Logistics in International Relations: A Case Study of Thailand Northeastern Region of India through Trilateral Highway Project โลจิสติกส์ในความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศกรณีศึกษา: ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศไทย-อินเดีย ผ่าน เส้นทางโลจิสติกส์โครงการทางหลวงโตรภาคี

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Abstract.

political development in the world adopted "Look East Policy" to develop closer and better relations with the South East Asian countries. As a result of this change political development in India's foreign policy, the importance of the Northeastern region of India came into being. The Northeastern states (consist of eight states at the easternmost region of India – Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura) which share the geographical border lines with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China and Myanmar, have been neglected by the Government of India since the date of its independence. The apathetic

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attitude of the Indian government towards the region has led to the lack of development, unemployment, and insurgency in the region.

To develop the northeastern region to its fullest potential and to project it as a gateway to Southeast Asia, Government of India has embarked on an ambitious project of building 1400 km long road from Moreh (in India) to Mae Sot (in Thailand) via Bagan (in Myanmar) This trilateral highway project is a joint effort of the India and Thailand governments in collaboration with Myanmar.

In this paper, a conceptual framework involving concepts of geopolitical thought, logistics and regionalism have been discussed. Besides, Porter's diamond model has been explained to strengthen the argument of the regional cooperation. The prospects and potential of northeastern region of India have been discussed. Further, the linkages between Thailand and northeastern region of India have been explored to build a case for trilateral project. It comes out that this project would be of immense benefit to the two countries in particular and the Southeast Asia in general. Finally the certain areas have been suggested for the development of a comprehensive transport policy on the basis of sub-regional transportation network between India and Thailand.

Keywords: Logistics, International Relations, Trilateral Highway Project

บทคัดย่อ

รัฐบาลอินเดียได้นำนโยบายมองตะวันออกมาใช้เพื่อกระซับความสัมพันธ์กับ กลุ่มประเทศในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ให้มีความแน่นแฟ้นยิ่งขึ้น อันเป็นผลมาจาก การเล็งเห็นถึงความจำเป็นในการพัฒนาทางการเมืองของโลกที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไป ด้วย เหตุผลดังกล่าว นโยบายต่างประเทศของอินเดียจึงได้ให้ความสำคัญต่อภูมิภาคทาง ตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ ประกอบด้วยรัฐ 8 รัฐ ได้แก่ รัฐอัสสัม รัฐอรุณาจัลประเทศ รัฐมณีปุระ รัฐเมฆาลัย รัฐมิโชรัม รัฐนาคาแลนด์ รัฐสิกขิม และรัฐตรีปุระ โดยมีเขต แดนทางภูมิศาสตร์เชื่อมต่อกับบังกลาเทศ ภูฏาน จีน และพม่า ซึ่งได้ถูกละเลยจาก ทางรัฐบาลอินเดียนับตั้งแต่การประกาศเอกราช ทัศนคติที่ไม่แยแสต่อภูมิภาค ตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือทำให้ขาดการพัฒนา การว่างงาน และก่อให้เกิดความไม่สงบ สุขในพื้นที่

การพัฒนาภูมิภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือไปสู่ประตูแห่งเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง ใต้อย่างเต็มศักยภาพจำเป็นต้องอาศัยโครงการต่าง ๆ รัฐบาลอินเดียจึงได้เริ่มดำเนิน โครงการสร้างเส้นทางที่มีระยะทาง 1,400 กิโลเมตรจากมอเร (ในอินเดีย) สู่แม่สอด (ในไทย) โดยผ่านเมืองพุกาม (ในพม่า) โครงการทางหลวงไตรภาคีนี้เป็นความ ร่วมมือของรัฐบาลอินเดีย รัฐบาลไทย และรัฐบาลพม่า

บทความนี้ผู้เขียนมุ่งนำเสนอภายใต้กรอบแนวคิดที่เกี่ยวข้องกับความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศ อันได้แก่ ภูมิรัฐศาสตร์ โลจิสติกส์ และระบบภูมิภาคนิยม นอกจากนี้ยังได้นำเสนอโมเดลเพชรของพอร์เตอร์ เพื่อใช้อธิบายสนับสนุนข้อโต้แย้ง ในความร่วมมือระดับภูมิภาค ความคาดหวังและศักยภาพของภูมิภาคตะวันออก เฉียงเหนือของประเทศอินเดียได้นำมาอภิปราย ยิ่งกว่านั้นเส้นทางเชื่อมโยงประเทศ ไทย และภูมิภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของอินเดียได้ถูกสำรวจเพื่อสร้างกรณีศึกษาสำหรับโครงการทางหลวงไตรภาคี ผลลัพธ์ที่ได้จักก่อให้เกิดประโยชน์อย่างมหาศาล โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งกับทั้งสองประเทศ และเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้โดยรวม ท้ายที่สุด ได้เสนอข้อแนะนำบางประการเพื่อการพัฒนานโยบายการขนส่งที่ครอบคลุม เครือข่ายพื้นฐานการขนส่งในอนุภูมิภาคระหว่างประเทศอินเดียและประเทศไทย

คำหลัก: โลจิสติกส์, ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศ, โครงการทางหลวงไตรภาคี

Introduction

international relations seek to understand the delicate and complex nature of diplomacy in an exclusive, it analyses the socio-economic, cultural and military level interactions between nations. In contemporary international relations, regionalism does not emerge with the mere signing



of an agreement or treaty, but, by the leaders of different countries coming together to share "a homogeneous area with physical and cultural characteristics distinct from those of [other] neighboring areas" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1972, p. 377) Regional co-operation is a kind of economic co-operation, whose main aim is to spur social and economic development through collaborative efforts. Its success depends on successful market analysis, effective entry strategies, knowledge of transportation alternatives and sound logistics planning. The regional cooperation has become even more important in the globalization era. This is because states with better infrastructure facilities, nigher skilled labor, investor friendly environment and reform orientation have been able to attract most of the national as well as foreign investment. These states have grown faster than other states, leading to regional disparities.

Since the independence in 1947, India has adopted the centralized planning system. However, in spite of six decades of centralized economic planning, it has failed to provide a necessary growth impetus to the poor Indian states to reduce regional disparities in any meaningful manner. Therefore, with the aim to enhance an overall balanced regional development, India has adopted various plan initiatives; the Look East Policy (LEP) is one such example. The emerging regional cooperation between Thailand and India is an outcome of the India's Look East Policy. Thailand-India regional cooperation has also been an outcome of significant changes in the world's political and economic scenario since the early 1990s, and India has made its own march towards economic liberalization. With the increasing concern of widening of inter-state disparities and lack of development, it is highly imperative to assess the effects of globalization on northeastern states of India. The potential of northeastern India to connect with Thailand via Myanmar has been explored. The focus is on the

identification of policy framework to strengthen the relationship between the three countries.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework is discussed under 3 categories:

- Geopolitical thought
- Concept of logistics
- Concept of regionalism

Geopolitical Thought

Geopolitics is a theory within the International Relations and describes the relation between politics and territory. Geopolitics comprises the art and practice of analyzing, prescribing, forecasting, and using of political power over a given territory. Specifically, it is a method of foreign policy analysis, which seeks to understand, explain and predict international political behavior primarily in terms of geographical variables. Those geographical variables generally are: geographic location of the countries, size of the countries, climate of the countries, topography of the region, demography, natural resources available in the territory, technological development, and so forth. (Evans & Newnham, 1998)

Academically, the study of geopolitics involves the analysis of geography, history and social science with reference to spatial politics and patterns at various scales (ranging from the level of the state to international level). Geopolitics is multidisciplinary in its scope, and includes all aspects of the social sciences with particular emphasis on political geography, international relations, the territorial aspects of political science and international law (Geopolitics Journal home page, 2012) Also, the study of geopolitics includes the study of the ensemble of relations between the



interests of international political actors, interests focused to an area, space, geographical elements or ways, relations which create a geopolitical system.

Most of northeast India's borders (about 99%) are shared with foreign countries such as China (the Tibet region), Burma (Myanmar), Bangladesh and Bhutan. So, the development of this region depends on international cooperation. Northeastern region of India possesses immense natural and human resources. In the absence of cooperation with its neighbors, these resources cannot be effectively utilized for the development of the region.

Concept of Logistics

Logistics is the management of the flow of goods between the point of origin to the point of use in order to meet the requirements of customers or corporations. Logistics involves the integration of information, transportation, inventory, warehousing, material handling, packaging, and security. Logistics is a channel of the supply chain which adds the value of time and place utility. Today, the complexity of production logistics can be modeled, analyzed, visualized and optimized by plant simulation software, but is constantly changing. Logistics can involve anything from consumer goods such as food, to IT materials, to aerospace and defense equipment. (Council of Logistics Management, 1991)

Due to its location, development of international logistics assumes great importance for northeastern region of India. There is a need to focus on the physical infrastructure of the region and further link that connects it to infrastructure of its international neighbors. Technical and information standards need to be evolved to promote cross-border trade and monitor the flow of goods across the boundaries. So, an effective regional transportation and transit network needs to be developed.

Concept of Regionalism

Generally, the definition of the concept of region or 'regionness' is often taken to be linked with "geographical proximity, as a region is usually held to consist of contagious states" (Bjorn Moller, 2001, p.1) Regionalism in world politics is a growing phenomenon. Since the end of the cold war, it has come to play greater role. This was because of the necessity to cooperate as the perceived national interests were somewhat redefined and mutual benefits were increasingly emphasized, due to the changes in the world geopolitical and strategic security arrangement (Saengchantr, 2002, p.4). Also, regional cooperation and integration based on economic complementarities help to maximize the welfare of the regions concerned (Schiff & Winter, 1998, pp. 177-178).

The growth of regional trading block has been one of the major developments in international relations in recent years. In the present era of globalization, economies are becoming interdependent and countries are forming regional trading blocs one after another. Thus, almost all countries are now members of at least one bloc, many belong to more than one. The concept of sub-regional development is to link adjacent areas with different factor endowments and different comparative advantages such as differences in the levels of technology, labor force, natural resources, and financial capital. Since, sub-regional development facilitates trans-border economic integration; it requires a number of cross-border developments. Sub-regional cooperation in the transport sector is the basic means for promoting economic linkages among the member countries. It facilitates cross-border movements of goods and people, thereby enhancing trade and investment, labor and social mobility, access to markets and other economic opportunities. To maximize investments in sub-regional transport infrastructure, economic corridors are also being developed to link major transport routes with specific production and trade opportunities within a given geographic space that could extend to rural areas. This is also expected to further stimulate demand, increase production efficiency, create jobs, and enhance the competitiveness of the member countries.

It is clear that the development of north-eastern region is contingent on developing geopolitical links with its International neighbors. In order to achieve this, logistical network between north-east India and its neighbors need to be drastically improved. Trilateral highway project would be an effective medium to achieve this. It would also help to create a regional network there boosting sub-regional cooperation between the participating countries.

PORTER'S DIAMOND MODEL

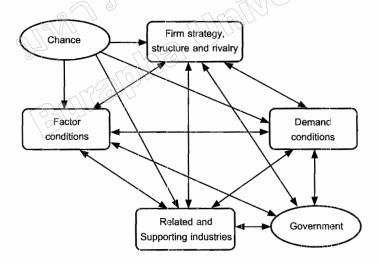


Figure 1 Porter's Diamond Model of Locational Competitive Advantage (Wikipedia, 2011)

The Porter's diamond model is shown in Figure 1 in this model, Porter has addressed why certain industries become competitive in certain locations. It is the basis of his explanation of the beneficial impact of

industrial clusters on productivity and growth. The various dimensions of Porter's diamond model are explained below (Porter, 1990):

- Factor conditions are human resources, physical resources, knowledge resources, capital resources and infrastructure. Specialized resources are often specific for an industry and important for its competitiveness. Specific resources can be created to compensate for factor disadvantages.
- Demand conditions in the home market can help companies create a competitive advantage, when sophisticated home market buyers pressure firms to innovate faster and to create more advanced products than those of competitors.
- Related and supporting industries can produce inputs which are important for innovation and internationalization. These industries provide cost-effective inputs, but they also participate in the upgrading process, thus stimulating other companies in the chain to innovate.
- Firm strategy, structure and rivalry constitute the fourth determinant of competitiveness. The way in which companies are created, set goals and are managed is important for success. But the presence of intense rivalry in the home base is also important; it creates pressure to innovate in order to upgrade competitiveness.
- Government can influence each of the above four determinants of competitiveness. Clearly government can influence the supply conditions of key production factors, demand conditions in the home market, and competition between firms. Government interventions can occur at local, regional, national or supranational level.
- Chance events are occurrences that are outside of control of a firm. They are important because they create discontinuities in which some gain competitive positions and some lose.

Porter argues that the quality of the business environment, defined by the above dimensions, is of paramount importance to an economy's sophistication, productivity and competitiveness. Further, he argues that the factors in the related and supporting industries dimension, or the clusterspecific aspects of the business environment, are the most significant. In particular, clusters influence productivity, innovation (and productivity growth), and new business formation, which in turn supports innovation and subsequently expands the cluster. First, clusters enhance productivity through more efficient sourcing of inputs improved access to skilled human resources, suppliers, and specialized information, and various complementarities within the cluster. Second, clusters influence innovation because they normally contain sophisticated buyers who drive the innovation cycle and because they offer innovators better sourcing options. greater supplier support, and pressure from peers, competitors, and consumers. Third, clusters encourage the emergence of new businesses because of the complementarities among inputs, suppliers, and technologies. New businesses, in turn, pick up the slack in innovation left by larger firms, furthering innovation within the cluster.

Cluster analysis takes a broad, dynamic view of competition that emphasizes growth in productivity. As such, it advocates the development of all clusters, not just selected ones. This stance implies that foreign imports and firms are important contributors to agglomeration externalities and therefore that competition and trade are a positive-sum game.

Trilateral highway project would help north-eastern India become competitive location. As per porter's model:

 Factor conditions are conducive in north-east India as it possesses immense natural and human resources. This region has matching culture with its international neighbors.

- There is a huge demand to develop physical infrastructure in northeast and link it with its international neighbors. This would help the northeastern businesses to expand their business and export their goods.
- Northeastern industries are complementary to each other. The development of trilateral highway project would boost the growth of related and supporting industries.
- Over the years, northeastern people have shown immense innovative skills. In fact, it is the sheer innovative instinct that has helped them survive in this difficult region. The growth of international network would provide a structure for meaningful innovation.
- The role of Indian government in the development of northeastern region has been passive in the past. However, the "Look East Policy" holds promise of the development of northeast India.

India to become competitive It would help to suppress the factors that impede region's development and promote the factors that boost region's development.

NORTHEASTERN REGION OF INDIA: PROSPECTS AND POTENTIAL

The Northeastern region of India comprises eight states – Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. The region is connected to the rest of the country by a narrow 20 km wide corridor of land. The region shares its borders with China in the north, Bangladesh in the South-West, Bhutan in the North-West and Myanmar in the East. It is one of the most ethically and linguistically diverse regions in Asia. Each state has its distinct cultures, customs and traditions. Blessed with biodiversity, huge hydro-energy potential, oil and gas, coal,

limestone, forest wealth, fruits and vegetables, flowers, herbs and aromatic plants, rare and rich flora and fauna, northeastern region of India has all of the potential to transform into a commercial hub and tourist paradise. The area is a vibrant source of India's largest perennial water system, the Brahmaputra River and its tributaries, which can be tapped for energy, irrigation and transportation. The fertile soil around the valley of the River Brahmaputra is a veritable storehouse of horticultural products, plantation, crops, vegetables, spices and rare forest products. North-East also offers huge opportunities in sectors of strategic importance like energy and infrastructure; oil, natural gas and hydrocarbons; agro, food processing and horticulture; floriculture; IT and ITeS; cement; defense etc.

The strategic location of the region makes the North-East a prospective hub of international trade and commerce. Unlike the rest of India, the North-East has an added demographic advantage. It occupies 7.8 per cent of the country's total land space but has a population of 3.8 crore, which makes it approximately 3.73 per cent of the country's population. North-East is also a huge untapped and emerging market, which should prove to be of interest to large domestic and international investors. Moreover, North East Industrial and Investment Promotion Policy (NEIIPP) 2007 has declared subsidies on transport, capital investment, interest on working capital, excise duty refund, exemptions on income tax and etc. for industries in the region.

During the post-globalization period, the overall investment scenario in the northeastern region is not satisfactory as compared to other states. This may be attributed to the prevailing geo-political condition in the region and attitude of the central government in tackling the issues of the region. So, despite its immense natural resources, the region continues to remain the most backward in India. That is why the northeastern region of India is also called "India's back lake" (Zhengjia, 2001). Despite its neglect, the

region presents a huge opportunity for investment, both by private industries as well as entrepreneurs.

The rich natural and human resources available in the region could not be utilized to the full extent mainly due to the geo-political condition. Due to the neglect by the central government, the infrastructure of the region has not sufficiently developed, and law and order situation of the region has deteriorated. This has crippled the free flow of factors of production. The lack of infrastructure has not only spoiled the prospect of economic development; but has also created a horizontal division among various ethnic groups. It has affected the delicate fabric of social harmony in the region and displaced the common understanding and linkages for peaceful coexistence and regional cooperation. So, the development of the infrastructure like roads, transport, communications, electricity, banking and etc. assumes prime importance for the development of the region. Furthermore, underdevelopment breeds insurgency and insurgency retards development. This two are mutually reinforcing. This is a classic case of vicious cycle of underdevelopment-insurgency-underdevelopment. Therefore, intrastructure development would also address the problem of insurgency.

There is also an acute need for the central government to change its attitude towards the North-East. Planning Commission in its report on Transforming the North East has suggested the central government to change its attitude from "planning for the North East to planning with the North East". So under the prevailing circumstances, mere allocation of funds or implementation of new policy would not suffice to tackle the problems in the region. Considering the emotional sentiments of the inhabitants and sensitivity of the issues, the region must be handled carefully. Every developmental programme should obtain the consent of the inhabitants and needs to be executed with sincerity without delay. Attractive

incentive structures should be designed to attract new domestic and foreign investments into the region.

THAILAND AND THE NORTH EASTERN REGION OF INDIA

All North-Eastern states have distinct advantages and provide immense economic and trade opportunities to domestic and international corporate. So, North-East India is often described as the Gateway to South-East Asia. After formulating the Look East Policy (LEP) in the early 1990s, India's special relationship with Thailand has evolved as the centerpiece of the policy to establish close physical and economic links with its eastern neighbors. India's LEP aims at transforming the North-East into a dynamic center of a thriving and integrated economic space, linking the two high-potential regions with a network of highways, railways, pipelines, and transmission lines crisscrossing the region. Myanmar is a natural land bridge linking the two regions; whereas India is keen to exploit this location by building cross-border roads into Thailand.

There are huge complementarities that arise out of India's 'Look East' Policy and Thailand's 'Look West' Policy. It gives rise to immense opportunities to India and Thailand to develop their trade and investment relations, using the North-East as a primary focal point. It is worth mentioning that special focus should be given on northeastern region problems like shortage of power generation capacity, over-dependence on hydro-power, absence of proper road connectivity and etc.

Also, India is exploring a transport corridor through Myanmar, a potential gateway to South-East Asian countries, to form a free-trade region. There is a proposal of 'Trilateral Highway' connecting India, Myanmar and Thailand. This project has the potential of strengthening economic exchanges and international co-operation between the three countries.

With necessary infrastructure development within the region, and the building of connecting links between North-East and the rest of India, and North-East and South-East Asia, the economic potential of the region can be suitably exploited. Time-bound implementation of projects, conducive centre-state relations and political stability, monitoring of fund-flows, and necessary marketing and branding of the region can truly transform this goldmine region into a vibrant hub of business, tourism and trade.

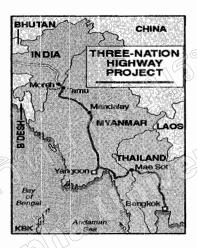
TRILATERAL HIGHWAY PROJECT

The Trilateral Highway Project is an ambitious undertaking which was initially launched under the vestiges of the Mekong Ganga Cooperation (MGC) and later incorporated into the transport sector of Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC). This project is a joint initiative of India and Thailand with mutual cooperation from Myanmar. These countries are working on a 1400 km long road corridor from Moreh (in India) to Mae Sot (in Thailand) through Bagan (in Myanmar). The road will play a key role in growth of trade and investment.

Trilateral Highway would link the Northeastern Indian Border town of Moreh in Manipur state with Kalewa on the Chindwin River in Myanmar. It is to be extended to Mandalay. Ultimately, the road will be a key link in the proposed Asian Highway linking the continent to Europe. Other than improving the friendly relationships among nations, the proposed highway would have far-reaching political, economic, security and drug suppression repercussions. There are currently only minor roads linking India to Myanmar. The highway will also provide easier links from India to China, through Myanmar.



India has also extended credit to modernize the Myanmar Railways. It has supplied rails and rolling stock apart from assisting in upgrading the Yangon-Mandalay section. A Trans-Asian rail network that would link Hanoi with New Delhi is being envisaged.



Source: The Tribune Online Edition

The economic and political analysis of the region brings to light that cross-border trades, investment, transport, and labor movement patterns along the East-West Economic Corridor (EWEC) reveal underlying complementarities. Asian Development Bank (ADB) reports stated that these overall complementarities give rise to several opportunities for regional co-operation. The emphasis is on the identification of private sector's opportunities that arises from relative comparative advantages. The realization of these potentials will form the engine behind the EWEC's development" (ADB 2001, p. 37). The region has gradually transformed into market-oriented systems and cross-border trade has been formalized (Than 2005, p. 38).

There are comparative advantages of export product divisions of each EWEC country in three factor-intensity categories viz. natural resource-intensive products; unskilled labor-intensive products; and human capital-intensive and technology-intensive products. These advantages cause economies of scale and promote the production of differentiated goods. Overall, the EWEC countries have a strong comparative advantage in two of the three factor-intensity categories, namely natural resource-intensive products and unskilled labour-intensive products.

The EWEC counties are rich in natural, cultural, and historical resources that provide enormous potential for tourism development. Tourism resources are particularly rich in the gateway areas of the Corridor. The main opportunity is to attract tourists from already established major tourism destinations in Southeast Asia and to develop tourism products that combine and link more than one country. The increased tourism will in turn create more jobs and help in the drive to reduce poverty in these countries. The project will also seek to reduce poverty through rural connectivity and accessibility (ADB, 2002).

CONCLUSION

It is apparent that the India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway Project holds great promise for the development of northeastern India and Thailand. To achieve this, physical and non-physical infrastructure needs to be developed by India as well as Thailand. The physical infrastructure barriers include:

- Lack of effective transportation system like roads and bridges
- High cost of transportation
- Slow pace of infrastructure development

The non-physical infrastructure barriers include:

- Conflicting policies and procedures between India and Thailand
- Lack of incentive for development of efficient transportation and transit system
 - Border conflict leading to slow pace of logistics flows

Trilateral Highway Project will definitely contribute to the development of both Thailand and Northeastern Region of India. Asian Highway and Trans-Asian Railways, the two transportation projects of UNESCAP, can never be fully accomplished without the active participation of sub-regional cooperation. To meet the challenges, both countries need to develop regional transportation and transit network that offers efficient transportation options and low 'transaction costs'. Therefore, both countries should actively cooperate with each other to greatly reduce current physical and non-physical barriers to transportation and transit. They should adopt both physical infrastructure development (such as multi-modal corridors and terminals) and non-physical infrastructure development (like reformed policies and procedures, regulations, and incentives for efficient transportation and transit) methods.

For enhancement of their logistics networking, they should take immediate initiatives to formulate a comprehensive transport policy on the basis of sub-regional transportation network. Such a policy should focus on:

- Harmonization of technical standards such as truck size and weight regulations, railway gauge and rolling stocks
- Harmonization of road transportation and motor vehicles rules and regulations
- Abolition of residual economics regulations, especially in the form of sabotage rules and restrictions on the movement of certain goods

- Faster border inspection except strategic areas
- Simplification of documentation and custom procedures
- · Application of information technology in monitoring crossborder movement of goods
- Development of intraregional transit and transportation facilities



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