



Research Article

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Chinese Factors in India Relationship with Myanmar in the Period 1992 – 2014

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Abstract

India and Myanmar are two neighboring countries have a traditional, close and longstanding relationship. Through many vicissitudes and fluctuations of history, bilateral relations have been retained and developed since the Cold War to the present. In relations with Myanmar, India cannot ignore the Chinese factor. China is a “rising” power in Asia and a neighbor to both India and Myanmar. With the third largest area and largest population in the world, China has a very important influence on the diplomatic relations of the countries, including the relations between India and Myanmar. Considered as a strategic competitor of India in the 21st century, China has a great influence on the country in improving and developing relations with neighboring countries, including Myanmar. On the basis of the reference sources, this research’s aim is to analyze China’s role in India - Myanmar relations process in the years 1992 - 2014, thereby helping readers to recognize the great impact of the Chinese factor on the development of the relationship mentioned above. The scope of this research is the Chinese factor for India - Myanmar relations in the period when India implemented the “Look East” policy (1992 - 2014). The research shows that the factor’s impact on India - Myanmar relations in the aforementioned period is regular and takes place in many fields, with the focus on political - diplomacy, economic and security - defense. With the strategic importance of neighboring Myanmar, India cannot “forget” its Chinese strategic competitor in relations with Myanmar as well as other neighboring countries in the 21st century.

Keywords: China, factor, India, Myanmar, relations

1. Introduction

India, Myanmar and China are three countries that have had a neighboring relationship from history to the present day. The relationship between these countries has become increasingly important,

especially since the Cold War's end to the beginning of the twenty-first century. The fierce India - China competition along with the strategic importance of Myanmar's geopolitical position has made the triangular relations of three countries more closely linked, attracting the interest of the international community. In the process of implementing foreign policy towards Myanmar, India cannot help but pay attention to the impact of the Chinese factor. This is a factor that has a regular and continuous impact on India - Myanmar relations. If the India - Myanmar relationship has fluctuated in recent decades, China - Myanmar relations is a close tie. The decline in relations between India and Myanmar from 1962 to 1992, especially in the years 1988 - 1992, contributed to pushing Myanmar closer to China.

While India was still pursuing the ideal principles of peace, friendship, and support for the democracy movement in Myanmar, China established a firm position and close relationship with neighboring Myanmar. Since 1988, China has become a close ally, largest trading partner and firm backer to the Myanmar military regime against the U.S. and Western countries, United Nation sanctions on democratic repression and human rights abuses in this country. Myanmar's military government considered China's economic, military and political support to be vital in a world where they have very few powerful friends. China - Myanmar relations has developed so well that it is considered as the "brother relationship" (Pauk-Phaw)¹. This reflected the close and intimate relationship between two countries, because the word "Pauk-Phaw" has never been used by Myanmar to refer to its relationship with any other country (Geng, 2007, p.1).

From this article's research, China plays a role as a "key factor" to push India to put aside the principles of "ideal" and democracy to improve and develop relations with Myanmar since New Delhi implemented the new foreign policy - "Look East" policy (1992). Besides, one of the key factors that prompted the New Delhi government to transform its foreign policy from "idealism" to "realism" in its relations with Myanmar, is the growing influence of China in this Southeast Asian country and security threats from Northeast India, which is bordered by China and Myanmar (Bhatia, 2016, p.101). China is also the factor that prompted Myanmar's military leaders to multilateralize diplomatic relations in general and establish good relations with India in particular in the 1990s of the twentieth century. The intimacy of the China - Myanmar relationship since the late 1980s has become a serious concern for India because it has posed from China's threats to the states in Northeast of India. Therefore, India's leaders have made efforts to build a comprehensive relationship with Myanmar from the fields of political - diplomacy, defense, trade, energy, to development aid... It can be said that India - Myanmar relations (1992 - 2014) are clearly influenced by the Chinese factor. It is the reality of China - Myanmar relations and the changes in the international and regional situation after the Cold War that forced India to adjust its foreign policy towards a more "real" direction in improving and maintaining and developing relationships with neighboring Myanmar.

In addition to the introduction, method and conclusion, this article's results and discussion focuses on analysis an overview of India - Myanmar relations before 1992 and the Chinese factor's emergence and the Chinese factor with the development of India - Myanmar relations from 1992 to 2014. This article can be considered as a necessary reference for the study of India's foreign policy in general and India's policy towards Myanmar in particular, as well as India - Myanmar - China relations (1992 - 2014).

2. Method

This article uses a combination of historical approaches and interdisciplinary approaches. The following methods were used such as logical, statistical sampling, and analysis. In addition to reviewing the studies and evaluations of previous scholars, the authors use a comparative approach to evaluate the practical interaction between theory and data.

¹ Myanmar language means siblings or close friends

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 An overview of India - Myanmar relations before 1992 and the Chinese factor's emergence

India and Myanmar are neighboring each other and have a have a traditional, close and longstanding relationship. Through many ups and downs in history, the political, cultural, religious, social relations... between India and Myanmar are the basis for bilateral relations in modern times. On January 4, 1948, India and Myanmar officially established diplomatic ties, opening a new era in the history of bilateral relations (Pradhan, 1981, p.77). Then, on July 7, 1951, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Myanmar Sao Hkun Hkio and Indian Ambassador in Myanmar M.A Rauf had signed the Treaty of Friendship in Yangon (Myanmar), is a historical landmark offering friendly relations India - Myanmar onto a new level. Warmth in bilateral relations is reflected in the statement of Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru: "We are in frequent touch with the Government of Burma on many matters. We are not only friendly in the normal sense of the word, but if I may say so somewhat more friendly" (Pradhan, 1981, p.84). Later on March 17, 1953, while making a foreign policy statement in the course of his reply to the foreign policy debate in the House of the People in New Delhi, J. Nehru declared that "India's relations with Burma have never been so co-operative and friendly as now" (Pradhan, 1981, p.84).

Like India, China is also the major neighbor of Myanmar. Among five countries which share the land border with Myanmar, China has the longest border (2,185 km). China - Myanmar relations were formed shortly after China gained independence². Myanmar was the first non-Communist as well as the first Asian country to recognize the People's Republic of China (Myoe, 2011, p.13). In 1954, China and Myanmar signed the first trade agreement. On January 28, 1960, two countries signed a Treaty of Friendship and Non-aggression (Than, 2003, p.191). China - Myanmar relations experienced a period of friendship after the two countries gained independence. For a long time, the Beijing government has been striving to establish close commercial, military and economic relations with Yangon.

For India - Myanmar relations, if the period 1948-1962 showed the friendly and close relationship, the years 1962-1991 were the period when the relationship between two countries was reduced and almost "freeze". The event that marked India - Myanmar relations turning the other way is a military coup led by General Ne Win to overthrow the civilian government of U Nu, ushering in the period when the army took power in Myanmar (March, 1962). Under the rule of the Ne Win government, Myanmar has implemented domestic and foreign policies that are not conducive to this bilateral relation. On the domestic side, Ne Win's government has ordered the expulsion of the Indian diaspora community from Myanmar in order to quickly abolish the role and status of the Indian business class. During the 1960s and 70s, many Indians had to leave Myanmar, specifically about 100,000 people (1964) (Routray, 2011, p.301). This has added to India's discontent with Myanmar. On foreign policy, the government of Ne Win seek balanced by the relationship between Myanmar and the United States, the Soviet Union and China. Despite being a neighboring country with an international politics, India is not an important factor in Myanmar's foreign policy. In addition, during a Sino - Indian border conflict broke out in October 1962, Myanmar military government showed a neutral stand on the issue. The silence of Myanmar was interpreted as "pro-Chinese" by Indian government and naturally India - Myanmar relations were disturbed (Zaw et al., 2001, p.91). All of these historical facts make India oppose the military regime in Myanmar. In the context of Ne Win's military government in Myanmar being condemned by India and the international community, China is still the only country that maintains diplomatic relations with neighboring Myanmar.

During the period of General Ne Win's reign (1962 - 1988), India generally maintained a neutral relationship with little regard for Myanmar. At that time, the Indian leaders considered that the first priority was the commitment to "democratic values", while the "security concerns" were considered

² Myanmar and the People's Republic of China formally established diplomatic relations on June 8, 1950

secondary in India's foreign policy with Myanmar (Singh, 2007, p.1). The attitudes and policies of the Indian government to the Myanmar government on democracy have brought relations between two countries to the lowest point (1988)³ due to the fierce reaction from India before the main action. Myanmar government suppressed protesters, including many of Indian descent (Yhome, 2009, p.1). After the "8888" event, China became the close ally and had an important voice for Myanmar. By the end of the 1990s, China had also emerged as Myanmar's principal aid provider and economic partner (Naidu, 2015, p.18). In the opposite side, along with the actions to suppress the democracy movement (1988), the denial of the parliamentary election results (1990) of the Myanmar military government also made the international community strongly condemn this government, including neighboring India. Therefore, strategically, due to the combination of the isolation of the United States and Western countries from Myanmar, India's policy in the period of 1988-1991 has contributed significantly in bringing Myanmar closer to China. Since 1988, China became the only country with close ties with Myanmar's military government. *"The Burmese regularly affirm their appreciation of Chinese friendship, and the Chinese in turn continue to provide key diplomatic support"* (Myint-U, 2011, p.218).

Thus, the relationship between India and Myanmar from two countries gained independence to the early 1990s of the twentieth century has been happening with many complicated and deteriorating events in most fields. Throughout the process of India - Myanmar relations from 1948 until the Cold War's end, China was one of the factors that greatly influenced not only this relationship but also played an important role in foreign policy of this Southeast Asian neighbor. That has contributed to the deterioration of the India - Myanmar relations, even at times "tense" and "freeze". The increasingly tight relationship between Myanmar and China is an expensive lesson for India in terms of national strategy and interests. This has forced India to recalculate its foreign policy towards neighboring Myanmar since the early 1990s.

3.2 *The Chinese factor with the development of India - Myanmar relations from 1992 to 2014*

Since 1992, India's foreign policy with Myanmar has undergone fundamental changes since the time it launched the "Look East" policy⁴ and also significantly improved India - Myanmar relations. The change in India's policy with Myanmar since the Cold War's end was influenced by the factor of neighboring China. India is concerned not only about China's influence and power increasing in Myanmar, but it could also create a "pro-Chinese alliance" in the region that includes countries: Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Myanmar. From the early 90s of the twentieth century, the Chinese factor continued to have a strong and clear impact on the relationship between India and Myanmar. While India, the United States and Western countries have voiced their opposition to the Myanmar military government over its crackdown on democracy and human rights violations, China has become the only country with almost close ties and supporting the government of this country. The warmth in China -

³ On August 8, 1988, thousands of students and people in the capital Rangoon and major cities took to the streets to protest against corruption, the suppression of democracy, the government's inability to manage economy and develop the country (Myanmar history called the "8888" event). However, the protests were bloodied by the military government. This has resulted in the deaths of thousands of innocent students and people from Myanmar. This event has been strongly condemned by the United Nations, the United States, Western countries... and India. This is also the main reason why the United States and Western countries implemented the policy of embargo and economic sanctions on Myanmar. In this context, China not only did not object but also supported and sponsored Myanmar's military government.

⁴ Look East Policy was officially launched in 1992 and has been implemented since the time of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao (1991-1996). The birth of "Look East" policy lies in India's long-term strategic calculation of reaching out to the Asia - Pacific region. Through its policy, India sees East Asia as a primary concern in its foreign policy. Look East Policy is fully implemented by India in the fields of politics - diplomacy, security - military, economy, culture and sub-regional cooperation. Through developing trade relations with countries in East Asia, India aims at economic integration with the Asia - Pacific region, in which India aims to build the Asian Economic Community.

Myanmar relations has become India's biggest concern, as well as making China's threat to states in northeastern India visible⁵. China also strives to deploy and promote the construction of the China-Myanmar transport corridor on the basis of strategic and economic benefits, creating momentum for the country to implement the "two oceans" strategy (Fan, 2011, p.45). Therefore, the adjustment of India's foreign policy since the Cold War, especially the "Look East" policy (since 1992), has proved India's need to improve relations with the neighboring country Myanmar in order to curb the rise of China. India - Myanmar relations have gained a lot of achievements in the main fields: politics - diplomacy, economy and security - defense.

In the field of politics - diplomacy, since 1992, the relationship between two countries have gradually improved and developed through regular exchanges and contacts in high-level relations, through which many important documents have been signed. During the talks, the leaders of the two countries agreed on some important issues: Myanmar will not allow the rebel groups to use Myanmar territory against India; Myanmar is committed to restoring democracy and wants India to support this process; India is committed to supporting military government efforts to establish a democratic government in Myanmar. Referring to the democratic process in Myanmar, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh stated: *"The transition to a democracy is a complex process but it creates the best possibilities for addressing both political stability and economic development"* (Vietnam News Agency, 2006, p.15).

In 2014, when Prime Minister Modi took over the office, India's Act East Policy (AEP) was unveiled at the 12th ASEAN - India Summit, held in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. In his Opening Statement at the 12th ASEAN - India Summit, Prime Minister Modi said: *"A new era of economic development, industrialization and trade has begun in India. Externally, India's "Look East Policy" has become "Act East Policy" (Modi, 2014)*. In terms of policy, Prime Minister Narendra Modi is interested in promoting economic programs with Southeast Asian countries to attract investment, especially in the fields of infrastructure and commercial locations in area. The Indian Government wants to take more practical actions in strengthening relations with ASEAN countries. This can be seen as an Indian step in strengthening strategic relations and expanding economic relations with Southeast Asian countries. With the first steps of "Act East", Southeast Asia region still plays an important role in India's foreign strategy. This creates favorable conditions for India - ASEAN relations in general and India - Myanmar relations in particular to be strengthened and developed in the following years.

It can be said that India's practical diplomacy with Myanmar since 1992 is a *"parallel two-way policy"* combining *"India's political and spiritual support for democratic forces"* with *"a commitment to the Myanmar military government to improve and enhance relations between the two governments"* (Bhatia, 2016, p.101-102), thereby helping India strengthen relations with Myanmar - a neighboring country with an important strategic position - from the field of politics to bilateral economic and trade cooperation and security - defense. This flexibility has allowed India to support, encourage and stay in touch with the democracy movement, while continuing to strengthen ties with Myanmar's military government. (Bhatia, 2016, p.200).

In the economic field, with the implementation of "Look East" policy, Myanmar was considered a "trade bridge" for India to enter the Southeast Asian market. During the 90s of the twentieth century, since when India and Myanmar improved their relations, bilateral trade almost increased every year. In 2000, the total value of Myanmar's exports to India reached 220 million USD, while that of India to Myanmar stopped at 75.36 million USD during the same period. In fiscal year 2010-2011, India - Myanmar bilateral trade continued to reach 1,071 billion USD, of which India's exports to Myanmar reached 194.92 million USD and import value was 876.91 million USD (Nguyen Tuan Binh, 2016, p.10). Currently, India becomes Myanmar's fourth largest trading partner, after Thailand, China and Singapore and is Myanmar's second-largest import market for goods after Thailand. India's exports account for 25% of Myanmar's total exports.

⁵ Northeastern India is sandwiched among Bangladesh, Bhutan, the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Myanmar

In the field of investment, a series of Indian projects investing in Myanmar and joint cooperation projects between the two countries have been implemented. India's first important project with Myanmar is the Tamu - Kalewa - Kalemyo highway 160km from Moreh, Manipur state (Northeast India) to Mandalay (Myanmar) (2001), worth 1 billion Rupee, fully funded by the Indian government. This is an Indian initiative that will not only boost trade, but also strengthen the friendship of the peoples of the two countries. In 2002, India and Myanmar also reached a consensus on the approval of the Kaladin waterway project linking the Sittwe port (Myanmar) with Mizoram (Northeast India). In addition, with its outstanding advantages, India has helped Myanmar modernize satellite communication centers and implement information technology projects for Myanmar. In 2005, the Indian Government provided a number of credit packages for telecommunications and information technology projects in Myanmar. At the same time, India has also extended credits granted to other special projects such as upgrading the phone line connecting Yangon with Mandalay; open 500 km of fiber optic cable connecting Moreh (Manipur state) with Mandalay in order to facilitate communication and connection through wide band between regions; establishing Asymmetric digital subscriber line (ADSL) in Yangon and Mandalay. After the visit of India to President Thein Sein (October 2011), the government of New Delhi expanded the credit flow of 300 million USD for the development of railroads, airports, traffic and loads lines, refineries... for Myanmar.

With abundant resources, Myanmar has become a "golden land" for major countries in the world to promote investment and exploitation of energy and two neighboring countries India and China are the partners with many advantages. In recent years, Myanmar has become a competitive hub between China and India in exploiting and transporting gas from Myanmar's offshore to these two countries. While India's ambition is to get gas from Myanmar's Shwe gas field by pipeline through Bangladesh territory, China wants to exploit the same source through a pipeline through the highlands on China - Myanmar border arrived in Kunming, the capital of Yunnan (Kumar, 2016, p.304-305).

In terms of military security, since 1992, India and Myanmar have cooperated against rebel forces in the border areas, fighting drug trafficking and smuggling in the border areas; help train soldiers; transfer of weapons; joint drills and high-level meetings of the defense leaders of two countries... From 2000 onwards, along with strengthening defense relations in various fields, the activities of anti-insurgent coordination on the border of the two countries continued to be strongly promoted. Myanmar has closed training camps of anti-Indian rebels operating in the country. Both countries pledged to fight terrorism to ensure peace and stability in the region. Indian army takes strict measures to control the border of Manipur, Myanmar. This is a step in the right direction to prevent insurgents from crossing the border into India with weapons, explosives or escaping from the border when cornered. In addition, two countries have also made efforts in anti-trafficking, weapons and money laundering activities in the border areas... To strictly control security, India and Myanmar both agreed to set up four more points (Lungwa, Bihang, Sapi and Zokawathar) in the border area to facilitate the coordination between two countries' militaries. India and Myanmar have erected barriers to the border for easy control on a border along the state of Mizoram with a length of 404 km. Two countries are expected to continue fencing 14km near the international border in Moreh area (Karim, 2012).

In the process of developing India - Myanmar relations from 1992 to 2014, China has always been a factor of regular impact, not only for the implementation of India's "Look East" policy but also to improve the relationship with neighboring Myanmar. Besides, China's growing intervention in Myanmar's military government and the strategic bases that China is building in Myanmar have made India deeply concerned. Myanmar is not only strategically important to India, but also a "key factor" to China's ambition to reach the Indian Ocean. Indian defense officials said that the possible development of Chinese naval facilities on the Bay of Bengal, in particular, is seen as "an ominous development" with grave implications for India's long-term security. If such facilities were built, they would give China better access to the Indian Ocean, long considered an Indian preserve, and add a worrying maritime element to the geostrategic competition between the two regional powers (Selth, 1996, p.218). Therefore, in parallel with India's efforts in Myanmar, China has also acted to protect its rights and influence in this neighboring country.

Beside of becoming Myanmar's largest arms supplier, China has assisted Myanmar to build a dock for naval facilities on Coco Island, located about 18 km from Nicobar Island (India). At the same time, China has also set up a modern reconnaissance and electronic information system on the island. China has set up observation posts at Sittwe and Zadetkyi Kyun Island (Myanmar) to allow it to monitor traffic in the Malacca Strait (Hong, 2008, p.6). In addition, China has assisted Myanmar in the development of naval bases at Sittwe, Hianggyi, Khaukphyu, Mergui and Zadetkyi Kyun by building refueling facilities and radar stations to support the Chinese submarines are operating in the Bay of Bengal (Singh, 2007, p.3). China's moves in the Andaman Sea and the Bay of Bengal are the first steps to ensure the highest interests for China in the Indian Ocean. The facilities are used to gather intelligence on Indian naval operations and serve as a base for Chinese naval operations in the Indian Ocean. As India's efforts to expand its navy are stagnant, the growing presence of Chinese naval forces in the area has had a huge strategic consequence on India, because of India's traditional geographic advantages, it is increasingly at risk from China's increasing ability to penetrate Myanmar.

From the beginning of the 21st century, China has strongly engaged in Myanmar and covertly reduced India's influence through the implementation of the "String of Pearls"⁶ strategy to establish a series of seaports in Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia countries. To implement this strategy, China has improved relations with most of India's neighbors including Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. In this context, Myanmar is a place where China can use as a springboard for its ambition to expand its sphere of influence in Southeast Asia and South Asia (Gupta, 2013, p.82). In addition, China also promotes political support activities with Myanmar. For example, on September 15, 2006, at the United Nations conference, China protested against putting Myanmar's issue on the Security Council agenda. In early 2007, China defended its government at the United Nations forum. On January 12, 2007, the United States and United Kingdom submitted a draft resolution about Myanmar's problems to the United Nations Security Council. The resolution called on the government of Myanmar to release all political prisoners, including democratic leader Aung San Suu Kyi, and engage in political dialogue leading to genuine democratic transition. To support the Myanmar military government, China has used its veto on this draft resolution (Hong, 2008, p.1). Wang Guangya, China's ambassador to the United Nations declared: *"The present domestic situation in Myanmar does not pose a threat to international or regional peace and security"* and *"similar problems exists in many other countries as well"* (Womack, 2010, p.244). Experiencing many ups and downs, Myanmar and China have constantly strengthened, tightened and upgraded their relations to a comprehensive strategic cooperation partnership (May 2011) after President Thein Sein's China visit (Chenyang, 2012, p.58). That fact and many other factors have caused Indian authorities to change their minds in foreign policy to neighboring Myanmar. Instead of resolving to maintain the traditional views on democracy and peace, India's policies have become more realistic in relations with Myanmar since 1992. As a result, India has strived to improve and build relationships with Myanmar in key areas and first of all build trust at the highest levels of the two countries.

4. Conclusion

If we look at the whole process of India - Myanmar relations from the early 60s of the twentieth century, we always see the existence and impact of the Chinese factor. This is rooted in Myanmar's geostrategic

⁶ *The String of Pearls is a geopolitical theory on potential Chinese intentions in the Indian Ocean region. It refers to the network of Chinese military and commercial facilities and relationships along its sea lines of communication, which extend from the Chinese mainland to Port Sudan in the Horn of Africa. The sea lines run through several major maritime choke points such as the Strait of Mandeb, the Strait of Malacca, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Lombok Strait as well as other strategic maritime centers in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, the Maldives, and Somalia. China wants to build more military bases, namely naval bases, in many different countries. These bases are considered "Pearls" within the "Chain" stretching from Southern China to the Indian Ocean.*

position in China's strategy and the competition between China and India on the way of asserting their position and power in the region and in the world. Myanmar has an important strategic location, located between China and India. This is the position connecting Asia - Pacific strategic belt with the Indian Ocean. Myanmar has become an important "bridge" for Chinese goods to enter Southeast Asia and to India. In addition, Myanmar is an Indian Ocean coastal country, so for Chinese policymakers, Myanmar is increasingly more important strategic value for China. Myanmar is the only neighbor that can help China access the Indian Ocean from the east, namely the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea (Myoe, 2015, p.26-27). Therefore, this Southeast Asian country has important implications for China's investment strategy, external relations, oil and gas security as well as border security.

In the process of implementing foreign policy with Myanmar, India cannot help but pay attention to the impact of the Chinese factor. If India - Myanmar relations have been ups and downs in recent decades, China - Myanmar relations will be close. In the years 1988-1992, when India was still pursuing the ideals of peace, democracy, and supporting democracy movement in Myanmar, China established a solid position in this neighbor country. In the period 1962-1991, the cold and tense relationship between India and Myanmar created a "space" for China to have conditions to penetrate deeper and enhance its presence and influence in Myanmar. It was during the time when India was "chilly" or tension with the Myanmar military government that it was when India pushed Myanmar closer to China. Thereby, China has established a close relationship with Myanmar's military government and exploited many potentialities and advantages from this country. The better the China - Myanmar relationship, the more detrimental it will be for India. Because if China succeeds in enticing Myanmar, this move will pave the way for China to encircle India through three pro-Chinese governments (Bangladesh, Pakistan and Myanmar) to create the security instability for India.

In the India - Myanmar - China triangle, the fierce competition between India and China in Myanmar takes place in many key areas such as politics - diplomacy, trade, investment, energy and military - security... Many times, Myanmar authorities have to face the dominant interests and fall into the dilemma in the relationship between India and China. In terms of China - Myanmar relations, India still cannot separate Myanmar from China's "arms". China now has greater economic and political power than India. Myanmar is not only strategically important to neighboring India but also a "vital" factor to China's ambition to reach the Indian Ocean. In parallel with the Indian policy's adjustments and improvement and development of diplomatic relations with Myanmar, China also implemented measures to maintain its strategic interests and interests in the country. Therefore, the New Delhi government has not been able to strike a balance with the Beijing government in the competition in neighboring Myanmar at present.

The above analysis shows that India will have to continue to find ways to curb China's growing influence, otherwise India's interests in Myanmar will be limited for a short time only. So, in areas of cooperation with Myanmar, India must have a wise foreign policy with this neighboring country as well as with China to eliminate the disadvantages and multiply the success factors to achieve India has the highest benefits for India in a trend of both cooperation and competition.

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