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Question No.
प्रश्न संख्या

U.P.S.C.

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सिर्फ अभ्यास के लिए

PSIR Test -07

Name - SANJEEV KUMAR
Roll No - OAC 24 PIT N030
Mobile No- [redacted]
Date - 15-08-024

Feedback -

Section-A

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Question No. प्रश्न संख्या

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1(a). Lincoln and Ford defines foreign policy as the totality of a country external relations to secure its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

There are various agencies which formulate foreign policy, one of them is PMO. Fareed Zakaria, a neo-classical realist, noted the role of both actor and structure in foreign policy making.

In India, PMO with PM as its head influence foreign policy making with MEA just remains as implementing agencies.

eg: Howdy Modi was decided by PMO, planned by MEA.

K. Subramanian pointed out that in India, no

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foreign policy get sanctions without PM's approval.

With the inclusion of NSA (Ajit Doval), the role of PMO increased further as it has bypassed the MEA. However, after S. Jaishanker being a diplomat- External affairs ministers, he acted as a bridge between PMO and MEA.

Therefore, the role of PMO is supreme in foreign policy alongside taking note from think-tanks, and other ministries.

Thus, leaders too influence the India's foreign policy such as JL Nehru, I. Gandhi, Vajypaee and now PM Modi.

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1(b).

PM Modi described India- Bhutan relationship as deep, because its difficult to understand each other like Bhutan- India do.

India- Bhutan treaty of perpetual peace ~~and~~ and friendship was revised only once in 2007. However, there is a need to revise again.

India holds considerable influence over Bhutan's foreign policy as India is the protector and guide to Bhutan. It is necessary to make it more robust just beyond energy partnership.

Both the countries need to work on infrastructure to tackle the chinese threat of BRI. Recent Doklam clash over Bhutanese region by china was

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prime example when a connectivity between India and Bhutan was seemed necessity.

Further, Chinese talks with Bhutan to solve the border disputes are worrysome for India. It need to keep Bhutan in its own side.

HV Pant noted that Bhutan will not go to china because they do not want any unsustainable projects.

Still, India should focus on its diplomatic engagement and revise the treaty to integrate South Asia more economically.

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1(c). Sushma Swaraj called relationship between India and Nepal as "roti-beti ka rishta".

Both the countries have connected via marriage, trade, movements across borders since ages. However, due to political turmoils, Nepal went close to china and tensions increased between Indo-Nepal.

Recently, Indian government has taken several initiatives to ease such tensions. First, Motihari-amlekhgunj pipeline was started to provide oil-transportation.

second, projects like Pancheswar dam and west seti dam are also getting built.

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Third, twin cities which will connect Lumbini-Bodhgaya, Varanasi-Pashupatinath, and Ayodhya-Janakpur are getting started.

S. Jaishanker recently announced to connect Kathmandu via rail link from Raxaul. This will increase people to people connectivity and help to create a better security community (Karl Deutsch).

Thus, Indo-Nepal focusing on functionalist (David Mitrany) approach to re-initiate the relation after debacles.

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1(d). India is a country of 1.4 billion people with diverse opinions, so, it has its unique role in foreign policy formulation.

Indians through use of public media and precisely social media gave their opinions regarding Indian foreign policy.

eg: voice against terrorist attacks leds to surgical strikes and airstrike against pakistan.

Further India as a hetrogeneous society and diverse culture hugely impact its bilateral relations.

eg: India's policy towards palestine is in view of India's minority.

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Even the huge diaspora is acting as a voice in the foreign policy making. It acts as a tool of soft power for India.

eg: India-USA nuclear civil deal was impacted positively by 40 lakh diasporas.

However, at times it restricts certain harsh actions on governments as recently Indians speaking about minority in Bangladesh. It led to official statements by even PM and MEA.

Thus, role of public opinion ensures deliberative and participative foreign policy.

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1(e). Non Aligned movement was formed after Bandung spirit in 1955 by 5 post-colonial leaders including PM JL Nehru.

India joined NAM to avoid any power blocs just after Independent. JL Nehru called NAM as a platform to avoid the military bloc and decide on the merit of the issue.

Since its inception, India has been the key leader of NAM. India had suggested panch sheel principles that get due recognition from the world leaders.

Eg: Mutual respect, Non-Interference, mutual interests etc

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सिर्फ अभ्यास के लिए

India was a keen participant till 1990 as it was cold war era. Aparna Pandey called NAM as a tool to have relationship with both power Blocs.

However, since the NAM is in coma (C. Raja Mohan) due to agenda deprivation and also India have moved on. S. Jaishanker termed NAM as a specific era concept and now India has moved from non-alignment to multi-alignment (NAM 2.0).

However, PM Modi participation in 2020-NAM summit raised hope to renewal of India's leadership to ensure a leadership of global south.

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Question No. प्रश्न संख्या

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5.(a). S. Jaishanker called India-Bangladesh relationship as "eternal friendship" and have rooted in history, culture and common languages.

Recent dramatic departure of Sheikh Hasina and her arrival in India as per Suhasini Haider can change the dynamics of south Asia. The illegal migration was already an issue termed as Mexico problem by India.

This civil war has aggravated the issue as thousands of Bangladeshi minorities are waiting at borders to get access into Indian borders.

This illegal immigration have caused security challenges such as NRC in Assam. It was conducted to identify the illegal migrants from Bangladesh.

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issue of Rohingyas is not a hidden now which used Bangladesh as a route to arrive in India. SD Pradhan called this as the major national security threats. They are posing extra burden on Indian skewed resources and increases the vulnerability of citizens from security risk.

To counter this, India has tried to follow several steps such as fencing the borders and using sensors to track any movement in the border regions.

Joint patrolling by the army along the vulnerable sections are done to

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identify and send back to their country of origin.

After 2014, several smart fencing projects are installed such as BOLD-QIT along Bangladesh border.

However, recent situation in Bangladesh poses more risks about the illegal immigration of the minorities to save their lives from communal attacks.

Thus, MEA in parliament announced recently to cooperate with Md. Yunus government to ensure safety of minorities that can prevent immigration.

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3(b). George Tanham of RAND corporation argued that Indian political thought lacks strategic culture because they have not researched about national security and interests.

However, Morris Jones calls his view ethnocentric as India too have evidences of strategic culture.

There are several epics which discuss about strategic cultures such as Mahabharta.

Arvind Sharma in his 'essay on Mahabharta' called that if all books on earth gets vanished and only Mahabharta remains, it would be sufficient to answer all the questions.

S. Jaishanker even called

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Lord Krishna and lord Hanuman as the first diplomats of India.

Further, in ancient period, realist scholars like Kautilya has written which talks about "Mandal Siddhant" which is nothing sort of the strategies. That's why Bhikhu Parekh argued Kautilya represents India's realist tradition.

Similarly, Max Muller noted that no where in the world, the political ideas have been dealt in so much depth and length as in India.

Fast forward to modern era, Shinzo Abe was inspired by the writings

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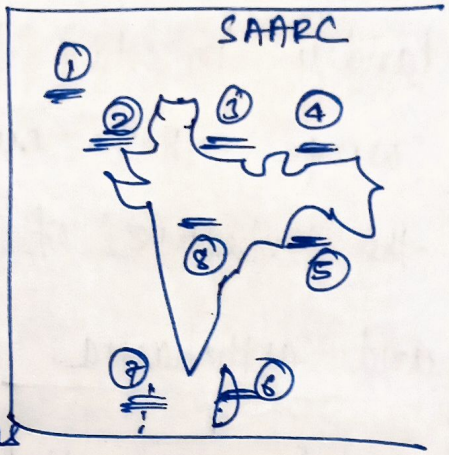
Dara Sikoh (1655) about the "confluence of seas" ie "Indo-Pacific".

Even Aparna Pandey in his "Chankya to Modi" wrote that our policies have been the mixture of both dharmashastra and arthashastra As even NAM had some realist angle.

Thus, SS Menon clarified that westerns don't look at India from Indian lens that's why they do not consider India's strategic culture. They need to change their lenses.

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3(c). SAARC was formed by Dhaka declaration in 1985. It comprises all the 8 nations of South Asia.



It was formed to ensure regional co-operation among south asia in terms of trade, connectivity and knowledge.

Role of SAARC

in regional integration is most discussed as it aims to create a security community (Karl Deutsch) like ASEAN or EU. But, it has not yet get success in that.

However, the fundamental of SAARC like consensus building

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among the members prompt them to co-operate with each other.

As south Asians are mostly post-colonial nations have common history, they can find a reasonable ground to co-operate for a better multi-polar Asia with India at the centre.

Till 2014, there used to be regular SAARC summits but after Pakistan's terror attacks on India, it was abandoned. Raja Mohan calls SAARC has been a slowest caravan due to its slowest camel - Pakistan.

Even, world Bank report titled "half glass full" noticed the low trade

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between SAARC members. It is just 5% intra-trade vis-a-vis 25% (ASEAN) and 40% (EU). Therefore, there is huge scope for regional integration to improve the trade partnerships.

India have initiated several steps like making south Asian university and also proposed to create SAFTA - a free trade agreement between members. But it has not yet finalized.

In the back drop of SAARC's failure, India is moving towards BIMSTEC which is called as SAARC minus Pakistan. It also covers all the SAARC nations

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except Pakistan and Afghanistan.

However, C. Raja Mohan warns India that dysfunctional SAARC will undermine the cohesive South Asia and therefore India's great power status in maintaing regional integration.

It is high time to revive SAARC as it is not just a forum but a necessity for India for peaceful South Asia.

Thus, a revival of SAARC can prove a better way forward along side a strong BIMSTEC.

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Section-B

Question No. प्रश्न संख्या

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5(a). JN Dixit defines foreign policy as a tool and statement of a nation which it holds and present to others.

There are direct influence of ideals of Indian national movement on foreign policy. It shaped our democratic ideals and non-alignment approach.

As India was under colonial rule, therefore it led to bitter colonial legacy and strategic neglect of European colonial powers like Britain in initial years.

Due to its socialist ideology, it had close relationship with USSR during cold war with even continued till today.

Another ideal of civil Liberty had advocated for

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freedom of speech and expression in India and abroad too.

Further, our attitude towards apartheid policy and its vocal criticism in our foreign policy was shaped due to our ideals of national movement.

Moreover, our bilateral relationships with country like Palestine and Israel was shaped by gandhian ideals. As Gandhi had called "Palestine belongs to Arabs in the same manner as france belongs to french and England belongs to English.

Thus, ideals such as secularism, republicanism, socialism has shaped our foreign policy.

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5(b). NAM is the grouping of 120 nations comprising of 55% of the World's population.

India is the founding member of NAM since 1961 at Belgarade. It was also the active participant during cold-war era. However, NIAB chief argued that NAM as a foreign policy concept is now dead.

C. Raja Mohan called it is in coma due to agenda deprivation. As India has moved towards realism since 2014, its role in doubt for Indian think tanks.

However, it still holds relevance, because NAM 2.0 (by Shyam Sharan, Sunil Khilnani).

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provides a new approach in the current geo-political flux. It helps India to get a platform to raise its voice for UNSC reforms.

Adil Rashid

argued that NAM is still in demand because of its non-Committment approaches. As any country can join any grouping even after being in NAM.

India's pragmatic approach should not forget that a new cold war between China-USA is on the anvil.

Thus, NAM 2.0 should prefer strategic alignment with multiple partners.

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5(c). Shashi Tharoor in his "Pax Indica" writes that South east Asia is the only region where India punches beyond its weight.

In the recent decades, India has been emerging as a strategic actor in south-east Asia. It has been the key partner in various forums of ASEANs such as Asian Regional forum, ASEAN defence ministers meet plus, East Asia summit, and many more.

India has itself upgraded its look east policy to Act east policy to provide a better strategic outreach to Asean and Oceania.

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India is engaging countries like Vietnam and Philliphines on defence arena.

eg: Brahmos missiles were bought by Philliphines recently from India

India aiming to secure its "SAGAR" rhetoric with being the net security provider in the Indian ocean. Even our Indo-Pacific discourse is based on Asean centrality that found synergy with Japan's free and open-Inclusive indo-pacific, and south Korea's southern policy.

Thus, India's strategic investments like IMT, Paladan is reaping its benefits.

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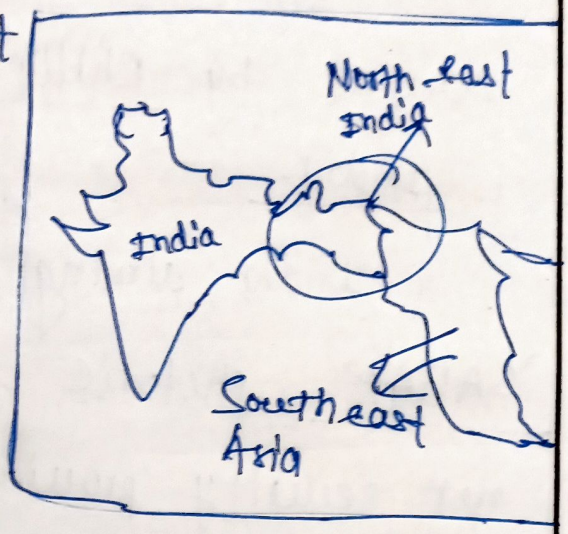
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1.(d). India's north east region is a bridge between south Asia and south east Asia.

As Northeast region is a very sensitive place for India from ethnicity perspectives.



Majority tribal population lives in forests, away from mainstream society, need special care. In this context, the significance of the south-east Asia is huge.

ASEAN nations can provide connectivity via infrastructure developments

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such as Sittwe port and reduce the time between mainland India and north east by bypassing the chicken neck ("Siliguri corridor").

Several ongoing projects like "free-regime movement" across borders ensure tribal connectivity across Myanmar borders.

However, recent coups in Myanmar (2021) and civil unrest in Bangladesh proposes issues over immigration.

Thus, South East Asia provides a bridge between north east and India.

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5(e). South Asia is a diverse region consisting 8 countries such as Nepal, Bhutan, India, sri lanka, Pakistan etc

Despite connected via land borders, the economic integeration is low. World Bank report noted (indicated) just 5% Intra trade between SAARC members.

The challenges in the economic integration are:- Firstly, historical problems such as border disputes causing tensions between nations.

eg: Kashmir, Sir Creek, Lipulekhara etc

Secondly, non-

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Complementary nature of economy ie every country grows rice, wheat, jute that leads to no comparative advantage (Ricardo).

Thirdly, lack of political will to initiate the SAFTA negotiation again that holds the key to increase the trade volume.

However, the situation is getting better with Srilanka ($ 8 Billion trade) and Bangladesh ($ 10 Billion trade). Further, such integration is needed.

Thus, security community (Karl Deutsch) and functionalism (David Mitrany) is the way ahead to integrate.

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6.(a). Look East Policy was started in 1992 when India became orphan after end of cold war due to USSR's dis-integration.

Look East was upgraded to Act East in 2014 to further strengthen the strategic ties with south east Asia and also oceanias.

It initially focused on economic co-operation that later tranformed with strategic and defence partnership with Japan, ASEAN and south Korea etc

However, there are some primary challenges faced by this policy. Firstly, rise of china in terms of its BRI has reduced India's maneoure in ASEAN region.

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Recent Global security initiative by China was launched to counter QUAD and AUKUS in south china sea. It was welcomed by few ASEAN nations.

Secondly, India's projects such as IMT trilateral highways, Mekong Ganga cooperation and Kaladan multi-modal projects have not yet completed due to bureaucratic delays.

Thirdly, regional instability in Myanmar due to coup in 2021 and ethnic violence in Manipur in 2023. It further deteriorated our stance.

To address these challenges, Indian foreign policy have few options. Engaging with like minded nations like USA and its allies to counter the

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Impact of China in the Indo-Pacific as per Niruparna Menon.

India need to strengthen the rhetoric of Quad and SAGAR to become a "net security provider" in the region.

Tackling the red-tapism in the infrastructure projects along side, engaging with Tatmadaw (junta) of myanmar to ensure regional stability.

Thus, Act East policy need a reboot keeping current geo-political flux.

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6(b). Dr. Parthsarthy calls India-Pakistan relationship shaped by a disease named 'allergy' towards each other. As a common history, both are apprehensive about each others' rise in South Asia. This leads to power asymetry illusion in Pakistan. To counter India, they are using terrorism as a state policy.

In context of this, India's approach to Pakistan has changed after 2016- Uri Attack and 2019- balakot attack. Kanti Bajpai have called Indian approach as realistic based on "arthashastric tradition". As per Kautilya, Pakistan is an ari (enemy).

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This has led to more pragmatic outlook towards Pakistan as S. Jaishanker called that "trade and terror" can't go hand in hand.

He even quoted Hillary Clinton's statement that "when you keep snakes in your backward, one day it can also harm you".

Therefore in the recent geo-political flux in South Asia, India has strategically neglected Pakistan both at bilateral and multilateral levels.

eg: Pakistan was not even invited during last 2 PM's ceremony.

After those attacks, India scrapped the

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Most favoured nation (MFN) status to Pakistan and seeking change in Indus water treaty.

The situation has been explained by Stephen Cohen as security dilemma. He calls even after a century of independence (2047), relationship is not going to improve

However, Social constructivists suggest using communication to improve the relations between both the nations. Functionalists prefer "peace by pieces" approach

Yet, Indian approach should be pragmatic that until terrorism remains, India will prefer realist policy

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6.(c). South Asia composed of 8 nations having common history known as Indian subcontinent ("Akhand Bharat"). It was divided after the colonial regime into various small nations like Bangladesh (1971), Pakistan (1947), etc.

This led to **boundary disputes** in south Asia. Reasons are multifaceted such as colonial boundary settlement through Radcliffe commission which did not considered the ground reality.

eg: Lahore and Kartarpur corridor was given to Pakistan despite having Sikh population.

Difficult natural terrain was another reason in

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the himalayan regions such as Siachen and Ladakh. Even, the creeks such as Sir Creek in Gujrat is disputed.

Third reason is political factor which has made the issue for political-election tool.

eg: in every election a dispute came forward, this time it was Katchatheevu island with srilanka.

These disputes have led to challenge in co-operation as countries seek to first solve the disputes, then want to trade.

For example, India-China relation has become worse since Galwan clash over

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Line of Actual control and Tawang clash (2022) over Arunachal pradesh. These clashes have soured the relationship with china. As India banned 220 plus chinese apps and also banned chinese investors in road projects.

Further, with Bangladesh the boundary disputes was solved via 100th CAA - but still issue over water disputes remain. As 77% teesta are discussed, still 23% are un-settled.

Sheikh Hasina called this as the litmus test of India-Bangladesh relationship.

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Even with Nepal, over Limpiyudhara- Kalapani in the western sector of Nepal. It became a major issue for roadblock between both. It further deteriorated the co-operation and Nepal went closer to China by signing Pokhran and other projects.

Therefore, using neo-functionalism (Ernst Hass) approach, such disputes can be solved in the long run to ensure better Security community (Karl Deutsch).

Thus, South Asian nations should use SAARC as a platform to discuss such issues.

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7(a). South Asian nations are co-operating on several projects to connect road, rails and even air-ways.

Despite having uneven relationship due to political turmoil in Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Talibhan (Afghanistan), recent Bangladesh etc. All nations have focused on improving the connectivity.

Firstly, Bangladesh-India-Bhutan-Nepal (BBIN) motor vehicle act was signed to provide seamless connectivity among members.

secondly, Akhaura rail link, Maitree express, Maitri Setu and Bandhan express with Bangladesh was started.

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Recently, Ganga-Vilas cruise ship was inaugurated which pass via Bangladesh.

Thirdly, Motihari-Amlekhgunj pipeline was started to provide 24/7 oil to Nepal without any hindrances. S. Jaishankar announced a new rail link between Raxaul and Kathmandu is on progress.

Fourthly, India is building road network from Assam, Arunachal pradesh to Bhutan as a strategic projects. Recently, a rail link was announced by S. Jaishankar between Assam and Bhutan. It will connect Gelephu - a proposed SEZ.

Fifthly, Kartarpur Corridor was opened for Sikh

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pilgrimages without any visa. It is an unprecedented cooperation between India and Pakistan.

Further, several projects like IMT trilateral highway, Sittwe port, Paladan multi-modal port etc are getting built.

Even with China, BCIM corridor is getting on the cards connecting Bangladesh, China, India and Myanmar.

However, fund delay and red tapism need to be addressed to complete these projects on time.

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7(b). ss Menon in his "choices" writes Srilanka is the air craft carrier in the Indian ocean. So, it holds prime importance for India's neighbourhood first policy.

India-srilanka has shared common history and it led to impact of domestic politics on its foreign relation. As a significant population of Tamils live in the northern part of Srilanka surrounding Jaffna.

Impacts of Tamil Nadu government as a determinant is huge due to its direct connectivity via Adam Bridge. The issue of LTTE had impacted previous regimes.

Further, the current demand over hold of

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Katchatheevu Island by India was again on the table.

As a federal system of government, state impact largely in MEA's decisions. For eg: issue of fishermen arrests led to establishment of joint patrol team and even co-ordination centre between both to tackle this issue.

However, in the recent geo-political flux, India is more pragmatic in its approach towards Sri Lanka as China is building its presence via string of pearls.

China has built Habantota port as a

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Shippment hub in the south Srilanka that can impact 70% of India's cargo movement that pass via Sri lanka.

Despite this, India is investing heavily in Srilanka over projects such as padaly airport and Trincomalee pipeline. It is the region of great game (Harsh Pant) that's why India is leaving its domestic politics to ensure its international politics.

Thus, Raja-paksha called every nation is Srilanka's friend but India is a relative.

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7(c). India- Maldives relationship dates back to history as both share same culture, language, religion. India was the one of first country to recognize Maldives in 1965.

Relationship improved through diplomatic helps during coup tries in 1988, tsunami help in 2004, and ops Neer (2014) supports.

However, after the departure of India friendly "Solih" and arrival of president "Muizzu" has made situation difficult for India. As Muizzu won the election over "India-out campaign" and it fulfilled its promise.

India had to swallow a harsh pill by withdrawing its troops from Maldives after

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Muizzu's request to India. It led to decline in diplomatic relationship further after the PM's visit to Lakshadeep this year.

It led to harsh comments from Muizzu's ministers that led to diplomatic turmoil between both embassy.

The challenges do not stop here but it was further increased when "Muizzu" broke the tradition of not visiting India - first as a diplomatic trip. He preferred China first. His attitude towards China is crystal clear with "India out" approach.

These challenges can create several impact on India's strategic interests in the Indian Ocean region. India will find

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difficult to manoeuvre a hostile neighbour along side Chinese-puppet Srilanka.

The idea of "SAGAR" and dream of "net security provider" in the IOR will become difficult to achieve.

The rhetoric of Indo-Pacific will also be in backyard because Indian ocean is the subset of Indo-Pacific. S. Jaishanker writes in "The India way" that Indo-Pacific can't be strong with strong Indian ocean.

Further, the Chinese friendly regime in Indian ocean will be difficult to manage as China is sending

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surveillence vessel in the ocean.

eg: Yang Wi 5 visited Srilanka for so-called research purpose but it was for surveillence.

Therefore, Suhasini Haider suggest India to abjures its "muscular outlook" in South Asia and broadnes the relations with neighbours. India should not favour one side in neighbours but promote plurality both inside and outside.

She concludes that "if you want to grow a crop for a year, grow corn, but if want for eternities, then sow democratic values". This holds significance for Indian foreign policy with respect to Maldives and South Asia.