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The Changes of India's Attitudes towards Myanmar from Confrontative to Cooperative

Sugiarto Pramono

Shandong University, School of Political Science and Public Administration, No 5. Hongjialou Road, Licheng District, Jinan City, Shandong Province, China sugiartop@gmail.com

Nackor Kimetene

A professional employee in Angelique International Limited, an Indian Company in Chad; and a professional translator and facilitator in UNESCO kimetenefils@yahoo.fr

Abstrak-Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan Pergeseran Politik Luar Negeri India terhadap Myanmar dari konfrontatif menuju kooperatif yang terjadi di akhir perang dingin. Temuan penelitian ini adalah bahwa pergeseran tersebut didorong oleh serangkaian faktor baik di tingkat domestik maupun internasional. Di tingkat domestik kolaborasi kepentingan para pebisnis dengan penguasa berada di balik merapatnya India terhadap Myanmar. Sementara di tingkat internasional sejumlah peristiwa memposisikan India untuk berprilaku demikian. Runtuhnya Uni Soviet; perdagangan India dengan Indocina; serta pengaruh Cina dan Pakistan di Myanmar memencing India untuk mendekati Myanmar. Mengkaji pergeseran tersebut menarik karena memiliki implikasi pada masa depan ekonomi politik di Asia.

Kata kunci: aktor-aktor bukan negara, kerjasama, konfrontasi, kebijakan luar negeri

Abstract-This article aims to explain the shift of India's foreign policy towards Myanmar, from confrontation toward cooperation that occurred at the end of the cold war. The findings of this study is that the shift is driven by a series of factors both at domestic and international level. At the domestic level the interests of business collaboration with the authorities of being behind merapatnya India to Myanmar. While at the international level a number of situations make India to position of behave that way. The collapse of the Soviet Union; Indian trade with Indochina; and the influence of China and Pakistan in Myanmar make India to approach Myanmar. this study is very interesting because it has economic and political implications in the future of Asia.

Keywords: non-state actors, cooperation, confrontation, foreign policy.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

As the largest democracy in the world that are experiencing rapid economic growth to an average of 8%. India's behavior in the international system interesting to note. Moreover this behavior largest democracy is being pressed into military junta regime in Myanmar/Burma. Earlier India was so hard against the junta, which had been brutally massacred protesters in their actions in 1988, but in 1993 India started to soften and keep close to Myanmar.

For writer, behavior of India—that are pressed into Myanmar—is important and interesting: (1)India which is the largest democracy in the world did not hesitate to approach Myanmar that authoritarian militaristic, (2) changes of India's attitude occur in the extreme way, from the previous very confrontational (1988-1992) became very cooperative(1993-2011), and (3) despite the change in the attitude of India occurred in 1993or19years ago, but research is still urgent: (a) India is believed to be an

important player of the world economy. Event of India's approach to Myanmar is very important become a milestone for the economic development of India, Indochina and South East Asia in general, (b) Indian's return to Southeast Asia creates competition in the regional economy more dynamic because the Chinese find comparable competitors in Southeast Asia, and (3) in a broader scope, Asia's economic future can not be separated from the India factor. It appears that Myanmar will be India as a key pathway that will distribute a variety of trade goods, especially a variety of pharmaceutical products, iron and steel as well as a variety of automotive products to the Indochina market that is experiencing aggressive growth (see Fig.10), rather than through Malacca Strait line with the more expensive cost.

1.2. Problem formulation

The problems that want to study in this research is: why is there a shift in the attitude of India to Myanmar from the previous confrontational to cooperative?

2. Research Method

2.1. Theoritical Framework

One of the basic criticisms directed against the sensible realist analysts is that they have reduced a very complex international relations into relations between the actors of the country (Jemadu, Aleksius, 2008, 31). The more plural the actors involved and the diversity of issues makes the analysis of realism to be losing its relevance. Departing from this argument, then to explain the behavior of the huddle India to Myanmar, the authors borrow at least two perspectives developed by Helen Milner (1988) and Thomas Oatlay (2006).

Milner tried to get out of the way of thinking fragmentatif "domestic-international". The primary reason is the emergence of the separation of the two domains is the claim that politics in the international system is radically different from domestic politics (Milner 1998, 759). Both domains were thought to have a very close relationship with each other so that separating them would likely reduce our understanding of international politics or foreign policy Specific anymore. In spite of the issues and actors can be distinguished in the realm of research for technical purposes, but in between these two domains are a variety of variables related to each other.

In line with Milner's perspective is the perspective of Thomas Oatley. Despite Oatley uses his perspective to analyze foreign economic policy, but the opinion of the writer's perspective can also be used to analyze policy/ foreign policy. Foreign policy is actually the product of the interaction of social interests and political institutions. To understand why the government of India to choose certain policies aimed at Myanmar so, following the line of thinking Oatley, at least there are two aspects that need to be understood first: (1) we need to understand where the interests or policy preferences of economic / political group or a particular actor in the community derived, and (2) we need to examine how political institutions aggregating, reconciling, and ultimately change the shape of interest in a particular foreign policy and an economic system/international politics more specific (Oatley, 2006). With this understanding the foreign policy can be understood as a reflection of the dynamic interaction between these variables at the domestic level, international or domestic-international.

2.2. Literature Review

Broadly speaking, India Myanmar relations research can be categorized into three groups, first, writing, linking the two countries relations with the security and human rights. As Burma India Relations: A Betrayal of democracy and human rights published by the Burma Campaign UK in March 2007 and written Rakhee Bhattacharya (2010) titled Does Economic Cooperation Improve Security Situation: The Case of India-Myanmar Relations.

Secondly, the text rejected the India-Myanmar relations with human rights violations. As written K. Hyome (2009) with a research report titled India-Myanmar Relations (1998-2008): a Decade of Redefining Bilateral Ties. The argument that India wants politics in Myanmar for a smooth business. And writing a neutral third category of efforts to link human rights and security issues. such as writing Raja

Mohan (2010), entitled Embracing Myanmar: India's Foreign Policy Realism, Rada Kumar (2008); with the title of research India as a Foreign Policy Actor-Normative Redux; Srinjoy Bose (2007) under the title Energy Politics: India-Bangladesh-Myanmar relations, and research published by International IDEA titled Challenges to Democratization in Burma, perspectives on multilateral and bilateral responses. In writing the latter, India-Myanmar relations is only one chapter of a few chapters only. In this study the authors attempt to look at the case of India-Myanmar relations in a broader perspective by exploring a variety of factors at both the domestic and international. [See Table 1.Map of India-Myanmar Relations Research].

Table 1.Map of India-Myanmar relation research

		Interpretive(Ideology, relativist)		Scientific(positifis,	
No.	Features	Relateto human rights	SeparatingtheHAM	nomologis, model)	
1	Researcher	Bhattachara (2010), Burma Campaign UK (2007)	Hyome (2009)	Mohan (2010), Bose (2007), International IDEA (2001), Rada Kumar (2008), Ashrof (n.d.)	
2	Argumentation	India– Myanmarrelations contribute tothe Junta economic baseand human rights violations	PoliticalstabilityinMyanmarin the interests ofIndia, for securinginvestment inMyanmar	Diverse	
3	Basevalue	Enforcement of Human Rights	Nationalinterest	Scientific	

2.3. Hypothesis

Shift in attitude towards Myanmar India is basically a reflection of the interests of diverse actors and contexts (economic, social and political) in both domestic and international levels. The role of businesses, interest groups and pressure are not as important as the role of the ruling party in Parliament, the Prime Minister and key officials involved. In addition to the dynamics of political economy at the international level such as the collapse of the Soviet Union and the close rival India, China, to Myanmar.

2.4. Methodology

This study uses the library research and qualitative method in nature. The data used here is a secondary data from various previous studies, a variety of related books and journals, as well as mass media and resources from the internet that are considered reliable. Qualitative research limits ourselves to explore what the target-based research with a scientific way of thinking or rather rational and data-driven.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Changes of India's attitudes towards Myanmarfrom Confrontative to cooperative (1991-2011)

3.1.1. Indicators of India's confrontational attitude towards Myanmar 1988-1992

India confrontational policy toward Myanmar seems to be very brightly lit at least two indicators: first, support the Indian embassy to the demonstrators in Myanmar. Attitude PMS Malik (Ambassador of India) so hard against the repressive junta regime, even the India representative office in Myanmar was then used as a temporary hospital (makeshift hospital) for the demonstrators who were injured. Post-event New Delhi and Yangon froze relationship with openly supporting pro-democracy movement of Burma (Ganesan, 2005; Renaud, 2003). Second, open door policy for Myanmar political refugees. Not a few students, activists and rebels from Myanmar who fled to India (1988/9) (Ganesan, 2005).

3.1.2. Indicators of India's cooperation attitude towards Myanmar 1993-2011

In 1993 a radical shift India's foreign policy direction towards Myanmar from the original confrontation became very cooperative. A number of indicators that can be designated from India is a change in attitude among which are: first, a statement India would not interfere the internal affairs of Myanmar. Through J. N. Dixit (Indian Foreign Secretary) during a visit to Yangon in March 1993, India agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of Myanmar (Renaud, 2003); second, border economic cooperation Border Trade Agreement signed in 1994 and implemented in April of 1995. The cooperation involves two areas Moreh in Manipur State, India and Guests of the province of Sagaing, Myanmar (Renaud, 2003; Ashraf, nd).

Third, both countries had executed a joint military operation Golden Bird (Ganesan, 2005; Renaud, 2003); fourth, the realization of transportation projects that India-Myanmar include: (1) India-Myanmar Friendship, (2) Trans Asia Highway, (3) Trans Asian Railway (The Hindu, July 1, 2007 in Yhome, 2009, 14, and (4) within the framework of multilateral cooperation such as BIMSTEC and Mekong Ganga Cooperation (MGC) has realized the project of making the highway (highway project) along 1360 km connecting India, Myanmar and Thailand.

Fifth, the reopening of the Embassy of India in Myanmar in 2002. Instead Myanmar officially opened a representative office in Kalkota (Ganesan, 2005, 40). This indicator is very important for the new direction of relations between the two countries; sixth, India's development assistance to Myanmar [see table 2. India's development aid to Myanmar 2000-2009]. Seventh, the increasing number of MoU and Agreement between the two countries [see Fig. 1. The number of India-Myanmar agreement Rises].

Years	Aid	Precentage of India' total aid
2000-1	19,5	3
2001-2	-	-
2002-3	-	-
2003-4	2,10	Less than 1
2004-5	6,21	1
2005-6	22,00	1
2006-7	40,00	3
2007-8	20,00	1,17
2008-9*	56,00 (proposed)	2,7
TOTAL	109 46	12.87

Table 2.India's development aid to Myanmar 2000-2009(in rupeescrores)

Source: Ministry of External Affair, Government of India, Annual Report(1999 to 2008) in Yhome, 2009, 11; * data for 2008-9 were taken from Outcome Budgat 2008-9, Ministry of External Affair, Government of India, New Delhi.

Table 2 appears, how India's development assistance to Myanmar in 2000-2009 despite patterned rose-turn (in 2000-1, 19.1; then 2004-5, 6.21; 2006-7, 40, and then fell in the following year to 20) but in general has a tendency to go up, just look, though still in the planning but, in 2008-9 the proposed 56.

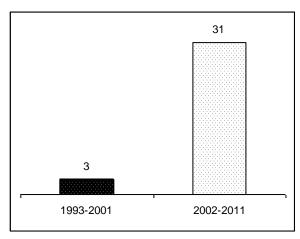


Fig. 1.The number of India-Myanmar agreement Rises. Source: Yhome, 2009, 23-26; Embassy of India

In the other hand, agreemet between two state, appear to us go up sharp, from decade 1993-2001 there are only 3 agreement but in the next periode 2002-2011 agreement between two state become 31. Improvement of agreement between two state become the very importent indicators that show to us improvement relations two government.

Eighth, Indian investment in Myanmar [see table 3]. India's main projects in Myanmar; table 4New Factories under the Ministry of Industry-2 funding by India; and Table 5New Factories under the Ministry of Industry-1 funding by India. And ninth, the increasing trend of trade between the two countries [see Fig. 2. India-Myanmar trade 1999-2011].

Table 3. Major India project in Myanmar (in million dollar)

Year	Credit Lines	Project	Remarks
April 1998	10		
Nov, 2000	15		
May 2001	-	Upgration of the 160 kmTamu-Kalewa road	Completed
		Construction and upgradation of the Rhi-Tiddim and RhiFalam road Oil and Gas	
June 2002	-	Oil and Gas	
Oct. 2003	25	-	
2004	56	Upgradation of the Yangon-Mandalay rail line	
25 Oct. 2004	-	Thamanthi Hydro Electric power	
		Trilateral (India-Myanmar-Thailand) highway project	
	7	Financing a telecom project	
	20	Revamping of Thanlyin refinery	
Oct. 2007	60	ThathayChaung hydropower project	
April 2008	100	Kaladan multimodal transport	

Source: Embassy of India, Yangon http://www.indiaembassy.net.mm/inYhome, 2009, 13. Table 4.New Factories under the Ministry of Industry-2 funding by India

Table 4.New Factories under the Ministry of Industry-2 funding by India

No	Plant/ Factory	US\$ (Million)
1	Oxygen Plant	0,38
2	Acetylene Plane	0,09
3	Bolt and Nut Factory	0,43
4	LPG Casing Plant	1,10
5	Aluminium Conductor Steel Reinforced (ACSR) Plant	0,28

Source: Myoe, MaungAung, 2007, 36

Source:, "Sino-Myamar Economic Relations Since 1988" Working Paper Series No. 86, Asia Reseach Institute, National University of Singapure, April 2007, 36.

Table 5
New Factories under the Ministry of Industry-1 funding by India

No	Factory	Location	Completion	Industry
1	Bicycle Factory	Yangon	01-02-2000	MGMI
2	Bicycle Factory	Kyaukse	11-04-2002	MGMI
3	Sewing Machine Factory	Kyaukse	05-11-2002	MGMI
4	Dyeing and Printing Factory	Yemathin	21-03-2003	MTI
5	Sewing Machine Factory (Ext)	Kyaukse	16-06-2005	MGMI

Source: Myoe, MaungAung, 2007, 40-1

Table 3, 4 and 5 very clear appear to us variety of India's projects in Myanmar, including project that finish or still in process. From year to year project of India in Myanmar grouw up very fast both qualitatively or quantitatively. Since hydropower, transportation, telecomunication, energy ect. The tables above, also show to us that relation between two countries more deeper and wider.

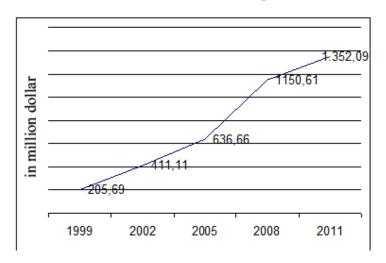


Fig. 2. India-Myanmar trade 1999-2011(in million dollar)
Source: Department of Commerce, Export Import Data Bank http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/ecntq.asp, Accesed
August, 1, 2011

Fig. 2 very clear appear to us, progressivity trade between two countries. improvement of trade between them in 1999 until 2011 become very importent indicator also for their closer relations. Writer predict in the future, their trade relation will be closer and closer.

4. Interests of the actors behindthe India's attitude shift to Myanmar

Political debate in the parlementary political system be localized in the parlement institution. in other hand, government under prime minister, only implement what that become recomendation from parlement. in India, because prime minister come from party or coalition majority in parlement, so that, there are not perspective different between government and parlement.

When, change of foreign policy India to myanmar happen, parlement in india dominated by India National Congres (INC), (see the Fig. 3: Compotition of India Parlement in period 1991-1996). Under minister of finance, Manmohan Singh, India change the policy, from protection to liberalization. liberalization policy, actually, is not populer policy in India and internal of INC, but because success of economy transformation, it made INC get stronger political legitimation.

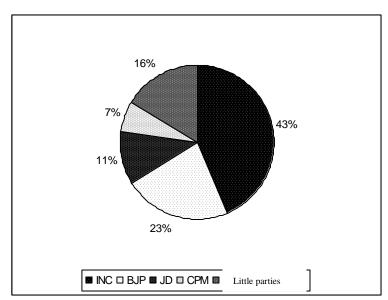


Fig. 3. Chairs compositions in Parlaiment period 1991-1996 Source: http://www.indian-electionaffairs.com/results/nationwide1991.html, accesed April, 23, 2012.

On the other side of economic growth coupled with the opening of three business opportunities for economic actors in India and pushing the country closer to Myanmar, namely: *First*, market expansion to Myanmar and Indochina [see: chart 7. India-Myanmar Trade from 1999 to 2011 and Table 6.Top five commodities of Indian exports to Myanmar]; *secondly*, the growing need for energy [see Fig. 8.India's oil production and consumption and Fig.9. India's natural gas production and consumption]; and the *third*, import roots of Myanmar for raw materials for drugs [see Table 7. Top of five commodities of India's import from Myanmar]. A number of Indian companies benefited from the approach of India to Myanmar.

Table 6. Top five commodities of Indian exports to Myanmar

HS Code	Commodity	2007- 2008	2008- 2009	Growth (%)
72	Iron and steel	29,89	52,03	74,06
30	Pharmaceutical products	42,41	49,92	17,7
84	Nuclear reactor, boilers, machinery, mechanical appliances; parts there of.	18,9	17,41	-7,9
85	Electrical machinery and equipment and parts thereof; sound recorders and reproducers television image and sound recorders and reproducers, and parts.	12,88	13,62	5,8
73	Articles of iron or steel.	12,1	11,09	-8,39

Source: India Department of Commerce

Table.7. Top of five commodities of India import from Myanmar

HS Code	Commodity	2007- 2008	2008- 2009	Growth (%)
7	Edible vagetables and certain roots and tubers	441,7	611,78	38,51
44	Wood and articles of wood; wood charcoal	357,42	311,01	-12,99
5	Products of animal origin, not elsewhere specified or included		2,93	
41	Raw, hides and skins and leather	1,71	1,16	-32,03
9	Caffer, tea, mate ang spices	0,47	0,91	91,9

Source: India department of Commerce

Two tables in above, show to us trade interdependency relations closer and closer between them. One of interdependency relations between two is popularity of India pharmacy product that need market expantion not only in Myanmar but also in Indochina, in the opposite Myanmar export to India some raw material of pharmacy product such as Edible vagetables and certain roots and tubers.

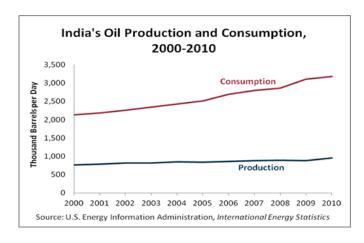


Fig. 8. India's Oil Production and consumption, 2000-2010. Source: http://www.eia.gov/cabs/india/Full.html.

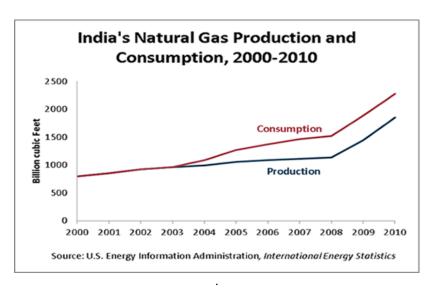


Fig. 9.India Natural Gas Production and consumption, 2000-2010 Source: http://www.eia.gov/cabs/india/Full.html

Fig. 8 and 9 also appear to us, India's capacity for production energy that far under energy consumption of India. This situation also become importent factor for India change it's foreign policy to Myanmar from confrontative to cooperative. India as a new emerging market needs Myanmar as producen of energy.

Up to this point can be read that there are two groups of actors who had a symbiotic mutualism in the context of the approach of India to Myanmar, *the first*, the ruling party played INC including Prime Minister NarashimaRao and Finance Minister Manmohan Singh who benefited from the strengthening of the political legitimacy of the actors business, and *secondly*, the business people who benefit from the ease of infrastructure and regulation.

The Indian community also benefited from economic expansion to the east of India. India's economy has a positive growth trend, at least since 2003 the average economic growth of this country to achieve an 8% per year. However in India there are also communities groups are anti-Myanmar. The teachings of Gandhi and Nehru ideals that uphold human values to make them hate the military government in Myanmar. Almost all radio broadcasting in India and condemned the brutality of the Myanmar military action (Renaud, 2003, 3). It appears that the anti-junta movement in India do not have a significant effect on the attitude of the Government of India on the Myanmar especially post-1993 when India began to huddle into Myanmar. Author, because this group does not have a strong aspiration pathway in Parliament.

On the other hand the strong separatist movement in India-Myanmar border, saving the author, be a reason strong enough for the Government to draw closer to Myanmar. Myanmar will be hard to make Myanmar collaborating with separatist movements in the border and in the end will only further threatening the sovereignty of India.

India open door policy for political refugees from Myanmar in 1988 to be a compelling reason for Myanmar to help the separatist groups in areas such as Arunachal Prades, Manipur, Mizoram, and Nagaland. In the setting of the interaction of this kind actors then the interests of the businessmen and rulers in India occupies a sizable portion behind the shift in the attitude of India towards Myanmar.

5. India's response to the political dynamics at the international level

There are three of key events at the international level that beresponsived by India with approach to Myanmar: (1) the collapse of the Soviet Union, (2) India-indocina trade relations, and (3) India's efforts to reduce the influence of China and Pakistan in Myanmar.

5.1. The collapse of the Soviet Union

For India the collapse of the Soviet Union is an economic blow. The biggest communist country's is main trading partner of India. India even had to sacrifice its relationship with countries in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia and Malaysia when dealing with the communist country. Communist insurgency in the latter two countries that affect the negative perception the two founders of ASEAN toward the Soviet Union.

Setting of post-cold war international structure, ultimately drive India to reposition its Foreign Politics to countries on its eastern side, especially Myanmar and ASEAN more generally longer. So that in 1992 India released look east policy.

5.2. India-Indocina trade relations

India-indocina trade began to skyrocket around 2002 or coincide with the reopening of the India embassy in Myanmar (2002). This mean there is a connection between the melting of India-Myanmar relations with India-Indocina trade growth or in other words: the approach of India to Myanmar is driven by the desire to trade with Indocina [see Fig.10 Comparison of India, Indochina, Myanmar and India trading trend 1997-2011]

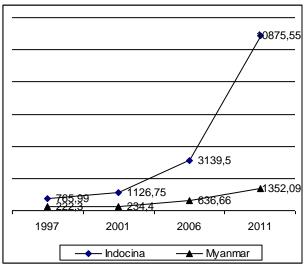


Fig.10

Comparison ofIndia, Indochina, Myanmarand Indiatradingtrend 1997-2011 Source: Export Import Data Bank, Department of Commerce , Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India official website commerce.nic.in/eidb/default.asp

5.3. Reduce the influence of China and Pakistan in Myanmar

China and Pakistan have relate harmoniously with Myanmar, in other hand, the two countries, have relations that not harmonius with India. This situation, in india's perspective, dangerous for India, if India conflict with Myanmar that have strategic position geography for India. This international context make India need to close to the Myanmar and reduce of influence china and pakistan in Myanmar.

To gain a better understanding of the causes of the approach of India to Myanmar see table 8. Who the gainers and losers in the shifting attitudes toward Myanmar India, Fig 11. Map of the influence of actor/events/political context at various levels to shift the attitude of India towards Myanmar.

Tuble on la tuninged and disad tuninge be fond india b activates sinit to wards it funda					
Advantaged	Disadvantaged				
INC, Narashima Rao, Manmol	an Singh: Democratic movement in Myanmar and human	1			
political legitimacy from business	rights weakens.				

Businesses in the energy sector, pharmaceuticals, various electronic goods and automobiles: facilitated by a regulatory infrastructure and physical infrastructure of the trade route to Myanmar and Indochina

People in Myanmar: Junta getting stronger, increasing the possibility of repressive measures.

People in India: India's economic growth in general.

Separatist groups in boundaries: the presence of the threat of a India-Myanmar joint military operation, the Golden Bird.

Military government in Myanmar: Western embargo is not effective, stronger economic base.

China and Pakistan: India along with a stronger influence in Myanmar, the influence of these countries reduced.

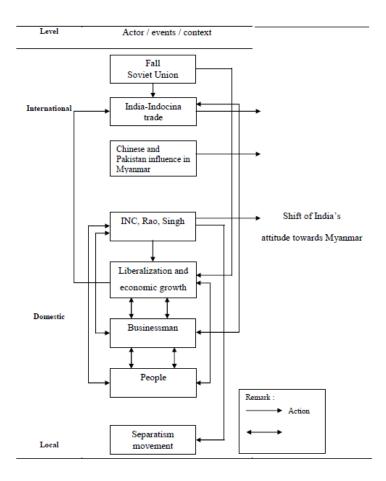


Fig 11.Map of the influence of actor/ events/political context at various levels to shift the attitude of India towards Myanmar

6. Conclusion

There are actors, events and context of the compound in the domestic and international level to encourage India to approach Myanmar. Followings are number of author's notes: *First*, India's economic growth coupled with a shift in focus (India's foreign policy to Myanmar) on human rights to the economy; *second*, the approach of India to Myanmar was also accompanied by economic progress in Myanmar; *Third*, closeer of India to Myanmar, become initiate the growth of the economy at least in Indochina; and fourth, for ASEAN, reduction of sanctions from the West to the Junta as a result of the democracy progress in Myanmar is an indication that Myanmar will be an important player in the dynamics of the economy in Southeast Asia. Myanmar also will be bridge of the three great powers of Asia: India, China and ASEAN.

The author hopes, this research will be useful for: the first other researchers, who will study in particular India-Myanmar relations in the future; second, for policy makers, the findings of this research can be a reference.

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