Linking Tripura With BCIM Corridor: Prospects And Challenges

Sanjoy Roy*

Abstract

BCIM is a sub-regional grouping for cooperation among four countries such as Bangladesh, China, India, Myanmar. The sub regional co-operation is the offshoot of the 'Kunming Declaration' comprising China's Southwest, India's Northeast and the two neighbouring countries of Myanmar and Bangladesh so as to connect a backward and relatively under-developed part of Asia. The present paper highlights role of the BCIM corridor in improving the connectivity and overall socio-economic development of NER in general and Tripura in particular with a focus on the prospects and problems. The paper emphasizes that although BCIM corridor will offer a window of optimism to Tripura regarding its connectivity with many South-east Asians countries, BCIM EC is not going to materialize very soon. Rather it would be better if Tripura explores and reaps all possible benefits from Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport Project as situational alternative and formulate plan for its sustainable development. Efforts may be initiated to improve connectivity between Tripura and Mizoram through which the Sittewe port in Myanmar may be availed of and establish an alternative water connectivity between Tripura and Kolkata etc. via Sittewe port for combating any exigencies /disaster in future as well.

Key words: Infrastructure, Port, Multimodal- connectivity and Development

Introduction

Connectivity is an enabler. Physical connectivity is the edifice of all other forms of connectivity such as economic links, social links and people-to-people interactions. Connectivity promotes commerce, communication and culture. Globalization has emboldened the importance of connectivity and propelled it to higher altitude. Global connectivity is a key driver for innovation and progress

enriching our lives with the access to a wider range of opportunities, people and culture. Conversely, Tripura has been suffering from poor connectivity since its merger with the Union of India in 1949 particularly after the disintegration of large tract of Chaklaroshanabad in East Pakistan now Bangladesh. Tripura remained virtually disconnected from mainland and all forms of connectivity i.e. road, rail and water that were available to the princely state Tripura during pre-merger and pre-

independence period got withered within a short period of time. Lack of good connectivity is a fundamental problem in Tripura. Thus, improving the connectivity in Tripura is not only paramount from the viewpoint of that tiny state of North Eastern Region (NER) with 36 lakh population as per 2011 census is connectivity-starved but its geo-strategic location also demands fast-moving connectivity. Tripura is surrounded in three sides by Bangladesh having 856 porus international border with a small corridor of exit through Assam.

Geographical isolation is a fundamental bottleneck to development activities. Recently Government of India has initiated a lot of highway projects for connectivity development of the NER as a whole. It includes projects like the Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport Project (KMTTP), the Trilateral Highway, Trans Asian Railway and the Asian Highway Network, declaration of 18 national waterways. Bangladesh China India and Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIM) is also an initiative under the consideration of Government of India since 2013. It is presumed Tripura will have immense scope for development and opportunity for trade in the entire northeastern region of India and other adjoining countries - Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and China, if BCIM corridor becomes a reality.

Given the backdrop, the present paper explains highlights of BCIM Corridor, its role in improving the connectivity and

prospects of NER in general and Tripura in particular with thrusts on the problems of the BCIM corridor. The paper centres around a basic question whether BCIM corridor will be feasible and beneficial for Tripura or not . The whole paper is based on various reports and secondary data collected from various government / nongovernment organizations and articles published in various esteemed dailies and newspapers and websites of different organizations .

This is a sub-regional grouping of four countries with Bangladesh, China, India, Myanmar and a forum for Regional Cooperation to deepen friendly cooperation among the four member nations and it links South Asia with Southeast and East Asia by building multi-modal connectivity. Professor Rehman Sobhan proposed the BCIM and advocated that 'development multimodal connectivity with infrastructure would reduce transaction cost, stimulate trade and investment and accelerate growth and poverty alleviation in this region' (Rahman, 2014). The sub regional co-operation is the offshoot of the 'Kunming Declaration' comprising China's Southwest, India's Northeast and the two neighbouring countries of Myanmar and Bangladesh so as to connect a backward and relatively under-developed part of Asia. The BCIM region is home to 40% of the world's population. It covers 9% of the world's total area and contributes 7.3% of the global gross domestic product.

'The BCIM economic corridor will originate from Kunming in China's Yunan

province and pass through Yangon and Mandalay in Myanmar, Chittagong-Dhaka-Sylhet in Bangladesh before entering North Eastern states, Bengal and ending in Kolkata (Bhattacharjee, 2014). 'The proposed 2,800-km long EC will traverse from Kolkata via Benapole/ Petrapole on the India-Bangladesh border to Dhaka and Sylhet before again entering India near Silchar in Assam. After coursing through Imphal, it moves to the Tamu-Kalewa friendship road in Myanmar. After crossing Mandalay and Lashio the road will reach Kunming via Ruili, Longling and Dali. The road is currently motorable except for two stretches of around 200 km each, one from Silchar to Imphal in India and the other from Kalewa to Monywa in Myanmar (Sajjanhar, 2016)

The BCIM Economic Corridor is a modern version of the Silk Road and a revision of the 1999 Track II Kunming initiative among BCIM countries. The BCIM-EC received a new lease of life when Chinese Premier Li Keqiang had proposed to construct the corridor during his meeting with the then Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in New Delhi on 18 May 2013 (Sahoo and Bhunia, 2014) It may be mentioned that 'during the second world war, the land route was re-established from Kunming to Ledo in India's Assam state through the Stilwell Road to support Chinese and allied soldiers fighting the Japanese. It is the shortest land route between northeast India and southwest China. China was keen to reopen that road, but as the Indian Army was wary it might give China a tactical advantage in case of conflict, China has turned its attention to an alternative – a longer route that runs from Kunming to Imphal in northeast India through Ruili in Yunnan and Mandalay in Myanmar' (Roychowdhury, 2013). 'With joint efforts of China, India, Myanmar and Bangladesh, a highway route starting from Yunnan to India by way of Myanmar has been reportedly approved in principle by the relevant departments of the four countries (Rashid,2013).

BCIM corridor: Aims, objectives and impacts

The main objective of BCIM economic corridor is the socio-economic development in the region by developing (1) connectivity and infrastructure (road, railways, waterways, and airways); (2) energy resources; (3) agriculture; and (4) trade and investment (sahoo.et.al, 2014). The underlying assumption behind this yet another regional entity was that this particular grouping had some unique attributes which could potentially bring significant benefits to the four participating countries through deepening of economic cooperation and integration by leveraging on three connectivities: transport connectivity, trade connectivity and investment connectivity (Rahman 2014). 'The corridor aims to revive the south-western trade route of the ancient Southern Silk Road which facilitated the shortest journey between China and India and served as a highway for merchants carrying gold and silver in the 12th century' (SAJJANHAR, 2016).

The route is expected to serve as a link with South Asian countries and central. eastern coastal areas of China, so as to promote the development of western regions of China and boost the common prosperity of the nations along the route and development of the NER in particular. 'The BCIM Corridor will allow all four countries to exploit existing complementarities in trade – in terms of both sectors and products. Myanmar is a primary goods exporter and has abundant cheap labour. India has positioned itself as a leading services exporter. China is the largest manufacturing exporter in the world; and Bangladesh, like many other South Asian countries, engages in both services export and low-end manufactured goods.' (Sahoo and Bhunia, 2014)

'The key assumption underlying this initiative was that this sub-region of Asia had rich potential in both natural and human resources, which if connected through modern infrastructure and communication, would result in its revitalization' (Bhoothalingam, 2017). 'The South Asian and Chinese leaders are aiming at transforming the route into a robust economic corridor' (Bhattacharjee, 2014). Also, developing the Asian highway will reduce transaction costs and boost trade, and should therefore be a priority (Sahoo et al., 2014).

The whole BCIM region is rich in natural, mineral and other resources. It encompasses 165,000 sq km of area with a population of 440 million people. Given the immense conventional and renewable

energy resources in the region, BCIM economic co-operation may transform power sector through collaboration. 'Energy cooperation among BCIM countries will have implications for China, the largest consumer of energy. India's engagement with Myanmar will contribute to India's energy security as India is currently heavily dependent on Gulf oil imports. Myanmar will also be able to engage in export diversification, as it is currently over-reliant on China and Thailand for energy exports. BCIM subregional cooperation can capitalize on hydrocarbons in Bangladesh, hydroelectric and mineral resources in Northeast India, natural gas reserves in Myanmar, and coal reserves in East Indian states like Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand and China's Yunnan province' (Sahoo and Bhunia, 2014). 'The gains envisaged would accrue from greater market access for goods, services and energy, elimination of non-tariff barriers, better trade facilitation, infrastructure investment in development, joint exploration and development of mineral, water, and other natural resources, development of value and supply chains, based on comparative advantages by translating comparative advantages into competitive advantages, and through closer people to people contact'(Rahman, 2014) leading to access of numerous market in south east Asia, improvement of infrastructure and establishment of industrial zone (Dezan, 2014).

Prospects

Although India's trade with neighboring countries and ASEAN in recent years is very substantial, the share of NER is almost minimal. India's expanding engagement with South and South-East countries could not benefit the NER as it should have been owing to its strategic and geopolitical significance. Lack of adequate infrastructure and want of physical connectivity are coined as key reasons for untapped potential of this region. Studies have near-unanimously found that improved connectivity and infrastructure boost trade manifold and this applies to the BCIM region as well (Rahman and Amin 2009).

The connectivity within the NER is extremely poor The presence of national highway is quite negligible in most of the NER. The Centre has envisaged connecting the NER state capitals to the EW highway through the Seven Sister's Corridor project. This will link the capitals of the seven states and the border points of Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar. (Saikia, 2012). Thus, apparently the BCIM corridor is beneficial for countries as it would shorten travel time, cut transport costs, provide landlocked North east states with access to the Bay of Bengal, open up markets and create production bases along the way.

BCIM corridor would be incomplete without drawing Mizoram into the framework through the Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport Project (KMTTP). Under this plan, Mizoram

would be connected with Myanmar's port of Sittwe, through the Kaladan River, and the passage will provide all the landlocked north-eastern States access to the sea (Aneja, 2015). The KMTTP is jointly identified by the India and Myanmar to create a multi-modal mode of transport for shipment of cargo from the eastern ports of India to Myanmar as well as to the North-Eastern part of India through Myanmar at an estimated cost of Rs 2904 crore (PIB, 2015). It comprises Kolkata to Sittwe port in Myanmar by sea route (539 km)Sittwe port to Paletwa in Myanmar by waterway over River Kaladan (158 km), Paletwa to Indo Myanmar border for 110 km by roadway (110 km) and Border to Lawngtlai in NH 54 (100 km) Mizoram by (MoDoNER, 2014). It may also be connected with Tripura via Ambassa to Mizoram by NH 44A. From the long term perspective, the corridor would not only link Northeast with Myanmar, but also it would link the region with Phuket, Bangkok, Phnom Penh, Saigon, Penang, Johor and Singapore sea ports securing India's interest in the larger Southeast Asian free trade architecture. (Pattnaik, 2016)

BCIM economic corridor is relevant from geographical proximity of NER shares more borders with its neighbouring countries than that of countries connected with mainland. NER has international borders with Myanmar (1643 km), Bangladesh (1880 km), China (1300.25 km) and from this perspective BCIM economic corridor is perceived as vital

transit for utilizing up-tapped potential of this region. Under the BCIM initiative, the North East in general and Manipur and Barak valley of Assam are considered as significant beneficiaries since the proposed economic corridor will pass through these states.

Currently, most of the landlocked states of the region are paying higher transportation price for not having easy access to sea ports. Lack of proper infrastructural facilities has led to economic isolation of the region. The implementation of the ambitious projects and subsequent linking of all the four countries will open up the entire North Eastern region to Southeast and East Asia. The BCIM Corridor aims at promoting trade and investment in the region through trade facilitation measures and greater participation of the public and private sectors. It is likely to encourage further interest by Chinese and Indian firms in Myanmar. There are scopes for cooperation in the services sectors like health, tourism, education, and transport and communication between North East and the neighbouring countries (Bhattacharjee, 2014) . The potential of North Eastern Region to export energy particularly to power-starved Bangladesh under the auspices of BCIM's institutional structure is particularly beyond doubt and it is evident from the export of 100 MW power to Bangladesh from palatana gas thermal project of Tripura.

Ultimately BCIM corridor will put in place a highway system along the land

route and then transform it to an economic corridor with trading entrepots (a warehouse or a commercial place with distribution centres etc.), tourism infrastructure, manufacturing hubs and create jobs along the corridor. A survey by the Guwahati-based CESPR in 2014 indicated that decision-makers across the northeastern states were most interested about BCIM taking concrete shape. Traders, state bureaucrats, media-persons and academics interviewed by the CESPR said 'China was not a threat but an opportunity. The BCIM is the point where the markets of China join with those of South Asia and South-east Asia. This subregion is isolated from the world market and large scale investments in infrastructure are needed to change that." (Bhaumik, 2015).

It may be recalled that highway development will not push the urbanization along the route, the region will be benefited with some major industries particularly in processing, manufacturing and logistics as China has already announced its policy of shifting some key industries in the Yunan region. If BCIM gets operational, it will create employment; generate revenue in the region and uplift of the standard of living of common people. In fine, NER will stand to gain the market of Asia, establishment of some key industries and development of infrastructure.

Tripura will derive immense benefits from the BCIM corridor, if implemented. Kolkata would be accessible from Tripura through this Economic corridor in two ways, one through Agartala via Bangladesh and another through Sittwe port via Mizoram apart from the accessing the market of Asia and far -off. Some of the notable prospects of BCIM corridor are discussed below: The principal advantage for Tripura is the geographical proximity with Bangladesh which surrounds three sides of Tripura. Secondly, India's tie with Bangladesh is very cordial and multifaceted. Tripura has not only long border with Bangladesh but she also bears a similar legacy and robust bondage with people of Bangladesh. Tripura is expected to be benefited through the multimodal connectivity particularly through Road, Rail and inland and sea and this may facilitate Tripura to participate in the growing trade with ASEAN countries, particularly in locally produced items like bamboo and other wood products, ores, rubber products, horticulture and food products.

'Lack of proper marketing and value addition policies have marred the prospects of growers immensely in Tripura. It is expected that better connectivity would widen marketing avenues leading the increased export of agricultural and forest products of Tripura to far off countries as transportation cost is likely to come down significantly' (Roy, 2016). The impact of BCIM would naturally be reflected in manufacturing and processing industries and this will ultimately add values to products at every stages of production, yielding ultimate benefits to local economy.

BCIM corridor will offer an immense scope for the transit of goods and other key necessities through Chittagong port in Bangladesh and the benefit of Sittwae port of Myanmar to Kolkata will be an impetus for Tripura. Besides, transit of goods from other important ports of the country will be easier. Export of goods from Tripura via the Chittagong port or sittewe port of Myanmar via Mizoram will be a game changer. The granting of transit access to Chittagong and Mongla ports in June 2015 would significantly contribute towards augmenting trade, investment and broadening people-to-people relations between North East India and Bangladesh. It is expected that the institutional structure of BCIM would be able to help solve many issues, including voluminous illegal and informal trade between India and Bangladesh and between Bangladesh and Myanmar.

Tripura will connect BCIM corridor near Silchar in Assam. It would be an important link for the trade and transport development when the double-lane work of NH 44 (now NH 8) gets completed and Tripura gets connected with NH 39 in Kolasib of Mizoram. Proposed completion of Subroom Kukital highway will also ease the movement of goods and traffic from Silchar to Chittagang Port. 'Reports suggest that Asian Development Bank may provide financial assistance for up grading Imphal-Moreh section of National Highway-39 and the road between Silchar and Imphal. The World Bank is funding the up gradation of the highway that connects Aizawl with IndiaMyanmar border' (Bhattacharjee, 2016). Now, Tripura including the NER would be able to move the goods at a cost much lower than that being incurred presently. This would not only help consumers' interest but also attract investment in the North-Eastern region. Direct transit route through Bangladesh's / Myanmar's territory would remove one of the major bottlenecks for progress and prosperity of the NER and link this region more closely with the mainstream of the Indian economy.

Thus alternatives will be open to Tripura for movement of goods through waterways/ railways / road transport. BCIM corridor will offer a window of connectivity with other south Asians countries like Myanmar and Bangladesh which is presently limited to Bangladesh. This will also strengthen the bargaining capacity for Tripura in settling the trade agreements and options will emerge to choose the trade agreements from the perspectives of non-tariff barriers leading to promotion of trade on favourable conditions.

Challenges

The problems of BCIM economic corridor are many and they are country specific. Many problems of the BCIM economic corridor have yet come into limelight. However from India's point of view , the decision on BCIM is very difficult because both China and India are larger partners as regards the population and economy etc.. Various studies show

that although economic development of the region appears as prima facie main reason and road connectivity centres around the development of BCIM corridor, the reality, however, is not as straightforward, and China's intentions are not merely economic. but also geostrategic. The primary problems of BCIM are the following:

There is lack of trust and confidence between India and China. Although India endeavors to be sensitive to and supportive of China's concerns and interests in the region and the world, China is not so beneficial to India, rather playing a peculiar role in regional and international affairs. This attitude is replicated in Doklam stand-off. China's unrelenting opposition to India's permanent membership of the UN Security Council as well as membership of nuclear export control regimes such as NSG; China's supply of nuclear and missile technologies to Pakistan buttressed by the Chinese indifference to resolve the lingering border dispute are glaring examples.

China owns huge technical and physical excess capacity in steel, cement, iron, machinery and equipment which China seeks to use and create infrastructure in other countries .China have invested in many neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Nepal, Myanmar Sri lanka and Pakistan particularly in infrastructure development of these countries under its auspicious Plan One Route, One Belt (OROB). Technically and de facto, BCIM EC forms

a part of the One Belt One Road (OBOR) Initiative [or Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and 21st century Maritime Silk Road (MSR) announced by China (Sajjanhar, 2016).

The OBOR is not only economical but geo-political aimed at accessing Indian Ocean and exploitation of natural resources. Encircling India by building, establishing and boosting Chinese naval presence in the Indian Ocean through a chain of ports like Gwadar in Pakistan and Hambantota in Sri Lanka, the ports in Marao Atoll in Maldives and Kyaukpyu Myanmar substantiate India's in apprehension that OBOR is geo strategic and geo political ramification. 'Increased connectivity between China and Myanmar has led to an easy flow of natural resources from Myanmar to China' (Thomas, 2017). The scenario of Myanmar justifies India's apprehension. 'There is a concern in Myanmar that Chinese investments have been substantially in the extractive sector, and they did not result in sustainable employment generation' (Pulipaka, 2016). Recent grant of 38.5 billion dollar to Bangladesh for infrastructural development is an example of China's intention towards SREB concept.

The port development in Myanmar, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Pakistan which is incorporated in the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) project have the potential to change the bilateral equation of India further to its disadvantage as it favors China's trade flows through the Indian Ocean. This also will lead to trade

diversion of Indian goods and services. Once the BRI is built the countries might divert their trade from India to China because of the easier accessibility to Chinese goods and currency exchange (Nataraj and Sekhani, 2015). Although some major projects have been launched since the late 1990s to improve the overall infrastructural facilities in the region, the people of North-East are yet not benefited by those projects as their implementation has remained very slow besides factors like unending insurgency, periodic ethnic clashes and rampant corruption coming on the way of speedy completion of the projects (Bhattacharjee, 2014). Informal border trade among neighbouring countries through adjacent areas of respective countries is colossal and it has been continuing for the several decades

The economy NER, Bangladesh and Myanmar are agrarian. Thus livelihood of people in these areas including the traditional small scale and cottage industries would be largely affected by the overflow of cheap Chinese goods. Regrettably big Indian industries/ companies of India are either absent or have yet not set up large industrial set up in production or manufacturing sector till date in NER despite the tax concessions and tax holidays and other industrial incentives granted to the industries. Future also appears to be bleak as regards substantial participation by Indian industries in the NER unless some miracle happens. Thus BCIM may have limited impact. The infrastructure projects envisaged under the BCIM initiative would require huge investments. Another major bottleneck for the BCIM corridor is passive participation of NER states. Both interconnectedness and intra connectivity of the NER states are lugubrious. Interregional trade among the countries is not growing staggering at 5% while intra-regional trade in NER states is very slender.

Before concluding it may be mentioned that Government of India had formulated a comprehensive connectivity plan for the NER states wherein East-West Corridor connecting Silchar with Gujarat is accorded top priority. If these roads and railway lines become operational and inter- state linkages get established, the BCIM corridor will be a game changer for landlocked regions like Barak valley, Tripura and Mizoram. According to some experts, India should focus on export potential of the NER to get rid of economic underdevelopment. It is fact that the NER has not been engaged with the implementation of the Look/Act East Policy in a meaningful manner. Thus it is warranted that a consultative mechanism may be set up for the same.

BCIM EC may worsen the trade deficits of India if it is implemented without sufficient safeguards, proper infrastructure and connectivity development in the NER as cheap and low-quality Chinese goods are likely to flood the local markets to the detriment of domestic industries. Cost of labour in

China is high and China is interested to shift some of the manufacturing units into this corridor to benefit the Chinese industries. The NER is not integrated and interstate connectivity is awfully poor except Guwahati and Silchar. Ethnic mosaic and age old cultural ties along with rich bio diversity of NER will come under tremendous pressure if foreign investment is allowed without proper infrastructure development in the region. Thus, efforts should include laying equal emphasis on inter-connectedness of the states in NER and better coordination to boost confidence the local communities in NER so that the affluent biodiversity of the region and ethnic mosaic remain unhindered.

Although many believe that the BCIM EC will develop roads, railways, airlines, water ways, telecommunication networks and power and hydro-carbon pipe lines, and make this region as the largest free trade zone of world by combining the ASEAN Free Trade Area, ASEAN-China Free Trade Area and ASEAN-India Free Trade Area, the BCIM EC dispensation is likely to give more benefits to China than India. The concern of security is no mean and haunting the country. The interests/perception of India are different from Bangladesh and Myanmar that are largely benefited by the investment of China in the respective countries.

Keeping in view unresolved border disputes, face-off in the border, lack of trust and china's continued reluctance to India's interest and risk of diversion of trade in favour of China, it may be mentioned that BCIMEC is not going to materialize very soon. Rather it would be better if Tripura explores and reaps all possible benefits from KMTTP as situational alternatives and formulate PLAN B for smooth development of Tripura. Government of Tripura should formulate a strong public policy in this regard. It may be mentioned that distance between sittwe port in Myanamar and Kolkata is 539 km while distance between Chittagong and Kolkata is 361 nautical miles, which is being preferred. It is also fact sea transport connectivity of Tripura is through another country comprising multimodal transports.

Strategically both options are important and thus government should be pragmatic. Efforts should be given to improve connectivity between Tripura and Mizoram through which the alternative sittewe port at Myanmar may be availed of and alternative water connectivity between Tripura and Kolkata via sittewe port may be established for combating any exigencies /disaster in future. The alternative connectivity would be useful because it runs through Dhalai and North Tripura Districts, comparatively backward

than other districts of Tripura. Thus it is expected that alternative connectivity would be considered by state and central Government and enable Tripura avail of the benefits of BCIM corridor, if implemented, and build it a self-reliant and resilient state to withstand any peer pressure.

To conclude, it may be mentioned that China is India's most important trading partner in North Asia. Thus engagement with China needs a comprehensive trade, investment and economic co-operation issues. However efforts should be intensified on bilateral trade agreement with Japan and South Korea. The BCIM may be game changer for the whole NER and Tripura in particular as connectivity impacts wonder. For this to happen, tremendous effort and investment will have to be made in the NER and all forms of connectivity are to be developed with the state capitals and potential trade centres and increase regional value chain. Greater focus on capacity building of human resources in commerce, tourism and service sector is obvious necessity if the NER is to compete with neighbouring countries from the standpoints of cost and export competitiveness.

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