

# Political Transition in Myanmar: The Role of India and the International Community

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**Abstract:** This article intends to remind and convince India and international community (sympathizers of Myanmar) that the present constitution of Myanmar does not guarantee to lay down concrete democratic foundation and institutions that can achieve complete transition, prevent the resurgent of the military rule in future as well as to resolve all socioeconomic and political problems that Myanmar faces today. In fact, Myanmar needs a large number of democratic leaders who could be a solid foundation to the democratic institutions in the country. In this context, at least 10,000 students from Myanmar should be trained in India with the help of Indian Government, Myanmar enthusiasts and international sympathizers, and democratic leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and pro-democratic leaders from Myanmar should approach the Government of Myanmar, India and pro-democracy Maynmars to take up the initiatives seriously. India should take the leadership and convince all Myanmar pro-democracy activists to divert 1-2 percent of their aids to support the initiative. This project requires a tentative expense of 150 million US Dollars for duration of nine years. If this project materializes, the students who receive education on democracy will fast-track the transition of Myanmar in to a stable and meaningful democratic country without resorting to violent means. A democratic Myanmar is the goods of its people and for the world peace at large.

**Keywords:** 10,000 Myanmar Students, Train, India, Democracy, Diversion aids, 150 Millions, Nine years.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Myanmar formerly known as “Burma” was a British colony. Myanmar is located between China, India and Thailand. Myanmar is multi-ethnic, multi-culture, and multi-linguistic and multi religious society, where one of the longest ethnic conflicts and democratization movements have been going on side by side since independence in 1948. There are 135 national races in the country and all these races are grouped into eight major ethnic groups namely the Kachin, the Kayah, the Chin, the Mon, the Rakhaine, the Shan and the Bama which is majority in population. Democratization movement in Myanmar has begun since the colonial period and gained momentum since from 1988. This political struggle today can be classified as one of the longest fought but with least success. This article attempts to analyse democratization movement in Myanmar, its chief challenges and proposes a systematic strategic planning to support democratization movement for complete democratic transition and consolidation of democracy in the future in the country.

## II. ANALYSIS OF DEMOCRATIZATION MOVEMENT

“Democracy” in Myanmar was first introduced by the British in 1922. That democracy had so many rules and limitations for the people of Myanmar because it was controlled by the British governor and that democracy can be called a “British-controlled democracy.”<sup>1</sup> Additionally, that democracy was exclusively introduced in the region of Burma Proper alone, not

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<sup>1</sup> “Dyarchy” was transformed into self-rule in 1937 but it was under the control of British governor till independence in 1948. (U Thant (Lakmoshwe), Myanmar Historical Records and Photos in Ages, Yangon: Mahindhi Publication, 2013: p.228).

all over the country.<sup>2</sup> Somehow, the Bama ethnic majority has received training in democracy from the British, such as forming political parties, contesting election, making policy and its implementation but the democratic knowledge they have gained from the British was not pure liberal democracy. On the other side, the people from Frontier Areas (Chin, Kachin and Shan) have not had such opportunity to learn democratic knowledge from the British colonizers. Instead, they were privileged to learn the military knowledge from the British. According to Steinberg (2010: p.29), Karen (27.8 %), Chin (22.6 %), Kachin (22.9%) and Bama (12.3%) were recruited respectively for the British Army at the time of Second World War. While Bama people gained knowledge about democracy from the British the ethnic nationalities got only military training from the British. The imbalanced knowledge that they have gained from the British colonizers began to affect negatively on the relationship between the Bama ethnic and non-Bama ethnic groups in post colonial period.

In addition, British controlled-democracy was overthrown 'in the aftermath of the Japanese conquest of Myanmar in 1941. (Thant Myint U 2001, p.254) However, the same democracy was restored again after removing the Japanese troops in 1945. Under the euphemism of spreading democracy and civilizing the aborigines, the British had embarked on its territorial extension policy, but the palpable intension behind this was to plunder the natural resources from its colonies. Thus, the political system established by the colonizer in its colonies lack structural rigidity and strength - the government established by the British in Burma was no way different from this. Unlike India and Ceylon or Malaya, Burma during independence faced a weak institutional legacy, a vacuum which the war-time army was soon able to fill. (Thant Myint U 2001, p.254) Then Myanmar becomes an independent country without solid democratic foundation and institutions. All these factors had witnessed what Martin Smith said, "State building was never a colonial goal. (2007 p.9)"

Independent Myanmar adopted multi-party parliamentary democratic system in 1948 but that democracy had several problems and limitations (Steinberg 2010: p.40) almost similar to the British controlled democracy. The reason was that that democracy was a 'Bama ethnic-controlled democracy.'<sup>3</sup> Then, ethnic nationalities (Non-Bama groups) that have formed the modern Union-state of the present Myanmar together with Bama ethnic group began to have a deep dissatisfaction on that democratic form of the government.<sup>4</sup> By the end of 1948, ethnic nationalities such as Arakanese (now Rakhaine), Karen, Karenni and Mon had taken up arms against the state. (Ashley South 2008, p.26) Communist Party of Burma (BCP) was also attempting to overthrow democracy as well.<sup>5</sup> On the other side, ethnic nationalities such as Kachin Chin, Shan and others did not lose their faith in the government and army unit made up of ethnic nationalities helped restore order and ensured the survival of the government. (Chao & Sakhong, 2003: p. 6) When Prime Minister U Nu declared Buddhism as the State religion on 26 August 1961 in the parliament, ethnic cleavages increased. (MyanThu, 2012, p.394) When ethnic nationalities attempted constitutional reform for greater autonomy, democracy was overthrown by the Myanmar Military Leader called General Ne Win on 2 March 1962. (Taylor 2009: p.293) Then all major ethnic nationalities in the country had to take up arms to defend their identity. What Martin Smith (2007: p.15) observes was "Insurgency become way of life in Myanmar" is the reality of Myanmar today. In 1974, a peculiar democracy known as

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the colonial period, the present Myanmar was divided into two administrations: Proper Burma and Frontier Areas. The former corresponds to the present seven divisions and the later generally refers to the present seven states. The so-called "Divide and Rule Policy" was applied till Independence in 1948. (Donald M. Seekins, Historical Dictionary of Myanmar, 2006: Pp.126, 194).

<sup>3</sup> U Nu, the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Myanmar (1948-1962) asked U Chan Htun to reverse Aung San's version of the constitution from the principles of Federal Union into unitary system (centralization). As a result, the Bama ethnic controlled the sovereign power of the Union (Laing H. Sakhong, In Defence of Identity, Chiangmai: Orchid Press, 2010:p19-20).

<sup>4</sup> The reason for ethnic nationalities' dissatisfaction was that the government of Myanmar adopted centralization administration with limitations of ethnic-self-determination against Panglong Agreement that they signed with General Aung San (Representative of the interim Burma Proper) on 12 February 1948. For example, if ethnic nationalities (Chin, Kachin and Shan) had not signed Panglong Agreement with General Aung San, the Union of the present Myanmar would not have existed. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi also affirmed it saying, "The hills and the frontier areas would be excluded from this arrangement unless the people of these excluded areas specifically expressed the desire to be amalgamated with the rest of Burma" (Aung San Suu Kyi, Freedom from Fear and Other Writings, Stockholm: Penguin Books, 1991: p.24).

<sup>5</sup> After taking part in the celebration of Myanmar Independence on 4 January 1948, Takhin Tha Tun, leader of Burma Communist Party, declared in March that the Independence negotiated with the British was a sham. The independence won by war is the only a genuine independence. Then he took the BCP into the jungle. (Dr. Maung Maung, The 1988 Uprising in Myanmar, Yangon: Digest Media Bank, 2012: p.10).

“Myanmar way to Socialism” was established by General Ne Win but it was suspended again by General Saw Maung in 1988. In 2010, the last military leader Senior General Tha Shwe (retired now) formed another new model of democracy called a “discipline-flourishing genuine multiparty democracy.” It is what the scholars call a “quasi-civilian democracy.”<sup>6</sup>

### III. MAJOR CHALLENGES OF MYANMAR

How to bring lasting peace and national reconciliation to Myanmar are the main challenges of Myanmar today. But it is also important how to remove the Myanmar military regime from the national politics of Myanmar without hurting in addition to how to resolve ethnic conflict in the country. However, “Who can do this and how this can be done?” is really the difficult question to be answered. One can ask, then, “How can the Myanmar military regime become so powerful regime?” This question seems a difficult question similar to the first question but there is a very simple answer, that is, the Myanmar military regime plans everything systematically to control the national politics since 1962.

Then, if we ask a question to the democratic forces in Myanmar whether they have a systematic planning like the Myanmar military regime. The immediate answer to this question they would give is expected to be “No, or Not yet.” It is natural to say that planners are stronger than un-planners; systematic planners are stronger than unsystematic planners in all fields. Then, if we ask another question to the international community those who have been supporting democratization in Myanmar in the past and present, How did they support and how much money they have given to the government of Myanmar or pro-democratic movement inside and outside for democracy in Myanmar. Definitely they would say, “Millions of dollars” but it is hard to say how much it effect on the democratic movement for transition today.

According to today’s Myanmar context, removal of the military regime from the national politics without hurting and resolving ethnic armed forces issue is unlikely to be enough for the process of democratization for the consolidation of democracy and ethnic relations in the country in the future. How the people of Myanmar understood the term “democracy” is equally important to the above said two factors. Primitively, the term democracy is understood as majority –rule. This is what the former Prime Minister U Nu and AFPFL held and embraced strongly. Today most of scholars of democracy and democratization agree that democracy is an accommodation of differences. Can the present Bama civilian politicians including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi accommodate non-bama ethnic groups fully into the main political stream is a matter for debate. The main reason is that the primitive understanding model of democracy is likely to be still strong among the Bama politicians. At the same time, it is good to remember that Myanmar has a strong authoritarian tradition. (Bertil Linter 1994, p.31) Throughout the British colonial period, ‘this tradition was not modernized fully’. (Mg Mg Gyi, 2012, p.71).

Another issue is that there are three potential forces to political transition in Myanmar: the military regime, urban-based democracy movement led by Aung San Suu Kyi’s National League for Democracy and various ethnic nationality parties. (Ashley, 2004, p.1-14) Each group has its own agenda. The first party is committed to centralization to prevent national disintegration, the second party is strong on democracy and the third is ideologically committed to classical federal union with ethnic self-determination. (Baogang, Galligan and Takashi, 2007, p.197) It is hard to see soft-liners among the parties. In such situation, it can be assumed that either co-operation or compromises among the parties for democracy would not be easy.

Currently, the constitutional reform or amendment is expected to be the key to achieve democracy in Myanmar. Of course, it’s fine, right and good if things go well as expected. However, it should not be forgotten that constitutions were just like a piece of paper for the military regime if they do not like. The present Commander in Chief General Min Aung Hlaing is saying that protection of the present constitution of Myanmar is the main duty of the military regime. It is something that signals the unpreparedness of the military regime to fulfil the aspiration and expectation of the people.

The last challenge I want to bring out here is that the relationship between democracy and federalism in the context of Myanmar. For Myanmar, the relation between democracy and federalism looks like human being composed of spirit and body which are inseparable. For example, if the body dies, the spirit also will die automatically. Likewise, if democracy

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<sup>6</sup> 25% of seats in both houses of national parliaments, one third of seats in the legislatures of the seven states, the seven divisions, the seven regions comprising Union, the most important post in the Union government, ministers and deputies ministers for defence, home affair and border areas are reserved for the military (The Constitution of Myanmar (2008), Articles, 109, 141, 161,232, 234.

dies, federalism also will die automatically vice versa. In other words, simple democracy will not survive for a long time without federalism as it was proved earlier. In such situation, resolving ethnic conflict is equal to resolving all political issues in Myanmar. However, there is a negative perception of federalism as an unwelcome entity, with a focus on ethnic welfare and interest. Such perception is not appreciable but exists strongly. Actually, federalism is the interest of the people of Myanmar and the national interest, many people refuse to believe and accept it. Taking into account all these factors, Myanmar's democratization movement for complete democratic transition would not be smooth and easy and it may take a long period of time. It is needless to say about consolidation of democratic movements. All these factors show that democratic transition in Myanmar desperately needs a systematic planning for democratization movement for transition and consolidation of democracy in the future. Therefore, I propose this democratic strategy to all Myanmar lovers and sympathizers for future of Myanmar. This proposal is not a new one but old one that everybody across the globe knows very well. It is simple and not expensive but practical, effective and potential to heal the six decade-long political deceases in Myanmar.

The idea of this proposal is developed from the findings of Samuel P. Huntington on the problem of democratization in the third world countries. Samuel P. Huntington finds, "one potentially significant political obstacle to democratization is the virtual absence of experience with democracy in most third world countries that remained authoritarian in 1990." (Dahl, Ian and Jose Antonio 2003: p.96) My implication of this sentence is that most of democratic movement leaders in Myanmar have never experienced democracy in their life time. Logically thinking, how democratic movement in Myanmar could be successful without having enough democratic knowledge and leaders is a matter for debate. At the same time, the present youth in Myanmar may not have a chance to experience democracy in their life time again. Here I am not saying that the present democracy in Myanmar is not a democracy. Actually, it is a one type of democracy but I am saying about a better democratic system. So, my proposal to international community, lovers and sympathizers of Myanmar is to train a massive scale of young students from Myanmar in democratic countries to be equipped with democratic education, knowledge and democratic experience for future democratization for complete democratic transition and consolidation of democracy in Myanmar. The youth means the youth from all sections of the people in Myanmar including the children of military regime. Here India is proposed to be the centre for training those students. There are several reasons why India is selected.

#### IV. INDIA AS CENTRE FOR TRAINING BURMESE STUDENTS

There was a saying that England was the land of philosophers and poets, and the very centre of civilization (Nanda 2009:p.24) and many students from around the world including Indian students went to England for education. Indian national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Dr. Ambedkar went to England and had their education. However, Mahatma Gandhi himself described that his basic political philosophy of Ahimsa was the ancient Indian philosophy which is as old as the hills. The wisdom of forbearance, forgiving and non-violence are indispensable part of Indian culture. With the passage of time India also has gained prominence in imparting modern education. The combined wisdom of ancient and modern, which one can have access here in India today has made India equivalent to the most sought educational hub like England. The point I am trying to make here is that India has enough knowledge, philosophy, ideology, institutions and resources to promote democratic leadership in Myanmar.

India and Burma struggled together against colonial rule and became democratic country and shared common ethos of nonalignment but General Ne Win seized power in Myanmar 1962 and broke their relationship. During democratic uprising in Myanmar in 1988, India supported pro-democracy movement and awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Peace Prize in 1995 to Aung San Suu Kyi as a token of its appreciation for her contribution in promoting democracy in Myanmar. However, with the rise of military regime, the two countries fell apart till 2000. ( Srivastava 2007: p.217) After that, India adopted re-engagement policy with the military regime till the present date. One of the famous Burmese Writer Dr. Thein Lwin described Indian attitude towards Myanmar by saying that India treats Myanmar as a son or a grandson throughout history. Regarding Myanmar, India never has the concept and idea of big country and small country. India never has invaded Burma and destroyed it. Besides, India never has stolen natural resources from Myanmar. Myanmar's culture is Buddhist culture which was born in India and brought to Myanmar. (2012: p.39) These facts show the safety and security of Myanmar students and the government of Myanmar if Myanmar students are trained in India.

Looking back to the history of India's democratization movement and education started from 1885, one can find that India has contributed two national democratic leaders towards Myanmar. They are Sayadaw U Ottama and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who are the most praised political figures in Myanmar in their respective times.

**Sayadaw U Ottama (1879 – 1939)** was an Arakanese Theravada Buddhist monk, author and leader of the Burmese independence movement during the British colonial rule. He was born in a village in Rakhaine State.<sup>7</sup> At the age of 17, he came to Calcutta and studied for three years. In the year 1902, he came back to Calcutta to teach Pali and Buddhism in the National College in Calcutta. During that time, U Ottama had witnessed Indian nationalist anti-colonial movements and gained substantial strategies in conducting modern political campaign. Sayadaw U Ottama learnt Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy of ahimsa, national spirit, courage, freedom, non-violence, democratic knowledge, the strategy of hunger strike and the unity of the people from India. After that U Ottama travelled various countries including China, Korea, the United States, Britain and Japan. (Charrey 2009:p. 32) In doing so, he had corroborated the political conditions of those nations and their way of dealing with the political turmoil.

Upon returning to Burma, U Ottama started his non-violent political movement in a democratic way. His political speech on "Craddock, Get Out!" was his famous speech against Craddock Scheme of Sir Reginald Craddock, the then Governor of British Burma. Sayadaw U Ottama was considered to be one of the first monks who promoted democratic political movement in Myanmar. Sayadaw U Ottama was repeatedly imprisoned on charges of sedition and in 1939 he died in prison while staging a hunger strike. Due to his democratic movement with non-violent approach, Sayadaw U Ottama could become national leader and he was thought to be the only democratic and national leader from ethnic groups. Sayadaw U Ottama was believed to be the leader who sow the seed of democracy and independence in Myanmar. However, his political movement could not secure independence because he did not have enough people who have understood democratic movement like him.

Next to Sayadaw U Ottama was General Aung San, a good friend of Indian nationalist leader Jawaharlal Nehru. General Aung San had the same democratic vision that Jawaharlal Nehru had for the future India. However, General Aung San was assassinated just before independence. The death of Sayadaw U Ottama and assassination of General Aung San could be regarded as the assassination of democracy in Myanmar. After General Aung San, U Nu became the first Prime Minister of independent Myanmar but he could not revive the spirit of democracy. General Ne Win, who was known as anti-politics, anti-democracy and anti-intellectual seized power from U Nu and abolished democracy from the country in 1962.(Irrawaddy News 2013).

**Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (1945-till present)** Like Sayadaw U Ottama, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi came to India in 1960. She studied in the Convent of Jesus and Mary School in New Delhi ( Bengtsson 2012: p.108) and graduated from Lady Shri Ram College in New Delhi with a degree in politics in 1964. During that time, she learnt and experienced the values of democracy and human rights, the political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi on non-violence and its strategy. Then she moved to Oxford University to learn philosophy, politics and economics. In 1987, she came back to India as a Fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies (IIAS) in Shimla, India.) Working in different countries like Japan, US, India, Bhutan, she observed the political situations and systems in different part of the world. Throughout this, she developed the spirit of compassion, fearlessness and courage. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has become national leader of democratic movement in Burma since 1988. Today Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is known as 'icon of democracy.' Nobel Peace Prize and many of international awards were awarded to her for her commitment to democracy and human rights in the country. Now she is the leader of Opposition Party, the Chairperson and General Secretary of the National League for Democracy and the Chairperson of the Rule of Law and Tranquility Committee. Some critics say "Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's democracy movement has been successful;" while some says "It has failed." Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, herself says that it has a long way to go. It would not be wrong to assume that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi does not have enough democratic leaders in her democratic movement like Sayadaw U Ottama. I am not saying here that all democratic leaders who are working her are not democratic leaders. Actually, they are democratic leaders but I am saying here about the leaders who have experienced democracy like her in democratic countries for a certain period of time. The same question of 'who will be the next democratic leader after Daw Aung San Suu Kyi?' is repeatedly asked by many people. 'The military regime may resume power again' may be the answer to this question. Who knows? Nobody knows because there is no concrete democratic foundation in Myanmar so far.

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<sup>7</sup> Ba Yin, "Sayadaw U Ottama: Sower of Seed of Independence Movement" (in Burmese), Yangon, 2007

## V. TRAINING MYANMAR STUDENTS IN INDIA

What Myanmar sympathizers and India have done and doing to Myanmar to support political reforms so far is greatly appreciated but they all should know that all efforts they have made for the political transition and the pressure they have been giving to the government of Myanmar is not enough to secure a genuine democratic governance in the country. They also should know that socio-economic and political change in Myanmar after 2010 created many opportunities for them to play a major role in the country, especially, for long term objectives. In such political scenario, they should extend their visions to promote “10,000 Students from Myanmar” in India for future democratic movement in Myanmar.

As a national democratic leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and pro-democratic leaders should propose the government of Myanmar, India, and Myanmar sympathisers in giving training to the Myanmar students. The government of Myanmar should support this proposal and should not see it as a threat to the security of the nation. Being a good neighbouring country of Myanmar, the Government of India should initiate this project by taking the leadership and convince all Myanmar sympathisers to divert 1-2 percent of their aids. ‘Can India do and convince Myanmar sympathisers to cooperate with initiative?’ is a question to be raised. The answer would be ‘Yes, India can,’ as India has enough educational institutions and resources. ‘Can Myanmar sympathisers agree to divert 1-2 percent of their aids to cooperate with India?’ is the next question to be asked. The answer would be ‘why not,’ because this money would not go to India but to the future leaders of Myanmar. If at least 10,000 Burmese students would be trained in the best institutions in India under different academic disciplines, it is sure that they would become the solid pillars of democracy. Some people may argue that how and why it could be possible. Sayadaw U Ottama and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had already proved this clearly.

The reason is that apart from their courses, Myanmar students will get a lot of things from India, especially, the importance of the value and dignity of human life, the spirit of democracy, federalism, secularism, justice, equality, liberty, courage, liberation, and unity in diversity and so on. In addition, they will become the young active leaders who can serve the long silent suffering people in Myanmar effectively. I am not saying here that the present leaders in Myanmar do not have leadership skills but the qualified democratic leaders are the need of the hour.

The reasons why I choose India to be the centre for training 10,000 Myanmar students are that Myanmar students could concentrate on their studies as there is no much part time job opportunity in India like western countries. The expense of the students is much lower than that of western countries as well. Definitely, all of them would be back to Myanmar after their studies. In addition, India is the land of courage, non-violence and all things that Myanmar needs.

## VI. CATEGORIZATION OF STUDENTS

Myanmar Students would be categorised into two groups: the first group will be the group who would be granted full scholarship and the second group will be the group who will come by self sponsorship. India should also allow them to pay tuition fees and school fees as India students pay. If India could do this, a certain number of students from Myanmar could come and study by self sponsorship.

Regarding the first group, the government of Myanmar, the government of India and Myanmar sympathisers should provide full scholarship to them based on ethnicity. It means scholarship would be granted to 15 students from each ethnic groups (135 ethnic groups) including the children of military regime every year. It means each ethnic nationality would have 15 democratically educated youth per year. If this process could continue consecutively up to nine years, at least, 75 students from each community will have democratically educated youth. Totally, 10,000 students would have been produced within nine years.

**TABLE: 1. Estimated Budget for 10,000 Myanmar Students for 9 years**

No. Year	No. Students	US \$ per student per year	Total in Millions
First	2000	3,000	6
Second	4000	3,000	12
Third	6000	3,000	18
Fourth	8000	3,000	24
Fifth	10000	3,000	30

Sixed	8000	3,000	24
Seventh	6000	3,000	18
Eight	4000	3,000	12
Nine	2000	3,000	6
<b>Total: 9 Years</b>	<b>10,000</b>		<b>150 millions</b>

US Dollar 150 million looks like a huge sum but it is not as it appears to be because Lex Rieffel and James W. Fox (2013) and Paul Whittingham (2012) are pointing out millions of dollars flowing to Myanmar from more than 100 official aid agencies and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to help make the transition a success. For example, World Bank granted US \$ 80 millions, United States \$170, Japan waived almost US \$ 5 billion of Myanmar debts and offered 500 million, European Commission Euro 150 million, UK US \$ 300 million, Australia US \$ 100 million, Global Fund US \$ 160 millions, Norway waived the whole of Myanmar's debts to Norway (NOK 3.2 billion), the Three Millennium Development Fund US \$ 300 million, Livelihood and Food Security Trust US \$ 170 million, France US \$ 150 million, Germany US \$ 204 million, Sweden US \$ 30 million, India US \$ 6 million and 500 million credit so and so.

Facts mentioned above are just meant to have a comprehensive understanding of aids provided by Myanmar sympathizers after 2010. Undoubtedly, all aids would definitely be spent to promote the living standard of the people of Myanmar but most of money would be spending on the short term objectives. What Myanmar sympathizers including India have been doing for Myanmar would be greatly appreciated but 1-2 percent of their aids should be diverted to promote new young Myanmar students generation. If each and every one of Myanmar sympathizers including India could have diverted percent from their aids to do this project, this project would have been done easily and successfully. After completing under graduate studies in India, qualified students should be promoted and sent to western countries to continue further studies.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Looking back to the available information of aids provided by Myanmar sympathizers since 1962, Myanmar has received a large amount of aids. Some of Burmese activists used to have the idea of promoting a massive scale of Myanmar students in abroad through these aids but Myanmar sympathizers have failed to pay attention to it. Myanmar sympathizers should realize that economic development can reduce the level of poverty in the country but it could not bring complete political transition to resolve the political problem of the country. What Myanmar president Thein Sein during his official tour to United State of America said "the military regime needs permanent political space" and the constitution of Myanmar 2008 have shown how much it would be difficult to remove the military regime from the politics of Myanmar? In such political scenario, Myanmar desperately needs a large number of young students who have studied and acquired the knowledge of democracy and experienced it for a certain time like Sayadaw U Ottama and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

If Myanmar sympathizers really care the people of Myanmar, they should imitate India's leadership contribution towards Myanmar: Sayadaw U Ottama and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the product of Indian education and democracy. India and Myanmar sympathizers should not forget the shortage of democratic leadership in Myanmar and should think how democratic movement in Myanmar can success without having adequate democratic leaders and democratic supporters. 'Where is democracy located for the people of Myanmar?' is the question to be raised as well. The answer would be 'Democracy for Myanmar is located in the hands of the democratic people of Myanmar.' Then 'how many people in Myanmar understand democracy and how many democratic leaders Myanmar has?' should be analysed in a critical way. It would not be wrong to say that the level of cooperation from 135 ethnic groups in Myanmar for the cause of democracy in the country was and would be very low without adequate democratic knowledge and democratic leaders. Until and unless the cooperation of all groups is strong, restoration of democracy in the country would not be easy. It would be right to tell Myanmar sympathizers and India that it is the right time for them to show their true concern towards Myanmar by promoting a massive scale of Myanmar students in India. Diversion of 1-2 percent from their aids to promote 10,000 Myanmar students in India is not difficult at all. The problem is whether they have a passion to extend their visions to do it for Myanmar or not is only the matter. If Myanmar sympathizers and India do not pay attention to promote Myanmar students in India, it would be very difficult for Myanmar to have strong democratic forces. Likewise, without enough democratic forces, the major political problem of Myanmar would remain unsolved for next generation also.

In conclusion, it is fair to remind India and sympathizers of Myanmar that Myanmar desperately needs national leaders from both sides (Bama and non-Bama groups) because national leaders from only Bama majority people would not be able to deal with the problems of the country any more. In order to promote democratic and national leaders from both the sides (ethnic groups and Bama majority people), the government of Myanmar, India and Myanmar sympathizers should train at least 10,000 students from Myanmar in India and then in western countries. Actually, there is a great possibility for Myanmar to become one of the fairest democratic countries with the most peaceful and prosperous country in Asian continent as Myanmar has rich natural resources. Myanmar also could become the meeting place of international community like India, China and western countries etc. It means that Myanmar can contribute peace towards both regional and international level if 10,000 students from Myanmar are trained first in India. Otherwise, the major political problem of Myanmar would remain unsolved and could affect international security and peace directly or indirectly.

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