India and Myanmar: The Future of Growing Relationship

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ABSTRACT

The present paper focuses on the 12 agreements signed between India and Myanmar. India and Myanmar have had periods of difficult relations since they gained independence from Britain in the late 1940s. India supported Myanmar's pro-democracy opposition after the Myanmar military crushed a 1988 uprising. But later, apparently nervous about Myanmar's close ties with China, India sought to mend fences with the Myanmar junta that ruled until last year.

India signed a raft of agreements with Myanmar on May 28, 2012 in the capital of Myanmar Naypyitaw, the first visit by an Indian leader in 25 years, aimed at shoring up its presence as rival countries line up to do business with its strategically located neighbour. The agreements covers areas as diverse as air services and agriculture, but one of the key developments was India-based Jubilant Energy getting a 77.5% interest in an onshore block. A credit of $ 500 millions was declared for the aforesaid 12 agreements.

India's advance on its eastern neighbour with offers of credit, the development of border regions, investment promotion and help on agricultural research comes after a year of dramatic reform in Myanmar that has opened it up to the outside world and started to reduce its dependence on China.
India and Myanmar: The future of growing relationship

India and Myanmar both have extreme strategic and economic importance for each other. Myanmar occupies a critical geo-strategic position in the world. The two nations share a 1,600 km land border and a long maritime boundary in the strategically important Bay of Bengal and Andaman Sea. Myanmar is a meeting point of South Asia, East Asia and South-East Asia. India sees it as a gateway to ASEAN,” India has been pursuing affable relations with its eastern neighbour since the early 1990s with the purpose of countering China’s influence in the region as well as exploiting the incredible energy resources of Myanmar.

The prime minister of India, Manmohan Singh paid a historical visit to Myanmar in May 2012. The visit of the Prime Minister the first after 25 years (first by an Indian prime minister in 1987) is a historic milestone in the relations between India and Myanmar. In the meeting the Prime Minister of India and the President of Myanmar, Mr. U. Thein Sein, comprehensively reviewed the multifaceted bilateral relationship between the countries. They also took stock of developments since the very successful State visit of President U Thein Sein to India in October 2011. Both the leaders expressed satisfaction at the ongoing official exchanges and the growing economic, trade and cultural ties, as well as people-to-people exchanges.

Present paper gives a description and critical evaluation of the talks between Prime minister of India, Manmohan Singh and the President of Myanmar, Mr. U. Thein Sein. The key areas of the talks in the meeting were trade and finance, investment, border area development, transportation, connectivity, agriculture, promotion of friendly exchanges and human resource development.

The present paper provides the present relationship in different aspects between India and Myanmar and gives a brief description of the agreed action for them during the meeting. The paper also presents a critical note on the agreed action and need for the same.

The following instruments for enhancing bilateral cooperation were signed during the visit:

(i) Memorandum of Understanding regarding US$ 500 million Line of Credit
(ii) Air Services Agreement between India and Myanmar

(iii) Memorandum of Understanding on the India-Myanmar Border Area Development

(iv) Memorandum of Understanding on Establishment of Joint Trade and Investment Forum

(v) Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of the Advance Centre for Agriculture Research and Education (ACARE)

(vi) Memorandum of Understanding on Establishment of Rice Bio Park at the Department of Agricultural Research

(vii) Memorandum of Understanding towards setting up of Myanmar Institute of Information Technology

(viii) Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between Dagon University and Calcutta University

(ix) Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies and Indian Council of World Affairs.

(x) Agreement on Cooperation between Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies and Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis.

(xi) Cultural Exchange Programme (2012-2015)

(xii) Memorandum of Understanding on establishing of Border Haats across the border between Myanmar and India.

**Relationship between India and Myanmar**

The main areas which form the relationship between India and Myanmar are Information and technology, education, agriculture and food processing, forestry, mini hydel power plant, garments and textile, tourism, natural gas, gems and jewelry, pharmaceutical fertilizers, SME
industry, oil and gas explorations and transport. The detail of different aspects of relationship between India and Myanmar is as under:

**Peace and Security Relations**

India was one of the leading supporters of the Burmese independence and was the first to set up diplomatic relations after Burma (Myanmar) gained freedom from Great Britain 1948. India’s engagement with the Myanmar military Junta has helped ease the relations between the two countries. India’s support has enabled Myanmar to lessen the intensity of international isolation. India has also been instrumental in enrolling Myanmar a leading member of BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation). Both India and Myanmar has shared commitment to fight the scourge of terrorism and insurgent activity in all its forms and manifestations. Both of them emphasized the need for enhanced cooperation between security forces and border guarding agencies for securing peace, security and stability in the border areas, which was crucial for overall development.

In this context, India and Myanmar have welcomed the holding of the first meeting of the bilateral Regional Border Committee whose deliberations were useful in promoting such cooperation and understanding for better border management. Both India and Myanmar have reiterated the assurance that territories of either country would not be allowed to be used for activities inimical to the other, including for training, sanctuary and other operations by terrorist and insurgent organisations and their operatives. Both the countries also alluded to the importance of sound border management as an intrinsic part of maintaining border security. In this context, they directed that the respective Survey Departments should inspect and maintain boundary pillars in a systematic manner. They also directed the respective Heads of Survey Department to finalize dates for an early joint inspection of the sectors jointly identified at the 17th National Level Meeting.

**Development Cooperation between India and Myanmar**

India and Myanmar have different successful projects in the fields of infrastructure, agriculture, human resource development, industrial development, power, health etc. The development cooperation between the two countries is being financed under grants and concessional loans
amounting to US$ 1.2 billion till date. India and Myanmar have signed the MoU on the US$ 500 million Line of Credit to be utilized in the infrastructure development projects, including in the fields of Agriculture and Irrigation, Rail transportation and Electric power in Myanmar.

**Socio-Economic Cooperation**

Identifying the need for special focus on the development and prosperity of the people in bordering areas, the India and Myanmar have agreed to cooperate to bring about overall socio-economic development in the border areas by undertaking both infrastructure development and micro-economic projects, including up-gradation of roads and construction of schools, health centres, bridges, agriculture and related training activities in the area in accordance with the MoU on India-Myanmar Border Area Development (signed on Prime minister’s visit to Myanmar in May 2012). India has offered Myanmar to assist in production of large Cardamom in the Naga Self Administered zone.

**Cooperation in the field of Science and Technology**

Both India and Myanmar expressed their commitment to enhance cooperation in Science & Technology. The first meeting of the India-Myanmar Joint Working Group on Science and Technology was held on April 3, 2012 in which some priority areas for future cooperation were identified. The main areas among which were in the fields of agricultural biotechnology, post-harvest technology, medical biotechnology, medical research and renewable energy. Myanmar will prepare specific proposals on some of its priority projects so that their quick implementation can be smoothen.

Under a MoU signed during the visit, India provided financial and technical assistance to Myanmar to set up Myanmar Institute of Information Technology. The Indian Prime Minister announced continued technical and financial support for the India-Myanmar Centre for Enhancement of IT Skills in Yangon for a further 5 year period when it will also undergo a technology upgrade. The Indian Prime Minister announced a Fellowship for Myanmar Researchers to work in Indian Universities and Research Institutions, under which 10 slots would be allocated every year. Each Fellowship would be for 4-6 months duration in the areas of
Cooperation in the field of Training and education

Myanmar has always been a beneficiary of India training programmes. In 2011-2012, The Myanmar side requested for India’s assistance in arranging training programmes/fellowships in the areas of dairy development, cattle breeding, vaccine technology and assistance in setting up a milk and milk product factory in Shan State. The Indian side agreed to consider the proposal favourably. India has also offered training to two sets of local journalists who were given an intensive training at IIMC, New Delhi by XP division.

India announced to double the existing number of training slots in Indian Economic and Technical Cooperation (ITEC) programme. Now the number has increased from 200 to 500.

Cooperation in the field of Agriculture

India and Myanmar have a collective commitment to enhance agriculture cooperation. In this regard India gifted agricultural machinery to Myanmar under a grant of US$ 10 million. India and Myanmar have decided to establish the Advanced Centre for Agricultural Research and Education as a Centre for Excellence using cutting edge technology along with traditional knowledge and ecological conservation with financial and technical assistance from India. India and Myanmar have agreed to set up a Rice Bio Park within the Department of Agricultural Research, Yezin in Nay Pyi Taw so that the available techniques of sustainable rice biomass utilization may be demonstrated. These two institutions together will provide technological and research inputs to the Myanmar farming, academic and business communities. India also supported Myanmar for the construction of a modern cyclone-proof rice silo within the Model Integrated Farm at Nay Pyi Taw.

Power and Energy

India imports nearly seventy percent of its oil requirement. Only half of India’s gas demand of 170 million cubic meters a day is met internally. Indian expanding economy is now trying hard
to secure energy supplies due to its expectations of an exponential growth. Unfortunately, India’s oil diplomacy has not been sufficiently geared to meet the challenge; and its oil companies have been outsmarted (or under-bid) by Chinese firms in several deals. In the last few years, ONGC has been thwarted by Chinese firms in Kazakhstan, Ecuador and Angola. Top Chinese offshore producer CNOOC Ltd. acquired a 45% stake in a Nigerian oil and gas field for USD 2.3 billion. ONGC was also in this race, but withdrew due to objections in the cabinet.

Most embarrassingly, India also lost a deal in Myanmar where no open bidding was held. Myanmar decided to decline gas supply to the (proposed-but-grounded) Myanmar-Bangladesh-India pipeline. Instead, it signed an agreement with Petro china, under which Myanmar’s ministry of energy agreed to sell 6.5 TCF from A-1 block (Rakhine coastline) reserve through an overland pipeline to Kunming, for 30 years. All this happened despite the fact that India’s ONGC Videsh Ltd (OVL) and GAIL (India) Ltd., between them, hold 30% participating interest in this block. Anyhow, Myanmar could not be expected to have waited indefinitely for India and Bangladesh to resolve their mutual differences over a project based on sound economic logic but delayed because of domestic political compulsions. Myanmar, however, says that it could still supply gas to the tri-nation gas pipeline from other gas blocks if Bangladesh and India were successful in ironing out their differences.

Keeping all these factors in mind it was necessary for India to take a quick action in this regard. The two leaders emphasized the need for closer cooperation to further energy security. In this context, India and Myanmar have signed the Production Sharing Contract between the Government of Myanmar and the Jubilant Energy of India. India also has undertaken the preparation of Detailed Project Reports of the Tamanthi and Shwezaye hydropower projects.

**Culture and People to People Exchanges**

India and Myanmar share a strong history of historical relations. We can find the evidence of having the palace of the last Burmese king Thibaw Min in Ratnagiri, Maharashra. In a forgotten corner of Yangon is the tomb of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal emperor. He was exiled there by the British.
Indian and Myanmar are eager to establish think tanks and academic institutions and urged scholars to participate actively and exchange views in academic events being held in either country. The prime minister of India made an announcement that the Government of India will support for setting up a school with technical assistance from India.

Both India and Myanmar have agreed to start a Cultural Exchange Programme A Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP) for the period of 2012-2015 has been started between India and Myanmar to deepen the close bonds between the peoples of India and Myanmar. The CEP would also promote cultural exchanges between the North Eastern States of India and the bordering areas of Myanmar. An International Conference on Buddhist Heritage in Myanmar in December 2012 is to be organized with the cooperation of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Ministry of Religious Affairs of Myanmar and the Sitagu World Buddhist Association.

The project for conservation and restoration of the Ananda Temple in Bagan, Myanmar by the Archaeological Survey of India is expected to be completed over the next 2 years.

Regional and Multilateral

India and Myanmar have a broad range of regional and international issues of mutual interest. They agreed to continue their coordination on issues of common interest on the international agenda. They emphasized the importance of close coordination towards the cause of regional cooperation. Both the countries looked forward to further intensification of ASEAN-India cooperation under Myanmar's chairmanship of ASEAN in 2014. The Prime Minister of India emphasized that Myanmar holds a significant place both in India's Look East Policy and in its collaboration with ASEAN countries under the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI). The two countries agreed to cooperate closely on activities related to the forthcoming ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit.

Infrastructure Projects

India is interested in implementing infrastructure projects in Myanmar so that it may access to Bay of Bengal. Following are the projects between India and Myanmar:

The Kaladan Project-
Kaladan, a wide river with perennial water flow, originates in the upper reaches of Myanmar, enters Mizoram and then meanders back into Myanmar to continue its passage south to the Bay of Bengal. Navigation with 500-ton river crafts is possible all the way from Mizoram. Goods from the North-East could easily be transported by river to the Bay of Bengal and then onwards to markets in India and elsewhere. The circuitous surface route via Assam and through the Siliguri Corridor could be avoided, cutting transportation costs by nearly half.

The kaladan project includes emptying into the Bay of Bengal near the port of Sittwe. India has planned to develop this project as a major commercial hub, to distribute Mizoram’s bamboo crops and Myanmar’s forest wealth. The project also include the construction of two road i.e. 117 km extending NH154 to the border and 52 km from the border to Kaleutwa. India also has planned to develop the sea lanes between Sittwe and Kolkata and Visakhapatnam. Sittwe could also become a major distribution centre for oil and gas supplies to India’s North East.

This project provides a win-win situation for both the countries since the project is also of great significance for Myanmar. Myanmar can use Sittwe as an onshore hub for its gas industry. Further development of the Sittwe port into a gas and oil transshipment terminal may add to its importance. The project is a part of India’s Look East Policy, the project aims to further increase the Indo-Burma economic relationship as well as provide additional opportunities to connect commerce with India’s seven sister states in the Northeast.

**Connectivity, Transport and communication between India and Myanmar**

The connectivity between the two countries is very necessary to promote commercial, cultural, touristic and other exchanges between the peoples of the two countries. The Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit-cum-Transport Project is also making progress.

India and Myanmar have finalized the site of Land customs station at Zorinui (Mizoram). This project would enhance bilateral trade, people to people contact and contribute to the development and prosperity of the people living in the ‘land locked’ North Eastern region of India.

India has decided to undertake the task of repair/upgradation of 71 bridges on the Tamu-Kalewa friendship Road. India would also undertake the upgradation of the Kalewa-Yargyi road segment
to highway standard while Myanmar would undertake that of upgradation of the Yargyi-Monywa stretch to highway standard by 2016. This project would help in establishing trilateral connectivity from Moreh in India to Mae Sot in Thailand via Myanmar. India and Myanmar are keen to revive the Joint Task Force on the Trilateral Highway between India-Myanmar – Thailand. It was agreed that efforts would be made to establish seamless trilateral connectivity by 2016. Taking into account the importance of enabling people-to-people contacts, the two countries agreed to launch a trans-border bus service from Imphal, India to Mandalay.

India and Myanmar have signed the new Air Service agreement which would enhance direct air connectivity and facilitate easy business interaction, tourism and people-to people exchanges. At present, there are three weekly flights, connecting Kolkata and Yangon. Making the route more attractive to airlines, the new agreement enables carriers to combine flights to Myanmar with other destinations in South East Asia¹.

India and Myanmar have decided to constitute a Joint Working Group to determine the technical and commercial feasibility of cross-border rail links and the commercial feasibility of direct shipping links between the two countries. The two sides also discussed the possibility of Indian participation in development of key infrastructure projects, like Dawei port in Myanmar.

The road transport between the two countries is also increasing as both the countries have agreed to start the first official bus service from Imphal and Mandalay, Myanmar's second-largest city. It’s on the lines of Lahore and Dhaka bus service.

**Trade Relationship between India and Myanmar**

India and Myanmar have a rich experience of bilateral relations over five decades. The history of the relation provides evidence that these relations have been governed by many complex factors. Amongst them are the strategic location of Myanmar, India’s commitment to idealism-driven support to the restoration of democracy in Myanmar, realism-driven need to deal with those actually governing the country, the implications of China’s increasing presence and role in Myanmar etc.

¹ The Hindu
“India’s Look East Policy is not merely an external economic policy; it is also a strategic shift in India’s vision of the world and India’s place in the evolving global economy. Most of all it is about reaching out to our civilizational neighbours in South East Asia and East Asia”– Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh.

India and Myanmar have decided to work to identify and remove various impediments to bilateral trade. In this context, they have planned for the establishment of a representative office of the United Bank of India in Yangon as a first step in facilitating business-friendly banking transactions between the two countries.

India and Myanmar urged the business community to enthusiastically participate in each other's trade fairs and also to share information on the prevailing trade and investment policies through organization of seminars and business related events in specific sectors of mutual interest.

India is Myanmar's fourth largest trading partner (after Thailand, China and Singapore) and absorbs about 25% of its total exports. The bilateral trade between India and Myanmar expanded from US $ 12.4 million in 1980-81 to US $ 1070.88 million in 2010-2011.

Table: Bilateral Trade between India and Myanmar (in US $ millions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>India’s export</th>
<th>India’s import</th>
<th>Total trade</th>
<th>Trade balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>139.95</td>
<td>781.93</td>
<td>921.19</td>
<td>-641.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-08</td>
<td>185.43</td>
<td>809.94</td>
<td>995.37</td>
<td>-624.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-09</td>
<td>221.64</td>
<td>928.97</td>
<td>1150.61</td>
<td>-707.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>207.97</td>
<td>1289.8</td>
<td>1497.77</td>
<td>-1081.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-2011</td>
<td>194.75</td>
<td>876.13</td>
<td>1070.88</td>
<td>-681.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-12 (April-Dec)</td>
<td>217.65</td>
<td>763.32</td>
<td>814.6</td>
<td>-545.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that the bilateral trade between India and Myanmar is increasing significantly but the trade has always been in the favor of Myanmar (Since India’s imports is less than India’s export to Myanmar.

2 Central Statistical Organisation
There is considerable untapped potential for greater trade between India and ASEAN. India hopes to double by 2015 the bilateral trade that currently stands at $1.3 billion. Myanmar is a key member of the 10-nation bloc Association of South East Asian Nations (Asean). India is now Myanmar's third biggest export market, behind China and Thailand.

The main commodities of exports from India to Myanmar include pharmaceutical products, iron and steel, prepared animal fodder, mechanical appliances and electrical machinery. While the main commodities of Imports from Myanmar include vegetables, certain roots and tubers, wood and its articles as well as wood charcoal. In order to develop Myanmar’s multi-lateral trade, India can take the initiative by introducing some new products in the ambit of bilateral trade like bicycles and spare parts, life saving drugs, fertilizers, textiles, gold plated jewelry, fruits, pulses, tea, gems etc. Already, India imports about 60% of Myanmar’s export of pulses. India can also provide the technology to improve productivity in Myanmar’s tea industry. Indian proficiency in gem cutting and polishing can be harnessed to give a enhancement to the semi-precious gem industry in Myanmar.

**The border trade**

The hope that the greater border trade with Myanmar would revitalize the economy of the North East and help to suppress narcotic and arms trafficking was not fulfilled. So the two leaders directed that a bilateral Border Trade Committee should be set up to implement the earlier decision that meetings would be held regularly between the border trade officials and businesspersons in Tamu-Moreh and Rhi-Zowkhathar. The first India Myanmar border trade agreement was signed in 1994. The two countries have two border points, which are Moreh-Tamu, Zow khatar –Rhi, and the third border trade point is proposed to be established at Avakhung-Pansat/somrai. The third border trade point is expected to give a total trade of US $12.8 million.

The road on the Indian side to Moreh is sub-standard. Two-way trade is constrained by the small list of tradable goods, excessive regulation and restrictions; and is negligible compared to trade across the Myanmar’s borders with China and Thailand. India’s North East is swamped by goods of Chinese origin, but there is hardly any movement of Indian exports in the opposite direction.
Taking into account the needs of communities residing near the border, the countries have decided to set up border haats along the border and the MOU agreed for this purpose. They also noted that the decision to upgrade banking infrastructure at border trade points would also facilitate greater trade between people living in these areas.

**Banking and Investment**

The main areas of economic transactions between India and Myanmar have been agriculture, telecommunication, aviation and gas exploration. Myanmar is making several efforts to attract Indian companies in the field of Pharmaceuticals, cement, fertilizers, steel, IT, food processing, hospitality, manufacturing, oil and gas, plantation and ICT.

Myanmar-compiled figures show that India's contracted investments in Myanmar reached USD 219.57 million as of January 2008, of which USD 137 million was in the oil and gas sector. India has given USD 100 million credit for Myanmar's infrastructure, while USD 57 million has been offered to upgrade the railway system. A further USD 27 million in grants has been pledged for road and rail projects, but there is little yet to show in terms of concrete benefit.

In order to promote trade and investment between the two countries A Trade and Investment forum was created. Now the two countries underscored the importance of the newly created Trade and Investment Forum in enabling timely and accurate exchange of information and ideas.

The Myanmar side welcomed the proposals for the training of Myanmar officials in the Banking sector by Indian banks and for cooperation in the Agriculture Banking sector. Considering the vast potential for promoting trade between the two countries, both sides agreed that the Reserve Bank of India would sign an MoU with the Central Bank of Myanmar on currency arrangements between India and Myanmar in the near future. Further, the Reserve Bank of India would also conclude an MoU with the Central Bank of Myanmar to serve as a platform for an exchange of views on issues of mutual interest. Both the countries agreed upon sharing of banking experiences and technical know-how from State Bank of India or any other bank as mutually agreed.
Conclusion

Geographical proximity, ethnic and cultural heritage, Asian values and religion have been unending factors moulding ties between India and Myanmar. The two countries have related to each other as neighbours, strangers, even adversaries at times, but mostly as friends and partners. Happily, neither has treated the other as irrelevant to its national interests. Manmohan Singh visit to Myanmar also proved to be a catapult the momentum of investment and trade relations with Myanmar. The outcome of India’s concerted efforts for the India-Myanmar trade agreement was first signed during PV Narshimera Rao’s regime in January, 1994.

Myanmar is experiencing the sluggish reforms and strengthening its democracy, opening its economy and re-balancing its external relations. During the recent visit in May 2012 both the countries adopted a forward looking and constructive approach. The changing relationship between the two countries creates new opportunities for Myanmar and India to deepen their dialogue and strengthen their cooperation. An increasing consciousness in India about Myanmar’s importance gives motivation to academia, think tanks, NGOs, artists, media and strategic community to re-discover and strengthen links with their counterparts in Myanmar.

The two decades of India-Asean engagement, Myanmar’s chair of Asean in 2014, Asean’s deadline to establish Economic Community in 2015, and Myanmar’s next general elections in 2015 will combine to ensure that India-Myanmar relations receive far greater attention than before. Thus, the period 2012-15 is likely to be of transformational importance.

The pace of changing relationship between India and Myanmar is very fast in strengthening the economic ties between the two countries. Apart from inadequate awareness and respect for the psyche of the leadership in Myanmar, India has not shown much subtlety or finesse (not even matching the limited subtlety or finesse shown in Sri Lanka) in dealing with them. So it is need for both the countries to enhance awareness about the high stakes involved in a revitalised relationship. India should pay attention to what it wants to achieve in the long run and what kind of relationship it wants with Myanmar. India has enormous social, cultural, and political capital in Myanmar. All it needs to do is capitalize on that and build a long-term strategic partnership with the country."
Myanmar regards China’s increasing influence with disbelief and sees India as the only viable way to balance China’s increasing intrusion, especially in the Kachin and Shan states. For this and other reasons, Myanmar is keen to have good relations with India. India needs to fine-tune its strategy for dealing with Myanmar, focusing not on what should be or might have been, but on what can be done.

There is no evidence of a clear vision about what we want and how to get it. There is hardly any visible coordinated stance or approach, with too many loose cannons around. Often, India seems to be shooting at its own toes instead of at the target. On the commercial and trade fronts, where most deals are government-to-government, the government’s bureaucratic procedures seem to dominate the decision-making process in the public sector oil companies. There is an urgent need to change this to become commercially competitive in today’s fast-paced international milieu.

Fortunately, India currently enjoys fairly good political, economic and military-relations with Myanmar. India is also involved in infrastructure projects for better India-Myanmar connectivity.

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