

30 Months of Myanmar Military Coup



A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYTICAL REPORT ON INDIA'S APPROACH AND RELATIONS WITH MYANMAR

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This report is conducted by
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ORGANISATION INTRODUCTIONS



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Burma Affairs and Conflict Study - BACS

Established in February 2021, this group was co-founded by a cohort of young individuals hailing from diverse backgrounds and fields. It commenced its operations as an underground entity, with its initial objective being the accumulation of intelligence regarding military movements. The data gathered by BACS was subsequently disseminated to other revolutionary organisations as crucial information. The collective underwent a transformation, adopting the name "Burma Affairs and Conflict Study (BACS)," and officially initiated its activities in September 2022. BACS functions as a group dedicated to the watchful monitoring and meticulous documentation of each action undertaken by the Myanmar Military, alternatively recognised as the SAC and notorious for its terrorist attributes. The core objectives encompass the complete dismantling of any form of military regime and the realisation of transitional justice in the aftermath of a successful revolution. Within the context of the collective's year-long campaigns, BACS has undertaken the collection and analysis of the military's actions and engagements, specifically concerning their illegitimate electoral activities. Furthermore, BACS has been engaged in the compilation and assessment of propaganda, psychological warfare, instances of human rights violations, and war crimes perpetrated by the SAC. The data is sourced from publicly accessible news media, subsequently being utilised to formulate concise briefings and comprehensive reports.



India for Myanmar

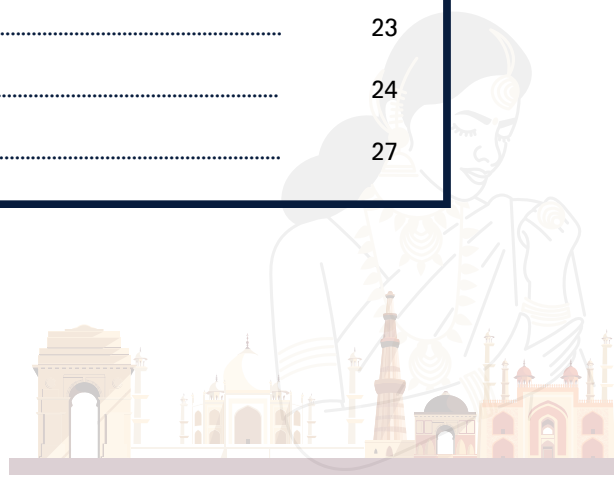
"India For Myanmar" movement is a free and independent movement, with the slogan "India People's Solidarity is the key to Myanmar democracy movement" that started on October 15 of 2021. The "India For Myanmar" movement constitutes a grassroots initiative aimed at fostering greater solidarity between the populations of Myanmar and India. This movement is actively advocating throughout India for the severance of ties between the terrorist Myanmar military group and the Indian government.

In writing and compiling this report, we independently researched and written without receiving financial support or profit from any organisations or countries.

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The world's influential nations and major international organisations, including the United Nations, rejected the unlawful takeover by the terrorist military group. The Military Council remains unrecognised and is isolated from global and regional diplomatic and political interactions. International countries have also imposed sanctions on the terrorist military group concerning their financial and political activities. Nevertheless, certain nations maintain relations with the Military Council due to their own interests, and they engage in diplomatic and business sectors. One of these nations is India, recognised as the world's largest democracy. Myanmar and India, neighbouring countries sharing an extensive border, must collaborate on various fronts such as political, economic, trade, investment, border management, security concerns, and regional diplomatic and political dynamics.

Armed conflict in Myanmar is intensifying as armed resistance opposes the military council. Additionally, the crisis in Myanmar has created difficult circumstances along India's northeastern border. The continuous armed conflict has led to a substantial influx of refugees from Chin State and Sagaing into the northeastern region of India, resulting in complex humanitarian challenges. Striking a balance between broader geopolitical interests and pressing humanitarian concerns demands a level of meticulous attention unprecedented in India's history. The unexpected military coup in Myanmar has intricately complicated the trajectory of India-Myanmar relations, introducing new challenges that necessitate diplomatic resolutions.

The unlawful coup orchestrated by the terrorist Myanmar military group transcends a mere domestic political conflict; it represents a clash between democracy and dictatorship within the global political arena. The repercussions of the Myanmar coup have posed a significant test for India. The resultant political instability in Myanmar has given rise to economic and regional stability concerns that directly impact India's interests in the Mekong region.

This report comprehensively covers the multifaceted transformations that have unfolded following the coup, shedding light on the setbacks and their ramifications on the bilateral ties between the two nations. Both India and the Military Council that emerged from the coup have exercised caution in terms of involvement and interaction in the post-coup scenario. This cautious approach is guided by a shared vision for regional stability, considering their intertwined histories and strategic interests. Consequently, this report meticulously examines and analyses the dynamic patterns that have shaped the trajectory of India-Myanmar relations during this pivotal period of change. It provides an in-depth exploration of overarching events, diplomatic strategies, economic implications, and regional effects. Through the collaborative efforts of BACS and I4M, we underscore the intricate interplay between these two countries and offer insights into the prospective course of their relationship. The report is presented as an equitable assessment, with the aim of providing foresight and understanding.

REPORT PREPARATION METHOD

This report is based on a compilation of sources including local and international media, articles, critiques, official statements from the Government of India, and statements from the Myanmar Military Council. It encompasses shifts in political, military, diplomatic, and socio-economic dynamics of both India and Myanmar, spanning over two years, which have been systematically gathered and studied as they evolved. Moreover, it delves into diplomatic announcements, policy statements, and data pertaining to initiatives issued by both the Government of India and the Myanmar Military Council, all of which were subject to extensive research and analysis. By comparing and analysing these findings alongside data on the armed conflict provided by BACS, and complemented by on-ground information, this report was meticulously compiled and subjected to thorough analysis.

Key Observations



India is interacting with the Myanmar Military Council, albeit not with India's senior or top leaders, but rather at a lower echelon.

Uniquely, after the military coup in Myanmar, the Indian Embassy's Facebook and Twitter did not post a picture of military leader Min Aung Hlaing at all.

During the tenure of the NLD government, the Prime Minister of India personally established connections at the state level. Nonetheless, subsequent to the military coup, India redirected its involvement towards the Military Council, but only involving India's foreign secretary as the highest level in routine diplomatic exchanges.

However, the relationship has improved year by year, and in 2023, mutual relations are stronger and more engaged.

An individual holding the position of joint secretary was designated by India to arrange communication efforts. This role primarily focuses on conducting discreet and quiet diplomacy with the NUG and Ethnic Armed Organisations, without engaging in formal diplomatic negotiations. The scope of involvement is limited to matters directly impacting India's interests.

Despite issuing frequent statements at international forums and conferences such as the United Nations, asserting India's solidarity with the people of Myanmar and expressing concerns regarding the aftermath of the military coup, including advocating for the restoration of democracy and the release of detainees including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, India refrained from actively participating in action measures against the Myanmar Military Council. India went so far as to state its disinclination towards imposing sanctions, indicating that such actions might adversely impact India's interests, given the extensive border shared between Myanmar and India.

According to India's Act East Policy, Myanmar holds a significant position. It plays a crucial role in the development of Northeastern India and serves as a key for India's strategic economic expansion into the Mekong region. As a result, Myanmar's importance is such that India has to deal with Myanmar for its own advantages.

India is actively promoting projects aligned with its Act East Policy, including initiatives like the Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project and the India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway Project. Despite efforts to recommence the Kaladan project, which has been underway for over a decade, it has encountered hurdles due to the intense conflict prevailing in the region. The project site falls within an area characterised by intense armed conflicts, leading to a pause in the process.

India is not satisfied with the Myanmar military accepting and using the separatist armed forces of Manipur, but because of other interests, they are sending diplomatic secretaries to negotiate mutual agreements.

The Mizoram state government extended aid in receiving and supporting war refugees from Myanmar. Conversely, the governments of New Delhi and Manipur enforced restrictions and prohibitions on the refugees. Rather than offering assistance, these entities are concerned about the array of problems arising from the inflow of war refugees. As a result, they are focused on gathering and managing biometric data of the refugees as part of their efforts to address the situation.

India is among the top 5 countries supplying military equipment to the Myanmar army, and these military weapons are being used by the Military Council to commit war crimes. Observers say that India is continuing to export weapons until 2023, even though India gave reasons that it promised to do so before the coup.

India is providing technical support behind-the-scenes to the Military Council's e-ID system and biometric data collection campaigns, which will be used to suppress opposition.

India is adopting a careful approach towards engaging with the Military Council, primarily concentrating on executing their policies concerning the Myanmar situation. Simultaneously, India is also engaging discreetly with the revolutionaries. This approach aims to establish relations with both sides involved in the conflict.

1. INDIA'S POSITION AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH MYANMAR



(A) INDIA'S RECOGNITION OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL

After the incident of a military coup led by military leader Min Aung Hlaing, various countries, including India, expressed their concerns. On the same day of the coup, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs stated that it was deeply concerned about the changes in Myanmar, encouraging and supporting Myanmar's democratic transformation process, encouraging to hold a belief that the rule of law and the democratic process must be maintained and that they are closely monitoring the situation. In March, when protests against the Military Council were violently suppressed, resulting in numerous fatalities including in Yangon, the Indian embassy expressed profound sorrow for the loss of lives throughout the nation. The embassy advocated for a peaceful resolution to the political conflict through dialogues held around a table. Despite the initial expressions of concern, by March 2021, shortly after the coup, India had already initiated diplomatic engagements with the Military Council. This was a time when street protests by the people were ongoing, and the Military Council's actions had led to the deaths of more than 114 individuals on that day. Amidst this context, only eight nations participated in Myanmar's Armed Forces Day ceremony held on March 27th, 2021, which marked the 76th anniversary of Myanmar's armed forces. Notably, among these countries, India was the sole participant to send high-ranking officials. Additionally, India took a diplomatic step by providing 32 horses for the Myanmar Military Council's Union Day military parade on January 3rd, 2022.

Initially, when the final results of the 2020 election were revealed, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi officially congratulated Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD through a post on his Twitter page. However, after the coup, India refrained from explicitly supporting or reaffirming the legitimacy of the 2020 election results, where the NLD led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had achieved a significant victory.



Indian Prime Minister Modi celebrates NLD's victory in 2020 election on Twitter

Prior to the 2021 coup d'état in Burma, a series of meetings and exchanges occurred between the top leaders of India and Burma over the span of five years throughout the tenure of the NLD government. Upon the NLD government assuming office in 2016, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi engaged in one meeting with President U Htin Kyaw and three meetings with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. In 2017, Prime Minister Modi convened once with President U Tin Kyaw, once with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and additionally held a meeting with General Min Aung Hlaing, who held the position of Commander-in-chief of Defense Services during that period. In 2019, Prime Minister Modi had a single meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and another with military leader Min Aung Hlaing. In 2020, he held one meeting with President U Win Myint and engaged in a single telephonic conversation with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

STATE-LEVEL MEETINGS WITH PRIME MINISTER MODI BEFORE THE COUP

2016, September 8



Aung San Suu Kyi and Narendra Modi met at the ASEAN-India Summit and discussed strengthening the relations between India and Myanmar.

Myanmar President U Htin Kyaw met with Narendra Modi and discussed cooperation between the two countries.

2016, August 29



2016, October 16



Aung San Suu Kyi and Narendra Modi met at the BIMSTEC member countries' leaders' meeting.

2016, October 19



Daw Aung San Suu Kyi went to New Delhi, met with Narendra Modi and discussed issues of economic cooperation between the two countries.

2017, July 17



Min Aung Hlaing and Narendra Modi met in New Delhi and discussed security issues.

2017, September 5



Narendra Modi met with President U Htin Kyaw in Nay Pyi Taw and discussed issues of multi-sector cooperation.

2017, September 6



Narendra Modi and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi held a meeting to discuss expanding relations between the two countries and signed 11 multi-sectoral MOUs.

2019, July 29



Min Aung Hlaing met with Narendra Modi in India and discussed the actions against terrorism and maritime security issues.

2019, November 9



Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Narendra Modi met and discussed at the ASEAN-India Summit in Thailand.

2020, February 27



At the invitation of Indian President Shri Ram Nath Kovind, Myanmar President U Win Myint visited India and met with Narendra Modi and signed 10 multi-sectoral MOUs.

2020, April 30



Narendra Modi and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi called and discussed the steps to be taken to control the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic.

In the period when the NLD government was in power, the Prime Minister of India directly engaged on a state level. However, following the military coup, interactions shifted to the coup leader Min Aung Hlaing, limited to discussions with India's secretaries at the highest level. India is maintaining communication with the Burmese Military Council, although at a lower hierarchy rather than with India's top leadership. Notably, after the coup in Burma, the Indian Embassy refrained from sharing images of military leader Min Aung Hlaing on its Facebook and Twitter accounts.

2021	Mar 27	Only 8 countries, including India, attended the 76th Tatmadaw Day ceremony in Nay Pyi Taw. India sent a military attaché.
2021	Nov 15	India's Ministry of External Affairs has appointed Vinay Kumar as India's ambassador to Myanmar.
2021	Dec 22	Indian Foreign Secretary Harsh Vardhan Shringla paid a 2-day visit to Myanmar and discussed with Min Aung Hlaing about the humanitarian matters, border security situation and Myanmar's political situation.
2022	Jan 3	India sent 32 horses for the military parade held by the military council.
2022	Apr 6	Min Aung Hlaing presented the letter of appointment to Vinay Kumar, the new Indian ambassador to Myanmar
2022	Nov 8	Vinay Kumar met with Foreign Minister Wunna Maung Lwin to discuss increasing cooperation between the two countries in various sectors.
2022	Nov 21	Indian Foreign Secretary Vinay Mohan Kwatra met with Min Aung Hlaing in Nay Pyi Taw and discussed the direct exchange of kyats and rupees, economy and investment and the enhancement of border region development cooperation.
2023	Feb 18	India's Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region and India's Ministry of Tourism Minister G. Kishan Reddy held a virtual meeting with Myanmar's Ministry of Border Affairs under the Military Council and discussed maintaining peace and stability along the border of the two countries and economic development.
2023	Jun 30	The Defence Secretary of India, Shri Giridhar Aramane, undertook a visit to Myanmar where he engaged with senior military officials, including Min Aung Hlaing. The purpose of this interaction was to enhance peace and stability in the border regions shared by both nations, address concerns about unlawful border crossings, and tackle challenges pertaining to drug trafficking and smuggling activities.
2023	Jul 17	Indian Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar and Myanmar Foreign Minister Than Swe, who attended the private meeting of BIMSTEC Foreign Ministers, met privately and discussed the issue of peace and stability in the border region.

On December 22nd, 2021, Indian Foreign Secretary Harsh Vardhan Shringla embarked on a two-day visit to Myanmar. Notably, this marked the first instance of a high-ranking Indian official visiting Myanmar following the coup. During this visit, discussions were held with the leader of the Military Council, Min Aung Hlaing, encompassing topics such as humanitarian aid concerns, the security landscape along the India-Myanmar border, and the political conditions within Myanmar. The discussions extended to addressing the matter of refraining from harbouring organisations in Myanmar that oppose India, as well as organisations in India that oppose Myanmar. The Indian Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) statement indicated that they engaged with certain members of the National League for Democracy during the trip, but specific details about the individuals they met with were not provided. This visit by Indian officials represented a significant step, serving as a form of political acknowledgment to the Myanmar Military Council. Additionally, U Moe Kyaw Aung, the ambassador to India representing the Myanmar Military Council, has not only been acknowledged and accepted within India's joint activities but has also gained recognition in the broader context of ASEAN-India relations, which involve interconnected regional issues. From the time of the 2021 coup until July 2023, U Moe Kyaw Aung, serving as Myanmar's ambassador to India, has received acknowledgment and acceptance on at least 31 occasions. Notably, his participation in activities of ASEAN-India entities, particularly the ASEAN-New Delhi Committee (ANDC), has been more frequent compared to other instances. The Myanmar ambassador to India has additionally been invited to speak at events related to youth, technology, education, and religious matters. In March 2023, it was observed that the ambassadors of India, China, and Bangladesh participated in a visit led by Myanmar's Minister of International Cooperation U Ko Ko Hlaing to Coxbazar in Bangladesh. The purpose of this visit was to discuss plans and preparations for the repatriation of Rohingya refugees, a plan led by the Military Council.

(B) INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS WITH INDIA AND COMMENTS ON THE MYANMAR ISSUE

2021, Mar 12

In the first meeting of the Quad group, the urgent need to restore democracy in Myanmar and the strengthening of democracy were discussed.

2021, May 28

Indian Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar met with US Secretary of State Antony Blinken to further discuss the coup situation in Myanmar.

2021, Aug 12

The Quad group met again and announced that the Quad strongly supports ASEAN's importance regarding the Myanmar issue.

2021, Sep 24

The Quad, including India, issued a statement calling for the end of violence in Myanmar, the release of all political prisoners, and to engage in dialogue with all parties involved and the early return of democracy.

2022, Jan 10

India's Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar spoke to Cambodia's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Prak Sokhonn on the phone and India pledged to work closely with Cambodia, the 2022 ASEAN Chair, in resolving all issues of concern, including the Myanmar issue.

2022, Mar 19

Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi met privately and issued a joint demand expressing concern over the situation in Myanmar, encouraging to immediately stop violence throughout Myanmar and to return to the path of democracy to release all political prisoners.

2023, Apr 25

It has been reported that a secret meeting was held in New Dehli to help resolve the Myanmar issue between the government officials of India and the neighbouring countries including Thai and China with the participation specialists regarding Myanmar's issue.

2023, Jun 22

US President Joe Biden and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi had a private meeting and expressed special concern about the deteriorating situation in Myanmar, demanded the release of all the arrested political prisoners and called for effective dialogue and transition to an inclusive federal democracy.

2023, Jun 19

Thailand's Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Don Pramudwinai held informal talks on Myanmar issues in Pattaya, with the participation of India, China and some ASEAN countries, and Foreign Minister Than Swe under the Military Council was also allowed to attend.

India's Stance in Discussions with the international Community about Myanmar Issues

Following the military coup in February 2021, India engaged in multiple discussions with Quad nations such as Japan, the United States, and Australia, all of which India is a part of, as well as with ASEAN countries, to address the situation in Myanmar. Over the span of more than two years since the coup, India participated in six meetings focused on global issues which include Myanmar-related concerns within the Quad or individually with member countries, as well as with neighbouring nations of Myanmar including China, and engaged in dialogues with ASEAN countries, totaling at least three times. Throughout these discussions, India advocated for the release of political detainees in Myanmar, promoted the initiation of political dialogues, cessation of violence, restoration of democratic processes, and the implementation of ASEAN's consensus regarding Myanmar. Nonetheless, India chose not to participate in the sanctions that were imposed on the Myanmar Military Council by other Quad member countries. India consistently expressed its belief that such sanctions might not contribute constructively to the resolution of the Myanmar issue.

(C) INDIA'S POSITIONS ON THE MYANMAR ISSUE IN THE UN DISCUSSIONS



India did not waver in its stance regarding discussions pertaining to Myanmar under the United Nations flag, displaying consistency in contrast to its approach in talks held outside the UN. India acknowledges the importance of Myanmar's transition towards democracy and extends its support to the efforts led by ASEAN concerning Myanmar's issues. However, given India's significant border proximity to Myanmar, which raises specific concerns, India has been clear with Western nations that it will not adhere to the sanctions imposed on Myanmar.

Furthermore, India has proposed that a careful evaluation of the actions taken by the UN Security Council is essential. India emphasises the value of maintaining a discreet and constructive diplomatic engagement to facilitate positive and enduring solutions for Myanmar. India's standpoint indicates that the consequences of instability would mainly impact neighbouring nations and highlights the importance of factoring in the perspectives and opinions of these neighbouring countries.

(D) RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND MYANMAR REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

While India has been steadily building relationships with the Myanmar Military Council, there has been limited cooperation with the revolutionary forces. There have been at least five instances where activities by Myanmar groups against the military terrorist organisation in India were prohibited. Moreover, following a protest staged by 21 members of the I4M in front of the Sri Lanka Embassy in India, opposing Sri Lanka's inclusion of the Military Council as Myanmar's legitimate government representative in a BIMSTEC conference, these protestors were detained by Indian police. Observations from BACS and I4M, alongside on-the-ground news investigations, suggest that despite consistent efforts by the revolutionary forces to engage in dialogue with India, the response from India has been notably unfavourable. Sources indicate that the Indian government has designated a joint Secretary of Communications within the Ministry of External Affairs to communicate with the National Unity Government (NUG) and enlisted officials from the Ministry of Home Affairs for specific ground-related communications. These interactions are believed to be facilitated through certain intelligence officers, employing a strategy of "quiet diplomacy." It is understood that a communication channel exists, although it involves lower-ranking officers who are primarily tasked with addressing matters impacting India's interests on the ground.



Protest against accepting Myanmar at the BIMSTEC meeting



Protest against accepting Myanmar at the BIMSTEC meeting

While India has been supporting weaponry and advanced technology to the Myanmar military, it has simultaneously been seizing arms and weapons belonging to the revolutionaries opposing the Myanmar army. As per media accounts, the Indian government has conducted a minimum of 10 operations to seize weapons associated with the revolutionary organisations engaged in combat against the Myanmar military. Additionally, there are indications of potential additional raids that have gone unreported. Due to these circumstances, the revolutionary forces of Myanmar do not trust the Indian government. The situation escalated significantly with the bombing of the CNF/CNA (Chin National Front/Chin National Army) headquarters by the Military Council, carried out using Indian airspace. Situated along the Indian-Myanmar border, the CNF/CNA headquarters reportedly experienced bomb impacts and also on Indian territory during the Military Council's airstrike. Despite this, India refuted allegations of the Myanmar military's use of its airspace and denied any instances of bombs being dropped. India voiced its concerns through certain media outlets when revolutionary armed groups employed drones to attack Military Council camps. Furthermore, in July 2022, reports emerged suggesting that the Military Council transported weapons, previously transferred from India, within vehicles. Consequently, the Military Council convoy was subjected to attacks by local defence forces spanning over 10 days. Throughout this period of attack, the Military Council troops conducted raids on camps belonging to the revolutionary forces. Adding to the complexities, in March 2023, three Indian citizens lost their lives at the border of the Chin State. While the Indian side claimed that the killings were related to the CDF, CDF-Mindat were able to capture the culprits involved.



Mandalay PDF troops during military training/ Mandalay People's Defence Force

The Indian government holds the belief that the Myanmar military can suppress the revolutionary armed forces similarly to how it happened in the 1990s. However, the current scenario differs from the situation around the 1990s, as the entire country is now engaged in armed resistance against the Military Council. Following the military coup, a multitude of ethnic revolutionary organisations like CDF, CNDF, KNDF, and PDF/LPDFs have emerged across the nation. Additionally, there are PDF battalions established by the National Unity Government (NUG), along with at least seven powerful Ethnic Revolutionary Organizations, all strategically engaging in battle against the Military Council. The military's strength comprises approximately 300 PDF battalions and columns from the NUG alone, along with community-based People's Defense Forces, which fulfil "militia" duties, are present in over 260 townships. The Military Council finds itself compelled to contend with numerous battlefronts, leading to a gradual loss of its territorial control. India's approach, rooted in supporting the Military Council, appears misguided and outdated, overlooking the important realities on the ground.



CDF - Mindat troops patrolling the area/ Chin Defence Force - Mindat

2. INDIA'S INTEREST-DRIVEN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP WITH MYANMAR



(A) CRUCIAL STRATEGIC POLICIES AND CONNECTIONS WITH MYANMAR

Upon Prime Minister Modi's ascension to leadership subsequent to the BJP's assumption of power, India shifted its approach from the Look East Policy to the Act East Policy. According to India's policy for the East and cooperation (Act East Policy), the aim is to enhance economic collaboration, cultural bonds, and strategic affiliations with nations in the Asia Pacific region, particularly focusing on advancing the rapport between India and Myanmar alongside other regions and countries. This strategy fosters stronger alliances with pertinent regional and international organisations like ASEAN, ARF, EAS, ACD, MCG, and IORA. Within India's Act East Policy, Myanmar holds a pivotal strategic position as a partner in the Mekong-Ganga cooperation initiatives, which intend to reinforce connections with Southeast Asian nations and counterbalance China's influence.

India has also invested in pivotal infrastructure initiatives within Myanmar, including the India-Myanmar-Thai Trilateral Highway and the Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project. These substantial endeavours by India aim to increase regional connectivity and trade, and facilitate the development of India's Northeast region. Emphasising the Act East Policy, the development of India's Northeast region is of primary importance, with Myanmar serving as the main bridge connecting the Mekong countries. India's affiliation with Myanmar, of profound geopolitical significance, continues to play an unavoidably critical role even following the Military Council coup.



Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project



India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway Project

The political instability in Myanmar has brought about economic and security consequences for India's profits in Southeast Asia. Conversely, the Chinese government's increasingly close association with the Myanmar military group has raised apprehensions in India due to its potential to foster regional influence and undermine India's strategic concerns. The Act East policy facilitates extensive collaboration between India and Myanmar across diverse sectors like trade, investment, transportation, energy, tourism, and agriculture, offering manifold advantages for India. China's already established influence in Myanmar, spanning various domains, holds the capacity to directly threaten India's interests. Therefore, India's imperative to sustain cooperative ties with Myanmar in safeguarding its strategic interests underlines its apparent commitment to maintain relations with the Military Council, which has unjustly seized power and harshly suppressed the populace.

(B) PROJECTS OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

While India's projects are lagging behind, the projects being carried out under China's Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Plan are progressing rapidly when compared to India's Mekong-Ganga Cooperation Plan. Consequently, India is actively advocating for the continuity of its projects.

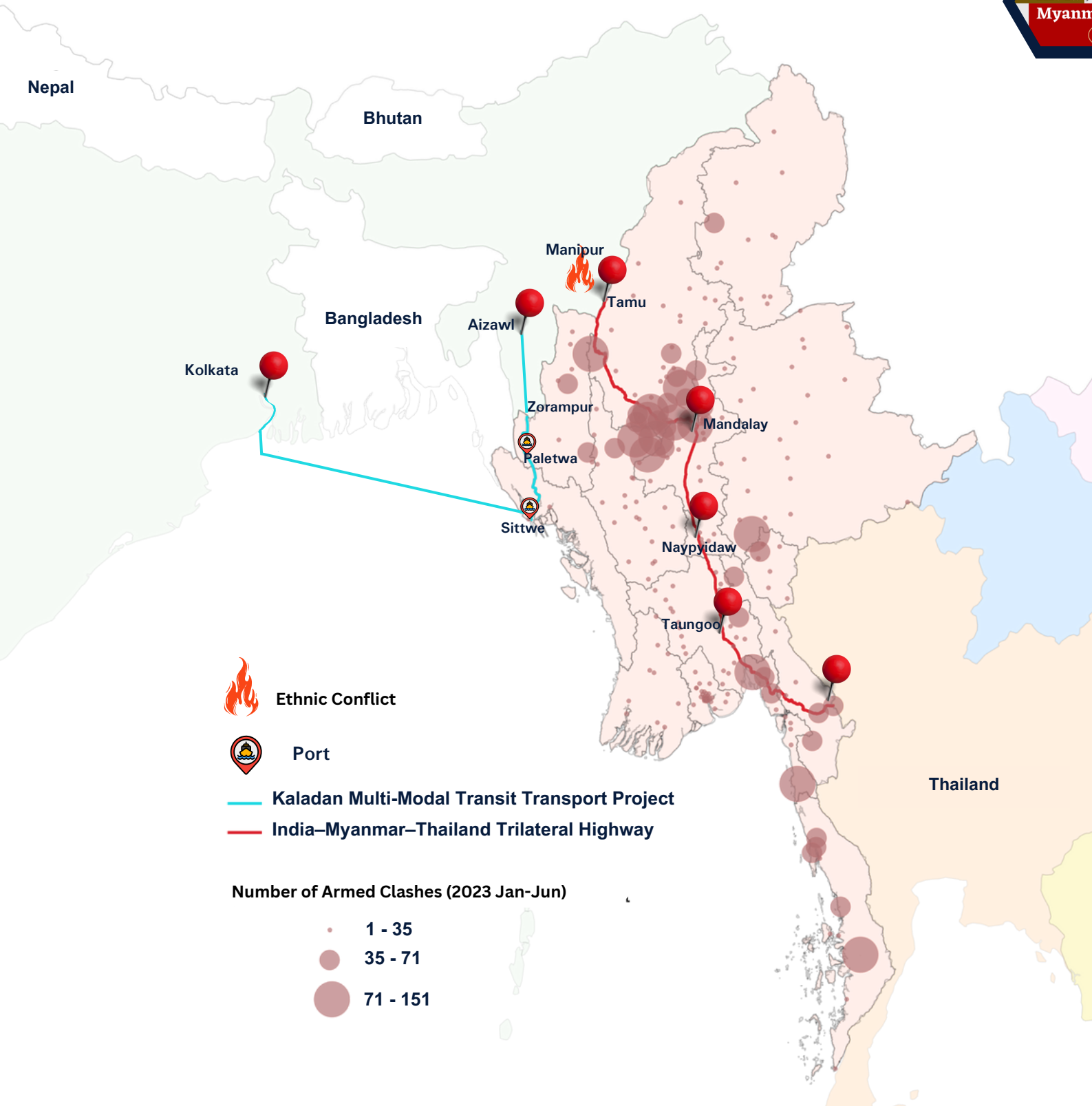
The Kaladan Multi-purpose Transport Project aims to facilitate the import and export of goods from Mizoram to Paletwa Port Highway and then onwards to Sittwe Port via waterway. This project's primary goal is to grant the North-Eastern regions of India sea access, making it easier to export goods to Calcutta and expedite the development of this region. Commencing in 2008, the project has seen progress in the construction of Sittwe Port and Paletwa Port, the creation of vessels for river travel, and the dredging of the Kaladan River. However, the highway connecting Aizawl to Paletwa has yet to be constructed due to clashes between the Arakan Army (AA) and the Myanmar Army.

Around June 2021, India began actively advocating for the rapid completion of projects. The Kaladan multi-purpose transport project, which had been paused due to conflict, resumed in 2023 following an informal ceasefire between the Arakan Army and the Myanmar Army. Discussions about the Kaladan project took place between AA and India's intermediary around mid-2022 to resume operation in 2023, before the ceasefire agreement. The Paletwa-Zorumpu road construction recommenced in January 2023, with IRCON International appointed as the 'road project implementation agency' in February 2023 to expedite the work. On May 9, 2023, Military leader Min Aung Hlaing himself was able to open Sittwe Port, and Prime Minister Modi proudly shared about it on his Twitter page.



The Prime Minister of India shares the news about Sittwe Port being put into use as it is a good news

A temporary ceasefire arrangement between the AA and the Military Council has permitted the revival of the Kalatan Multi-Transportation Project. However, the Trilateral Highway project, designed to connect Mekong-region countries, remains in a conflict zone and is at a standstill. The tri-state highway stretches from Assam on the Indian side, passing through the Indian-Myanmar border town of More, and connecting to Tamu, Kalaywa, Kani, Monywa, Mandalay, Nay Pyi Taw, Bago, Myawaddy City in Karen State, and Mae Sot City in Thailand. While construction has concluded on the Indian and Thai segments, the primary work lies within Myanmar. India has reported a 70 percent completion status for the entire project.



A comparative map of India's major projects and incidences of armed conflict

These projects are situated in active conflict zones. The map compares the locations of India's projects with the war zones spanning January to June 2023. The data indicates that India's project sites coincide with some of the most war-affected areas. As per a BBC report, India has been engaging in negotiations with armed resistance groups regarding segments of the highway project. Nonetheless, opinions on acceptance vary, leading to halts in progress due to ongoing hostilities.

(C) TRADE AND OTHER RELATIONS

India ranks as Myanmar's fifth-largest trading partner and is heavily involved in major investment ventures. In the realm of imports, India relies significantly on Myanmar for mung beans and cowpeas. Over the past two years, India has repeatedly extended the allowance for importing mung beans and cowpeas, with the Indian government declaring that such imports will be permitted from the 2021-2022 fiscal year through to the 2025-2026 fiscal year. These import arrangements stem from a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) established with the Myanmar Military Council, conducted under the framework of "G to G" or government-to-government negotiations.



A Minister of Military Council Attending the Indian Chamber of Commerce's Annual Plenary Meeting as the Guest of Honour - the internet

Trade statistics published by the Military Council's Ministry of Economic Affairs and Trade reveal a notable decline in trade value between India and Myanmar, dropping from over \$1.4 billion in the fiscal year 2020-2021 before the coup to over \$800 million in the fiscal year 2021-2022. However, this figure rebounded to exceed \$1.36 billion in the fiscal year 2022-2023. The Indian Embassy in Myanmar is also playing a leading role in facilitating meetings and discussions to foster cooperation among business entities.



Tamu Border Trade Station - the internet

The idea for these pipeline projects was implemented in the 1990s through talks and discussions between the two countries, aiming to sell natural gas off the coast of Myanmar to the northeastern states of India. Then, in the early 2000s, India and Myanmar signed various agreements to enhance energy cooperation. Notably, India's ONGC Videsh Limited (OVL) marked the commencement of the oil and gas exploration, production and distribution contract in Myanmar's offshore blocks A-1 and A-3 in 2004. Indian corporations, including ONGC Videsh, have secured substantial shares in projects like Yadana, contributing significantly to India's energy security.

3. INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH MYANMAR ON NORTHEASTERN REGION ISSUES



(A) MYANMAR MILITARY JUNTA RELATIONSHIP WITH SEPARATIST MILITIAS IN NORTHEASTERN INDIA

Despite extending certain assistance to the Myanmar military, India and Myanmar have not yet managed to resolve their border-related issues. Disputes persist concerning the establishment of border posts and the construction of fencing along the border. In the backdrop of the 1988 public uprising, India firmly sided with Myanmar's pro-democracy activists. Subsequently, the Myanmar Military lent support to Manipur and Naga separatist armed groups in the India-Myanmar border region, who were engaged in opposing the Indian government to seek the independence of Manipur state, pressuring the Indian government in the process. India's stance shifted in the mid-1990s as it aimed to foster closer relations with the Myanmar military after initially aiding these armed groups. While the Myanmar military has consistently supported these armed factions against the Indian government, it has denied this for years. Starting in 2019 and 2020, the Myanmar Military collaborated with the Indian Army in operations to clear camps of Manipur and Naga separatist armed forces.



PLA troops - the internet



Armed resistance groups from northeastern India on the Myanmar border/ Rajeev Bhattacharyya

However, following the coup d'état, the Myanmar Military renewed support for the Manipur separatist armed forces, intending to employ them again in both political and military aspects. Citing a senior Indian government official in New Delhi, The Diplomat reported that India's People's Liberation Army (PLA) based in the bordering states of Assam and Manipur, along with various factions like Kangla Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL), Kangleipak (PREPAK), and the People's Republican Party (PREPAK), have purportedly repositioned troops in the Naga tribal areas on the Myanmar side. While the Myanmar military grapples with armed resistance throughout the nation, it is also building connections with armed groups from the Manipur region, indicating new agreements being forged. In the Naga vicinity, the groups opposing the Indian government from Assam and Manipur are on the rise, and there is the possibility of establishing new links and supply lines to ensure the sustainability of their activities in Northeast India. These developments have stirred concerns in New Delhi about the potential revival of regional armed opposition movements, as mentioned in The Diplomat's articles.

In November 2021, Meitei PLA insurgents from Myanmar's side launched an attack on the Assam Rifles in Manipur state, ambushing them in the Churachandpur District. This assault resulted in the deaths of an Indian Army colonel, his wife, their 4-year-old son, and another soldier. Shortly after the attack, the PLA fighters retreated to their bases along the Myanmar border. In response to the incident, the Indian government made appeals to the Myanmar military, which was supportive of the Manipur separatist armed groups. In August 2021, the Myanmar Military apprehended 6 members of Meitei armed forces, later handing them over to the Indian government in December. The Ministry of Home Affairs of India disclosed a list indicating 97 attacks by separatist armed groups in Manipur state in 2020. The numbers increased to 112 attacks in 2021 and further to 137 attacks in 2022, signalling a rise in attacks during those years. Over this span, 6 Indian Army personnel and 14 civilians lost their lives.

The Myanmar Military permitting the movement of Manipur separatist militants along the India-Myanmar border seems aimed at provoking confrontations with tribal resistance forces and PDF forces when Indian troops like the Assam Rifles enter to neutralise the separatist armed groups. The Indian Assam Rifles ventured into Myanmar territory twice near the base of the Chin Revolutionary Forces, leading to arrests and shootings. The Chin Revolutionary Forces speculate that this action might involve interference and intelligence gathering concerning the Revolutionary Forces, possibly with the Myanmar Military's consent. In December 2021, spanning from the 22nd to the 23rd, Harsh Vardhan Shringla, the Indian Foreign Secretary, embarked on a visit to Myanmar where he held discussions with General Min Aung Hlaing, the leader of the Myanmar Military Junta.



Images of Myanmar and Indian Militaries working together along the India-Myanmar border before the coup – the internet

During this meeting, the Indian Foreign Secretary emphasised the urgency of halting violence in Myanmar and upholding tranquillity and stability in the border vicinity. They also committed to preventing the exploitation of the border between the two nations for aggressive activities. This visit marks the initial instance of a high-ranking Indian official journeying to Myanmar since the military coup in February. It underscores the increasing apprehension of India regarding the security situation in Northeast India. Nevertheless the commitment voiced by the Indian Secretary, the Myanmar Military continues to extend support and cooperation to the Manipur separatist armed forces. These forces are also being employed by the Myanmar Military Council to target primarily the Chin armed resistance units and the PDF. Notable instances include the clashes in Chin State in 2022, specifically the January 13-14 battle in Tonzang Township, Senan village, and the February 16 battle in Tamu Township. Furthermore, as per the PDFs, the Manipur separatist militants are reported to be donning Myanmar army uniforms and engaging in combat with weapons that resemble those used by the Myanmar army.

The substantial backing of the Manipur separatist armed forces by the Myanmar Military Junta indicates the potential for rapid growth of these forces, which could further escalate internal political conflicts in India. Looking ahead to 2023, on June 30, the Secretary of Defense embarked on a visit to Myanmar and engaged in conversations with senior military officials, including coup leader Min Aung Hlaing, centred around border security matters between the two nations. In the course of these discussions, they reaffirmed a commitment introduced during the visit of the Indian Foreign Secretary, pledging "not to harbour those who cross into the borderlands of both countries." This visit represents another instance of a high-ranking Indian official's presence in Myanmar, underscoring India's heightened preoccupation with the security and stability of the Northeast region.



(B) INDIA-MYANMAR BORDER REFUGEE ISSUE

Owing to the ongoing conflicts in Myanmar, a considerable number of refugees have been fleeing to the northeastern region of India. The Indian government has expressed concern over this influx and has responded by intensifying the fortification of border fences, enhancing security measures, and expanding the establishment of numerous police outposts. As per a United Nations report released in January 2023 (UNHCR/The Myanmar Emergency Updates), the count of refugees migrating from Myanmar to India has reached approximately 49,850 since the coup d'état. The report indicates that Mizoram has received around 38,200 refugees, while Manipur has accommodated approximately 6,950.



A refugee camp in Mizoram/NUA

In Mizoram State, officials have extended humanitarian assistance to Myanmar war refugees, including provisions like food supplies, issuance of verification cards, administration of Covid-19 vaccines, establishment of free clinics, establishment of refugee camps, and provision of basic education. The Mizoram government has also engaged with revolutionary groups like the CRPH and has pledged support to Myanmar refugees. While the local populace and the government of Mizoram State have welcomed and aided refugees crossing over from Myanmar, some ethnic groups in Manipur state have shown reluctance to accept refugees, and the state government has imposed certain limitations. The Manipur state government initially committed to assisting civilians fleeing Myanmar in early 2021; however, by March 2021, it issued an order to cease such assistance, though this directive was later retracted due to criticism.

Given that India is not a signatory to the International Convention on Refugees, the New Delhi government stated in 2021 that it would not officially acknowledge Myanmar refugees. Concurrently, measures along the border fence have been intensified to stem the influx of refugees, and the New Delhi administration has exerted pressure on state governments to abstain from receiving refugees.



A refugee camp in Aizawl, Mizoram/Youth For Myanmar

With the rising number of Myanmar war refugees in border states, instances of drug and weapons seizures have occurred, and certain Indian newspapers have reported alleged involvement of Myanmar war refugees in illegal drug trade and arms smuggling. As a response, the Indian government imposed stricter controls on refugees, and in April 2023, officials from the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs, Manipur State, and Mizoram State convened to coordinate the collection and processing of biometric data for Myanmar war refugees. The initiative to gather this data commenced from July 29th to September 30th, and the process of collecting biometric data is currently underway.



A refugee camp in Aizawl, Mizoram/Youth For Myanmar

The Indian government's concerns about the influx of Myanmar war refugees also encompass ethnic considerations. While the communities in Mizoram have warmly welcomed the refugees, the Meitei people, who constitute the majority in Manipur, have expressed restrictions. India has been apprehensive that the arrival of Myanmar refugees might exacerbate historical tensions between the Meitei and hill tribes in Manipur state. In early May 2023, clashes emerged between the Meitei (Meitei) majority and hill tribe communities in Manipur state, resulting in more than 100 fatalities. The Indian government attributed this conflict to the political instability in Myanmar. Recent legislation granting the right to Scheduled Tribal status sparked unrest, with minority ethnic groups in the south opposing the privileges afforded to the Meitei people under this provision, leading to reciprocal acts of violence. The conflict in Manipur was not solely triggered by this recent issue, but also stems from authorities' repression, mutual distrust among tribes, and a history of intricate circumstances.

4. INDIA'S BEHIND-THE-SCENES INVOLVEMENT WITH THE MILITARY COUNCIL



(A) SELLING WEAPONS AND COLLABORATING ON MILITARY MATTERS

India has faced international criticism for engaging in the sale of military equipment, military cooperation, and providing assistance to the Myanmar military, which stands accused of committing genocide and war crimes. Tom Andrews, the UN Special Representative for Human Rights in Myanmar, released a special report titled "Billion Dollar Deadly Arms Trade" on May 17, 2023, wherein India is listed among five countries involved in the sale of weapons that lead to fatalities. As per the report, 22 Indian companies have collectively sold military weapons and accessories to the Myanmar military amounting to more than 51 million US dollars. The major players in this arms trade are BHARAT ELECTRONICS LIMITED and BHARAT DYNAMICS LIMITED, government-owned entities in India. The weaponry sold encompasses a range of items such as remote air defence systems, 122mm howitzers, bomb and artillery metal fuses, unspecified ammunition and missile production systems, warning and monitoring systems, communication equipment, coastal surveillance systems, and laboratory gear.



A report compiled by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Myanmar

The sale of 122mm howitzers was facilitated by Yantra India, an organisation under the Indian government's ownership, while the coastal surveillance system and remote air defence weapon stations were provided by Bharat Electronics Limited, according to Justice For Myanmar. Additionally, the Special Advisory Council for Myanmar (SAC-M) has exposed that India's Tonbo Imaging Company is offering assistance for the manufacture of weaponry at the Directorate of Defence Industries of Myanmar Military Council.



A church in Demoso Township after getting hit by the Military Council's heavy artillery fire



India's Prime Minister shared on Twitter that arms production and exports are on the rise

The Indian Ministry of Defense has revealed that India's weapons production and exports surged by a factor of ten in the span of 2022-2023 compared to 2016-2017, with shipments reaching 85 countries. Additionally, the Indian Prime Minister affirmed the nation's commitment to assisting endeavours aimed at establishing India as a centre for defence production. Various international organisations have issued reports and appealed to India to cease the sale of weapons to the Myanmar military, generating over 10 such requests in a span of more than two years. Moreover, India permits the Myanmar military's involvement in its military exercises and maintains regular interactions with Myanmar military officials. While India asserts these actions were pre-established before the coup, Justice For Myanmar issued weapon exports continuing until 2023.

Sources of arms

From entities in the *Russian Federation*



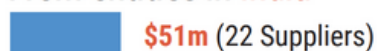
From entities in *China*



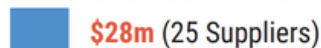
From entities in *Singapore*



From entities in *India*



From entities in *Thailand*



Information from the report of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Myanmar

Although India does supply military equipment and technology to the Myanmar army, the primary sources of weaponry for the Myanmar military are Russia, China, and Singapore. The act of India selling arms to the Myanmar government to advance its investment policy may ultimately tarnish its reputation and will not yield a relationship with the Myanmar military as deep as those maintained by Russia and China. The provision of weaponry, military collaboration, and aid to the Myanmar military, which stands accused of perpetrating genocide and war crimes, has provided encouragement and backing to those perpetrators. India also holds a degree of accountability for these criminal acts.

(B) INDIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE ILLEGITIMATE ELECTION AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE E-ID SYSTEM BY THE MILITARY COUNCIL

India hasn't openly shown a consistent pattern of support for the Military Council like Russia and China have. However, behind the scenes, it's aiding in fulfilling the Military Council's objectives. While there isn't significant public endorsement from India for the Military Council's goals, according to the council's statements, it seems that such support is being extended. On April 25, 2022, Vinay Kumar, the Indian ambassador to Myanmar, met with Thein Soe, the chairman of the Election Commission under the Military Council, in Nay Pyi Taw. During this meeting, the Council disclosed that promises of cooperation were made for the illegitimate election planned by the Military Council. Furthermore, on December 5, a total of 30 township, division and state level election commission officers, appointed by the Military Council, were invited by the Indian government for training courses regarding election. Even the expenses for this training were covered by India. These actions suggest that India has rejected the validity of the 2020 election, which was even commended by India's Prime Minister, Narendra Modi. India seems to be acknowledging the Military Council's intention to hold a fraudulent election. Additionally, India appears to mistakenly believe that Myanmar's conflicts could be resolved through elections, drawing parallels to 1990 and 2010.



Apart from this, technical assistance is also being provided for implementing the e-ID (electronic identification) system, another objective of the Military Council. In 2023, on July 25, at the invitation of the Indian government, a delegation led by Union Minister of Labor, Immigration, and Population under the Military Council, Myint Kyaing, along with Director General of the E-ID Registration System Directorate, Min Hein, visited the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) headquarters in New Delhi. Discussions encompassed the e-ID system, cooperation in biometric data collection, the 12-digit digital identification system for citizens and foreigners (Aadhaar system), and other essential technical matters. While implementing a biometric data collection and e-ID system is usually considered a state-level endeavour for a national information system, the ongoing nationwide uprising against the military coup has shifted the context. Consequently, the Military Council is deploying this system to monitor and suppress opposition activities.

5. REVIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

India's response to the Myanmar military's coup has been characteristically subtle and balanced. They avoided actions that seemed like interference, such as strong criticism, demands and pressures. India, the world's leading democracy country, continues to give legitimacy to the Myanmar Military Council, which has forcibly seized power in violation of the will of the people. Relations with the revolutionary forces are seen only when it is necessary to control and deal with problems on the ground that may affect their interests.



State-level meetings with the Prime Minister of India during the period of civilian governments prior to the coup – the internet



Myanmar's long history of conflict is due to the military's involvement in politics. Contrary to the perspective held by certain policy study groups and countries, the prevailing belief is that Myanmar's political situation is not an insurmountable challenge in the absence of military intervention. Rather, it is the military's engagement in Myanmar's political affairs that has prolonged the conflicts. The ultimate resolution of these conflicts lies in the hands of the people themselves. The true aspiration of the people of Burma is to reinstate justice and establish a future political landscape for Myanmar that excludes the military, promoting a federal democratic system characterised by equality. Their desire is not for superficial elections or artificial shifts in government. Neighbouring countries should not blatantly ignore or destroy the aspirations of the Burmese people and the future political vision that is being built through the system changing revolution.

The 5 ASEAN principles accepted and supported by India have been around for more than 2 years, but have not been implemented. The 5-point consensus of ASEAN was drafted only by group countries outside of Myanmar and could not be implemented because they did not reflect the wishes of the people of Myanmar who were involved in the practical field. When the international community, including India, solves Myanmar's internal problems, it is necessary to have policies that reflect the opinions of the people of Myanmar.

India has repeatedly expressed its support for Myanmar's return to democracy in international discussions and UN meetings. On the other hand, India's participation in the Burmese Military Council's e-ID system and Biometric data collection activities, which are against the democratic standards, is inversely proportional to Myanmar's democratic claims. Furthermore, India's endorsement of the Military Council's unlawful election serves merely as a façade to promote and endorse Myanmar's transition back to democracy. India must no longer be swayed by the falsehoods and outdated tactics that the Myanmar military has employed for years, such as the promise to hand over governance to the victor of multiparty democratic elections. India should instead focus on acknowledging the truth and reality, collaborating with the people of Burma to forge a positive historical path.



Officers appointed by the Military Council visiting the city of Bengaluru to study India's systems of e-ID and Biometric data collection – Military Council website



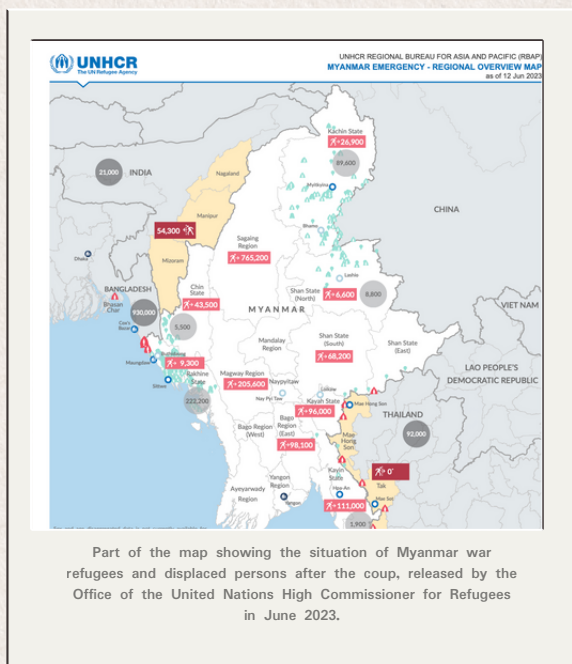
With China's intervention, northern ethnic armed leaders of the Northern Alliance arrived in China to meet with Myanmar Military group (Mongla News)



China's special ambassador to Myanmar and 7 northern ethnic armed groups met in February 2023 in Yunnan, China (DMG NewsRoom)

India is conducting top-down negotiations, similar to the Chinese government's practice with revolutionary armed forces, to continue projects halted by the fighting. However, India does not have the same influence over ethnic armed forces as China, as India is facing new armed groups that emerged during the Spring Revolution. China has spent years building good relations, including arming ethnic groups to gain this influence. India's business objectives cannot be achieved through discussions with a Military Council alone. Presently, the Military Council's grasp over the nation has weakened, and it finds itself confronted with conflicts from all directions. Consequently, India must engage in frequent negotiations with the revolutionary forces to safeguard its strategic interests.

For many years, the Myanmar military has been physically supporting the separatist armed forces in the northeastern region of India, until now. The India-Myanmar border is gradually being controlled by revolutionary forces, and in order to control this situation, the Myanmar army is using more and more Manipur separatist armed forces. Conversely, India must come to the realisation that the strength, organisation, and combat capabilities of the revolutionary forces have evolved significantly since the circumstances observed around 1990. India's reliance on the Myanmar military for the security of its northeastern region will only create more threats than stability in the long run. Therefore, if we are looking for the security of Northeast India, it will be necessary to build a long-term relationship only with Myanmar's revolutionary armed forces.



Part of the map showing the situation of Myanmar war refugees and displaced persons after the coup, released by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in June 2023.

The government of Mizoram accepted and helped refugees from the war in Myanmar, but the government of New Delhi and Manipur made restrictions and bans. However, all of them are only concerned about the problems to be solved due to the influx of war refugees rather than providing assistance, and they are trying to collect and control the biological information of war refugees. Controlling refugees will not solve the problems. If we want to reduce crimes and conflicts, we must provide assistance to improve the social life of war refugees. In addition, India's policies such as "Neighborhood First" should also consider helping war-affected people from major neighbouring countries such as Myanmar. Because the real neighbours who can cooperate for the development of the region and the peace and stability of the Northeast region of India are the working people of Myanmar.

India is among the top 5 suppliers of military equipment to Myanmar's military, and these military weapons are being used by the Military Council to commit war crimes. According to reports recorded by Burmese Affairs and Conflict Studies (BACS) during the 6-month period from January to June 2023, the Military Council attacked residential villages with heavy artillery. There were more than 380 shots fired at neighbourhoods, and more than 200 civilians were killed by heavy weapons. Among the dead were more than 50 women and more than 30 children. There were at least 500 injured. On the 8th and 9th of June 2023, it was seen that the Military Council had fired several times with 122 mm howitzer at Lwelwain village, Balachei Township. As a result of this shooting, 1 civilian was hit and killed. The Military Council is committing war crimes by killing civilians with weapons they have purchased. India has sold multiple guns to the War Council and will be involved in the War Council's shelling of civilians. If we look at the amount of sales of military equipment, it cannot be said that India's sales are large. However, even a small amount of support to the Military Council is aiding and abetting the crimes committed by the Military Council, and India will have to face the consequences of what it is doing now when transitional justice is restored.



122 mm being used by the Myanmar Military Council (picture sent from the ground)

India also itself acts as a democratic country, but when it comes to self-interest, the basic thinking and emphasis on democratic values is seen as questionable. India, which is considered to be one of the largest democracies, needs to carefully consider these actions. The current political and military conflicts are only because the Burmese military group ignores the will of the people and perpetuates violence. If the neighbouring countries, including India, ignore this fact, the current conflicts will only become more intense. Myanmar's neighbouring countries, including India, are taking the wrong path by trying to deal with the Burmese issue by holding discussions with the Myanmar Military Council without formally meeting the revolutionary forces, including the NUG, NUCC, CRPH, and the democratic forces which are opposing the Military Council. Aiding and abetting the Military Council will not solve the problems in Myanmar and will only add fuel to the conflicts, and it will also be detrimental to India in the long term.

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- ၄၆။ [တရုတ်နိုင်ငံ နိုင်ငံခြားရေးဝန်ကြီး ချင်ကန်းနှင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ နိုင်ငံခြားရေးဝန်ကြီး ဦးသန်းဆွေ တွေ့ဆုံဆွေးနွေး](#)
- ၄၇။ [အနောက်ပိုင်း ကုန်းတွင်း-ပင်လယ်စင်္ကြံသစ်၏ ပထမဆုံး နယ်စပ်ဖြတ်ကျော် ရထားလမ်း-ကုန်းလမ်း ပူးတွဲပို့ဆောင်ရေး ရထားတွဲ \(ချုံချိုင်-ရွှေလီ-မြန်မာ\) အောင်မြင်စွာ ပြေးဆွဲခဲ့](#)
- ၄၈။ [လန်ချန်း-မခေါင် ပူးပေါင်းဆောင်ရွက်မှု ၇ နှစ်ဂုဏ်ပြုမှုအခမ်းအနား မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် ကျင်းပ](#)
- ၄၉။ [တရုတ်-မြန်မာ နယ်စပ်ရှိ ရွှေလီအပြည်ပြည်ဆိုင်ရာ ကုန်းတွင်းဆိပ်ကမ်းမြို့သစ် ပထမအသုတ်စီမံကိန်း စတင် တည်ဆောက် လျှင်ရှိ](#)
- ၅၀။ [INDIGENOUS DEFENCE PRODUCTION](#)
- ၅၁။ [ပြည်ထောင်စုဝန်ကြီး ဦးခင်ရီ၊ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံဆိုင်ရာ အိန္ဒိယသံအမတ်ကြီး Mr. Vinay Kumar အား တွေ့ဆုံ e-ID စနစ်လုပ်ငန်းနှင့် သန်းခေါင်စာရင်းကောက်ယူရေး လုပ်ငန်းတို့အတွက် နည်းပညာဆိုင်ရာ ကျွမ်းကျင်ပညာရှင်များ ပံ့ပိုးကူညီပေးနိုင်ရေးဆွေးနွေး။](#)
- ၅၂။ [ပြည်ထောင်စုဝန်ကြီး ဦးမြင့်ကြိုင်၊ မြန်မာ-အိန္ဒိယ နှစ်နိုင်ငံအကြား e-ID စနစ်လုပ်ငန်းပူးပေါင်း ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရေးလေ့လာရန် အိန္ဒိယနိုင်ငံသို့ ထွက်ခွာ နယူးဒေလီမြို့ရှိ UIDAI ရုံးချုပ်သို့ သွားရောက်၍ Aadhaar စနစ်၏ လုပ်ငန်းဆောင်ရွက်မှုများအား ညှိနှိုင်းဆွေးနွေး](#)
- ၅၃။ [ပြည်ထောင်စုဝန်ကြီး ဦးမြင့်ကြိုင်၊ အိန္ဒိယနိုင်ငံ ဘန်ဂလောမြို့ရှိ UIDAI ၏ နည်းပညာဗဟိုဌာန \(ဘန်ဂလော\) နှင့် IIIT Bangalore သို့ သွားရောက်၍ Aadhaar စနစ်နှင့် MOSIP စနစ်တို့၏ နည်းပညာဆိုင်ရာများ လေ့လာညှိနှိုင်းဆွေးနွေး](#)
- ၅၄။ [ပြည်ထောင်စုဝန်ကြီး ဦးမြင့်ကြိုင်၊ အိန္ဒိယနိုင်ငံ ဘန်ဂလောမြို့ရှိ UIDAI ၏ နည်းပညာဗဟိုဌာန \(ဘန်ဂလော\) နှင့် IIIT Bangalore သို့ သွားရောက်၍ Aadhaar စနစ်နှင့် MOSIP စနစ်တို့၏ နည်းပညာဆိုင်ရာများ လေ့လာညှိနှိုင်းဆွေးနွေး](#)
- ၅၅။ [စစ်ကောင်စီနှင့် ပူးပေါင်းသည့် ကသည်းသူပုန်များကို ချင်းအဖွဲ့များ ဆက်တိုက်နေ](#)
- ၅၆။ [Indian Rebel Outfits Regrouping in Myanmar Again](#)
- ၅၇။ [Myanmar's Military Launches Airstrikes Near Indian Border](#)
- ၅၈။ [INSURGENCY IN NORTH EAST - Ministry of Home Affairs, North East Division](#)
- ၅၉။ [The Billion Dollar Death Trade: The International Arms Networks that Enable Human Rights Violations in Myanmar](#)
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- ၆၆။ [Press Information Bureau - Government of India](#)
- ၆၇။ [Justice for Myanmar](#)
- ၆၈။ [Defence exports will continue to grow exponentially under PM Modi's leadership: Raksha Mantri Shri Rajnath Singh](#)



Respect the voice of the People of Myanmar.
Only the will of the people is the sole power.



THIS REPORT IS CONDUCTED BY BURMA
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