

Chapter-1

INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy is a complex and the dynamic political interaction that a state gets involved in pursuing relations with other states. Entities outside the horizon of its own jurisdiction. Development of *Nation-States* and increasing interactions among them has resulted in the formation of foreign policy in the modern times. The making of foreign policy is an essential exercise in the choice of ends and means on the part of a nation-state in an international setting.¹ First of all, it is necessary to formulate a broad end or goal, which will give a sense of purpose and direction to foreign policy. Foreign policy should be formulated based on a clearly defined objective - short term or long term. Foreign policy may degenerate into a futile exercise in wolly thinking, loose talk, and aimless shift of emphasis from one thing to another. Once the broad and long term goals have been decided upon, it is the task of the makers of foreign policy to test the rationality of every short term objective in the light of these goals. In modern times, every nation has only one goal to achieve nation interest.²

The fundamental purpose of India's foreign policy and for that matter of any other nations is to promote its national interest. But national interest is not as simple a concept as it may appear superficially. There is, first, a hierarchy of national interests. It is not easy to establish the right priority or to strike right balance among them. Besides, the way national interest is pursued in a particular area influences, in a far reaching manner, both in the positive and negative sense, the national interest in other domains. In the hierarchy of national interest, security occupies the pre-eminent position.³ Every country has equal right to security and to take all possible measures to safeguard it. However, in doing so it must ensure that the national interest of other countries or global peace and security are not affected adversely. In the modern world, security has both military and nonmilitary dimensions. A modern state hasn't gone military security only. But, they are also very concern on economic security, energy security, environmental security, food security etc. A major way in which foreign policy today serves a country's interest is by contributing to its economic and social progress.⁴ This has made foreign policy increasingly development oriented. The development oriented foreign policy was required to be pursued concurrently at the

multilateral, regional and bilateral levels. It is easier to achieve quick results at the bilateral level rather than at the regional and multilateral levels. On the other hand, developing countries have a better bargaining position at the multilateral level than at the regional or bilateral levels.⁵ The foreign policy of any country is determined by the national interests. In modern times, for stability and continuity of a foreign policy, it has to gain legitimacy with domestic audience, the citizens of a country. This is achieved by a persistent search of the professed national interest through country's foreign policy.

Foreign policy is always dominated by national interests that are needs, aims or desires of the citizens of a country.⁶ Such aims, needs and desires vary extremely from State to State and time to time. The state conducts its international relations for the achievement of national interests, which are general and continuing ends. The state seeks to achieve or protect national interest in relations with other states. National interest is defined in various terms such as defense against aggression, developing higher standard of living or seeking rightful place at international organizations such as the United Nations. Every country needs the power to protect the nation from other countries.⁷

It is obvious that the three components of national interest enumerated earlier, namely, security, national development, and world order. The most important element of national interest is security. Security is understood as a 'preservation of the territorial integrity'.⁸ Second, national development, including state building, economic development, social integration and national solidarity, education, scientific and cultural progress, etc. Third, the world order which is expected to safeguard the security and national development of all states, particularly the weak states.⁹ India is a democratic country. India prefers a democratic world order with a global regulatory authority it can be understood by the world organisation as the (UN). The global political system should be based on political equity.

India's Look East Policy:

India's Look East Policy has started this notion of promoting trade and strengthening security with the East Asian Countries. Myanmar is a country in Southeast Asia. In September 1992, Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao led the foundation of a "Look East Policy". He announced India's desire to develop stronger relations with her

South East Asian neighbours emphasizing greater cooperation, trade and cultural ties.¹⁰ While admitting that during the cold war India has ignored her South Eastern neighbour's he felt that there was a need to re-engage them more energetically. Since then successive Prime Ministers, especially I.K. Gujral and A.B. Vajpayee have laid stress on developing durable and vibrant relations between India and South East Asia. However, it is felt that much more could have been done.¹¹ Though the region boasts of country's old politico-economic and cultural ties, it is the period since the early 1990s that has witnessed a perceptible shift in positive direction in the relation between India and the members of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) which is rather different from the situation prevailing during the cold war era. This has been added to a large extent by India's 'Look East Policy' enunciated in 1991.¹² The economic and political interactions have increased manifold ever since, in particular after India was invited to be a full dialogue partner with ASEAN at the fifth ASEAN Summit in Bangkok in December 1995. India's becoming a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the two parties have agreed to explore avenues of taking advantage of the emerging economic opportunities for mutual benefits.¹³

The precipitous decline in India's standing in the world was nowhere more graphically evident as in India's relations with South-East Asia, particularly member countries of the ASEAN. There was a time when many of these countries looked up to India politically and, may be to a lesser extent, economically. But India could not match its policies with their expectations.¹⁴ During Nehru's time, most of the countries were sucked into the cold war and, barring. The Indo China states and Indonesia until the fall of Sukarno aligned themselves with the Western bloc. The political hiatus with a vigorously non-aligned India obstructed meaningful relationship with many of them.¹⁵ Indira Gandhi tried to change the focus and develop closer ties with ASEAN countries. But India's economic capabilities were limited, and India's own political troubles, domestic and foreign, put a cap on the development of any special relationship with them.¹⁶

India still had very considerable international standing, but it got gradually whittled down in the political instability at the turn of the eighties and the subsequent economic downturn from which the country is still recovering. Meanwhile the ASEAN countries were forging head economically, in the process gaining new

political importance, so that it was India that was left looking up to South-East Asian countries, rather than the other way around. It was India that was trying to muscle into the various for a floated by ASEAN.¹⁷ While India's trade and economic relationship with some of the individual ASEAN countries showed a considerable boost and to an extent political ties deepened with some of them. India's engagements with ASEAN can be assessed at two levels.

First, how India is able to engage ASEAN as an organization.¹⁸ It is because ASEAN as an organization has been intentionally provided by the members with very limited authority and resources to pursue economic cooperation and to acquire expertise or capacity for monitoring developments.¹⁹ That is why India also needs to devise country specific bilateral strategies and tactics. The bilateral approach is also necessary because the expanded ASEAN is considerably more various in its economic structure and the level of development, and in its political philosophy and orientation. As a result, it has become increasingly difficult to evolve a common ASEAN view on economic and other issues.²⁰ The 1997 crisis considerably reduced Indonesia's capacity and willingness to provide political leadership, while high income members such as Singapore have focused on economic opportunities with countries beyond the region since the crisis. India has been sympathetic to the challenges faced by the ASEAN countries as a result of the 1997 crisis.²¹ The negative perceptions of the ASEAN region both internally and externally since the 1997 crisis notwithstanding, the crisis has not altered its determination to engage with the ASEAN countries. India thus takes a long term view of its relation with ASEAN, and has proved to be a reliable partner.²²

At the end of the cold war India realized the need for a different approach to security in Asia. It also realized that the focus of world affairs. The twenty first century would be a century of Asia region of which South-East Asia is an integral part. The region is likely to have world's most successful economics, high agriculture production, energy and mineral supplies. Because of above mentioned situations, India started moving towards eastern countries especially through ASEAN.²³ India's Look East Policy is a part of the new real politics. It is evident itself India's foreign policy. India is engagement with ASEAN is a part of the recognition on the part of India's elite of the strategic and economic change that have taken place in the post-

cold war era.²⁴ Today, the need is build greater understanding on issues of common interests. The forces of liberalization and globalization of economics, the growing importance of regional co-operation and the emergence of Asia centric world order demand changes and review of bilateral relations.²⁵

India's 'look East Policy' was a part of the new real politics in evidence in India's foreign policy, and the engagement with Myanmar is a part of the recognition on the part of India's elite of the strategic, economic and political. For India Myanmar is strategically important because of its geostrategic location linking the regions of East Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia. In India, Myanmar is viewed as a "land Bridge" to Southeast Asia. Myanmar shares common borders with five countries: China, India, Bangladesh, Thailand and Laos.²⁶

Look East Policy And Myanmar:

India has a window of opportunity in Myanmar, one that would aid in the successful realization of India's Look East Policy (LEP). India has a long historical relationship with Myanmar. Myanmar is culturally linked with India. Buddhism used to be a strong binding force between the two countries.²⁷ After the end of the third Anglo-Burmese War in 1886, the British integrated the entire Burmese territory with the Indian Empire and ruled the Burma province directly from Calcutta, and after 1911, from Delhi. Being the largest and richest province in British India, Burma was formally separated in April 1937.²⁸ However, the colonial government's unrestricted immigration policy continued and from the mid-1800s till independence, people migrated from India to settle in Burma, particularly in Rangoon. During the three Anglo-Burmese wars fought in 1824–1826, 1852 and 1885, the British used Indians in their army to subdue the royal forces of the Burmese. Consequentially, the affair sowed the seeds of Burma's prejudice and grievances against Indians and India, fuelling nationalist passion in the 20th century. Most of the ethnic Indians migrated to Burma under the British colonial rule, numbering 300,000–400,000, and engaged themselves in the bureaucracy, police and military.²⁹

On the eve of Burmese independence, the leader of Burma acted in vengeance, censoring the rights of Indians not only over land, but over their existence in the country as well. The Burmese government passed a stateless. This had further divided the two countries apart. Citizenship Act in 1948, according to which every Indian

migrant in Burma was required to have citizenship certificate. The process of extending citizenship in Burma was made cumbersome and complicated to such extent that only 7994 Indians out of 740,000 got this certificate. The rest of them were declared illegal migrants and stateless³⁰

Myanmar has come to occupy centre stage in Asian strategic concerns since the early 1990s. A series of developments, both internal and external, has caused concern about the long-term stability, security, and independence of mainland Southeast Asia's largest country. Myanmar, with an area of some 676,577 square kilometers and a population of 47 million, lies at the juncture of three regions within Asia: East Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia.³¹ It occupies a critical geo-strategic position between the two rising Asian giants, China and India. It also shares borders with Bangladesh in the west and with Thailand and Laos in the east. It has a substantial co-essential coastline in the south along the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea, which provides access to the Indian Ocean. It is located in a region which has experienced tremendous economic growth over the last two decades.³²

In the last couple of years, Myanmar is facing political and economic challenges. The external pressures have tightened its noose on Junta (Military Rule). That is how the role of India becomes more important. The basic parameters of India's foreign policy were laid down by first India's Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, more than seven decades ago.³³ He took the initiative to convince the first ever Asian relations conference in 1946 to announce the world that Asia had come into its own and now it is the responsibility of India to help others cooperate. India's ties with Southeast Asia received an impetus as a new strategic and economic scenario evolved in the post-cold war.³⁴

Also, the other dilemma of the relationship is that on one hand India supports the democratic forces and their struggle in Myanmar; however, on the other hand, in view of its interests in the region, Indian governments have been engaged with the military governments in Myanmar.³⁵ As observed by an Indian analyst, "India faces a moral dilemma whether to support the pro-democracy forces in Myanmar or adhere to the principals of realpolitik and engage the military regime in its national interest. India's foreign policy makers prefer to follow the middle path or "Madhyam Marga"

as it's called and choose to engage the military regime without abandoning Indian support to the pro-democracy forces in Myanmar".³⁶

Since its independence in 1948, the internal political environment of Myanmar has been marred by the tussle between democratic forces and military rulers. Between 1948-62, the military took power in 1949 and 1958 but the democratic forces continued their struggle. Then from 1962 to 1988, a military government was established under General Ne Win. During this period, there was political suppression in Myanmar but despite this repression there were frequent demonstrations by the democratic forces against General Ne Win's military rule.³⁷ In 1988, another military government called the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) came to power in Myanmar, unleashing massive suppressive measures to restore law and order. It is during this period that Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of General Aung San, launched the pro-democracy struggle and became the opposition leader in Myanmar. India supported the democratic struggle and provided sanctuaries and financial assistance to political activists from Myanmar.³⁸ However, in view of India's long-term strategic interests, India has also cautiously established relations with the military governments in Myanmar. It is essential to go for a concrete rational policy choice which could focus beyond the present military regime and remove present anxieties and ambiguity. As Myanmar is the gateway to Southeast Asia and a vital component for the success of India's Look East policy, hence, India cannot ignore and requires positive engagement with Myanmar.³⁹

India shares about 1640 km border with her north-eastern neighbor Myanmar. This border touches four out of seven north eastern states of India, viz., Arunachal Pradesh (520 km), Manipur (398 km), Mizoram (510 km) and Nagaland (215 km).⁴⁰ Although cross – border contact and movement of people are known throughout, but they have not led to any strong economic interdependence between the two regions, viz., North – Eastern Region (NER) of India and Myanmar. In pre – colonial era, cross – border contacts used to take place mainly through distance trade, war and invasion, and common racial affinities.⁴¹

India needs to carry out a constant reappraisal of its Myanmar policy and deliver on promised infrastructure development in Myanmar. Its shared border of over 1,640 km with four of India's Northeastern states makes Myanmar a critical neighbour for

constructive engagement. In a world which is shrinking constantly, India's Northeast can no longer be considered a buffer against external threats. The development of infrastructure connecting India and Myanmar has acquired its own salience.⁴² It demands as much government support as private sector involvement. Apart from Myanmar's geographic importance, India needs to act proactively in developing the country's extensive natural resources. China has already secured its investments in the country, while India, despite its considerable involvement, is struggling to tie up the back-end operations of most of these projects.⁴³ There is a need to develop the means to transport the gas through pipelines back to India, link the hydro-electric potential of Myanmar and North East Regime (NER) through a seamless mechanism of inter-grid connectivity, and ensure that border trade does not suffer due to over-regulation and security lacunae.⁴⁴

Review of Literature:

Without review of literature we cannot study of the research. Given such fundamental nature of providing a literature of review as part of planning the process you should have done a literature review, which is a survey of important article, books and other sources pertaining to our research topic. This review of the professional literature relevant to your research question will help to contextualize, or fame, our research. It will also regard the necessary background to understand the research. An overabundance of literature exists on India-Myanmar relations. These works have been published in the form of books and research articles. It mainly focuses on historical, economic, political and strategic aspects of relationship. Books on India Myanmar, India-South East Asia relations and India's foreign policy are useful as they help in understanding the bilateral relations and the shifts in their ties. Besides these books, some articles published in various journals provide an insight about different dimensions of India's foreign policy. A review of literature on the given issue would be undertaken under the following thematic heads: (1) Look East Policy (2) India and Myanmar Political and Economic Relations (3) china impact on Myanmar (4) Northeast States Development

1. Look East Policy:

Tran Van Hoa (2012)⁴⁵ provides a rigorous analysis of ASEAN-India economic, trade and integration relations and presents evidence-based scenarios and policy

options for improving these relations in the context of 'Look East' policy, 'economic diplomacy', globalization and post-global financial crisis. Several plausible regional and global scenarios to accommodate major opportunities and the challenges for India vis-à-vis the ASEAN will be proposed for evaluation. Muchkund Dubey (2013)⁴⁶ focused on India's foreign policy. In this book the writer explain India relationship with the others countries like Nepal, China, Myanmar, U.S., Maldives. There are still some other important subjects like security and disarmament, new regionalism, multilateralism under the United Nations and new international economic order, which have a vital bearing on India's foreign policy. Each chapter is on the current state, future, challenges and prospects of these relations and the policies and strategies to be followed for nurturing them.

Ms. Sayantani Sen Mazumdar (2009)⁴⁷ Focused on the why India need look east policy. In this paper the writer explain India need to develop for greater expertise in geo-economics. An area which has not received the requisite attention. India should also consider establishing a well-funded, resources, for researching, communicating, and influencing foreign policy issues and options. This will also enable India to better communicate its intentions to the rest of the world, including its partners in Asia. This paper explains several factors determine India interest in looking at south East Asian region and why Look East Policy (LEP) is important for northeast India. Dong Zhang (2006)⁴⁸ describes India's LEP and its impact on East Asia. In so doing the paper summarizes India reform policy and long- term growth prospects. The paper provides a background and context with in which the LEP is next analyzed including its objectives, strategies and approaches to implementation. The paper explains the impact of LEP on India and East Asia, particularly the formation of an Asian economic community. Grare and Mattoo (2003)⁴⁹ describes in depth about the term and conditions of India's Look East Policy, and its terms and conditions as well as, is emerging economic complementarities between Indian ASEAN countries it further defines prospects of India-ASEAN economic partnership trade conditional ties. Isabelle Saint-Mezaid (2006)⁵⁰ deals with India's Look East Policy in terms of its new economic diplomacy towards ASEAN countries. It also describes evolution of trade and investment flows and challenges to the Look East Policy. In the book describes

major challenges to its foreign policy in economic, nuclear security trade relations with ASEAN countries.

(2) India and Myanmar Political and Economic Relations:

Aspen Institute India (2012 Report)⁵¹ this report focused on India's new relationship with Myanmar. Our relations with Myanmar cover a number of important areas like security, health, education, science and technology, as well as infrastructure development. This report explains a number of high level visits and economic ties between India and Myanmar. Rakhee Bhattacharya (2010)⁵² focused on the historical links between India and Myanmar, bilateral economic engagement constitutes an important component. In the recent past, India has made a sincere effort to strengthen her relations with Southeast Asian nations through its 'Look East' policy. In this perspective, the Indo-Myanmar ties have gained more importance. Economic ties through trade, commerce and development initiatives are expected to bring prosperity to the relatively poorer bordering areas of both the nations. But economic ties would become successful, provided a combined and sustained effort of both the nations can improve the security scenario in bordering areas. The paper looks at the prospect of India-Myanmar relations through cooperation in economic potentials and also gauges the existing unresolved obstacles of security issues between the two nations.

Syed Ali Mujtaba (2012)⁵³ focused on different aspects of India- Myanmar trade relationship. It's organized with an overview of the Indo-Myanmar trade relationship, then looks at the border trade and discusses suggestions for improvisation of border trade. It touches upon the currency issue and then talk about commodities like pulses spices, tea and gems trade. There is also mention of narcotic trade and then briefs on the proposed India exhibition in Yungon. There is mention of the regional grouping 'Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation' (BIMST-EC) and wrap-up the discussion with concluding remarks. Better communication between trading partners is the key to increasing bilateral trade. The importance of business delegations, special promotion campaigns would create awareness between the two countries. The business communities would definitely come forward to take a lead and help in increasing the volume of the trade. Marie Lall (2006)⁵⁴ has pointed towards a shift in Indo-Burmese relations. The article argues that the primary aim for such a shift was economic, as India reassessed its position

globally and regionally, putting economic relations at the centre of its foreign policy formulation and engendering India's "pipeline diplomacy". It looks in detail at the geo-politics of energy and how energy security is now playing a major role in international relations in South Asia. It then describes India's energy needs, focusing in particular on gas, which is at the origin of the pipeline diplomacy and its increasing interest in relations with nations rich in gas and oil. It ends by assessing what impact India's pipeline diplomacy could have on the wider Southeast Asian region, with special regard to ASEAN.

Haokam Vaiphei (2013)⁵⁵ describes a shift in India's policy towards Myanmar thereby describing the background and the factors responsible for a paradigm shift. With the shift in India's foreign policy, one wonders why India has to woo or engage the military junta in the first place. This in turn brings us to address a vital concern before us regarding the policy of constructive engagement towards Myanmar. This paper helps us to understand the shift in India's foreign policy and how far that takes a turn in fostering stronger relationship with its eastern neighbour. K.M.Htun (2011)⁵⁶ pointed out that Asian economies have been moving towards deeper regional integration to enjoy growth together and to share prosperity. Although the size of the economy and level of development in the region are quite diverse, it does not matter to such integration. This integration will not only expand the production possibility frontiers but also promote the flow of ideas and cultural exchanges within the region. Myanmar is the only land bridge between ASEAN and India so that the country has a great potential to be an important player in shaping future economic, political and security environment in this region. This article focused on the connectivity projects will enhance the strategic importance of Myanmar as a regional logistics and trading hub and will be definitely beneficial for Myanmar as well as India. Sonu Trivdi (2013)⁵⁷ explains two countries have recently agreed to strengthen communication and coordination to accelerate bilateral exchanges in areas including trade, culture and security in pursuit of a more comprehensive relationship. They have also agreed to more thoroughly evaluate the social and environmental impacts, as well as occupational health hazards, of ongoing and future economic initiatives. On the commercial front, given the limitations of Indian public sector investment in Myanmar, namely bureaucratic hurdles and procedural delays, more private sector

involvement is needed to consolidate ties. In the absence of a fully democratic culture in Myanmar, it is still difficult to carry out negotiations that would allow for the transition from public to private investment. D. Suba Chandran & Jabin T. Jacob (2011)⁵⁸ explains about the India's foreign policy and relations with Myanmar. In this book explain the policy of constructive engagement deal with Myanmar and strategic relation between India and Myanmar with special emphasis on the Mekong-Ganga cooperation project and BIMSTEC. Ian Holliday (2011)⁵⁹ describes about Myanmar Government which moving to a democratic government. It describes global justice and political reform in Myanmar. This examined the Indian Foreign Policy and describes Indo-Myanmar relations.

(3) China impact on Myanmar

Poon Kim Shee (1997)⁶⁰ argues that Myanmar is neither a strategic pawn nor an economic pivot of China in the short and immediate term. Myanmar's strategic location on a tri-junction between South Asia, Southeast Asia and China is nevertheless economically and strategically significant. Economically, Myanmar is important for China as a trading outlet to the Indian Ocean for its land locked inland provinces of Yunnan and Sichuan. This paper shows that evolution of Myanmar's China policies from positive strategic neutrality to strategic isolationism and finally temporary strategic alignment with China was the result of a combination of various factors ranging from its geostrategic position and its proximity to China, internal political and economic needs, as well as external pressures. Ranjit Gupta (2013)⁶¹ explains the recent past in Myanmar and the likely trajectory for the future, India is much better placed vis-à-vis the "China factor" for the first time in several decades. A democratic Myanmar, particularly one presided over by a person such as Aung San Suu Kyi with her personal connections with India, would obviously be a better prospect for India rather than China. India once again has an opportunity to build a mutually beneficial Indo-Myanmar relationship, stronger than it has ever been in the past. This paper focused on need for India to contest China's position in Myanmar or to compete with China in Myanmar. Bibhu Prasad Routray (2011)⁶² discusses about the pragmatic shift of India's quest for energy and major drivers. In economic terms, China is a major investor in Myanmar and its military relations with Myanmar are

causes for concern in India. This paper also discusses concerns raised about India's Myanmar policy keeping in View widespread scepticism about its military junta.

Fan Hongwei (2012)⁶³ describe the historical role of geography in the Sino Burmese relationship in the context of Cold War, both before and after the Chinese – American detente and rapprochement in the 1970s. It describes Burma's fear and distrust of china throughout the cold war, during which it maintained a policy of neutrality and non-alignment. It also explains the history of china's attempts to break out of the United States (U.S.) encirclement after the Korean War and its successful establishment of Burma as an important buffer state.

(4) Northeast States Development:

K.Yhome (2008)⁶⁴ explains the political ties between India and Myanmar. This paper argues that it was during the period between 1998 and 2008 that the bilateral relationship withstood the test of critical events. This paper also focused on India's North-eastern region forms the gateway to Myanmar. Any trouble at the gate will adversely affect the bilateral relations. There are high stakes involved in the plans to expand trade and to construct a pipeline from Myanmar through the region. All these prospects would be jeopardized if the region remains unstable. Hence, it is imperative that the local people are involved in the process and share the benefits of the improving relationship. The paper identifies some issues that could emerge as potential fissures to upset the relationship. The paper suggests that it is high time the leadership of the two countries initiated measures to address these issues. B.C.Barah (2006)⁶⁵ describes the agricultural development in north-east India. It is envisioned that sincere attempts would revitalize agriculture in the NER. Expansion of region-specific traditional and new high- level crops for enhancing economic development. This paper also describe the Global marketing of certified organic products of the region through strong public-private partnership in agriculture Well-developed infrastructure facilities like roads and markets through interactive dialogues among the regional stakeholders in a synergistic manner Strong integration of NER with the national economy for attaining high and inclusive growth; devoid of extreme inter-regional.

Planning Commission report (1981)⁶⁶ in this report explains the northeast horticulture, plantations, forestry, and animal husbandry, handlooms and Seri culture.

Production for self-consumption and subsistence is the basis for economic activity and calculations on market values are seldom the basis for decisions on what and how to produce. In this connection when the system is opened to market forces the local tribal, even though they may be educated, may not in fact benefit. The high participation rates of unemployment mean that there is very little employment slack to be taken up in the hill states. Langpoklakpam Suraj Singh (2007)⁶⁷ explains India's Look East Policy and increasing concern for its northeast. And India's relation with Myanmar is of utmost importance in the context of India's new orientation and area specific approach to its security as well as economic interests the official visits and talks. This paper focused the state of Manipur in particular assumed great significance. This state of Northeast India is the best possible land transit for India to Myanmar and the rest of Southeast Asia. The article discusses how this state of Manipur fits in the whole dynamics of the evolving India-Myanmar relations. Gareth (2013)⁶⁸ focused on border trade through north east states and India's foreign policy toward a number of countries, and complements a forthcoming report examining India's broader foreign policy. The paper maps out the manner in which India engages with Burma economically, politically and socially. As is the case with much of its foreign policy, particularly in its neighborhood, India's internal stability and development play a key role in policy towards Burma.

Theoretical Understanding:

Realism:

Sings of India's more "realistic" diplomatic engagement with the rest of the world are in proof not just with reference with neighbouring Myanmar. The military regime has come under global criticism for its treatment of Nobel laureate Aung Sang Suu. But India's relationship has been growing with its Yangon, especially since the early 1990s. The idealist phase lasted for three decades since General Ne Win came to power in 1962, during which India had very little to do with the military dictatorship.⁶⁹ Myanmar then existed under a self imposed isolationism. India's rethink on its relationship with Myanmar dates from the uprising and coup detat in 1988 and the influx of refugees into North East Indian camps. Between 1988 to 1992 the idealist phase lingered on as our policy vacillated between the supports for the democracy movement and continuing with diplomatic separation several factors were

responsible for this, including the China factor.⁷⁰ The fact that dragon had filled the diplomatic vacuum by intensifying its relationship with Myanmar since the late 1980s was not lost in India. But Prime Minister PV Narasimha Reo's new Look East Policy that made our diplomats really wonder whether ignoring a strategic neighbour like Myanmar. Than India took a decision not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country and engage its military regime.⁷¹

Idealism:

India's security concerns regarding the Myanmar-backed insurgency in the Indian states neighboring Myanmar. China's position and influence on this relationship and looks at Indo-Myanmar trade relations. India should adopt a realist policy but with a blend of idealism in its relations with Myanmar. Myanmar is often perceived to be a buffer state between the two Asian giants - India and China.⁷² Its strategic location provides Myanmar with an opportunity to play a significant role in the geopolitics of South and Southeast Asia. In addition, the availability of natural gas in Myanmar gives an economic dimension to its strategic significance. Myanmar shares a 1640 km-long land and maritime boundary with India, making it a crucial element of India's security calculus and ensuring that amicable relations with Myanmar are vital.⁷³

Due to these changing dynamics, India accordingly adopted a new pragmatic policy in relation with Myanmar. Nonetheless, India's decision to honour Aung San Suu Kyi with the Jawaharlal Nehru award indicated that idealism still abounded in India's foreign policy.⁷⁴ In fact, the National Front government put human rights considerations and the restoration of democracy at the top of its policy agenda towards Myanmar. However, when the Bharitya Janta Party (BJP) came to power in India, it began to stress "realpolitik" over idealism in relations with Myanmar.⁷⁵ India has been facing a dilemma between idealism and realism since the establishment of military rule in Myanmar in 1962. However, neither approach on its own can serve India's interests. India should adopt a realist policy but with a blend of idealism. This idealism is not against the national interest of India and would definitely pay off for India in the long run.⁷⁶

Liberalism:

The global spread of liberalism suggests the desirability of adopting democratic political institutions based on pluralism, freedom of expression, individual liberty and other political values associated with the West; and an economic regime which gives free play to the market place.⁷⁷ Those who held power in Myanmar during the last 50 years have sought the right mix of instruments to promote internal legitimacy so that state cohesion is ensured, and governing institutions agreed, with a minimum use of force. The search has not yet been successful, but the 1988 crisis marked a turning point.⁷⁸ The turn was away from the liberalism with religious promotion which prevailed till 1962; and from the authoritarian socialism which had been adopted after 1962. It was towards the adoption of an experimental and pragmatic mix. This means in practice that the armed forces continue to be in control; multiple political parties are allowed but there is little freedom of speech or expression.⁷⁹ There is a liberal economic package and an encouragement of uniqueness in cultural identity. This mix appears to have resulted in an economic boom, an easing of the problem of minority separatism, and closer ties with a region which is going the same way.⁸⁰ External legitimacy is likely to come about if liberalism is adopted and the military goes back to the barracks. But the military no longer seeks it; and it seems no longer relevant in Myanmar to look for a military-civil polarisation or a “transfer of power” from the military to a liberalist elected government⁸¹

Objectives of the Study:

- To study the India – Myanmar relations in terms new strategic importance in trajectory India, China and Myanmar.
- To analysis the political, economic and strategies of both the countries in terms of future perspectives of the bilateral ties.
- To know the major issues of disputes between India and Myanmar.
- To study the future prospects of India Myanmar relations.

Hypotheses

- It is assumed that due to different regime there so many problems faced by both countries.
- It is expected that bilateral trade is the best way of increase the relationship between the both countries.

- It is supposed that there are some problems due to the boundaries and insurgency tricking.

Methodology:

In this research work, the historical, descriptive, analytical method will be used. Data will be collected from different sources, primary and secondary both the sources will be used in this research work the sources are included such as foreign affair record, annual reports and other publications of India. The study will also take help published books concerning India-Myanmar relations and published articles in academic journals and newspaper. The research study would consider as a data that is published in the internet.

Structure of the Dissertation:

For the sake of convenience and providing a coherent picture of India-Myanmar relations present study has been divided in to five chapters.

First chapter provides a brief introduction by way of highlighting the reasons of India's adoption of the Look East Policy, review of literature, chapterisation and methodology of the dissertation.

The Second Chapter deals with the Political relations between India and Myanmar. In the chapter, political issues of common interest their relationship have been examined in greater detail.

The third chapter deals with the economic relations between India and Myanmar. It covers the trade investment and cooperation in different sectors of economy in the post-economic reform period.

The fourth chapter explains how china impacts India and Myanmar relations. In the end findings of the dissertation are recorded in the form of conclusion. In the light of these findings tentative idea about the future course of India Myanmar relations is deciphered.

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