

The Pursuit of Hegemony in Myanmar: China, India or the USA?

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ABSTRACT

The pursuit of hegemony in Myanmar by several regional and global powers including the USA, China and India has currently become a crucial issue given the former's geopolitical features and regime change with the advent of democracy there. In the name of cooperation and revival of democracy these trio- countries compete against each other to maximize their national interest. India and China, being the neighbors of Myanmar with common borders is concerned with territorial security apart from economic interests while the USA sees it as an opportunity to get engaged with it in many forms. In this paper, assessing the nature of competition of the three countries and response of Myanmar in this regard in terms of its foreign policy is key discussion. For the assessment, it is employed theoretical perspective of realism. In doing so, arguing that Myanmar is in a venture to get out of its traditional Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of USA. In effect, it puts itself at the risk of largely becoming subservient to US interests.

Key words: Hegemony, Military regime, Foreign policy, Geo-politics, National interest, Regime interest.

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I. INTRODUCTION:

Myanmar, a South East Asian country, attracts international attention by its democratic revival. Geopolitically this is very important to pursuit world hegemony. Another two Asian great powers India and China are neighbors of Myanmar with common borders so it's a matter of territorial security. On this issues USA is taking the opportunity to engage with it in many forms. These trio- countries are influencing Myanmar in various forms of cooperation such as economic reconstruction, democratic revival, human rights protection. This cooperation is not actually a cooperation it's a political competition to pursuit hegemony in Myanmar among USA, China and India. The geographical location, strategic position and domestic political turmoil of Myanmar are a matter of great attractions for other hegemonic states. Dominating over Bay of Bengal, Indian Ocean, Asia pacific, and South China Sea, Myanmar will be a gate way because of its geographic and strategic location. So the Three elephants¹ (USA, China and India) are much more interested to pursuit hegemony in Myanmar. From various time being Myanmar was a pariah state and it was just a subservient state of China. China supported the military regime so that it can influence much on Myanmar to pursuit hegemony. As Myanmar was confined in Chinese influence, people dream the rays of democracy and human rights so people became anti-Chinese sentimental. November 2015 election and wining absolute majority is the triumph of democracy and NLD. By the means of regime change, foreign policy is changed at Myanmar that can make Myanmar as a site of democracy and country of cooperation. The advent of democracy in Myanmar will also imply new forms of foreign policy that will help to come out of traditional Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of USA.

II. OBJECTIVE:

This research paper gradually endeavors along with its core objective to weigh how Myanmar is becoming a field of competition among China, India and the USA because of those tri powers acquisitive national interest maximization process. And this research also exposes changing foreign policy of Myanmar that shows a little bit glimpses of Myanmar's pulling out from traditional Chinese orbits.

III. RESEARCH QUESTION:

- How does the nature of competition among US, China and India for setting up a zone of influence over Myanmar given its regime shift and how the latter is responding to it?
- How does changing foreign policy argue that Myanmar is in a venture to get out of its traditional Chinese orbit and move to the aegis of the USA?

IV. METHODOLOGY:

The methodology is analytical in nature. Secondary data has been used for this research paper. Relevant books, journals, newspapers, published articles and credible internet sources are used in order to make this research paper more informative and descriptive. This research is on the pursuit of hegemony in Myanmar: China, India or the USA? How Myanmar is becoming a site of US, China or India's geopolitical competition? How new democratic Myanmar is coming out of traditional Chinese orbit and move under aegis of USA is main focus in research. At the first stage of the study this paper focused on collecting relevant literature on Myanmar's regime changes and Trio-countries (USA, China and India) nature of competition and pursuit of hegemony in Myanmar. Expert opinion has been taken to enrich this paper and establish a concrete conclusion. Via emphasizing much on key research question tried to explain the whole thing with logical argument. Theoretical framework is used here to describe key points of the study.

V. LITERATURE REVIEW AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS:

The reviewed literature is divided into some aspects so that it can be easier to understand literature and critical analysis. Reviewing literatures, it can build strong logic of argument on the basis of the pursuit of hegemony in Myanmar: USA, China or India? For a smooth analysis it has been divided all the literatures in particular ways such as Myanmar: In the Eyes of the USA, China or India. By going through all of those literatures it strongly finds out the research gap and particular way of thinking that make this research different from others. Geographical interest becomes key avarice to all countries of the world to survive in international arena with great dignity and prosperity. Myanmar, a country of political unrest, domestic rivalry, ethnic conflict and changing foreign policy, makes great attention towards international communities via its geographic and strategic position. Dominating over Bay of Bengal, Asia Pacific, Indian Ocean and South China Sea has become major inscrutable issues for US, China and India's competition on Myanmar.

Haake (2011) points out US major interest over Myanmar is in democratic transition and strengthening US relations with ASEAN countries, increasing interest on Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean by applying dual strategy of Engagement and balancing policy with Myanmar. He also noted that US Forward Deployed diplomacy on every country and corner of the region as a containment policy so that Myanmar may not be a gate way of China's geopolitical competition. But his argument failed to address the depth reasoning and consequence on some more core issues such as Why US forced Myanmar to cut down North Korean strategic partnership treaty and nuclear arms dealing with Russia, Iran and Syria?

Alam (2013), shows that US is not here to threaten China, and China has no intention to pose a threat to the U.S. India as trump card against China. This is a liberal statement. States are self interest centric to expand its national interest and security. So he hardly addresses realist perception of a state. My research will prove Does Sino-US perception at Myanmar cooperative or competitive? How India's policy separate from US and China?

Sun (2014), postulates that US-China joint statement on cooperation, political stability at Myanmar. But he has not specified either it is cooperation or competition? And he fails to address how this completion make obstacle in development and political stability of Myanmar? What will be future East west relations on the means of South Asia and South East Asia?

Sun (2012) claims that China's main interest inside Myanmar is on border stability, energy security, economic investment and geo strategic utility. But he fails to address why the people of Myanmar are prone to anti-Chinese sentiment? How internal and external factors aptitude against China?

Than (2003) defines historical relations with Myanmar via its affinities and contentions from various historical aspects. By the treaty of five principles, agreement such as Territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence Myanmar was China biased. He fails to address present realist theories how state's intention diverted from absolute gain to relative gain and how does Myanmar prefer to move under the aegis of US umbrella for its various political objectives?

Tea (2010) states that China seeks to increase influence on Myanmar for the exploitation and natural resources and he also adds that while China didn't need others, others needed China. He fails to address changing Myanmar Foreign policy. My research will show how Myanmar takes comparative advantage theory and relative gain from those great and super powers? Why China decrease its investment at Myanmar after 2009?

Kurlautzick (2011) mentions China doesn't want another nuclear state border with China. Myanmar made a strategic partnership treaty with North Korea and dealing nuclear ballistic missile with Russia and Syria. He fails to address internal and external factors against those strategic treaties. My research will try to prove that how US interest forced Myanmar to be diverted from North Korea and Vietnam on nuclear issues?

Wagner and Cafiero (2014) state India's views Myanmar's emerging political transitions as a strategic and ideological opening that offers New Delhi an opportunity to dilute China's influences while expanding India's strategic depth. He also adds that Insurgent as a border factor for security threat to India India's security dilemmas and its interest in new sources of oil and natural gas will continue to drive its ambitions vis-à-vis

Myanmar for the foreseeable future. He has not mentioned clearly that is it only an Indian self protection policy on domestic security or else. My research will show some basic questions such as how India tries to increase its regional power at South East Asia. How India's secret policy weakens China's influence on Myanmar?

Aung and Myint (2015) state that now India and Burma are cooperating in many fields, including countering insurgency on the border, checking narcotics smuggling across the border, sharing intelligence on a real-time basis, promoting trade and investment. India has also extended economic aid to Myanmar. Authors mention this view from little liberal perspective. He fails to address India's wily diplomacy. My research points out India's competition of cooperation with China to take over China's market at Myanmar to extend its border security and economic stability.

Singh (2007) states that India recently decided to supply arms to the junta in order to address its immediate security concerns. As a consequence, the perception of civil society in Myanmar has recently turned negative towards India and he also adds that India has been facing a dilemma between idealism and realism since the establishment of military rule in Myanmar in 1962. He has not mentioned clearly India's double standard policy. My research will prove how India adopting realist policy in the blend of Idealism?

Tea (2010), Sun (2014), Sing (2007) show triangular cooperation on political reformation and economic stability at Myanmar. But they hardly mention the isolation policy is over at Myanmar and for relative gain what will be Myanmar's perception on triangular geopolitical competition? Does Myanmar will stay under US or China's umbrella? Or will move towards third country for its regional integrity and economic stability? My research will show Myanmar's perception on three elephants (US, China and India) whether those are good or bad for state interest perspective. How Myanmar's future foreign policy can make stable itself? How internal factors such as ethnic problem, Burmese nationalism, and religious conflict will be determinant to change Myanmar foreign policy? How USA and Indian ally will be threat to counter China's strategic interest at Myanmar from relative gain perspective? Which country will play a greater influential role at Myanmar in near future?

VI. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS:

Myanmar: A site of US, China and India's geopolitical competition will be described via theoretical perspectives at international relations. This paper shows the basic trend for power rivalry and national interest of three giant states on Myanmar. It is also notable that how Myanmar would be a satellite state if it gave place to any of giant's state. Like to mention some basic interest of US, China and India and what will be Myanmar's strategic position? What will be the future of Myanmar is given via a diagram-

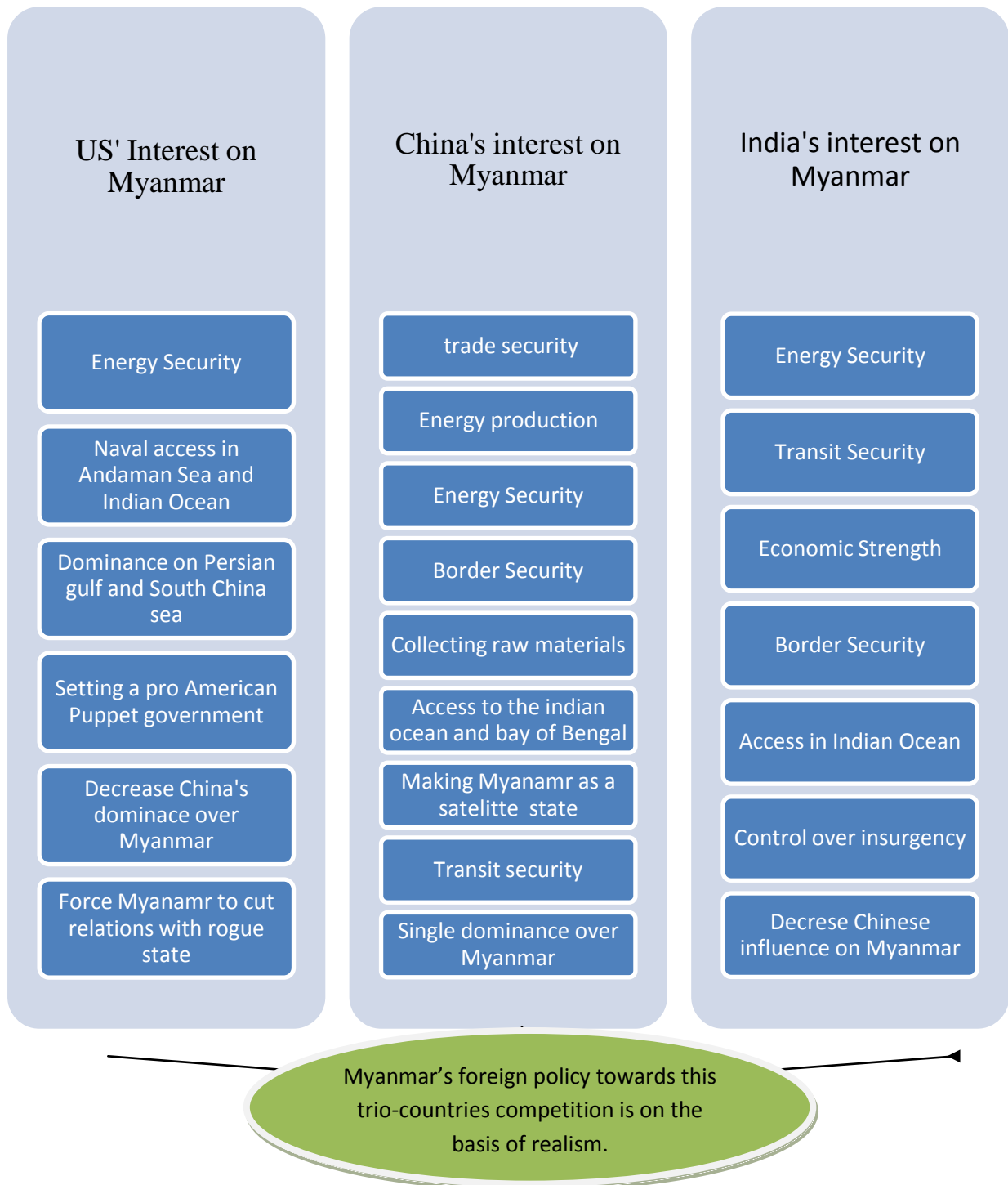


Figure 1: Trio- Countries common indicators of interest in Myanmar (Authors' finding based on literature)

The above mentioned country based security aspects and interest are much relevant with realism. That means the trio-countries are competing here not to cooperate Myanmar but to maximize their own national interest such as protecting border security, energy security, trade security and containment policy. As Myanmar is also a state it will behave with this triangular countries is on the basis of realism that means what would be its foreign policy, how they would protect their national interest. Actually here is a competition of protecting own national interest.

Mearsheimer calls it a combination of latent elements because socio economic forces are geared towards the transformation of military elements into action (Mearsheimer 2006, P 57). As a result it has been argued that: Historically, military power has tended to be superior to other forms of power. Ever since the world became politically organized in terms of independent states, each states claiming military sovereignty, force has

been regarded as the ultimate arbiter in the settlement of conflicts .US, China and India are talking on the cooperative issue of Myanmar but it is a matter of great competition here. From the following citation it is clear that force is the ultimate arbiter in the settlement of conflicts in realist perspective but it true that Myanmar is not a subject of conflict among three elephants. They say, Myanmar a site of cooperation on the revival of democracy and protecting Human rights but its hidden truth that Myanmar a site of great competition for protecting three elephants national interest. If this interest would be under vulnerable situation, limited war will be the solution of conflicts. Not only strategic power but soft power is also a factor at this politics. From the historical aspect we see a great Burma China relation for their cultural attractive. Now question is that Why Myanmar is going under US umbrella? What's really happen at Myanmar? It's a factor of changing ideology and rising voice against China, Long term China's domination over Myanmar and dreams of personal liberty and freedom of Burmese citizens. So they want such kind of regime in where they can fell that they are an independent nation. For this critical analysis I can cite Josef Nye. He pointed out that Soft power is just an important as hard command power. If a state can make its power legitimate in the eyes of others, it will encounter less resistance to its wishes. If its culture and ideology are attractive, others will more willingly follow. If it can establish international norms that are consistent with its society, it will be less likely to have to change (Nye, 2004, p.32).

USA and India declare a cooperative system on Myanmar's present crisis to resolve ethnic problems, Myanmar's development policy and restoration of human rights via ethical perspectives. Moral sense of cooperation, I think it's a utopian concept, because at present state system none dies for none that means without any interest, it's not really a matter of concern what is happening at Myanmar. So the three elephants are engaged here not only from moral standing but for political and strategic interest. For Carr, the contrast between utopians and realists was between "those who regard politics as a function of ethics and those who regards ethics as a function of politics (Carr, 1946, p.42).

On Myanmar issues, why the three elephants are much concern? Very simple we can explain it from basic essential of realism those are statism, survival and self-help. If we analyze the key interest of three elephants, than we can find out the factors of survival and self-help. To protect own domination over a satellite state and protecting secure of own boundary is one kind of survival strategy. As international system is anarchic so needs self-help, none will come to help without interest. Groupism or statism is also a factor here, if one is not much capable to deter against a country than it makes an ally to encounter. At Myanmar analysis we see China is threat to India from regional aspect, China is also a threat to USA from strategic and economic aspect so India and USA may make an ally from their common interest so that they can encounter against their common enemy China. According to Hobbes "we trade our liberty in return for a guarantee of security. Without security there can be no art, no culture and no society." Morgenthau offers the following definition how persons and states can be relevant on the matter of controlling others. "Man's control over the minds and actions of other men" (Morgenthau, 1948, p.26). As sate as a person it behaves just like a person, so state's control over the entity and actions of other states can be basic hypothesis of realism from material sense.Myanmar cannot be offensive issues among three elephants because of self protection. As USA, China and India are nuclear powers they would not engage with any kind of nuclear war that will destroy them. So from simple realist aspect they will focus much on defensive realism. Defensive realist such as Waltz and Joseph Grieco (1997) argues that states have security as their principle interest and therefore only seek the requisite amount of power to ensure their own survival. From this statement it's clear that states are profoundly defensive actors and states will not seek greater amount of power if that threatening its own security.

The most important and vibrating findings of this research is that how security dilemma makes the three elephants much more competitive. USA, China and India are at security dilemma because any state's increasing power can be threat to another's that is closely related with Melian dialogue on the history of the Peloponnesian war, was an classic example of how Athens fell insecurity because of Sparta's rising .From analysis of realism it's clear that the India and China are competing to pursuit of hegemony because of along with common border with Myanmar but at the same time the USA sees opportunity to get engaged at Myanmar in many forms such as political, economic and others forms of interest. Realism also shows how Myanmar is in a venture to get out of its traditional Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of the USA.

VII. RELEVANT COMPONENTS OF NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE THREE COUNTRIES:

Trio-countries naval interest:

US has significant concentration in the Bay of Bengal because of its "Asia pivot strategy" is in competition with India and China driven by a number of geo-strategic, economic and security considerations. The US hopes that the Bay states or 'community' should not relapse into chaotic unstable conditions, and that the US security assistance program should aim at supporting them to "better control their borders and coastline and better deal with natural disasters and transnational security threats" (Rahman, 2015, p8)

Recently, the United States decided to rely on India to contain Chinese influence and dominance in its Asia-Pacific strategic environment, which ultimately impacted the geo-strategic and geo-political scenario in the Bay of Bengal. All of this policy implementation will be come true via influencing on Myanmar. So these three naval powers are competing here to make influence Myanmar to pursuit hegemony. Another main focal point of US Strategic interest at the Bay of Bengal because it lies at the center of two huge economic blocks, the South Asian Regional Co-operation (SAARC) and Association of South East Asian Nations (Sadeq, 2012, p33).

The importance of Bay of Bengal is also very crucial to get India’s naval and great power status and its trade relation and investment opportunities with coastal states. India’s ambition is to develop its navy in comparison with China and US naval power. Indian Maritime Doctrine projects a depletion of world energy resources that will make the prospect of outside military involvement in India's geographic environs even more prominent than now. India considers the Bay of Bengal as its own lake and a strategic maritime space for its politico-economic initiatives toward the Southeast Asian region. India is well aware of China's growing strategic initiatives in the Bay of Bengal and has taken political and military measures by extensive military buildup and economic engagement in the littorals to counter Chinese influence (ibid, p36). Bay of Bengal will be trump card to expand its economic investment and trade relations, future connectivity, and energy link to the Indian Ocean landscape. China's ambition is also propelled by a constellation of strategic, commercial and security considerations. The paramount concern animating Chinese interests in the Bay and Indian Ocean is energy security. Being the world's second largest economy and having very high dependence on imported oil all of which passes through the strategic channels located in the Indian Ocean, China needs to have close ties with littoral states in the Bay. It is no wonder China is gradually but purposefully expanding its economic and political influence among states in the region. China is thus inevitably drawn into competing with India and the US for its footprint in the Bay and Indian Ocean region. With the emergence of China as a global power, the Bay of Bengal is slowly gaining a different momentum. China has yet to achieve the capacity to contest the international maritime order, given the overwhelming US maritime power in the area. From these perspectives the three elephants compete at Myanmar so that they can control the gateway of Bay of Bengal. On the nature of this competition, it takes huge influence on Myanmar’s foreign policy with the advent of democracy at Myanmar. Because of Indio China reveals on their security issues the USA sees an opportunity to get engaged with many forms of Myanmar issues with new rays of democracy. So Myanmar is in a venture to get out of its traditional Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of the USA. In effect Myanmar puts itself at the risk of largely becoming subservient of US interest.

VIII. MYANMAR AND ITS FOREIGN POLICY TRADITIONS:

8.1 Internal Factors at Myanmar:

Military rule in Burma has been especially contested over the last two decades. After the military promised to hand over power to an elected government in 1988, it did not acknowledge the results of the elections in May 1990, which ended in a landslide victory for the oppositional National League for Democracy (NLD).(Bunte,2008,,p3). It was on great realization that was a decade of confrontations-on one side between the military, ethnic groups and NLD, on the other side between the military and western countries. After time being military officials, becoming predominant actors at domestic politics.

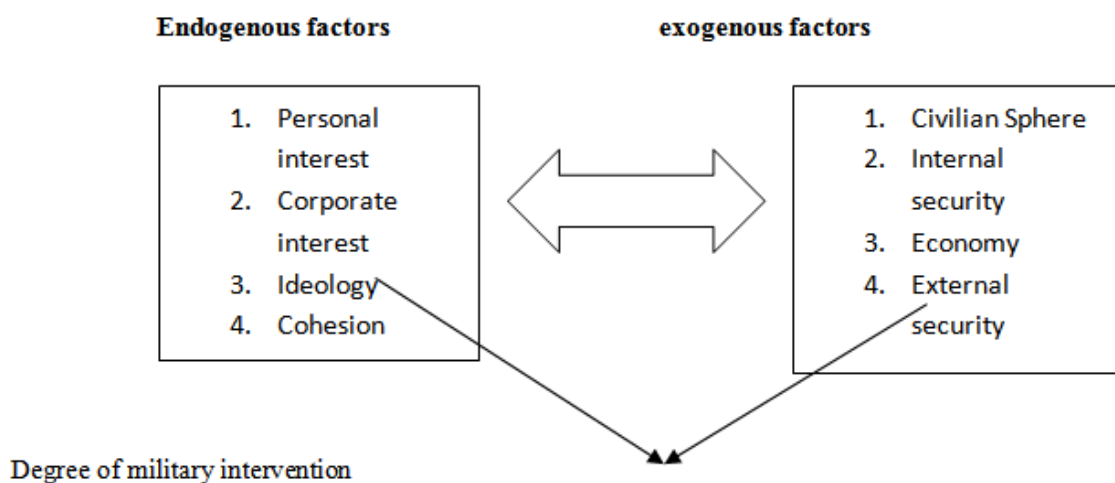


Figure 2: Determinants of military Interventions-

Source: Author’s construct

From above study it clarifies all of these internal factors are influencing Myanmar for changing its foreign policy. Now question is this how ethnic conflict may influence on foreign policy formulation. A chart is given below to show percentage of ethnic people.

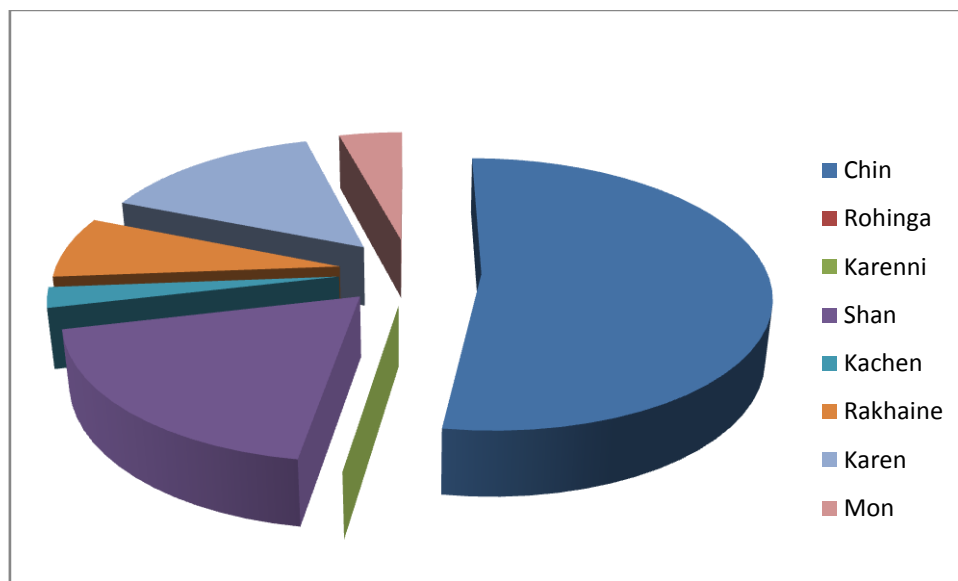


Figure 3: Percentage of ethnic groups in Myanmar
Source: IRIN news

Continuous ethnic conflict among Chin, Shan, Rohingya, Rakhaine and Mon is a common scene at Myanmar. Buddhist nationalism is also an influential factor in Myanmar that leads to political and racial conflict. All of these ethno national problems make Myanmar much more fragile and a field of foreign domination.

8.2 Road to political transition:

How historical relation lead Myanmar to political transition that means military regime to new democratic Myanmar is given below with country based traditional relations-

8.2.1. China's Historical relations with Myanmar:

From 1949, Chinese Communist Party (CCP) supported for the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) prompted Burma to be the first non-Communist country to recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 17 December 1949. Until the Cultural Revolution, the relationship sustained nervously friendly, Burma attempt to maintain a neutralist foreign policy, and hostile situation from 1967 when anti-Chinese riots occurred in Burma, a hostility which continued throughout the period of the Cultural Revolution at China. During this time China, pursuing a foreign policy inspired by Maoist ideology rather than national interest, from its military and logistical support for the CPB that had been one of the major provocateur between China and Burma. Relations loosed in the 1970s, particularly after the reduction in support for the CPB that followed the accession to power of Deng Xiaoping. Relations between Burma and China warmed considerably from 1988, with an agreement to legalize border trade signed by the Vice-Governor of Yunnan on 5 August, subsequent arms deals and the collapse of the CPB in 1989(Arnott, 1999,p147)

For various strategic aspects Chinese and Burmese navy worked together at the Bay of Bengal for their mutual benefit. Then it was a question that Burma a de facto state or satellite state of China. By the means of Burmese closer association with China she got massive aid and supports. Arms deal with China was a notable example of enriching Myanmar's arms development. The development of drug economy in Shan state is one of the dysfunctional relationships between China and Myanmar.

From immigration aspect we see a traditional bondage between China and Myanmar. Family or cultural links to the local populations or the demands of local warlords or village heads were more important than any concept of nationality. Thus, Chinese-speaking people have been moving in and through and out of Burma for thousands of years (Arnott, 1999, p 155).Trade relation and Pipeline became major issues for China Burmese relations. This trade relations, basically from import and export are given below via graphs

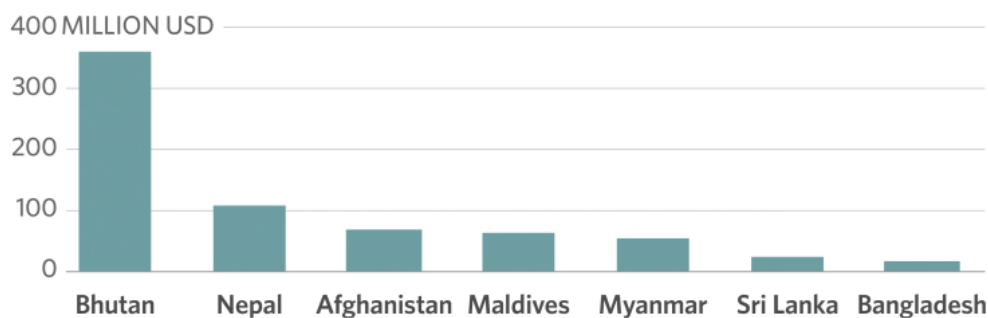
8.2.2. Indo Burma Relations:

India and Burma have a historical connection on the basis of trade, religion and culture. Hinduism and Buddhism both religions came from India at seventh century. Both countries struggled against colonial rule. Burmese leader associated with India for freedom and independence. Nehru and U Nu built up a personal friendship, so that they build good Indo-Burmese relations, which with ups and downs have lasted 50 years. The two countries have not once reached a point of diplomatic stand-off or conflict since independence. Political and economic ties are the key aspect of Indo Burma relations.

Foreign aid is a key factor at developing countries. Myanmar is getting foreign aid from India. From various analyses we see that Indian most of the foreign aid goes towards Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar. So Indian foreign aid assistance will prove how much it donates to Myanmar.

Indian Foreign Aid to South Asia, 2019

The largest recipient, Bhutan, is not a member of China's Belt and Road Initiative.



Note: Fiscal Year 2019 is April 1, 2018 to March 31, 2019

Source: Republic of India (Ministry of External Affairs)

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Figure 4: Indian foreign assistance at Myanmar
Source: Indian Government Foreign assistance department

Above statistics clarifies Indian foreign aid to Myanmar is in significant amount though Myanmar belongs to traditional Chinese bloc. India's basic intention is to glorify itself in South Asian geopolitics so that it attracts the rebirth of demised democracy of Myanmar. Besides, via foreign aid India can capture a part of regional cooperation that make a Chinese decimation.

8.2.3. US Concern on Myanmar after 2009:

Pro-democracy movement at 1988 and its failure to the result of 1990 general election US declined its relations with Myanmar, With West, USA and other international organization imposed sanctions on Myanmar. After being for two decades, United States and Myanmar's bilateral relations have warmed significantly since 2011. Obama administration has modified US policy towards Myanmar by balancing sanction and engagement. He recognized Myanmar with military assistance to reform geographical unification on the means of peace and human rights protection. Hillary Clinton, the former Secretary of the state became the first Secretary of State to official visit to Myanmar since 1955; an American ambassador was posted after a 22-year absence; and Obama's 2012 visit was the first by a serving American president. This is the landmark of US Myanmar relations. From being a general election at 2010 and civil government reforms various aspects at Myanmar via dialogue with Aung San SuuKyi. The wining leader Aung San SuuKyi is called the de facto gatekeeper of Myanmar and west relations. New Myanmar, at the advent of democracy, regime change and foreign policy changing are the key factors here. As SuuKyi is pro West Myanmar is in a venture to get out of traditional Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of USA. In effects Myanmar puts itself at the risk of largely becoming subservient of US interest. Though present US president Trump made sanctions on Military dictators on Rohingya issue, somehow the advent of partial democracy in Myanmar, US-China trade war, COVID-19 pandemic and Chines intentions for next hegemony control, the USA is trying to focus on Myanmar via regional and transnational cooperation so that it demises Chinese traditional influence on Myanmar.

IX. THE NEW DEMOCRATIC MYANMAR: THE PURSUIT OF HEGEMONY AND ITS RESPONSES:

9.1 Myanmar's entrance at world politics:

For long time Myanmar became a pariah state because of its isolation policy but to escape from China's domination, internal ethnic riots, anti-Chinese sentiment all over the general people, peoples' dream to personal liberty and human rights protection it became a matter of great aspiration to reform Myanmar via a political transition. This transition has not occurred over night, it's a result of greater sacrifice and much hardship. How did this transition happen? It is a formation of gradual change from military regime to quasi military regime and at last civilian government at 2010 election. Direct military rule is absent at present world politics. Military regime may be derived from fragile democracy or another form of authoritarianism. The stability of military rule can only be possible if it may acquire identity politics at a particular country. Now it's a matter of great thinking how internal and external factors are reshaping Myanmar's policies towards world order prior to last two decades. In March 2011 the Burmese military regime dissolved the ruling junta, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), and handed over power to a newly elected civilian government (Bunte, 2008, p 4). This was a quasi military regimeⁱⁱ with a civilian mask. After this quasi military regime, November 2015 election is the new induction of transforming Myanmar's domestic politics towards democracy. It may call that long walk to democracy and glimpse of protecting human rights at new democratic Myanmar. Now it's a question of how much stable democracy will sustain in Myanmar or again go back to military regime.

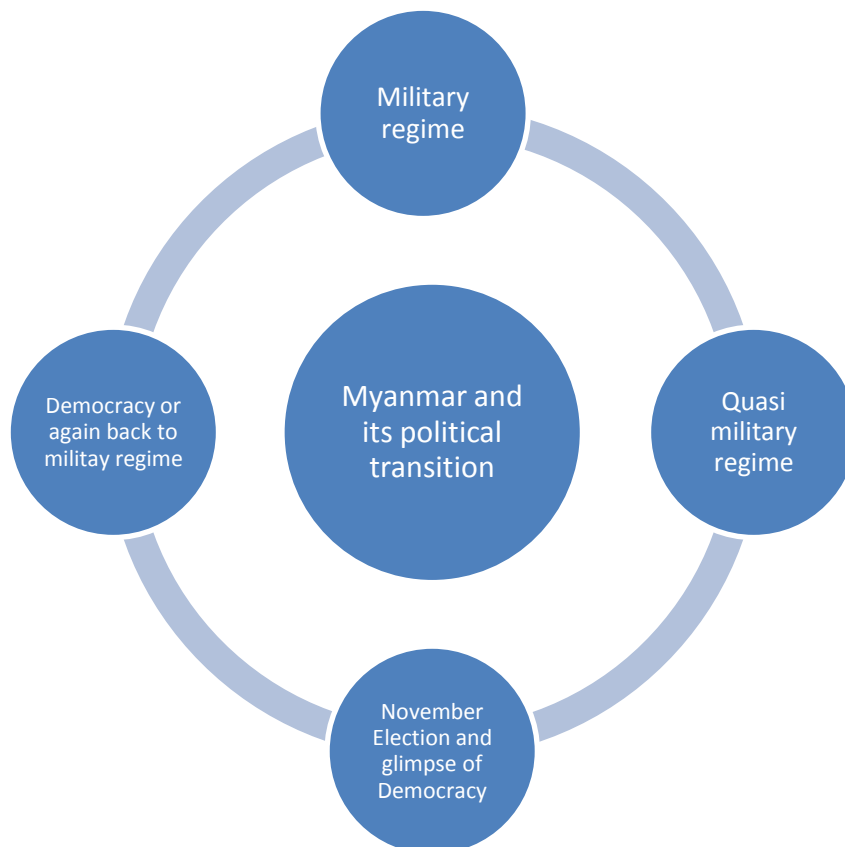


Figure 5: Cycle of Political Transition at Myanmar
Source: Author's construct

By means of political transition we see Myanmar is entering at world politics. Regime changing influences on foreign policy changes. As a result of new democratic Myanmar entrances at world politics via partial moving under the aegis of USA and decreases dependency on china though this is uncertain at regional politics.

Myanmar's strategic and geographical location has been a matter of great attention to world powers to expand their won interest at various strategic fields. Myanmar, a south East Asian country is a gateway of Bay of Bengal, Indian Ocean and Asia pacific which are fond of natural resources and minerals. Most of the world powers are much concern about look East policy and the next Asian economy.

As Robert J. Myers, has noted, for Morgenthau "rallying the West against this threat through rapid rearmament was the immediate goal," while idealism "was blind to this menace, and its reliance on such ideas

as collective security through the United Nations and goodwill toward the Soviet Union, which was gobbling up Eastern Europe, seemed a reckless stewardship of the national interest (Myers, 1997, p 56–57).

Now it's a great question why the world leaders much concern about Myanmar on the issues of their territorial security? Answer can be like that Myanmar has common borders along with India and China and Myanmar also a gateway of Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal. To expand national interest and market at east they are in competition in the name of democracy and human rights protection. By controlling over Myanmar it will be easier to access at Indian Ocean from strategic and economic perspectives. A map is attached-that shows the position of Myanmar and great powers competition in the Indian Ocean-



Figure 6: Great power competition in the Indian Ocean

Source: International Maritime Bureau

Above map shows competition over Indian Ocean among great powers. US naval base at Indian Ocean is threat to China and India from security perspectives. To maximize own national interest the great powers are at competition. All countries near the coast are not as fragile as Myanmar. Great powers are trying to influence over Myanmar to pursuit hegemony.

9.2 China's interest and influence on Changing Myanmar's foreign policy?

At present world all countries are motivated by their own national interest. Power accumulation is defined via material capabilities of a state that can be translated into exercising control over other states in international politics. From this aspect china is doing so to maximize its national interest and own material capabilities. Robert Dahl maintains that "A has power over B to extend that A can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (Dahl, 1957, quoted in Mearsheimer, op.cit, p 57). From this following statement it is clear that China has power over Myanmar to extend that China can get Myanmar to do something that Myanmar would not otherwise do.

From offensive and defensive perspectives, China's policy and interest on Myanmar is not war like with other countries. China can claim that it's just a peaceful co-existence with other powers at Myanmar. This

can be a tale of liberal image for world community so that China can get a tolerant status of cooperation at international arena. But it is clear that China's economic and strategic interest on Myanmar are not matter of joke, its closely related with states national interest and security so it's not a subject of cooperation and coexistence policy. Defensive realism reasoned that under very common conditions the war causing potential of anarchy is attenuated (Taliaferro, 2000, p4). This is true here, China is not going to wage war on the issues of Myanmar but she sometimes follows policy of containment so that Myanmar cannot make ties with other great powers. Basic realism is that none dies for none, as Myanmar a neighboring country of China, it always suspicious at border security. It can be said that Myanmar, a traditional friend of China, can never be threat to China's territorial security but it is true that regime change of Myanmar can be a matter of China's insecurity so China never support political transition at Myanmar. It's saying that the present wining leader Aung San SuuKyi is a bridge between Myanmar and Western ties.

Economic interest and foreign direct investment are major interest of a country. If any country leads billions of dollars business and financial profit from another country it will be matter of great interest at this country. A good reason of China's major interest at Myanmar is on pipeline, a great economic interest of China so that it can expand country its foreign direct investment (FDI) at Myanmar. A map is shown below how gas pipeline and oil pipeline are transmitted from Bay of Bengal to China via Myanmar which belongs on the real interest of China.

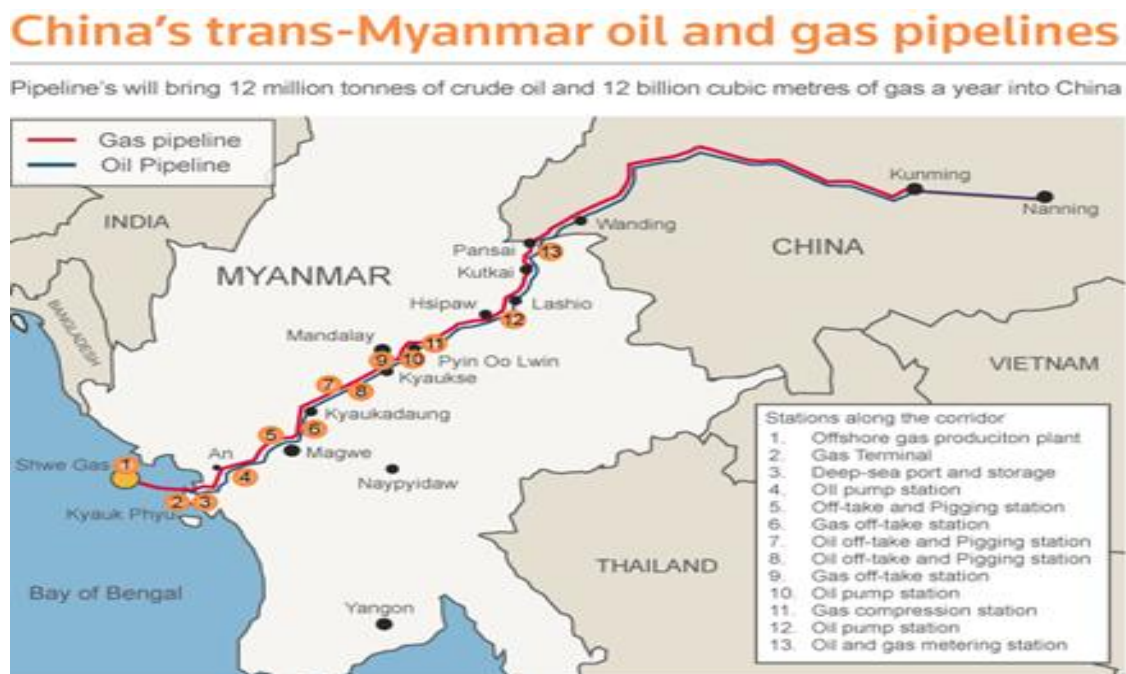


Figure 7: China's Trans Myanmar oil and gas pipelines
Source: shwe.org

Pipeline build is a major economic interest at Myanmar. By the means of Chinese economic interest another countries cannot make proper trade balance on pipeline because of China's monopoly business at Myanmar. This Map shows that pipelines will bring 12 million tons of crude oil and 12 billion cubic meters gas a year into China. Is it not a great interest of China?

Objectives are some like interest of an actor, so that objective can be a major interest of a country to be subject of specific targets. Now question is that, what are the basic objectives of China to focus on its major interest? First and crucial objective is that the rising number of China's population density. China's growing population and economic boom can be sustained only if it has access to natural resources out of his territory. China's relations with Myanmar are part of its "Go West" campaign since 2000. It aims to eliminate poverty and bridge the economic gap between China's coastal and western provinces within the next 50 years (Haake, 2011, p19). China sees itself as the future superpower and to achieve this goal, it needs to increase its regional and international influence. China is trying to make tri national highway and deep water commercial seaport so that it can go ahead to be super power. China's domination over Myanmar is some like power politics; it has been argued that the fundamental nature of international Relations has been changed over the millennia. International Relations continue to be a recurring struggle for wealth and power among independent actors living in a state of anarchy (Gray, 1977, p2). As international system is anarchic that means absence of central authority, most of the powerful states want to influence on satellite state. China is no more different from real world of interest. As

a result of November election and advent of democracy it seems to change the foreign policy of Myanmar. SuuKyi as winning leader Myanmar is in a venture to get out of traditional Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of the USA.

9.3 India's interest and pursuit of hegemony in Myanmar:

At security sense it's clear that Myanmar and India's cooperation is on the basis of counter insurgency. Myanmar is a major eastern littoral of Bay of Bengal, the unfriendly relations with Myanmar can be threat to Indian security on the issues of foreign naval vessel at Bay of Bengal and Myanmar has a large border with China that is contiguous to Indo China border disputes. From geopolitical perspective India's real intention is at Look east policy so that she can make good relations with ASEAN countries and can erase the stigma of India's unfriendly relations with neighbors (Kapila, 2015, p 3). As Myanmar a great source of energy for their rising populations India will increase its investment and trade relation via developing Tran's national railroad or deep sea port.

India was concerned about this relative gain of China in Myanmar because it potentially paved the way for a possible encirclement of India by China (Sing, 2007, p 44). Nontraditional security is also a factor at Indo Burma relation. Joseph Grieco, in his interpretation of neo-realism claims that states are more concerned about a competitor's relative gains rather than its absolute gains (ibid, p 48). It's true from Indian perspective is that India is much concern on Myanmar not only for its interest but for China's interest. Myanmar could be the next country in Southeast Asia to come under the security umbrella of the US. This might be a cause for concern for both India and China. India's interest on Myanmar would be described via various factorial analyses those could be the economic development of India's North East, India's increased interest in trade with ASEAN, India's search for energy security and increased Chinese involvement in Myanmar. India has a massive interest on energy and gas pipelines because it's a great part of economic benefit.

Why Myanmar become a matter of great concern for India? Simple reality is security problem. After India's independent its foreign policy conducted from moral perspectives but world politics was not such like so various historical humiliation confined India to approach from realist perspective. For example-The great Indian humiliation of 1962 at the hand of the Chinese armed forces, made the Indian nation realized that its relatively unarmed foreign policy towards China had failed to provide the necessary security and that idealism was no substitute for realism. It would be easier to making good relations with Myanmar. As a part of this new strategic policy, relations with the United States, Israel and Myanmar were reconsolidated. India does not expect it from its South Asian security perspectives because of US imperialistic global strategy. Israel is for its war against the Palestinians and Myanmar for its undemocratic government in light of the 1990 elections. Present democratic transition and regime changes can also influence on foreign policy formulation. As SuuKyi the winning leader of new democratic Myanmar India may a get an opportunity to make a smooth relation with Myanmar because Myanmar is trying to come out of traditional Chinese orbit.

9.4 US interest and pursuit of hegemony on Myanmar:

As US is the spool of international politics it concerns every ins and outs what is happening in the corner of any country of the world. Myanmar's present election and little rays of democracy and human rights assumed a diplomatic triumph of USA. From various economic, strategic and security perspectives Myanmar is a geo political trump card to access easily at Indian ocean and Bay of Bengal. I try to find out what is the specific interest of USA on Myanmar issue. Now let's see various interest of USA on Myanmar. What kinds of policy will be key determinant for sustaining next US hegemony is a great matter of political visualization. By means of new forms of Imperialism USA is trying to motivate Myanmar on its own interest so that it can gain a mutual or comparative gain to deter China or imply contentment policy. US' main focus is on South Asia, so Myanmar can be a gateway for balancing good relations with other Southeast Asian countries. As a result of this, we can say that the geographic location of Myanmar makes it extremely important to the West. Strengthening good relations with ASEAN countries is a political and strategic interest of USA so that it can go ahead another step to pursuit of hegemony. How USA sees an opportunity to get engaged with Myanmar and influence to change foreign policy given below-

For long term interest USA is trying its best for the revival of democracy and human rights. As a result of 2015 Myanmar election Aung sun Suukyi elected via a massive popularity that can be a major aspiration of Myanmar's citizens long term hopes of liberty and freedom. It's true that if SuuKyi get control of Myanmar it will be beneficiary for USA Because we assume that Suukyi is pro US and the West. Here is also a problem of SuuKyi is that she would not be President of Myanmar because of its constitution. According to Myanmar constitution if anybody's Children or husband be a citizen of any foreign country he or she will not be eligible to elect as a president of Myanmar. Many say that this is the conspiracy of Junta government so that SuuKyi can't be president. As all existing and opposition parties obey the result of election, sometimes it's not clear what will really happen at Myanmar on the issue of political transition? It's a crucial factor that 25% of parliament's seat

is reserved for the member of army. So it would be harder to SuuKyi on policy making and law enforcement. It's also a great question how military is accepting SuuKyi as a prime of state. Though we see a constitutional factor SuuKyi declares that if NLD wins at election she will be superior to president or a rose with another name. It is something like that how Sonia Gandhi leads her government via making prime of Monmohon Sing at India. So at present time it will be major concern of USA how it can make SuuKyi stable at Myanmar. If SuuKyi can be stable and be head of state it may make great opportunity for USA. It's also sure that SuuKyi will behave as a state leader; she must preference the major interest of Myanmar. By means of this policy Myanmar will decrease its dependency on China. So Myanmar is in a venture to get out of Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of the USA.

9.5 Myanmar's expectations from triangular countries:

As Myanmar is unstable, ethnic conflicted and less democratic country, first of all Myanmar wants a political stability via a welfare government. Factors are on military regime, various ethnic groups and general citizen of Myanmar. It is also notable that Rohingya people are not considered as citizen of Myanmar and that's why they are not eligible to vote on November 2015 election at Myanmar. As SuuKyi a democratic leader, Rohingya people expect much from Myanmar government so that they can get a dignity of Humanⁱⁱⁱ. Now question is that what does Myanmar really want from the three elephants? The new relationship with Washington has not only served to help legitimize the incumbent government, but also allowed Myanmar leaders to cast aside representations of the country as a pariah state in regional and international society (Haake, 2007, p 45). Myanmar wants to make good relations with ASEAN Countries so that it can abolish the stigma of Non alignment and pariah state at international arena. That's why Myanmar is no more confined at policy of isolation and by breaking this conservative system they are much affiliated at increasing its trade and commerce all over the world. The basic aspect of Myanmar's objective is that Myanmar no more wants to be a satellite state of China that means they want to come out from China's orbit. Myanmar pursued a neutralist foreign policy, isolation not from trade and commerce but wants a systematic balance among all powers, including China, India and the US. Now question is that what will be major objective of Myanmar towards the three elephant and in what way Myanmar can protect its national interest as a sovereign and independent nation? It's obvious at international arena is that states must try to survive on the basis of self-reliance and must use diplomacy and deterrence as instruments of foreign policy. What will be SuuKyi's main responsibility as a winning party leader? Many say that She is US biased some also says that SuuKyi will behave and act as state leader nor more or nor less and she will take every decision and make policy for the services of Myanmar and for protecting rights of Myanmar people. New democratic Myanmar wants end of competition in Myanmar so that they can balance cooperation with other countries of the world. Myanmar wants no more dependent on any particular state. Myanmar wants dignity of nation and independent foreign policy formation so that it can maintain peaceful relations with other countries.

9.6 New Myanmar and Competition for influencing:

After 2011, quasi-military regime ruled Myanmar and SuuKyi became Member of Parliament and free from factums. This was a little change at Myanmar, The reforms done by TheinSein administration since it took power in 2011. He just radically transformed the political landscape, basically the electoral environment. Negotiation with SuuKyi is also a landmark to revive democratic practice, Freedom of expression and media freedoms now exist, and opposition parties can operate with relative freedom. So this is why November 2015 election is a landmark of democracy at Myanmar's history of political transition and little hope of freedom from junta regime. USDP and others parties obeyed the free and fair election, a reflection of mass people's pronouncement protecting their freedom and liberty and this is the ultimate victory of absolute majority of NLD. As NLD got absolute majority, it's democratic behavior that the head of the party will be president of Myanmar. From realist perspective China doesn't want democratic transition that is contradictory to Chinese national policy, so China never wants SuuKyi be state leader because the Military government is pro China whereby SuuKyi doesn't. Here is the problem that SuuKyi and most of The Myanmar people want to come out from Chinese orbit because Myanmar became much dependent on China and the general people already forgot that they are free nations and have independent sovereign territory. To show much loyalty towards China and for protecting military interest at Myanmar they made an amendment on Presidents qualification Presidential qualifications. The constitution sets several requirements for presidential candidates, including being well acquainted with political, administrative, economic and military affairs. The most controversial is Section 59(f), that a presidential candidate, his/her parents, spouse, children or children-in-law shall not owe allegiance to or be a citizen of a foreign country. Political analyst opines that it's an intentional amendment so that SuuKyi can't be president of Myanmar though her NLD Party got absolute majority. Here we also observe some other factor that weakens the democratic transition at Myanmar, The military's 25 per cent of seats gives it most significant legislative power. After the USDP, it is currently the largest bloc in the legislature, which can make influence on

various crucial states policy making. Many experts of political analyst prophase that though SuuKyi be Prime of the party most of the important sectors like foreign policy, defense, and security issues can be controlled by military. As we know that Hilary and Obama's visit to Myanmar and winning of NLD at November election is a great opportunity of USA to make a friendly relations with Myanmar so that USA can get its political and strategic gains from Myanmar. As India also believes in Democracy and human rights it can also be a potential partner of Myanmar. Here it's an important factor that needs to mention, with regime change states interest also change. As SuuKyi state leader she will behave in accordance with state interest not from any emotional aspect. By analyzing various internal and external matters it's clear to understand that by the means of November election China's dominance will be decreased over Myanmar that means Myanmar that means Myanmar gradually come out of China's orbit and move under the aegis of the USA. India may also get some opportunities of dealing with Myanmar as it's a regional power so that it can deter Chinese interference on Myanmar. Various tactical and strategic analyses show that November election 2015 is a long walk to democracy. This election is very important for world politics so that it may vary from different aspects of trio- countries and a competition for influencing in Myanmar.

9.7 Future of Myanmar: Is Myanmar moving under the aegis of the USA?

What will really happen at Myanmar if the three elephants can't stop their competition at Myanmar? First of all we see massive obstacle of economic development and political stability because three elephants interest make Myanmar much unstable. As Myanmar is coming out of Chinese orbit it's also going under US umbrella another pathway to confine itself moving under the aegis of the USA. Now question is that how a sovereign state moves under the aegis of another state? If any little or less powerful state becomes much dependent on other country, the powerful one may use small one for various strategic or political objectives, if the small one be loyal towards the big one and if small one be compelled to obey all kinds of decision of big one then the small one can be called under aegis. Now we will see how Myanmar was a isolated and much dependent country and how it's going to move under the aegis of the USA by changing its foreign policy. After its independence, Myanmar isolated itself from international politics and became much dependent on China so before 2011 it was a complete subservient of China. Now I will mention here how Myanmar is in venture to get out of China's orbit and move under the aegis of USA. As triangular countries competition makes obstacle on development now let's see what is going to happen at Myanmar via a diagram-

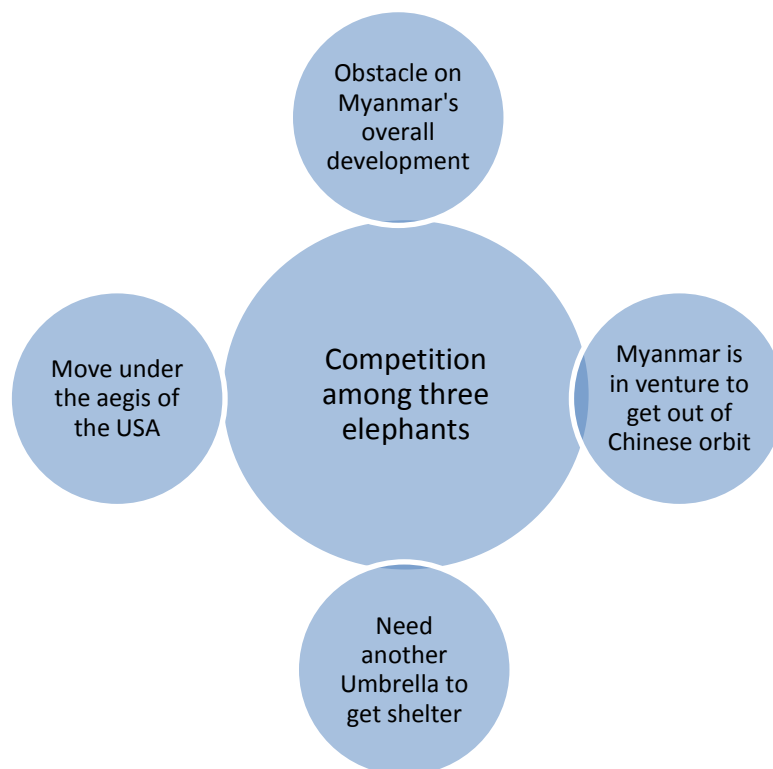


Figure 8: How three elephant's competition makes Myanmar to move under the aegis of the USA?
Source: Author's construct

In this figure I want to explain how three countries competition making more obstacle in Myanmar and how it hinders on overall development. This figure also briefly shows Myanmar is in venture to come out of Chinese orbit and for this how Myanmar needs another countries shelter that lead Myanmar move under the aegis of the USA.

Critically analyzed here what can be the ultimate future of Myanmar on this triangular system. As Myanmar's present election shows little rays of democracy and human rights protection, let's assume what can be future of Myanmar?

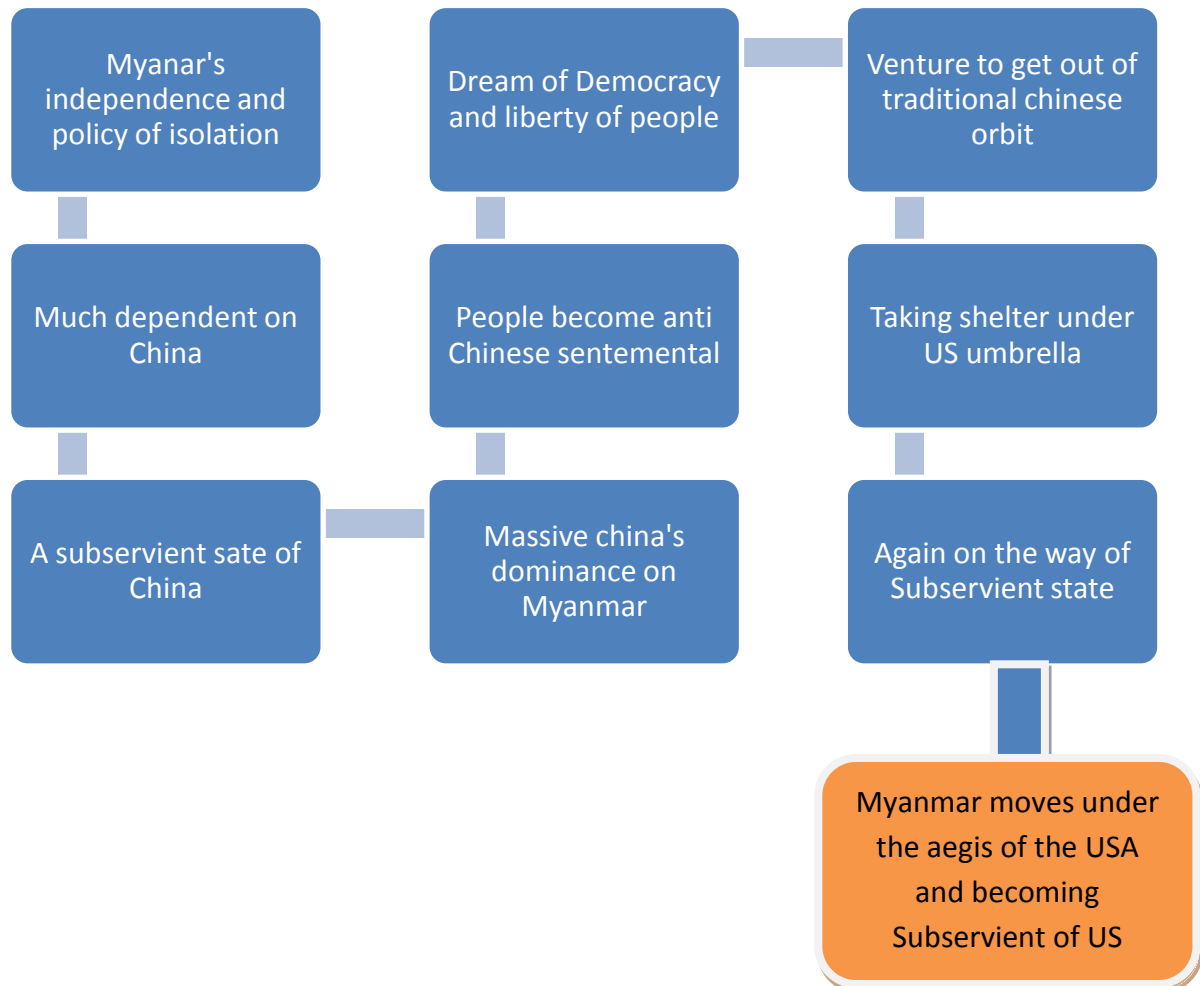


Figure 9: Probable future of Myanmar

Source: Author's construct

On this figure I want to show after Myanmar's independence how policy of isolation makes Myanmar more dependent on China and became a subservient state? Then dream of democracy and liberty created an anti Chinese sentiment on Myanmar's people that help to come out of Chinese orbit. Then Myanmar moves under the aegis of USA to take shelter which is not ultimate goal of Myanmar. If Myanmar can be able to make balance among three countries via policy of protection and can decrease dependency on China, USA and India, make Myanmar more stable and progressive. Advent of democracy and new democratic Myanmar moves under the aegis of the USA. In effects Myanmar puts itself at the risk of largely becoming subservient of US interest.

X. THE TRIANGULAR STATES: COMPETITION, CONFLICTS AND COOPERATION?

10.1 Cooperation versus Competition: Obstacle on Myanmar's Development:

Herewith we notice that the three elephants basically USA, china and India are much concern with Myanmar and they declared that they are look forward to cooperating Myanmar so that it can be politically stable and get proper protection of human rights of Myanmar's citizens. But I observe here they are influencing Myanmar to pursuit hegemony. They are engaged at Myanmar not for solely cooperation but for protecting national interest that lies on Bay of Bengal, India Ocean. Here Myanmar a gateway of this most important

geographic location. Various political, economic and strategic interest lay down at Myanmar so if any country want to be great power or be stable at super power they must have to good command over Myanmar and need friendly relation with Myanmar's ins and outs. So we notice greater competition rather than cooperation in Myanmar.

It is visible that three elephant actually not cooperating with Myanmar on its problematic issues basically on human rights, political instability and economic crisis but they are playing a competitive game at Myanmar in where it makes obstacle on Myanmar's overall development. It's very critical issues for the development of Myanmar is that various rival competition, NLD and military has also a competition of ascendancy. From this regime factor it's clear that military are pro China, NLD is pro West and some rival leaders and parties are pro India, all this bias system make fragile the national unity of Myanmar. As Myanmar wants to acquire political and economic stability it needs national unification for analyzing all aspects those closely related with triangular states. As various domestic parties and tribes define their interest through the three elephants the interested countries get greater opportunity to be concern on Myanmar and will try to influence on various domestic matters of Myanmar. By means of this interference the three elephants engaged with geopolitical competition that makes obstacle for the development of Myanmar.

10.2 New Democratic Myanmar and Changing foreign policy:

If Myanmar fails to make check and balance among three elephants it will be a subservient country here is no doubt. From various times being it is noticed that Myanmar followed policy of isolation and dependent much on China. When most of the countries of the world made sanction over Myanmar, only China stood beside Myanmar so that it can revive. By means of regime change and citizen's long term dream for democracy and human rights they wanted to come out of Chinese orbit. An anti Chinese sentiment is created at Burmese people and they want to get political stability. So Myanmar thinks that for long term dependency on China makes Myanmar be a colony of China. So it's true Myanmar was a subservient of China. To come out of Chinese orbit Myanmar also needs shelter under another powerful country so that Myanmar can be safe from all kinds of deter. New democratic Myanmar creates an opportunity for USA to reconcile relations with Myanmar. It's clear here if NLD and SuuKyi make government at Myanmar that makes more benefit to USA.

Here is a factor between foreign policy and external relation. Foreign policy from macro perspective, much stable and for long term objective but on the other hand external relations may defined for short time gains, instant gains, and a micro level analyzing. If we observe the history of Myanmar we will notice that how much changing its foreign policy is? Sometimes it's isolated from international arena, sometimes wants to make trade and commerce with ASEAN countries. The basic foreign policy of Myanmar is on the basis of Bandung Conference, main key points are Non aggression, no interference on another's domestic matters, mutual gains, and peaceful settlement but for the time being Myanmar become far away from its own ideology. Now Myanmar's diplomacy is on the basis of changing foreign policy that means foreign policy is determined via regime changes on the period of Military janta Myanmar's foreign policy is pro Chinese and much more east Asia centric rather than South Asia, but it's assumed that after November election and triumph of NLD makes Myanmar much West centric. So it's clear that Myanmar's foreign policy is one of volatile and unstable foreign policy at present world. Then Myanmar is in venture to get out of its traditional Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of the USA. In effects Myanmar puts itself at the risk of largely becoming subservient of US interest.

10.3 Competition: Relative gain versus absolute gain

At practicing realism we can notice two types of gaining one is relative gaining and other is absolute gaining. Realism shows all countries closely related with the interest of Myanmar following relative gains that can very close with mutual benefits. The three elephants are not engaged war because of survival and defensive policy. All countries tried to get mutual benefits here. China is trying to make a single hegemony at Myanmar by protecting military regime and massive investment. Military regimes want protection and shelter from China, on the other hand military will legitimize China. This is relative gain from Chinese perspective. USA wants revival of democracy at Myanmar, come back of SuuKyi, and decreasing Chinese influence at Myanmar. From Indian aspect India is trying to make good relations with Myanmar because of its security perspective at border and much more geopolitical and strategic value at Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean. What is the gain of Myanmar if they can warm relations with India? Myanmar can decrease the dependency on China and can come back with regional trade and commerce. As a result of changing foreign policy of Myanmar, it's very hard to fix what would be approach towards the countries of International arena. Volatile foreign policy leads Myanmar in a venture to get out of its Chinese traditional orbit and move under the aegis of the USA. In effect it puts itself at the risk of largely becoming subservient of US interest.

10.4 Myanmar: Future East west Relations:

Before 2015, Myanmar was just a subservient state of China so all of the policies of Myanmar were much influenced by China. As China's influential was so high at Myanmar, it has a good relation with East Asian countries rather than South Asia. Now the Chinese era is near end and Myanmar is moving under the aegis of the USA. By the means of November election at Myanmar, many assume that the absolute triumph of NLD can add a new dimension at South Asian or South East Asian countries. As USA can make good control over Myanmar by the means of Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean it will be a threat to India and China that is a burning issue for South East Asian countries. Actually it's a game between the great ones as we see a triumph of SuuKyis it's something like a triumph of USA on geopolitics at Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean. So it's clear that what is happening at Myanmar is a great matter of concern for south East Asian countries and the three elephant's competition must play an indirect role on South East Asian countries.

As SuuKyis' triumph and long walk to democracy, it's really deeming is it final step of democracy or not? Many researcher suspects on power transferring from Military to NLD so by means of SuuKyis' wining will create new dimension at international arena. By means of changing regime it seems changing foreign policy and changing nature of competition in Myanmar. Then it may influence on South and can reshape East West relations. New democratic Myanmar and its changing foreign policy reshaping future policy of Myanmar so it is in a venture to get out of its traditional Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of the USA. In this effect Myanmar puts itself at the risk of largely becoming subservient of US interest.

XI. CONCLUSION

It's clear that Myanmar a junction of Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean that are global centre of gravity so most of the world power are competing to pursuit hegemony in Myanmar. Various domestic rivals and ethnic conflict make Myanmar much volatile. By the means of regime based interest, Myanmar's foreign policy and external relations lost their consistency that means by changing regimes Myanmar's foreign policy was also changing. The Military government always pro China they never want SuuKyis intrusion at Myanmar politics. The Quasi military government was more liberal than military regime and presents new democratic Myanmar, its changing foreign policy is a matter of great talking to understand Myanmar's position and pursuit of hegemony. My research will show that because of general peoples dream and SuuKyis' trend is in venture to come out of Chinese orbit Myanmar will create a new relation with USA on great hope for democracy and security. Myanmar is a junction of great interest so USA is following its containment policy so that China can no more influence on Myanmar that is ultimate interest of USA. On the means of border security issues and other issues India is also competing to pursuit of hegemony but SuuKyis will emphasize much on USA and will prepare to take shelter under US umbrella. Now question is that Myanmar is moving under the aegis of USA? This answer depends on the new democratic Myanmar's foreign policy and how they will take their comparative advantage from other great powers. New Myanmar and its changing foreign policy show Myanmar a new path at international politics. By means of changing foreign policy Myanmar is in a venture to get out of its traditional Chinese orbit and move under the aegis of the USA. In effects Myanmar puts itself at the risk of largely becoming subservient of US interest.

ⁱ Three elephants are called here USA, China and India because of their power rivalry and political status at international political arena. USA super power, China and India are great power and regional power. From this power status it's called Three Elephants.

ⁱⁱ Quasi-military regime denotes military government via a mask of civilian and military combination. As International society create pressure on military government for the revival of democracy than it was a pseudo representative government. By the means of quasi-military government, the former military regime claimed that it was a people's representative and people are loyal towards this government.

ⁱⁱⁱ Human dignity is coined from Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948. This phrase actually means as human beings what would be fundamental rights and human rights given by state towards its citizens.

From the concept of Immanuel Kant we see how human dignity relevant with perpetual peace and republican government.

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