity of India diplomatic policy in dealing with Myanmar during the military regime. In short, the findings come across a conjecture of India's foreign policy but it is, in general, probe that India position toward Myanmar is a time-tested one and measures taken by the succeeding Governments of India was to suit or rather an unfettered one.

The fourth chapter is titled as '**Indo-Myanmar Relations: From 1993 to 2013**'. In this chapter, the main focus is to what extent does the relations of Indo-Myanmar especially on socio-economic field is moving forward after the rapprochement. It is interestingly found that both the countries are back to a mutual cooperation that had abruptly ended since the military takeover in 1962. To energies and strengthening the relations both are now mutually enduring an effort on bilateral

and multilateral cooperation to fulfill their multi-pronged and multi-faceted goal. Firstly, the bilateral relations is re-energise and moved forward a new step in order to strengthen diplomatic and economic ties between the two countries and henceforth signed numbers of agreements on economic, security and energy – the details illustration on specific area is given in the chapters. In order to bear a fruitful result, the leaders of two countries also agreed to have regular meetings and conduct issue based discussion. Priority toward opening border trade was also discussed and agreed to set up Border Trade Centers (BTC) with an objective to score not merely economic benefits but to bring social integration. The BTCs of Moreh in Manipur and Champhai in Mizoram is the outcome of this mutual agreement. India's feels that opening this opportunity through the northeast would do away the psychological effect of the northeast people who feels that the region has been cornered into isolation as well as stabilize mutual relationship with Myanmar. India's relation, beginning from 1993 to 2013, was aiming to bear successful cooperation with Myanmar because it experienced tremendous security and developmental issues in the Northeast since the past five decades. In accordance with a structure objective, initiatives of development projects began particularly in the Northeast region. The relation of India and Myanmar during this phase is unique in its nature because both the side is ardently required to have mutual ties due to many factors. The Government of India needs to have good ties with Myanmar because without Myanmar the Indian initiative toward linking with Southeast Asia is far from possible. Similarly the Myanmarese government needs good relations with India because the Chinese influence in its internal affairs has rather becoming more ridden. Indian policy-makers realize that to have mutual cooperation with Myanmar is the best option due to its geographical proximity. Thus, India and Myanmar began to comeback into mutual relation and began to strengthen their socio-economic cooperation vis-a-vis deals 'common problems' as a common future lies on how well both sides reciprocate each other. In context of multilateral cooperation, India and Myanmar are members of Ganga Mekong Cooperation and BIMSTEC, the imperative of this regional cooperation is that through this platform India and Myanmar can initiate their core issue which finds difficult to resolve through bilateral talks. Other than the socio-economic cooperation, India's relation with Myanmar during this period is also seen as a way to counter-balance the influence of Chinese within Myanmar, which is a buffer state of India and Myanmar, and encirclement of China over India. In the past

three decades, India had totally neglected Myanmar and this had created Myanmar a 'pearl' in the Chinese 'String of Pearl Strategy', which is a direct threat to India's sovereignty. As a result India undertook utmost importance with Myanmar and cordial relations with military regime is manifested. Meanwhile, India's consumption of energy is a huge imbalance and widely sought to secure India's needs from the Middle East. But the Middle East has become very fragile in context of price stability, security and distance, Myanmar which produces a huge amount of energy can be an Indian alternative market to buy it. In many areas there is large improvement of ties and this would, predictably, continue to improve in the near future. The present ties of India and Myanmar have benefited for both sides – the detail of areas that has taken dramatic lift through this cooperation is in detail highlighted in the chapter.

The fifth chapter is titled as '**Roles of BIMSTEC in Indo-Myanmar Relations**', it focuses on different aspects that contribute to the development of Indo-Myanmar relations. In the beginning of the chapter, it explains the formation and development of BIMSTEC as a sub-regional organization, and subsequently analyzes how BIMSTEC poses as a bridge to the integration of South and Southeast Asia, followed by the reasons for an entry of India and Myanmar into the BIMSTEC. Thereafter the focus is concentrated on how the BIMSTEC plays its role in strengthening the India-Myanmar relations. It is followed by an extensive explanation on the outcome of BIMSTEC in the India-Myanmar relations with a subsequent observation on the implication of BIMSTEC in India's northeast. Surprisingly it is found out that the BIMSTEC gives merely not a platform for India and Myanmar to renew their relations but plays as a medium to an integrated partnership in the 21st century. Though the BIMSTEC, until now, does not completely attempt to fulfil the aims of both countries, it has laid a very strong foundation where the two countries can nurture and reap the fruits in the future. With the implication of BIMSTEC, Indo-Myanmar ties have reached a high level of trust. Some areas so far BIMSTEC practically initiated and benefiting are social integration, infrastructure development, growth of tourism, institutions of education and skill development, control of drug and small arms trade, minimizing the threat of insurgencies, road, rail and air links, opening of border trade, Kaladan Multi-Modal project, Hydel-power projects, establishing public and private entrepreneurship and investments among others. The Northeast India is directly benefitted from these above areas because all the initiatives

of developments are particularly falls in it. Eventually India also framed numerous projects, under the aegis of BIMSTEC, to enhance socio-economic development in different parts of Northeast, and one major initiative undertaken was to establish appropriate mechanism for implementation of infrastructure and capital investment. In the past six decades, the Northeast has been popularly known for development deficit and imbalances on all economic fronts. Knowing this fact the Government of India and BIMSTEC have sanctioned big economic packages for quick infrastructural development, the people also reciprocated well to the initiative, and hence the region is observed better transport and communication, capital investment, technology, tourism and most vital of all was surrendering of insurgencies. Other areas that the Northeast exponentially increased its development through the aegis of BIMSTEC are cultural exchange, student exchange programme, international trade expo, free movement of indigenous community on either side of international border, buying of rice, permission of selling agricultural products etc. This is how the northeast earned self development due to its geophysical importance. In short the BIMSTEC have change India-Myanmar, particularly the northeast India from a pariah state to an integrated and strong partnership. Besides the progress taking place within, the two countries also protected from external threat. In other words, the aggressive Chinese initiative of road and maritime silk route is unprecedentedly controlled with this renew relationship.

The chapter sixth is entitled as **‘Implication of Indo-Myanmar Relations for the Northeast’**. This chapter explains the extent of how northeast is benefitted out of the Indo-Myanmar relations. Definitely the northeast, in comparison of the past, has much improves its economy due to large investment and better transportation linking with mainland India vis-à-vis to the Southeast Asian country notably through Myanmar which is directly connected with the northeast India. The northeast also observes dramatic change on the mindset of the central government that began to give certain space for the growth of tourism. No doubt the growth in recent times may be below the expectation of the common people but it is also pretty clear that growth is not a one night activities – to have progressive change in the region, the foundation must be strong and this foundation is already made by the Government of India. The integration of Northeast political with mainland India and socio-economically with the Southeast Asia, particularly with Myanmar is a biggest initiative set for the

northeast over-looking the security paradigm and the region should endure it blithely. In the last one decade, the northeast is not linking alone with Myanmar but with almost all the bordering countries for multifarious purpose. Prioritizing the Northeast is now one of the main agenda of the Government of India and in some case like border trade, transport and communication there has already bearing the fruits. In order to invite the foreign tourist, the Government of India has recently leveraged its laws and tourism has begun to flocking across the northeast. The tourist circuit is expanded from the previous decade. For instance the trade exchange should be order to come forward not at the behest of exploitation from the lowest. Lastly but not the least, the significant of all through the India-Myanmar relations is granting free passage to the indigenous people of approximate 14 km to cross either side of the borderland and share any forms of socio-economic development. In general the Northeast is entering a new journey that has bright and elegant future.

The chapter seventh or '**Conclusion**' of the thesis is a summarization of the whole thesis and explicit rationalization of the findings. As briefly stated in the opening remarks, the Indo-Myanmar relations have taken a new tone and these moves have created opportunity where both the countries would benefit not only of short-term but a long-term impact. The regional organization like BIMSTEC substantiate in making a fascinating relations of the two countries. Northeast India is also now harnessing the fruits of the BIMSTEC and Indo-Myanmar relations. The region would continue to bear more benefits, in days ahead, when all the initiatives that are undergoing presently is completed. India-Myanmar is not going to die down soon due to various reasons and if the relations continue in the same pace, the northeast would certainly turn a prosperous region from a long isolated landlocked.

FEW POINTERS OF THE RESEARCH FINDING

India and Myanmar, during the seven decades of independence, have encountered change and continuity in its relations, and this has made a mixture of experience in the intercourse of two countries. Some of the findings from the relationships, more vividly in aftermath of the independence are:

1. India and Myanmar has expanded its relations from the trade to security cooperation. This is a result of growing unimagined threats to the status quo of their sovereignty. It is well known that 21st century security concern are deep-

rooted and no longer come from the one state to other but the forms of threats become unpredictable and uncertain thus needs strong cooperation among the states. Hence, the leaders of India and Myanmar realizing that circumstance evolve to extend support each other in security concern.

2. India and Myanmar also began to rebuild its connectivity through construction of road, rail, sea and air connectivity. In the colonial period, there was continental linkage between the two via the Silk Road and sea route but it was defunct after the independence, and that weakened the frequency of people-to-people contact. Lately, India and Myanmar realizes the importance of cooperative competition in trade and commerce, and a necessity of good transport and communication system to facilitate it thus initiatives for better connectivity is set off between the countries through both bilateral and multilateral cooperation. For instance, the trilateral road links between Thailand-Myanmar-India, construction of deep sea port, flight connectivity are few of the noted evident how India and Myanmar is engaging in enhancing better connectivity.
3. The Indo-Myanmar bilateral economic growth is also increased unprecedentedly over the years, and it is the result of opening border trade centers. Since 1994 until date it has opened up six BTC at the frontier. Though it is argue that most BTC are yet to properly functionalize as expected, it has already started exchanging on limited goods and expected further to expand through cooperative engagement.
4. Infrastructure development in the northeast is increased in recent years and many other initiatives are also progressing at a great pace. The construction of transnational rail, road links but port has a potential to harness not only economic but as well to social interaction of either side. For instance, the Kaladan Multi-Modal Project would allow the people of the two countries to easy access with other part of the world because it has shortened the distance, which has been a hurdle for the two nations.
5. There is growing cultural exchange and people-to-people contact in recent years.
6. The increased in cooperation and engagement can lend a hand to deals each other problem and this act can be seen in 2008 when Myanmar faced natural disaster from cyclone Nargis, causing heavy damage in the densely populated,

rice-farming delta of the Irrawaddy Division. There were reports that more than 200,000 people were dead or missing, in the worst recorded natural disaster in Myanmar's history. In the immediate days following the disaster, the military regime complicated recovery efforts by delaying the entry of planes delivering medicine, food, and other supplies. A US naval task force carrying much-needed relief supplies, helicopters and other vehicles as well as manpower was denied permission, based on fears that it could be a prelude to a military invasion. But the Government of India stood as a big brother in tackling the disaster menace by rushing needed relief and medical supplies to the affected areas, using two naval ships from Port Blair. This symbolize the growing of cordial relations.

7. High-level military-to-military contacts began in 2000. In January, Indian Army Chief General Ved Prakash Malik paid a two-day visit to Myanmar. This was followed by the reciprocal visit by his Myanmar counterpart, General Maung Aye, to the northeast Indian city of Shillong. In the aftermath of these meetings, India began to provide non-lethal military support to Myanmar troops along the border. Most of the Myanmar troops' uniforms and other combat gear originated from India, as were the leased helicopters Myanmar needed to counter the ethnic insurgents operating from sanctuaries along the border. Since then, there has been a steady flow of high level visits from both sides. The junta chief General Than Shwe, visited India in 2004, followed in December 2006 by the third-highest ranking officer in Myanmar's military hierarchy, General Thura Shwe Mann. The latter toured the National Defense Academy in Khadakvasla and the Tata Motors plant in Pune, which manufactures vehicles for India's military. The reciprocity to that has seen many Indian leaders paid visit to Myanmar. In this manner, Indo-Myanmar military understanding and relations has also increased over the years.
8. India has also gearing up its maritime security in the post cold war. It is predominantly to safeguard the security that was mostly exercise free flow of navigation by others during the war period and it has cause a huge insecurity to the nation. Thus the Indian Navy wielding up the maritime zone from others. Previously the Indian Ocean was not merely used by other state actors but widely prevalence of non-state actors such as smugglers of drugs and small arms traders, piracy and underworld groups. India slowly but steadily

reformed its policy on protecting and promoting the maritime zone in the post cold war, there are many reasons for this culmination. The utmost reason for this reform is to re-strategize India's Navy strength and become prowess in the region. Other factor which led to this paradigm shift is arisen needs of India's navy to have better collaboration with the Southeast Asian to counter-balance the military preponderance of China. In this mission, Myanmar extended enormous cooperation with India.

9. BIMSTEC plays a significant role to uplift the Indo-Myanmar relations to a greater height. It acted as a medium to strengthen socio-economic cooperation between India and Myanmar. Above that, it also plays a role to fulfilling the national and common interest of India and Myanmar.
10. The Indo-Myanmar relations have reached a new height through the bilateral and multilateral engagement in recent past. Although at the beginning, the rapprochement was at the governmental level but it is expanded to socio-economic and people-to-people level. To realize it, the New Delhi and Naypyidaw relaxed the hurdle norms and policies.
11. Northeast India, which was largely considered as landlocked, insurgent prone and hurdle of cordial Indo-Myanmar interaction through continental route has been on path of transforming to an integrated corridor. This conversion set a ray of hope by both the countries because without the northeast the vision of India and Myanmar to reconstructing the past glory of sharing intrinsic values and culture is far from possible.
12. The New Delhi and Naypyidaw relax a policy to made easy access for the indigenous ethnic groups on each other side so that this people can exchange social and cultural interaction that has been constricted since 1960s.
13. The border trade also helps India and Myanmar to share each other scarcity goods items through the border trade. It is, in fact, an alternative to normal trade of India and Myanmar.
14. It also promotes pilgrimage tourism. The free border allows easier cultural exchange and people-to-people contact.

SOME SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. India and Myanmar has taken a measure on security concern, mostly the insurgency movement of the ethnic minorities in the borderland, but the

decision to wisely exploit it further needs more stringent action and this action could be possible only when India and Myanmar exert their sincere attempt to execute the issue. Under the bilateral and BIMSTEC cooperation, India and Myanmar are collectively engaging to find a model of action, however this line of action is most of the time overlapped by mistrust of the two countries. So it would be ideal if the mutual cooperation on security reach the level of bond which can anticipate the issue with sincerity.

2. Energy is another areas India and Myanmar agreed to exploit and harness for the benefit of the two countries. This issue is illustrated in the chapter four of the thesis that cooperation on the matter has undergone deep investment by India, but found out that at final stage India could not acquire the permission and that goes to the Chinese and other nations. One critical pointer was that of Chinese coming in the Bay of Bengal, which would resulted to security concern for India directly and to Myanmar indirectly because at times China preponderance of power on Myanmar would be difficult for India to immediately come and help due to presence of the Chinese in between the two. So it is wise to immediately take some precautionary steps not to experience any embarrassment in future.
3. Infrastructure development of the borderland on either side is required immediate attention. Until this is exploited with sincerity, India and Myanmar would likely to continue lagging on all round problems. There are high chances of domination by anti-national elements such as insurgency, smugglers and small arms and ammunition trade. This prevalence has potential of not only destruction of bilateral relations but it would destroy the integrity of the nations' status quo. Therefore, it is better to carry out developmental activities at greater pace to overcome those problems. For instance, the attacked of NSCN (K) and coalition forces against the Indian military in 2015 is because of this reason and it would likely occurred again in future if either side are not giving importance on the issue.
4. The BTC which has opened since 1994 continue to confine on limited products. It needs to relook and needs to expand the items of trade so that the frequency of products produce would generate and share scarcity of productions to each other. Normally, India's northeast is also an agriculture region but production produces were very limited and most of the food items

were brought from mainland India which incurred high price and unpredictable of transporting in require time due to the long distant. Instead the northeast is allowed to depend on Myanmar it would be very easy and cheaper too. So to fulfill the theme of integration of northeast with Southeast Asia has to imply from this matter.

5. BIMSTEC is one of the cooperations where India and Myanmar jointly exert upon to strengthen the bilateral relations through regional cooperation. Moreover, the objectives of BIMSTEC are also set on the issues members are striving hardly to overcome with it. Thus there is a pivotal role for the BIMSTEC to harness the priority areas so that it will strengthen the economy of both regional and individual member states. Once the BIMSTEC plays its role effectively then the reeling issues of India and Myanmar would be somehow resolve to certain level. Henceforth it is a necessary evil for BIMSTEC to accommodate the initiatives at the earliest.
6. FTA is another area where India and Myanmar are facing upon for many years now. It is better the BIMSTEC enunciate and strictly followed FTA principle so that trade between member countries could be carried forward any hurdles.
7. India's northeast have somehow encountered infrastructural improvement such as transport and communication, capital investment, healthcare, tourism after the BIMSTEC emerge or in that sense Indo-Myanmar recovered in 1993, but it is still very marginal and it needs to focus more capital investment in the region. On other hand, there are impending or ongoing projects under the auspicious of BIMSTEC or bilateral agreement but the pace of working is snail slow. Unless there is sincere effort to effectively implement those initiatives, it may end without reaping the fruit in time. Therefore it requires a proper timeframe to completion of the projects once initiated.

Bibliography

Primary Sources [*]

Ahmed, Abu Nasar Sajed (2010), "Movement for democracy in Myanmar," *Assam Tribune*, Guwahati, 21 May 2010

Alamgir, Jalal (2008), "Myanmar Foreign Trade and Its Political Consequences," *Asian Survey*, XLVIII (6): 977-996.

Asher, Mukul G. (2007), "India's Rising Role in Asia," RIS Discussion Paper No. 121, New Delhi

*Asian Centre for Human Rights and Mizzima News (2006), "Defer President's Burma Visit," *Declaration of Seminar on India's Role for National Reconciliation in Burma/Myanmar*, on February 6-7.

Aung, Thin Thin and Soe Myint (2006), *India-Burma Relations*, Singapore: Royal Publication.

Aye, Kyaw (2003), "Energy Cooperation among the BIMSTEC Countries," *BIIS Journal*, 24 (4): 453-482.

Bammi, Y. M. (2006), *India and Southeast Asia: The Security Cooperation*, New Delhi: Gyan Publication.

Banerjee, Dipankar (1996), "Myanmar and Indian Security Concerns," *Strategic Analysis*, XIX (5): 691-705.

Batra, Amita (2009), "India's Northeast and Southeast Asia: Strengthening an Integrated Economic Space, IPCS Issue Brief, No. 107, New Delhi.

Behuria, Ashok K. (ed.) (2008), *India and its Neighbours: Towards a New Partnership*, New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses.

Bhattacharya, Pinaki (2005), "Indian Foreign Policy: From Real Idealism to Idealist Realism," in a Year Book, *India and Neighbours*, Delhi: Contemporary News & Features.

Bhattacharya, Swapan K. (2009), "India's Engagement with the Regional Trading Arrangements: The Case of Japan-BIMSTEC Free Trade Arrangement (FTA)," *World Focus*, XXX(1): 17-22.

*BIMSTEC (2004), "BIMSTEC Summit Declaration," *World Focus*, 25 (9): 23-24.

----- *(2006), "The 2nd Inter-governmental Experts Group Meeting," Bangkok: Official website, accessed on 7 June 2010.

----- *(2006), "The 9th BIMSTEC Ministerial Meeting," New Delhi: Official website, accessed on 7 June 2010.

----- *(2008), "Second BIMSTEC Summit Declaration," New Delhi: Official website, accessed on 7 June 2010.

----- *(2008), "The 11th Anniversary of BIMSTEC on 6 June 2008," Bangkok: Official website, accessed on 7 June 2010.

Callahan, Mary P. (2002), "State Formation in the Shadow of Raj: Violence, welfare and Politics in Colonial Burma," *Southeast Asian Studies*, 39 (4): 513-536.

Chakraborti, Tridib (2008), "BIMSTEC: Origin, Growth and Progress," *World Focus*, XXIX (1): 5-14.

----- (2009), "India's Look East Policy: Time for Stock-Taking," *World Focus*, XXX (Nov.-Dec.): 461-469.

Chakraborty, Mohor (2008), "Bangladesh's Perception of BIMSTEC: An Analysis," *World Focus*, XXIX (1): 29-34.

Chowdhury, Anis and Iyanatul Islam (2007), *Handbook on the Northeast and Southeast Asian Economics*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Choudhury, Saswati (2006), "North-East India and the Look East Policy: A Contextual Analysis," *Dialogue*, 7 (3): 134-156.

Christopher, Michael (1997), "Reflections on a visit to Burma," *Asian Survey*, XXXVII (6): 540-549.

Clark, Allen L. (1999), "Myanmar's Present Development and Future Options," *Asian Survey*, XXXIX (5): 772-791.

Das, H. N. (2004), "India-China Trade through the Stilwell Road," *Dialogue*, 6 (1): 57-65.

Das, Samir Kumar (2008), "BIMSTEC or the Big Leap Forward for India's Northeast?," *World Focus*, XXIX (1): 16-21.

De, Prabir and Buddhadeb Ghosh (2003), "India in the BIMSTEC: Some Issues," *India Quarterly*, LIX (3&4): 1-29.

----- (2004), "Deepening Cooperation in the BIMSTEC: A Case for Transport Integration," *BIIS Journal*, 25 (2): 105-139.

Devare, Sudhir (2006), *India and Southeast Asia: Towards Security Convergence*, Singapore: ISEAS Publications.

Egreteau, Renaud (2003), *Wooing the Generals: India's New Burma Policy*, Delhi: Authorspress.

----- (2008), "India's Ambitions in Burma: More Frustration Than Success?," *Asian Survey*, XLVIII (6): 936-957.

Embuldeniya, Chandra (2010), "Regional Integration in South & South East Asia," lecture on 27th March 2010 at Hyatt Regency, Indian Chamber of Commerce: Kolkata.

Frost, Ellen L. (2009), "India's Role in East Asia: Lessons from Cultural and Historical Linkages," RIS Discussion Paper No. 147, New Delhi.

- Ghosh, Anjali (2005), "Myanmar: Realpolitik at Work," in a Year Book, *India and Neighbours*, Delhi: Contemporary News & Features.
- Ghoshal, Baladas (ed.) (1996), *India and Southeast Asia: Challenges and Opportunities*, Delhi: Konark Publishers.
- (2009), "India, Southeast Asia and the FTA: Strengthening Economic Integration," IPCS Issue Brief No. 114, New Delhi.
- Goswami, Namrata (2009), "Looking 'East' Through India's North East: Identifying Policy 'Challenges' and outlining the 'Responses,'" New Delhi: IDSA Occasional Paper No. 2 .
- Grare, Frederic and Amitabh Mattoo (2003), *Beyond the Rhetoric: The Economics of India's Look East Policy*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.
- Gupta, Arvind *et al.* (eds) (2005), *Important Documents on Security and Diplomacy*, New Delhi: Manas Publications.
- Haacke, Jurgen (2006), *Myanmar's Foreign Policy: Domestic Influences and International Implications*, London: Routledge.
- Haokip, Thonkhohal (2010), "India's Look East Prospects and Challenge for Northeast India," Lecture delivered on 27 March, 2010 at Northeast India Council of Social Science, Shillong.
- Hussian, Wasbir (2009), India's Northeast: The Super-Highway to Southeast Asia?, IPCS Issue Brief No. 104, New Delhi.
- James, Helen (2009), *Security and Sustainable Development in Myanmar*, Delhi: ABC Publishers.
- Jha, Pankaj Kumar (2003), "Reassessing India's Look East Policy," *World Focus*, 24(10-11-12): 15-19.
- Jockai (2005), "Toxic Shwe," *The Shwe Gas Bulletin*, 1 (2): 1-6.
- Johnson, Rob (2005), *A Region in Turmoil South Asian Conflicts since 1947*, London: Reaktion Books
- Johnstone, William C. (1963), *Burma's Foreign Policy*, Massachusetts: Cambridge.
- Karthykeyan, Deepa (2009), "Northeast India as a Gateway to South-east Asia," *Journal of International Studies and Analysis*, 3 (2): 1-16.
- Kaul, Man Mohini (2006), "Regional Groupings: An Overview of BIMSTEC and MGC," *South Asian Survey*, 13 (2): 313-322.
- Khan, Abdur Rob (2007), *Towards BIMSTEC-Japan Comprehensive Economic Cooperation: Bangladesh Perspective*, New Delhi: Bookwell.
- Khanna, Sushil (2005), "Economic Opportunities or Continuing Stagnation," *Seminar*, No. 550: 22-31

Khosla, I.P. (1998), "Myanmar: Cohesion and Liberalism," *Strategic Analysis*, XXI (11): 1639-1669.

Kolas, Ashild (2007), "Burma in the Balance: The Geopolitics of Gas," *Strategic Analysis*, 31 (4): 625-643.

Kondapalli, Srikanth (2009), "India's Northeast and Southeast Asia: Chinese Interests and Strategies," IPCS Issue Brief, No. 106, New Delhi.

Kularatne, M. A. R. (2004), "Cooperation in Fisheries among the BIMSTEC Countries," *BIIS Journal*, 25 (1): 38-59.

Kumar, Nagesh *et al.* (2006), *India – ASEAN Economic Relations: Meeting the Challenges of Globalization*, New Delhi: Bookwell.

Lacina, Bethany (2009), "The Problem of Political Stability in Northeast India," *Asian Survey*, 49 (6): 998-1020.

Lall, Marie (2006), "Indo-Myanmar Relations in the Era of Pipeline Diplomacy," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 28 (3): 424-446.

Lall, Marie (2008), "India-Myanmar Relations – Geopolitics and Energy in Light of the New Balance of Power in Asia," Singapore, ISAS Working Paper No. 29.

Lama, Mahendra P. (2003), "Technology Cooperation among the BIMSTEC Countries: Issues, Challenges and Opportunities," *BIIS Journal*, 24 (3): 295-324.

Maung, Mya (1997), "Burma's Economic performance Under Military Rule: An Assessment," *Asian Survey*, XXXVII (6): 503-524.

Min, Win (2008), "Looking Inside the Burmese Military," *Asian Survey*, XLVIII (6): 1018-1037.

Mohanty, S. K. and Sanjip Pohit (2007), "Welfare Gains from Regional Economics Integration in Asia: ASEAN + 3 or EAS," RIS Discussion Paper No. 126, New Delhi.

Mukherjee, Pranab (2007), "Speech on Look East Policy," Speech delivered on 16th June 2007 at Shillong: Council of Look East Policy.

----- (2007), "India's Foreign Policy Priorities," Speech delivered on 20th June 2007 at Singapore: Rajaratnam School of International Studies.

Murthy, Padmaja (2000), "BIMSTEC: Making Positive Moves," *Strategic Analysis*, XXIV (4): 833-836.

----- (2008), "BIMSTEC and SAARC: Understanding the Linkages," *World Focus*, XXIX (1): 35-40.

Naidu, G. V. C. (2004), "Wither the Look East Policy: India and Southeast Asia," *Strategic Analysis*, 28 (2): 331-346.

----- (2008), "BIMSTEC and its Geo-Strategic Importance," *World Focus*, XXIX (1): 3-4.

- Nayar, V. K. (1995), "India's North East – An Overview," *U. S. I. Journal*, CXXV (522): 438-451.
- Pal, Parthapratim and Mitali Dasgupta (2009), "The ASEAN- India Free Trade Agreement: An Assessment," *EPW*, XLIV (13): 11-15.
- Panda, Rajaram (2005), "New Orientation in India's Look East Foreign Policy," *World Focus*, 26 (6-7):8-13.
- Parderi, Manjeet S. (2004), "India's Look East Policy: Reaching Southeast Asia via Northeast India," *IDSS Commentaries* (60/2004), Singapore.
- Phukon, Girin (2009), "Tais of Northeast India and their Cultural Linkage with Southeast Asia," Lecture delivered on 4 August, 2009 at Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University, Thailand.
- Pupphavesa, Wisarn (ed.) (2008), *BIMSTEC-Japan Comprehensive Economic Cooperation: A Step in the Future*, New Delhi: Bookwell.
- Rahman, AKM Antiquir and Shamsur Rahman (2004), "Potentials of Trade Cooperation among the BIMSTEC Countries," *BHS Journal*, 25 (2): 140-158.
- Rajeswar (2000), "Courting the Burmese Junta," *Economic and Political Weekly*, XXXV (38): 3393-3401.
- Ramesh, Jairam (2005), "Northeast India in a New Asia," *Seminar*, No. 550: 17-21
- Rasor, Eugene L (1998), *The China-Burma-India Campaign: 1931-1945*, Westport; Greenwood.
- Sachdeva, Gulsan (2005), "Preparing the Northeastern Economy for the Future," *Eastern Quarterly*, 3 (III): 187-195.
- Sawhney, R. G. (1986), "Burma," in Bajpal, U. S. (ed.) of *India and its Neighbourhood*, New Delhi: Lancer International.
- Seekins, Donald M. (1997), "Burma-China Relations: Playing with Fire," *Asian Survey*, XXXVII (6): 525-539.
- Selth, Andrew (1996), "Burma's Military Expansion Program: Plans and Perception," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 26 (4): 466-481.
- Sharma, B. B (2006), Myanmar's Impact on NE Insurgency, *Hueiyen Lanpao*, dated 04-10-2006. Access on 29th May 2010.
- Singh, B. P. (1987), "North-east India: Demography, Culture and Identity Crisis," *Asian Studies*, 21 (2): 257-282
- Singh, Langpoklakpam Suraj (2008), "BIMSTEC Perspective in India-Myanmar Relations and Northeast India Factor," *World Focus*, XXIX (1): 22-28.
- Singh, Sinderpal (2009), *Silence is Golden': India's Current Position on Myanmar*, Singapore: ISAS Brief No. 124

Singh, Thingnam Kishan (ed.) (2008), *Look East Policy & India's North East: polemics and Perspectives*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

Singh, Swaran (1998), "Myanmar: The 'Strategic Hub' of the 21st Century Asia," *U.S.I. Journal*, CXXVIII (532): 244-258.

----- (2007), "Mekong-Ganga Cooperation Initiatives: Analysis and Assessment of India's Engagement with Greater Mekong Sub-region," Bangkok: IRASEC Occasional Paper No. 3.

Singh, Udai Bhanu (1996), "Prospects for Myanmar," *Strategic Analysis*, XIX (4): 685-688.

----- (2004), "Perspective on Myanmar-India Relations," *Dialogue*, 5 (3): 112-123.

----- (2006), "Challenges to Border Management in India-Myanmar Relations," *World Focus*, 27 (8): 30-36.

Singh, Uma Shankar (1979), *Burma and India (1948-1962)*, New Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co.

Singhal, D. P. (1981), *British Diplomacy and the Annexation of Upper Burma*, New Delhi: South Asian Publishers.

Sinha, Tuli (2009), "China-Myanmar Energy Engagements: Challenges and Opportunities for India," New Delhi; IPSC Issue Brief No. 134.

South, Ashley (2008), *Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict*, New York; Routledge.

Stobdan, P. (1993), China's Forays into Burma-Implication for India, *Strategic Analysis*, XVI (1): 21-37.

----- (2006), "Myanmar: What should India do?," *World Focus*, 27 (4): 14-15.

Subrahmanyam, K. (1986), "India and its Neighbours: A Conceptual Framework of Peaceful Co-existence," in Bajpal, U. S. (ed.) of *India and its Neighbourhood*, New Delhi: Lancer International.

Sundaraman, Shankari (2007), "India-ASEAN Relations: Search for opportunities in a shifting Regional Scenario," *World Focus*, XXVIII (11&12): 425-430.

Suryanarayan, V. (1999), "India's Look East Policy," *World Focus*, 20 (10-11-12): 55-57.

Taylor, Robert H. (1998), "Myanmar: Army Politics and the Prospects for Democratization," *Asian Affairs*, 85 (1): 3-12.

Than, Tin Maung Maung (2000), "Myanmar: The Dilemma of Stalled Reforms," Singapore: ISEAS Publisher.

Thawngmung, Ardeth Maung (2003), "Preconditions and Prospects for Democratic Transition in Burma/Myanmar," *Asian Survey*, XLIII (3): 443-460.

- Thein, Cho Cho (2008), "Regional Cooperation in Transport: Myanmar Perspective on BIMSTEC," Kolkata: CSIRD Discussion Paper No. 42.
- Thein, Myat and Myoe Myint (2008), "BIMSTEC-Japan Cooperation in Energy Sector: Myanmar Perspective," CSIRD Discussion Paper No. 39, Kolkata.
- Tucker, Shelby (2001), *Burma: The Curse of Independence*, Sterling; Pluto Press.
- Turnell, Sean (2008), "Burma's Insatiable State," *Asian Survey*, XLVIII (6): 958-976.
- Valencia, Mark J. (2000), "Regional Maritime Regime Building: Prospects in Northeast and Southeast Asia," *Ocean Development and International Law*, 31: 223-247
- Viswam, S. (1997), "India's Look East Policy," *World Focus*, 18 (6): 3-6.
- Wijayasiri, Janaka (2003), "Cooperation in Tourism among the BIMSTEC Countries: Prospects and Constraints," *BIIS Journal*, 24 (4): 483-510.
- Yhome, K. (2009), *India-Myanmar Relations (1998-2008): A Decade of Redefining Bilateral Ties*, New Delhi: Observer Research Foundation.
- Yong, Ong Keng (2005), *Advancing the ASEAN-India Partnership in the New Millennium*, RIS Discussion Paper No. 96, New Delhi