

ASEAN

Introduction of ASEAN

- ASEAN is a regional organisation of 10 countries of South-East Asia.
- ASEAN is the most successful regional integration model among the developing countries or the countries of South.
- ASEAN integration is inspired by integration of EU but it does have differences from EU model also.

ASEAN - EU

- EU came into existence in 1952 in the form of European Coal & Steel Community.

The motivating factor for EU integration were peace & prosperity along with external threat of communism & external push factor of USA.

- ASEAN was formed in 1967 by Bangkok Declaration. Initially economic angle was not very strong. It was dominated by peace & strategic concern but not economic angle has become important. In case of ASEAN also communism & US played role.

Nature of ASEAN as an organisation

- EU has 2 types of organisations:

- Supranational

- Intergovernmental

- ASEAN is primarily intergovernmental.

Though at present ASEAN has its Secretariat.

but role of ASEAN Secretariat is not at par with European Commission

In terms of structure, ASEAN is more soft. ASEAN has mechanisms & platforms whereas EU has institutions. e.g. Institutions like European Central Bank, European Parliament does not exist in ASEAN.

- Decision making

In ASEAN, decision is taken by consensus. However charter has a possibility that if nations decide they can take other course of action also. Whereas in EU majority of the decisions are taken by double voting (Qualified majority). EU permits EU citizens to directly influence EU policies.

- ASEAN Way

EU policies are intrusive, Democracy & human rights is a precondition for joining EU. However ASEAN way is noninterference in domestic affairs. ASEAN has been criticised for neglecting democracy & human rights. However presently ASEAN charter makes a provision for human rights.

- ASEAN Community

EU is already a community, whereas ASEAN Community will emerge in 2015.

ASEAN Community has 3 pillars.

- Strategic & Political
- Economic
- Socio-cultural

ASEAN has no proposal for monetary union but countries have currency swap arrangement with ASEAN plus 3 known as Chiang Mai initiative.

China.
Japan
S. Korea

Like EU ASEAN is also working for establishing a regional security architecture. EU has neighbourhood policy whereas ASEAN has established mechanisms like ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), ADMIMEF+ (ASEAN Defence Ministers meet), EAS (East Asia Summit).

Conclusion

- EU has been a source of inspiration & learning for ASEAN countries.
- ^{European} EU and ASEAN nations also interact each other at a platform ASEM Summit (ASEAN Europe Meet Summit).
- In one way ASEAN has moved ahead of EU, i.e. it has its own Constitution.

Evolution of ASEAN

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| - Bangkok Declaration 1967 | ASEAN 5
Capitalist |
| 5 original members were Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines & Indonesia. | CLMV
Communist |
| known as ASEAN 5 (developed countries of ASEAN). | |

Objectives of ASEAN

- Economic growth, social progress and Cultural development.

- Regional peace & stability
- Strengthen intⁿ law, justice & principles of UN Charter.

(ASEAN is an outward looking organisation)
(aspires to play major role in intⁿ affairs)

- ~~ASEAN Zone of~~

- In 1971, ASEAN countries entered into ZOPFAN Agreement (Zone of Peace, Friendship & Neutrality).

- Bali Concord I, 1976

This is ASEAN blueprint for social, economic & cultural cooperation.

- TAC 1976 (Treaty of Amity & Cooperation).

- 1977 ASEAN Preferential Trading Agreement

SAARC
SAAPTA
1997,

- In 1984 Brunei joined the bloc

- ~~1987~~ ASEAN Free Trade Agreement

- In 1994 created ASEAN Regional Forum.

It provides a platform for security dialogue where ASEAN interacts with dialogue partners & other key players.

(Korea, Mongolia, Bangladesh)

India joined in 1996

Vietnam joined ASEAN.

& Myanmar joined.

India-ASEAN
look east policy

- In 1995, South East Asia was recognised as Nuclear Weapon-free zone.
- 1995 ASEAN entered into free trade in services.
- In 1997, ASEAN adopted ASEAN Vision 2020. Objective was to create ASEAN Community by 2020. But later on preponed it to 2015.
Vision 2020: ASEAN as caring & sharing society & Concert of nations.
- 1999, Cambodia joined ASEAN.
ASEAN Investment Agreement, 1999
- 2003 Bali Concord II
- Nov. 2007 ASEAN Charter comes into existence which codifies ASEAN norms & strengthen compliance of ASEAN norms. Since then ASEAN is having 2 annual Summits, One with among themselves and second with dialogue partners.
- By 2015, ASEAN Community will emerge

16/11/14

Look East Policy

What is Look East Policy?

Officially LEP was launched during the time of Narsimha Rao. Since then there has been a continuous evolution in the policy. Presently 'look-east' has become 'Act-East'. Present phase is called 'Look East 3.0'.

Phases of LEP

Ist Phase 90s

Focus was on economic diplomacy.

IInd Phase during NDA govt.

It developed 2 more dimensions.

- Strategic Dimension: BOP with China.
- Domestic Dimension known as "Look-East through North-East".

IIIrd Phase under Present govt

Known as Act-East Policy AEP

The defining feature in AEP will be Speed of engagement and connectivity in broader sense. It is being defined as C3 (Communication, Culture & Connectivity).

Beginning of the AEP.

- USA has called for India to upgrade its LEP. It should not be simply look east but 'engage-east' & 'act-east'. Former PM of India Manmohan Singh has described

that India-ASEAN relations are going to enter into "High Speed Phase" during his speech at India-ASEAN Summit in New Delhi 2012 while launching strategic partnership with ASEAN. Present Foreign Min. during her visit to Myanmar further declared Act-East Policy with focus on speed and connectivity. The present PM has also declared that we are entering into a new phase. It has been clarified that AEP does not supplement LEP rather recalibrate it. LEP is engagement of India with countries located in eastern side. Initially engagement started with ASEAN. ASEAN is still the nucleus or core of India's LEP. Later on extended to include China, Japan, S. Korea, further extended to include Australia, New Zealand and Fiji.

LEP had different tracks

- Govt. to Govt. at bilateral & multilateral levels
- People to People & betn Corporate Sector

In the present govt's approach, Myanmar & Vietnam are considered as most important link in India's LEP.

Guiding philosophy of LEP

LEP is based on vision of Asian Century.

Its roots can be traced to the 1st PM

who talked about resurgence of Asia.

Cold War has created artificial division

in Asia. LEP of India and Look West Policy

of Eastern Countries is the recognition of the fact that Asia is one geopolitical, and geo economic & geo-strategic space. They had common past and a shared future.

Importance of LEP for India

- It is an acknowledgement of India as a global power which has significance beyond its immediate neighbourhood. For long, India had this dream of being recognised as a major power and get its rightful place among the nations.
- East Asia has become the Centres of Gravity in intⁿ politics today because of economic dynamism, presence of major power, Challenges like organised crime, human trafficking, Climate Change, Natural disaster, terrorism.
- Countries in East Asia are the leading trade partners of India, major source of FDI in India. These are countries with which India also have defence and military partnership in form of training, supply of hardware, etc.

energy security

History of India's engagement with this region.

- Historically we had commerce of ideas. There was exchange of culture, trade, religion betⁿ the 2 regions.
- The natural interconnectedness had been impacted by imperialism & colonialism.

- Later on Cold War further separated the regions.
- India's partition has also impacted India's connectivity with the region. Bangladesh had not been supportive of India's concerns for establishing connectivity in the region.
- Our policy w.r.t. Myanmar upto 1990s was also counterproductive to Indian interest.
- India had inward looking economy.
- Focus of India was on South Asia.
- India could manage its national interest with the help of USSR alone.
- There has been a benign neglect of this region from India.

Beginning of India's LEP

Factors responsible for the new policy

- Disintegration of USSR
- Balance of Payment crisis which forced India to go for liberalisation, which required India to trade with other countries.
- South Asia has not provided any source of motivation, it remained divided/fragmented.
- India had to look beyond its immediate neighbourhood towards extended neighbourhood both in East and West. Environment in West was not conducive whereas environment in East was facilitative.
- This was the time when economies of East Asia

were showing faster eco. growth, the so called rise of Asian tigers.

- Rise of China.
- Improvement in relations with USA.
USA started looking India as a counterweight to China.
- Countries of S.E. Asia were also looking at India to balance the rise of China.

India - ASEAN engagement

Milestones in India - ASEAN relations

- In 1992, India became sectoral dialogue partner.
- In 1996, India became full dialogue partner and India joined ASEAN Regional Forum.
- In 2002, India became Summit level partner and since then we are having regular annual Summits.
- In 2003, India entered into Treaty of Amity and Cooperation with ASEAN countries.
- In 2003, India showed its interest in negotiating FTA with ASEAN.
India and ASEAN entered into FTA in goods in 2003, which comes into effect from 1/1/2010.
- India - ASEAN trade in 1990 was \$2.4 billion jumped to \$76 billion by 2012.
It is expected to reach to \$100+ billion in 2018 and have a target of \$200 billion by 2020.
- Today ASEAN is India's 4th largest trading partner and India is ASEAN's 9th largest trading partner.

Recently India and ASEAN have also finalised India ASEAN FTA in services. It is expected that this agreement will result into more favourable balance of trade for India. Balance of trade at present is in favour of ASEAN.

- India is also involved in the development of CLMV (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam) the EDCs of ASEAN.
- India & ASEAN have adopted "long term cooperative partnership agreement for peace, progress and shared prosperity".
- In 2012, India became ASEAN's strategic partner.
- India has setup its mission to ASEAN in Jakarta.
- India is involved in Capacity building project. India has opened for English language training entrepreneurship development centre.
- India is original member East-Asia Summit since 2005.

East Asia Summit (EAS)

Purpose

- Original idea is of Malaysia. The objective was to establish rule of law based on mutually agreed norms and rules to govern Asia-Pacific region. In coming time it is expected to become a major platform for economic political & strategic issues related to Asia-Pacific. China & Malaysia were against inclusion of India & to restrict its membership to ASEAN plus 8.

APEC - trade liberalisation only.

However Singapore & Japan supported India's inclusion. In

- In the 1st Summit they have adopted 5 priority areas
- Energy, finance, education, disaster management, Avian flu.

Significance of EAS for India

- It is a symbol and logical outcome of the success of India's LEP. It is recognition of India's status as a global player and an important component of any new architecture that will emerge in the region.

- Since

- Since Nov. 2012, India is a part of the negotiating process for emergence of ~~RE~~ RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership). It is to be finalised by year 2015.

Significance of RCEP

- It includes ASEAN plus 2 plus 3. It will represent 3 billion people. Combined GDP of \$17 trillion. & 40 % of the world trade.
- It includes negotiations on trade in goods, services, investment, ~~IPR~~ IPR, economic & technological cooperation, competition policy & dispute settlement body.
- It is imp. for India in following contexts.

- The slow progress at WTO for trade liberalisation
- US led initiatives like TPP and Trans Atlantic Investment Partnership . India is not included in TPP.
- India was looking for membership in APAC, But APAC is not in favour of further expansion but it would not give India membership until & unless India goes for liberalisation to the extent demanded by APAC countries.

India's sub regional initiatives

± BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for multisectoral technical & economic cooperation)

- It originated in 1997 in the form of BIST (Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Thailand)
- Later on Nepal, Bhutan also joined the platform.
- Since 2004 it is renamed as BIMSTEC.

Significance

- Can be considered as a strategic move of India. Objective of BIMSTEC was to address the development deficit of North-East. For dev. of North East, connectivity with South East Asia & Indian mainland is important.
- For connectivity Bangladesh is critical. India may not be in a position to get concessions from Bangladesh w.r.t. the transit at bilateral level. Bangladesh may be more amenable to the necessary concessions.

in a regional framework.

- BIMSTEC also originates because of failure of SAARC. It replaces Pakistan and brings Thailand, a more constructive partner.
- BIMSTEC is a land bridge betⁿ South Asia and South East Asia.
- It establishes a better balance of power than SAARC and addresses "big neighbour - small neighbour syndrome" which exists in SAARC.
- It highlights India's dependency on Bangladesh for development of North East and elevates the status of Bangladesh.
- It is an additional forum which gives flexibility to India in handling Bangladesh.

Key areas of cooperation

- Connectivity, traditional medicine, energy, criminal matters, terrorism, tourism

Evaluation of this platform

- Platform has failed to achieve the objective. practical cooperation has been missing. Bangladesh & Thailand have been involved in domestic political turmoil. It has been a problem with Govt. of India that it has not sustained the momentum of its initiatives.

Current scenario

In 2014, BIMSTEC summit took place in Myanmar and some significant decisions have been taken.

- Establishment of Secretariat at Dhaka.
 - Earliest conclusion of Free Trade Agreement.
 - Declaration of 2015 as a BIMSTEC travel year.
- Then then PM has explained BIMSTEC as an example of 'Dynamic Regionalism'.

2. Mekong Ganga Cooperation (MGC).

- It is India's partnership for the development of countries of South East Asia, i.e., CLMV countries.
- Here India is in partnership with Thailand.
- Objective of this platform
 - To build India's soft power.
 - To reduce China's influence in the region.
 - To establish connectivity betⁿ the 2 civilizational rivers.
- It was started in 2000 at Vientiane, (Capital of Laos).

Areas of cooperation

- Tourism, culture, education, communications.

Present Status

- This platform has been languishing.
- No concrete achievement. It suffered from irregular meetings.
- Absence of clear guidelines.
- Lack of funding.
- Lack of implementation & review mechanism.
- Thailand has lost interest in this platform & has launched another platform minus India, ACMECS (Ayeyawady Chao Phraya Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy).

- This region has more vibrant & functioning China led platform known as GMS (Greater Mekong sub-region)

Objective of MGC

- Development of North East and for
- Incorporation of Myanmar in a cooperative framework.

3. BCIM Corridor Bangladesh China India Myanmar

It is China's initiative
a.k.a. Southern Silk route.

It connects India & China via
Bangladesh and Myanmar.

Once it was a prosperous region but at
present it is the most backward region of
both India and China.

It represents 2.8 billion people. It is
a shorted trade route betn China & India.

It was initiative of pri. sector of China
now supported by govt. of China.

It is also known as 'Kunming Initiative'.

Chinese Proposal

- China wants to build network of roads, railways, water and air linkages.
- During the recent visit of Chinese President, China offered that India should become a member of this project.
- This region is an intersection of 3 markets.
i.e. China, South Asia & South East Asia.

India's response has been lukewarm and at present India is studying implications of this proposal. (strategic angle).

Whether India should join BCIM?

View why India should join?

Views of C. Rajamohan

- It is an opportunity to develop North East
- India's initiatives like BIMSTEC are languishing
- It offers an alternative to stagnant regionalism in South Asia.
- There is a synergy in aims.
 - India wants to develop North East
 - China wants to develop South West
- India also aimed at building the network of transport links.
- In BCIM there is a check and balance
- India's bargaining power with Bangladesh is limited.
- China's bargaining power over Myanmar is decreasing.

India's bilateral relations

1. Myanmar
2. Vietnam

India - Myanmar Relations

Myanmar is considered as the most underrated neighbour of India.

India's policy toward Myanmar

- Uptill 1990s our policy lacked strategic thinking

Significance of Myanmar

- External Security as it is place where India and China meet
- Its cooperation is critical for peace and security in North East as the insurgents have used Myanmar as a sanctuary.
- Myanmar is significant for development of North East specially in context of uncertainty that prevails in India - Bangladesh relations.
- It is critical land bridge betⁿ India and South East Asia, the only South East Asian Country with which we have land border.
- Has a role in food security and energy security.

Overview of the relations

- Before coming of British
 - We had cultural and religious affinity with Myanmar.
- During British
 - Myanmar's view about Indians got spoiled.
 - In 1886 Myanmar was annexed & became a part of British Empire.
 - British troops manned by Indians garrisoned the country.

(GoI Act 1935)

- Burma was separated from India in 1937.
- Britishers have encouraged immigration of Indians.
- Indians became symbol of colonialism. Indians were dominating police force, bureaucracy, money lending, business, etc.

- After independence

- In 1951, India and Myanmar entered into Treaty of Friendship. Nehru had good relations with U Nu.
- In 1962, Myanmar suffered from a military coup and U Nu took refuge in India. This has deteriorated the relations. Indians were subjected to violence in Myanmar. India has been supporting democracy movement in Myanmar, specially "1988 democratic uprising".

- Relations in 1990s

- India realised its strategic mistake.
 - > India has given scope to China to enhance its influence.
 - > North East insurgents took the advantage.
- India revived its engagement in 1992

Present Policy - Pragmatic

- Engage with whoever is in power. But we are continuing with a "gentle" support for democracy rather than rhetoric support.

Present status of relations.

- Declared as a heart of India's look east policy.

- In a single year, there have been 2 ^{Prime} Ministerial visits.

- Myanmar relations with China are showing some negative trends.

• Myanmar thinks that China supports insurgency in Kachin state and Shan state.

• China has a de-facto control over Northern Myanmar.

• Chinese projects have not been eco-friendly.

- Still Myanmar depends on China. At present

Myanmar describes China as cousin and

India as brother. It is a favourable time for India.

Conclusion

Myanmar

Overview of India's Myanmar Policy.

According to political analysts, India's dealing with Myanmar shows lack of strategic vision and has been an underrated neighbour and it is surprising that India's commitment in Myanmar are nowhere near to India's commitments in Afghanistan.

India is the largest donor from developing countries in Afghanistan. India has given \$2 billion as an aid. Similar level of commitment was required for Myanmar.

India - Vietnam

Vietnam and India enjoyed good relations even during Cold War.

India, USSR and Vietnam formed 1axis.

Good relations continued even after the end of Cold War. Today India-Vietnam relations are developing in context of balancing China. India has made Vietnam as a heart of its Look-east policy

along with Myanmar. There have been high level bilateral visits betⁿ 2 countries.

Indian President visited Vietnam before Chinese President's visit to India and

Vietnam's PM visited India after Chinese President's visit. In the recent visits,

India and Vietnam have agreed for joint^{oil} exploration in South China Sea.

- increasing defence partnership

- Vietnam will be purchasing Naval Patrolling Boat from India.

- Vietnam has shown its desire to purchase smaller version of Brahmos missile to develop naval deterrent against China.

- They will also be going for Civil Nuclear Agreement.

- India supports Vietnam's perspective wrt the resolution of disputes related to Islands in South China Sea.