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FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA AND THE STATE OF SIKKIM: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE OF TRANS-NATIONAL BOUNDARIES IN NATHULA REGION

DHANRAJ RAI ASST. PROFESSOR SIKKIM GOVERNMENT COLLEGE GYALSHING

ABSTRACT

Trans-national boundaries of India are the determining factor of the Foreign Policy of India. In today's highly competitive and globalize society the foreign Policy of a nation plays pivotal role for the development of the nation and its security as a whole. This study aims to analyze the foreign policy of India with China (Panchsheel: the five principles of peaceful co-existence agreement between India and china) and the role of the boundaries of the state of Sikkim. The Aims and objectives of the above area of study help us to understand the foreign policy of India with china and the security system of India in the trans-national boundaries of Sikkim.

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KEYWORDS

Trans-national, Panchsheel, Foreign Policy, peaceful co-existence, trans-national boundaries of India in the region of Sikkim.

1.1. INTRODUCTION: MEANING OF FOREIGN POLICY

oreign policy of country is also called *"Foreign relations policy or International Relations or International Politics (relationship between two or more countries)";* it consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests, national development, and national security and to achieve its goals within international relations. Foreign policy or international Relation is the struggle for power like international politics according to Hans J. Morgenthau. The various approaches of foreign policy explained that it is the diplomatic relation among the nation to achieve national interest and economic development. Foreign policy strategically employed to interact with other countries. The concept or the idea of foreign policy emerged after the end of two world wars. In recent times, due to the deepening levels of globalization and trans-national activities, the states will also have to interact with non-state actors like non-governmental organization, international institutions, religious institutions, international issues like global warming, human rights, international terrorisms etc.

Foreign policy or international relation plays pivotal role in this present era of globalization. Globalization is the process of world becoming global village due to the development of science and technology. No country is isolated with one another in this era of high-tech technological competitive world. So foreign policy of a country provides that ground where nation can achieve its goals and development.

The aforementioned meaning, aims and objectives of the foreign policy interaction is evaluated and monitored in attempts to maximize the benefits of multilateral international cooperation. Since the national interests are paramount, foreign policies are designed by the government through high –level decision making processes. National interest's accomplishment can occur as a result of peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through exploitation. Usually, creating foreign policy is the job of the head of the government and the foreign minister (or equivalent). In the some countries the legislature also has considerable oversight.

1.2 INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY [HISTORICAL BACKGROUND]

In the year 1947 India got independence from the colonial rule of Great Britain. When India won her freedom she was backward country in many fields such as industrially and technologically underdeveloped and militarily very weak. Partition of Pakistan was another big challenge before the independent India at the same time world was divided into two power blocs, United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and the United States of America (USA) bloc and there were no choice for the rest of the nations but had to join any of the power blocs. But after the independence, India followed the principle of Non-Alignment Movement [NAM] under the Prime Minister Jawarhar Lal Nehru. India followed the principle of NAM under the leadership of Nehru for:

- 1. National security, which means the maintenance of the country's territorial integrity and the political sovereignty.
- 2. National development (particularly raising the living standards of the country's people as whole.
- 3. To establish friendly relation with both the power blocs and not to join either of the power blocs.
- 4. To promote industrial and technological development.
- 5. To promote development of agriculture and economy
- 6. To promote international peace and harmony.

India's foreign policy has gone through three important phases. In the first phase between the year 1947 to 1967, India established itself as a non-align state. Though being criticized for this step the United States and the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Jawarhar Lal Nehru wanted India to act as a neutral mediator on global issues and a leading proponent of decolonization which gained him exceptional respect from African and Asian countries. Yet the first era of Indian foreign policy was also marked by a defeat against China in 1962 and consequently its first setback.

The second phase from 1967 to 1997 was dominated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi whose idea to bring India back to international relevance included a shift from a global to a regional role, economic development and most importantly the demand for technological innovation. In 1974, India conducted its first nuclear tests, catapulting itself back to top of the international agenda. With the successful intervention in the Bangladesh Independence war in 1971, India became the dominant power in the South Asia. Indira Gandhi's successors, Rajiv Gandhi and Narasima Rao, continued to develop India's Image in the world by improving relations with China and introducing economics reform in 1991.

The most recent period from 1997 to 2007 is said to be the most significant as well as worst episode of Indian foreign policy. In 1998, India once again conducted nuclear tests and was harshly criticized by the international community. The US demanded severe measures which included isolation and sanction. However, by the beginning of the new century India's image has changed positively due to the access to its markets for foreign policy investment and the high reputation of Indian communities abroad.

India's defense and security policy is an integral part of its foreign policy given the unsettled neighborhood in its periphery. India has been global power in the history along with China and the center from where British power emanated into the rest of the region. Hence, from a historical context and in its cultural linkages, India should be seen as a leading power in Southeast Asia. However, External security concerns are liked with a domestic security base, requiring the strengthening of resources within, particularly energy resources essential for national growth and assured deterrent capability against foreign threats. India's defense strategy took a serious turn with the setback suffered in the Chinese aggression of 1962. Presently, India's defense policy is based on the twin pillars of deterrence and discussion. This is to achieve a secure border as well as prevent external aggression. Another pillar of Indian defense policy is its international dimension. This responsibility is enshrined in the Indian Constitution and calls upon the nation to remain actively involved in maintaining international peace. India believes in fulfilling this responsibility entirely through the United Nation Organization (UNO) and therefore, has over the years played a leading role in its

peacekeeping endeavors. A final pillar of its defense policy in the last decade and more is strong partnership with the United States against terrorism and strengthening international security. While not quite an alliance, this strategic partnership is both substantive and meaningful.

1.3. PRINCIPLES OF FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA

The foreign policy of India essentially was based on the principles that had guided the congress in the pre-independence period.

However, the principle on which India's foreign policy based on may be discussed as follows:

- 1. First is the promotion on international peace. In fact, Gandhiji's legacy of pacifism lies behind India's continues endeavor for peace. India's mission was to maintain friendly and cooperative relation with all the nations
- 2. Second principle is the freedom of nations. India was and is a firm believer in the freedom of nations. She opposed to any sort of imposition of one country upon the other.
- 3. Third, India having suffered all the evils of colonialism and imperialist domination she is committed to this cause. For his reason India has taken a firm stand on racial discrimination and colonial issues in the United Nations [UN]
- 4. Fourth, another principle of India's foreign policy is to maintain clear distance from two power blocs. India wants to be able to determine her foreign policy independently.
- 5. Panchsheel [five principles of peaceful co-existence]: the five principles of peaceful co-existence is another important principles of foreign policy of India, the Panchsheel is the peaceful Treaty between India and China which means. [panch means five, sheel means virtues] are the set of principles to govern relations between States. Their first formal codification of the treaty of Panchsheel was signed between India and China in 29th April 1954 at Peking. This agreement stated the five principles as:
- a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- b) Mutual non-aggression,
- c) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
- d) Equality and mutual benefit, and
- e) Peaceful co-existence.
- 1.4. OUTLINE OF THE PAPER IN THE LIGHT OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA AND THE STATE OF SIKKIM [SPECIAL REFERENCE WITH THE TRANS-NATIONAL BOUNDARIES IN NATHULA REGION]

Currently, the FOREIGN POLICY OF AND THE STATE OF SIKKIM [SPECIAL REFERENCE WITH THE TRANS-NATIONAL BOUNDARIES IN NATHULA REGION] has chosen the area study Nathula region of Sikkim in respect of the foreign policy of India, which is important strategic area for whole of India and its territorial security. State of Sikkim in region of Nathula is chosen as main area of study because Indo-China border is situated in this region which is the strategic area for India while formulating its foreign policy.

The present paper tries to explore the possibilities of implementing the important issues of Sikkim in the region of Nathula in respect of the trans-national border of India and China. Sikkim is the strategic place as far as India's security is concerned, so this paper tries to focus the urgent necessary to look after the area of Sikkim while formulating the foreign policy of India especially with China.

Foreign policy of India and the state of Sikkim [Special reference with the trans-national boundaries in Nathula region] is tried to explain the urgent need to be focused by the foreign policy makers of India.

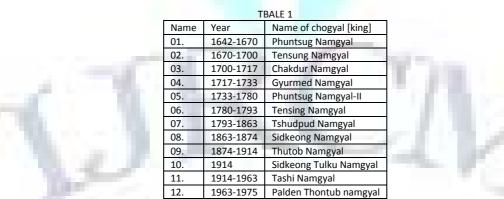
2.1. INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: AREA STUDY OF SIKKIM IN NATHULA REGION

Sikkim is the integral part of India and one of the most peaceful state as well as it is a strategic place. Initially, Sikkim remained an independent monarchial state, however in 16th may 1975, ita subjects voted by plebiscite to become a 22nd state of Indian union. Sikkim had retained guarantees of independence from Britain when she became independent, and such guarantees were transferred to the Indian government when it gained independence in 1947.a popular vote for Sikkim to join the Indian Union failed and Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru agreed to give special protectorate status for Sikkim.

Sikkim was to be a tributary of India, in which India controlled its external defense, diplomacy and communication. A state council of India was established in the year 1953 to allow for constitutional government for the Chogyal (king), which was sustained till 1973. Sikkim is strategic area because Sino- Indo border is situated in the area of Sikkim, and China cannot be trustworthy with India. In 1962, India and the china or People's Republic of China (PRC) went to war. Although Sikkim was an independent country, skirmishes occurred at the Nathula Pass between Indian border guards and the Chinese soldiers. After the war, the ancient pass was shut down (it reopened in 6th July 2006). This is how Sikkim needs special attention while making India's foreign policy.

2.2. HISTORY OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF SIKKIM

Before 16th May 1975 Sikkim was independent country ruled by and administered by its own Chogyals (kings). The chogyal or divine ruler of independent Monarchial country of Sikkim has absolute power and authority who ruled Sikkim almost four hundred century from 1642 to 1975. Sikkim was ruled by the Namgyal Dynasty (also called the Chogyal Monarchy) from 1642 to 1975, the following are the *Sikkim's chogyal (kings) in chronological order:*



2.3. SIKKIM AS 22ND STATE OF INDIA

In early 1970 the anti-monarchy Sikkim National Congress Party demanded fresh election and greater representation for the Nepalese. In 1973, anti-royal riots in the front of the palace led to a formal request for protection from India. India worried that an unstable Sikkim would invite China to act on its claims that Sikkim was a part of Tibet, and therefore part of China. The Indian government appointed a chief administrator, Mr. B. S. Das, who effectively wrested control of the country away from the Chogyal

Firstly relation between the chogyal and the elected Kazi Lhendup Doajee (first Chief Minister of Sikkim) resulted in attempt to block the meeting of the legislature. The Kazi was elected by the Council of Ministers which was unanimous in its opposition to the retention of the Monarchy.

Indian reserve police were moved in and took control of the streets of Gangtok (the present capital of Sikkim), the borders were closed and little was known until American climber Caril Ridley happened into the capital and was able to smuggle photos and legal documentation out. When confirmed by China, India's actions were brought into the spot light of the world awareness, however history had already been written and matters came to a head in 1975, when the Kazi (first Chief Minister of Sikkim) appealed to the India Parliament for representation and change of the status to statehood. On April 14, 1975, a referendum was held, in which Sikkim voted to merge with the union of India. Sikkim became the 22nd Indian State on 16th April 1975. On 16th May 1975, Sikkim officially

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became a state of the Indian Union and Kazi Lhendup Dorjee Khangsherpa became the head of the state I' e Chief Minister. This was recognized by the United Nations [UN] and all the countries except china.

2.4. NATHU LA PASS: A BRIEF HISTORY

Nathu La is located on the 563 km Old Silk Route, an offshoot of the historic Silk Road. The Old Silk Route connects Lhasa in Tibet to the plains of Bengal to the south. In 1815, the trade volumes increased after the British annexed territories belonging to the Sikkimese, Nepalese, and Bhutanese. The potential of Nathu La was released in 1873, after the Darjeeling Deputy Commissioner published a report on the strategic importance of mountain passes between Sikkim and Tibet. In December 1893, the Sikkimese Monarchy and Tibetan rulers signed an agreement to increase trade between the two Nations. The agreement culminated in 1894 when the trade pass was opened.

Nathu La is a mountain pass in the Himalayas. It connects the Indian state of Sikkim with China's Tibet Autonomous Region. The pass at 4310 m (14, 140 ft) above mean sea level [citation needed], forms a part of an offshoot of the ancient Silk Road. Nathu means "listening ears" and La means "pass" in Tibetan. On the Indian side, the pass is 54 km 34 (Miles) east of Gangtok, the capital of Indian state of Sikkim on JN Marg and only citizens of India can visits the pass, that too after obtaining a permit in Gnagtok.

Nathu La is one of the three open trading border posts between China and India; the other two are Shipkila in Himalchal Pradesh and Lipulakh (or Lipulech) in Uttarakhand. Sealed by India after the 1962 Sino-India war, Nathu La was re-opened in 2006 following numerous bilateral trade agreements. The opening of the pass was expected to bolster the economy of the region and play a key role in the growing Sino-Indian trade but that has not happened. Currently, agreements between the two nations limit trade across the pass to 29 types of goods from India and 15 from the Chinese side. The opening also shortens the travel distance to important Hindu and Buddhist pilgrimage site in the region.

2.5. NATHU LA PASS: AN INDO-CHINA BORDER

The Nathula is the connection between the Indian states of Sikkim with China's Tibetan Autonomous Region and it is the place where India shares its border with China. Nathu La is one of the three open trading border posts between China and India; the other two are Shipkila in Himalchal Pradesh and Lipulakh (or Lipulech) in Uttarakhand. Sealed by India after the 1962 Sino-India war, Nathu La was re-opened in 2006 following numerous bilateral trade agreements. The opening of the pass was expected to bolster the economy of the region and play a key role in the growing Sino-Indian trade but that has not happened. Currently, agreements between the two nations limit trade across the pass to 29 types of goods from India and 15 from the Chinese side. Until the year 1962, before the pass was ealed, goods such as pens, watches, cereals, cotton, cloths, edible oils soaps, building materials, and dismantled scooters and four-wheelers were exported to Tibet through the pass on mule-back. Two hundred mules, each carrying about 80 kg of load were used to ferry goods from Gangtok to Lhasa, which used to take 20-25 days. Upon return, silk, raw wool, musk pods, medicinal plants, country liquor, precious stones, gold and silverware were imported into India. Most of the trade in those days was carried out by the Marwari community, which owned 95% of the 200 authorized firms.

Since July 2006, trading is open Mondays through Thursdays. Exports from India exempted from duty include agricultural implement, blankets, copper products, clothes, cycles, coffee, tea, barley, rice, wheat, flour, dry fruits, vegetables, vegetable oils, tobacco, snuff, spices, shoes, kerosene oil, stationary, utensils,, milk processed products, canned food, dyes, and local herbs. Chinese exports to india exempted from duty include goat skin, wool, raw silk, yak tail, yak hair, China clay, borax, butter, common salt, horses, goats, and sheep. Restrictions are placed on traders, with permits only given to those who were Sikkimese citizens before kingdom merged with India in 1975.

There were fears among some traders in India that Indians goods would find a limited outlet in Tibet, while China would have access to ready market in Sikkim and West Bengal. The reopening of the pass was expected to stimulate the economy of the region and bolster Indo-Chinese trade but this has not happened. Figures released by the Tibet Autonomous Regional Bureau of Commence show that in the 51 days of trading in 2006, only US \$ 186250 worth of trade passed through Nathu La.

3. NATHU LA; A STRATEGIC PLACE

Nathu la as far as India's is National Security as well as National Development is concerned is a strategic place. It is strategic place because out here India shares its borders with China which means it is strategic and as we can say it is war prone zone. At the same time it is the trade centre between two super powers India and China which determines the economic goals.

After the People's Republic of China took control of Tibet in 1950and suppressed a Tibetan uprising in 1959, the passes into Sikkim became a conduit for refugees from Tibet. During the 1962 Sino-Indian War, Nathula witnessed skirmishes between soldiers of the two countries. Shortly thereafter, the passage was sealed and remained closed for more than four decades. Between 7 and 13 September 1967, China's People's Liberation Army and the Indian Army had six-day "border skirmishes", including the exchange of heavy artillery fire. In 1975, Sikkim acceded to India and Nathu La became part of Indian Territory. China however, refused to acknowledge the accession at that time. So the state of Sikkim is important area to be focused by the policy makers in respect with China India's foreign policy makers should take positive steps towards the betterment of its relation with China especially in this region because china already attacked India from this region. Moreover we can say it is war zone area.

4. MATERIALS AND METHOD USED

Materials and method used in this paper are given in the following sub-headings;

4.1. SAMPLING AND SELECTION

The study in based on practical analysis of the foreign policy of India, Panchsheel [the principles of peaceful co-existence] with China and the resources and utilization pattern survey of the village named Narhu La situated in Sikkim the 22nd state of India. The Nathula is located in the state of Sikkim. The location for the seminar paper that is Nathu La is selected for the present study due to strategic region like it is the place of Trans-National boundaries between India and China; it is also international trade center and War Prone Zone

The above study tries to prove the paradigm that the state of Sikkim is important place [especially the Nathula region where two great nations meet]. It is important place for India for both security and national economic development. Above study can contribute to the foreign policy makers of India to formulate its foreign policy with China in consideration of above region.

The Nathula region becomes region of economic development or the region of war in near future. International Relation Management practiced through people's participation in a developing country like India, can contribute to sustainable foreign relation management and hence efficient cooperation prevail in International Relation.

4.2. TOOLS USED

In order to gather the requisite information, the collection of data method was adopted. In this collection of data the sampling intensity was 90%. The information was collected through reading different books related with the Foreign Policy of India and the books related to the state of Sikkim, gathered information by reading various journals, magazines, and various published articles and so on

Data is also collected from various website and different administrative Institutions of Sikkim. Data is collected and information are gathered from various press as well as news letter from in and around of Sikkim. Collected data is systematically analyzed and explained accordingly.

4.3. LOCATION OF THE SITE [NATHU LA]

As discussed earlier the region of Nathula as the strategic place of India. Nathula is a mountain pass in the Himalayas. It is the place of trans-national border between India and China. It connects the Indian state of Sikkim with China's Tibet Autonomous Region. The pass, at 4,310 m (14,140ft) above mean sea levels, forms a part os an offshoot of the ancient Silk Road. Nathu means "listening ears", La means "pass" in Tibetan language. On the Indian side, the pass is 54km (34miles) east of Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim.only the citizens of India can visits the Nathula pass, that too after obtaining a permit in Gangtok.

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raised in 1873, after the Darjeeling Deputy Commissioner published a report on the strategic importance of Mountain Passes between Sikkim and Tibet. In December 1893, the Sikkim's Monarchy and Tibetan rulers signed an agreement to increase trade between the two Nations. The agreement culminated in 1894 when the trade pass was opened.

Nathu La is one of the three open trading border posts between China and India; the other two are Shipkila in Himalchal Predesh and Liphulekh (or Liphulech) in Uttarakhand. Nathula was sealed by India after 1962 Sino-Indo war, nathu la was re-opened in 2006 foloeing bi lateral trade agreements. The opening of the pass was expected to bolster the economy of region and play a key role in the growing Sino-Indian trade but that has not happened. Currently, agreement between the two nations limits the trade across the pass to 29 types of goods from India and 15 from China. The opening also shortens the travel distance to important Hindu and Bhiddist pilgrimage sites in the region. Nathu la pass, Indo-Chaina border played pivotal role in 1903-1904 British expedition to Tibet, which sought to prevent the Russian Empire from interfering in Tibetan affairs and thus gaining a foothold in the region. In 1905, Major Francis Young husband, serving as the British Commissioner to Tibet, led a successful mission through Nathu La to capture Lhasa. This led to the setting up of trading posts at Gyants0 and Gartok in Tibet, and gave control of the surrounding Chumbi Valley to the British. The following November, China and Great Britain ratified an agreement approving trade between Sikkim and Tibet.

After the People's Republic of China took control of Tibet in 1950 and suppressed a Tibetan uprising in 1959, the passes into Sikkim became conduit for refugees from Tibet. During the 1962 Sino-Indian war, Nathula witnessed skirmishes between soldiers of the two countries. Shortly thereafter, the passage was sealed and remained closed for more than four decades. Between 7 and 13 September 1967, China's People's Liberation Army and the Indian Army had six-day "border skirmishes", including the exchange of heavy artillery fire. In 1975, Sikkim acceded to India and Nathu La became part of Indian Territory. China, however, refused to acknowledge the accession at that time.

In 2003, with the thawing of Sino-Indian relations, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to China led to the resumption of talks on the opening the border. Later in 2004, the Indian Defense Minister's visit to China led to the formal opening of the pass. The opening, originally scheduled for 2nd October 2005, was proposed due to last minute infrastructure problems on the Chinese side. Finally, after a decade of talks, Nathu La was opened on 6th July 2006. The date of the reopening coincided with the birthday of Dalai Lama. In the years before the opening, the only person permitted to cross the barbed-wire frontier was a Chinese postman with an Indian military escort, who would hand over mail to his Indian counterpart in a building at the border. The event also formally recognizes Tibet as part of China by India and Sikkim's accession.

The opening of the pass was marked by a ceremony on the Indian that was attended by officials from both countries. A delegation of 100 trades from India and 100 Tibetans crossed the border to respective trading towns. Despite heavy rain and chilly winds, the ceremony was marked by attendance of many officials, locals, and internationals and local media. The barbed wire fence between India and China was replaced by a 10 m (30ft) wide stone walled passageway. Is was also decided to mark the year 2006 as the year of Sino-Indian Friendship.

5. RESULTS AND FINDINGS

5.1. FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA AND ROLE OF SIKKIM

In spite of the geographical pressure on the Indian nation, in the site of Nathu La areas of Sikkim show a sustainable growth in its foreign policy relations. Sikkim plays important role for the accomplishing India's Foreign Relations with China through Nathu La Pass which is one of the three connections between India and China.

5.2. FOREIGN POLICY WITH CHINA

The relationship with China is based on Panchsheel the Five Principles of Peaceful co-existence without interfering each other's territorial integrity.

5.3. NATHU LA A DIPLOMATIC PLACE

Nathu la found in above study as a strategic place for both India and China as far as International Trade and International Security is concerned. Nathu La is the connection between India and China where international trade is being happened. It is important place for economic development because it is the international trade center and at the same time it is important place for national security. As far as national security is concerned Nathu La Pass of Sikkim is important area to be focused because we can't trust China. The India's relationship with China is always bitter because history witnessed itself. In the year 1962 China attacked India in spite of having Panchsheel. So it is important for India to considered state of Sikkim as war zone region.

6. CONCLUSION

The "FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA AND THE STATE OF SIKKIM [SPECIAL REFERENCE WITH THE TRANS-NATIONAL BOUNDARIES IN NATHULA REGION]" deals with the various stages of the Foreign Policy of India right after the independence. India' foreign policy passed through different stages from Non-Alignment Movement [NAM]. It is the main principles of India's foreign policy for almost three decades from its freed. The main principles of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) were the National Security and to safeguard its territorial integrity and political sovereignty, National Development (particularly raising the living standards of the people of India as a whole), to establish friendly relation with both the power blocs and not to join either of the power, to promote the industrial and technological development, to promote the development of agriculture and economy of India and to promote International Peace and Harmony as whole.

The foreign policy of India has gone through different phases. In the first phase 1947to 1967, India established itself as non-align state. The second period from 1967-1997 was by Mrs. Indira Gandhi whose idea to bring India back to International Relevance included a shift from a global ta a regional role, economic development and most importantly the demand for technological innovation. The most recent period from 1997to 2007 is said to be the most significant as well as the worst episode of Indian Foreign Policy. In 1998, India once again conducted nuclear tests and was harshly criticized by the international community. The US demanded severe measures which included isolation and sanctions. However, by the beginning of the new century India's image has changed positively due to the access to its markets for foreign investment and the high reputation of Indian Communities abroad

However India's defense and security policy is an integral part of its foreign policy. Protection of its national territorial integrity and sovereignty is another important element of the foreign policy of India.

Above area of study in Nathu la region of Sikkim is strategic place while defense and security is concerned. Praeent paper tries to focused the importance of Nathu La region because it connect India and China. Nathula connects India and China which will be the area of war and aggression as already took place.above study explained the urgent need to be focused by the foreign policy makers in the area of Nathula Pass to maintain cordial relation with Chaina.

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