China’s Approach Towards Kashmir Conflict: A Viable Solution

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Abstract

Kashmir is the most beautiful place on the earth which is always under the shadows of fear due to relentless humanity. Kashmir is a disputed territory between India and Pakistan and its occupation is divided amidst three states, Pakistan, India and China. Over the time, China adopted different policies regarding this issue. China has interests in both Indian occupied Kashmir as well as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. These interests are purely related to energy and military superiority of India. In South Asian region, China considers India a big rival and in order to counter India, it supports Pakistan. Both Pakistan and China maintained strong strategic partnership in all circumstances and China supported Pakistan at the time of military conflict between Pakistan and India. Currently, China is in favor of some peaceful solution of Kashmir by both South Asian Nations.

Introduction

Kashmir is a landlocked territory which is surrounded by Pakistan, India, China and Afghanistan. It covers the area of 86,000 square miles and the homeland of thirteen million people. In this population Muslims are in majority and roots of this issue lies between Pakistan and India territorial dispute. It is surrounded by great Himalayas and origin point of many rivers. Due to natural beauty of the valley it is called Paradise on Earth. In term of territorial control India occupies 45 percent of Kashmir, Pakistan occupies 35 percent while China occupies 20 percent.

Kashmir is a deep rooted and historic conflict between
India and Pakistan. Rivalry between two South Asian nations on this issue is increasing concerns for international peace and security. Both nations fought three major wars and one major conflict over the issue. Now beyond these this conflict overlaps with security issue, ethnic conflict, cross border terrorism, human rights violations and nuclear proliferation in South Asia. United Nations has failed to implement its decision regarding the future of Kashmir. Similarly, diplomatic pressure of international community and military intervention of both nations cannot bring about any suitable solution of the dispute. So, there were many efforts initiated regarding the peaceful solution of dispute but all remained in vain.

China is not a South Asian country but it has grave concern in South Asian region. China shares its border with Kashmir and has also occupied one-fifth part of that territory. It adopted different policies on different times but one or another way it supported Pakistan. A strong Pakistan in South Asian region is necessary for China because a strong Pakistan will balance India which is China’s competitor or rival in this region. China supported Pakistan on different occasions and it shares some sentiments with Kashmiri people.

China has some favorable sentiments towards Kashmiri people which can be explained as following:-

1. In 2009, China invited Mirwaiz Umer Farooq the leader and president of All-Parties Hurriyat Conference. He was first time invited for official visit to China. This thing was very significant for internationalizing the Kashmir cause.¹
2. In 2009, China adopted separate visa policy for Indian administrated Kashmir but no policy was made regarding Pakistan’s Occupied Kashmiri people. This thing shows that in the view of China, Indian official view point that Kahmir is not internal part of India is a direct rebuke.
3. China refused to issue visa to Lt. Gen B S Jaswal who was the head of Indian army northern command and was serving

in Indian Occupied Kashmir. This thing sent a clear message that China will not welcome any official of Indian military serving in disputed territory.

4. Lastly, China invested billions of dollars on different energy and power generation projects on both sides of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and similarly in Gilgit-Baltistan region. There is a clear-cut difference in China’s approach regarding both sides of Kashmir. China has refused to accept Indian control of Kashmir and considers it as disputed territory while on other side it is actively involved, on Pakistan’s side and perceives this control as legitimate.²

Geo-Strategic Significance of Kashmir for China

Geo-Strategic importance of Kashmir for China lies in its geo-strategic location. Silk Route which is very vital for China connects China with Pakistan and passes through Kashmir. This Silk Route is also very important because it allows China to maintain preferable military position over India which is its biggest enemy in the region. In Kashmir valley through Gilgit, China can penetrate inside India deeply. Other than Silk Route, Siachen Glacier also has geo-political significance in China’s calculations. Through Siachen Glacier both China and Pakistan can undermine Indian security. This Glacier is a natural barrier but if both Pakistan and China think over it in future, they can create a powerful military force against India on this side.³

As China is world’s fastest growing economic power, it needs massive energy reserves in order to maintain its status. Currently China is focusing on resource rich areas for acquisition of natural reserves. For the supply of raw material China constructed Karakoram high way in Pakistan side Kashmir through which it can gain access to all parts of the

Understanding China’s Policy towards Kashmir Conflict

China’s policy towards Kashmir can be understood in larger South Asian context. In South Asia, China is interested in securing its strategic interests and improving its bilateral ties with both India and Pakistan. At start, China adopted the policy of neutrality over Kashmir conflict but later on it supported Pakistan in all Indo-Pak conflicts. The reason behind this was to demonstrate its solidarity to ‘All Weather Friendship’. Later on it changed itself to its earlier position of neutrality. China’s concerns over Kashmir were increased when both India and Pakistan declared themselves as nuclear states. China was extremely worried that the escalation of conflict over Kashmir can increase the chances of nuclear exchange and its effects would be horrible.

China is interested in reduction of tension between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. China highly appreciated and encouraged the efforts of ceasefire on line of control, defense secretary meetings regarding demilitarization of Siachen Glacier and opening bus service between Pakistan and India. Different Chinese analysts have viewpoint that by adopting above measures both can gain mutual benefit.

China in its policy regarding Kashmir maintains the tilt towards Pakistan’s viewpoint. China considers Kashmir as disputed territory between India and Pakistan and rejects Indian claim that Kashmir is its integral part. However, its policies towards Kashmir changed from time to time and offered

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different methods of resolving Kashmir dispute. China’s policy
towards Kashmir is largely based on its policy towards South
Asia. Generally in larger context, China’s policies are based on
its interests in South Asia and particularly bilateral ones with
both India and Pakistan.⁷

China has following six different policies towards Kashmir:-

1. China’s official declared position over the Kashmir dispute.
2. China’s military assistance to Pakistan during Pak-India
   confrontation over Kashmir.
3. Support military assistance to Pakistan regardless of conflict
   with India over Kashmir.
4. China’s view regarding modalities appropriate for dealing
   with Kashmir conflict.
5. Beijing’s interests and latent policies regarding the possible
   solution of Kashmir conflict.
6. China uses Kashmir to attain diplomatic leverage with
   Washington and New Delhi.⁸

**China and Kashmir during Cold War Period**

In the beginning, China remained neutral and restrained
itself from taking side of India and Pakistan over Kashmir. It
remained neutral till Pakistan joined west’s sponsored alliances.
After the joining of these alliances, China showed certain
reservations on Pakistan’s policy and remained cautious in
dealing with Pakistan. In 1957, China’s Premier visited Ceylon,
Where both China and Ceylon Prime Ministers gave statement
that Pakistan and India should resolve the issue bilaterally
through peaceful means.⁹ At that spot China was not in favor of
sending UN troops inside Kashmir. In those years, relations
between Pakistan and China were at the low level. The lowest
point can be observed on China’s reservations when Pakistan

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⁷ Dai, Y. (September 2001). China’s Influence on South Asian Security and
   University Press, p. 331.
offered China for the democratization of the borders.

The border agreement between Pakistan and China (1963) rejected China’s cautions on Kashmir. The text of article six of this agreement showed that the agreement would be renegotiated by sovereign authorities of both sides after the settlement of Kashmir dispute. However, China remained neutral over Kashmir issue during that period. A clear shift in China policy towards Pakistan was observed after Indo-China 1962 border conflict. In the same period, Pakistan adopted the policy of developing cordial relations with Asian nations. Similarly, the focus was also on maintaining friendly cordial relations with China. In accordance with that high officials of both sides exchanged their visits. Pakistan diplomatically supported China for her UN seat and in response China also altered its posture regarding Kashmir dispute. In 1964, China’s Prime Minister Zhou Enlai visited Pakistan and declared support of China for the resolution of Kashmir dispute “in accordance with the wishes of people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan”.

In 1965, President Ayub visited China and in joint statement the support for self-determination of Kashmiri people was announced. Along with this China also said that, this issue should be resolved in accordance with UNSC resolutions.

In 1965, when a war broke out between India and Pakistan, China gave full support to Pakistan. On 12th September 1965, China said that China’s non-intervention in Kashmir dispute doesn’t mean that China is depriving Kashmirs’ from their right of self-determination or it is accepting Indian hostility against Pakistan.

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Apparently it seemed a clear warning for India to resolve Kashmir dispute according to the wishes of Kashmiri people. On 16 September 1965, China sent a note to India which stated:

“The Chinese government has consistently held that the Kashmir question should be settled on the basis of respect for Kashmiri people’s right of self determination, as pledged by India and Pakistan. That is what is meant by China’s non-involvement in the dispute between India and Pakistan. But non-involvement absolutely doesn’t mean failure to distinguish between right and wrong; it absolutely does not mean that China can approve of depriving the Kashmiri people of their right of self determination”.

In all high level communication, China supported the right of self-determination for Kashmir people. In early 1970s China repeatedly supported two inter-related issues; First Pakistan’s national independence and secondly right of self-determination for Kashmiri People. During Z. A. Bhutto’s period China endorsed and supported right of self-determination for Kashmiri people. Subsequently, China supported for the same till early 1980s.

In early 1980s, a sudden shift in China’s policy towards Kashmir was observed. At that time, China was in favor of developing functional relations with India. So, it gave the statement that Kashmir issue should be resolved according to Simla agreement and UN resolutions. Subsequently, China drifted back to its 1964 position and adopted the approach of neutrality. It said that both Pakistan and India should resolve this issue bilaterally through peaceful means.


The same tactical change was also observed during the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and many observers in Pakistan had not viewed it as withdrawal of support.

From start till 2000 China’s policy adopted four different shapes. In 1950s China remained neutral but in second decade from 1960s to 1970s it supported Pakistan’s position over Kashmir issue. In 1980s normalization in China-India relations was observed and China again moved towards its 1950s approach of neutrality. In post Cold War period it changed its position and said that Kashmir is a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan and it should be resolved through peaceful means.

**China’s Post 9/11 Kashmir Policy**

In post 9/11 scenario after terrorists’ attacks on US, China’s policy towards Kashmir did not change. After 2002, the relations between Pakistan and India became conflicting and China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared its official position on the issue:-

“China’s position on the issue of Kashmir has been clear cut. We have always maintained that the Kashmir issue is one between India and Pakistan left over by history. China hopes that the two sides should seek new ways to appropriately solve the problem through peaceful exchanges and negotiations and refrain from military conflicts”.

In the same year Pakistan’s president Pervez Musharraf visited China for support on Kashmir issue. In this visit China was not willing to shift its policy and said that both Pakistan and India should resolve this issue through peaceful means.

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17 *PRC President Jiang Zemin Hopes for Peaceful Settlement of India-Pakistan Dispute*, (August 2, 2002). Xinhua (English),
Pakistan should maintain status quo on the line of control, ceasefire should be achieved as soon as possible and both should search out the mechanism to resolve their disputes through peaceful means. Beijing is maintaining neutral posture on Kashmir and facilitating Indo-Pak relations because it wants to avoid any military conflict between two. Currently both India and Pakistan are two nuclear powers and any nuclear conflict would also have numerous effects on China.

China is escalating itself from Kashmir conflict because the Chinese believe that it will create problems for their own security. For instance China is facing ethnic problems in some areas and it wants to protect itself from being victim of terrorism.\textsuperscript{18}

It can be observed that China’s policy towards Kashmir is also based on its five principles of peaceful co-existence. According to these principles China is not in favor of any kind of war over the issue. It always supported both India and Pakistan for some peaceful settlement. China is not in favor of any aggressive policy towards Indian position on Kashmir because it wants to maintain smooth relations among all South Asian nations.

**China’s Interests in Kashmir**

China is not the part of South Asia but it has certain economic, political and strategic interests in South Asia. In current international environment China’s strategic policies towards South Asia are not clear and no one can predict the objective of these policies. However, in the context of South Asian region both India and Pakistan are very vital for China and Kashmir conflict between them has the capacity to disturb regional security environment. So, China is in favor of peaceful solution of Kashmir conflict because it has interests in both India and Pakistan occupied Kashmir.

China’s Interests in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir

In Pakistan occupied Kashmir, Karakorum Highway has strategic significance in bilateral relations. This road connects Kashgar to Gilgit and has occupied vital place in bilateral relations. The basic aim of China is to get access towards the region of rich natural reserves and China is constructing rail and road connections to Persian Gulf via Pakistan. These connections will enable China to transport oil tankers and cargo from Eastern China to Gwadar, Pasni and other ports inside Pakistan. Recently, China is working on enhancement of Karakoram Highway, building dams and other projects. Through KKH China can get access towards different regions of the world and this route is feasible during winter season. Currently, China is focusing on use of Gwadar Port as alternative of Malacca Strait regarding the reduction of oil dependency and KKH will serve as land route from Gwadar to China. Apart from trade route this road has also served for the transportation of military equipments between Pakistan and China. Moreover China has invested in the construction of many other projects in different parts on Northern Areas which includes telecommunication facilities, hydro-power projects and economic connection between Northern Areas and Xingjian.

There are three implications of Chinese interests in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. First China’s claims on Hunza valley have been resolved according to 1963 agreement. This area is now very vital for China for energy transportation. Here the dispute between India and China over boundary is important. Currently China’s key focus is eastern sector because on western side Aksai Chin is not as much vital for China as it was in 1950s. Eastern sector is important because of transportation of

energy to support growing energy demand. Second by accessing Northern Areas, China might approach towards Afghanistan. It is no doubt that in Afghanistan and Iraq, West is busy in the redevelopment process of the nation and China also has its own interests in these projects. So, through POK, access towards Afghanistan is very easy. Third, China is expanding its influence beyond its boundaries through soft means and religious fundamentalism is a big hurdle. Currently China is much interested in Pakistan and Afghanistan deal with rising fundamentalism because it also wants to secure its interests.

**Pak-China Strategic Partnership and Kashmir**

China in its policy towards Pakistan wants to maintain close military and strategic partnership. In past, this strategic partnership was observed even during high military tension between India and Pakistan. This strategic level was observed both during civil and military regime in Pakistan. China supported Pakistan on the development of nuclear weapons and in 1972 it provided assistance when Pakistan’s leadership requested for that. One of the reasons behind this assistance was that China wants to see Pakistan a strong ally against India. Leadership of China is well aware of sensitivity of Kashmir issue for Pakistan’s leadership. China’s this endorsement of Pakistani position over Kashmir gave decisive edge to Pakistan in all circumstances. However, in 80s and 90s decade China’s pro-Indian approach was observed regarding the solution of Kashmir issue. But last few years suggest that China is backing to its early position to support Pakistani line. This change in policy was observed when China adopted different visa policy for Indian occupied Kashmiri people.

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Historically China remained involved in different projects of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. This Sino-Pak nexus can give priority to both over India at the time of any war or crises on Kashmir. As India already said that Chinese military presence near the borders have numerous implications for Indian security.\(^2^2\)

**Kashmir between China, Pakistan and India: A Triangular Conflict**

Pakistan has been called many times to international community to resolve Kashmir dispute according to the wish of Kashmiri people and charter of United Nations. India always claimed that Kashmir is its integral part but world sees Kashmir as a disputed territory between India and Pakistan. In historical perspective, China is also the part of this conflict and desires for the solution of the conflict for peace and prosperity of the region. China gave different stance on India claim on Kashmir that India should consider it a separate territory.\(^2^3\)

In 2009, Chinese authorities decided to issue visa to Indian occupied Kashmiri people on separate sheet. They have stance that Kashmir is a disputed territory and Indian occupied Kashmiri people would not be considered as Indian citizen so visa for China would not be granted to them on Indian passport.\(^2^4\)

**Kashmir Solution through China**

The solution of Kashmir dispute lies in the goodwill of Kashmiri people as well as government of both India and Pakistan. Kashmir is a bone of contention between India and Pakistan or somehow it is a triangular conflict between China, China.


\(^{24}\) Dikshit, S. (October 26, 2013). India has to Live with China’s Stapled Visa. The Hindu.
Pakistan and India. China is a country which has cordial relations with Pakistan and now its bilateral relations with India are improving gradually. China and India are competitors but both are cooperating in many fields. In contemporary international economic relations, China is the largest trading partner of India and it is also expected that bilateral trade will increase in future.

As China is Emerging power in Asian region, it is defining its image as peaceful rising power. It is developing cordial relations generally with all states and mainly with neighboring states. In its relations with bordering states it is putting all conflicts behind. In South Asian region, China has territorial conflicts with India and both fought a full-fledged war. At the dawn of 21st century, a shift was observed in Sino-Indian relations in term of bilateral trade. China and India put their differences behind and increased their trade tremendously. The officials of both sides knew that trade is an important indicator of economic development. So, it is expected that in 2015 bilateral trade would reach $100million.

The role of China as mediator can be utilized in resolving long standing Kashmir Dispute. In contemporary, international and regional environment China is the only state which can resolve Kashmir dispute by playing its role as mediator. In this picture, basic problem would be from Indian side that it would refuse to accept any solution proposed by China as mediator. If the issue should be taken seriously by China and it shows its willingness for mediator, then it can use different strategies to force India for any possible solution of dispute.

In order to bring India on table for suitable solution of Kashmir issue different tactics can be used i.e.:-

1. India is struggling for becoming a strong state in the region and for that purpose it needs strong economic power along with other powers. To strengthen its economic power India needs China because China can give economic benefits to India in future.
2. It can be offered some incentives to India for some suitable solution of Kashmir issue. These offers include economic support to India in term of bilateral trade, support to India for UNSC’s permanent seat.

3. For that purpose, China can offer India to enhance cooperation in oil exploration, advancement in computer technology, science and technology field etc.

4. The incentive of support to India’s presence in different regional organizations can also be offered.

On international front, it is no doubt that there are divergences among international community on various issues. United Nations and international community should come forward and facilitate this process of meditation. This proposed solution can be strengthened by the involvement of both. In historical settings, UN has passed its resolution on this issue. Along with China, UN and international community should also try to convince India for possible solution of the issue. As above there are differences among international community but on humanitarian ground these should be united and support the solution process. International community can support this proposal on humanitarian ground because in Indian occupied Kashmir there is clean violation of human rights. The involvement of international community on humanitarian basis can also further fortify the said proposal.

There is no doubt that international community has grave concern on the violation of human rights. So, on Kashmir issue they can take interests and force India that if it wishes to seek a global power role it must first resolve the Kashmir issue. Furthermore, they also look on India’s wish for UNSC’s seat if it would resolve the issue according to the will of the Kashmiri people.

In regional scenario, Pakistan, India and China shared their borders with each other. In Asian/South Asian region, China is rising as peacefully and it is developing cordial relations generally with all and especially with bordering states. Furthermore, China has the capacity to mould the regional
environment in any possible situation. On regional level, there is an organization, SAARC which can also facilitate this process because Kashmir issue is linked with all SAARC nations one or another way. In SAARC, there is presence of China as observer will facilitate the process.

On the same front, the willingness of Kashmir’s people should be given first priority in deciding their future. China along with international community and UN should find out any suitable mechanism through which the future of conflict ridden nation should be decided. For that purpose the option of plebiscite can be used under UN sponsorship. Now there would be many questions on the method of plebiscite that who would cast the vote? Then this matter should be decided by involving all actors and giving valuable opinion to the experts who have expertise on Kashmir problem. Similarly all involved actors should give the guarantee that they would not harm the process of any possible solution.

Pakistan’s position will be strengthened by the presence of a powerful friend at the table. This friend will help Pakistan in deciding the conflict which it has been facing since birth. Prospects of a peaceful solution will become brighter. Violence, born of the deep frustration of Kashmiris, will end. Indian military atrocities will reduce. Trade can blossom, bringing widespread prosperity to a poverty-stricken region.

Furthermore, China has a running territorial dispute with India, besides the fact that it is considered one of the closest friends of Pakistan; even if India is amenable to arbitration, it would not trust China with the task. If China offered its services for that purpose then Pakistan should be thankful to China for the cause that is very dear to it, is the principal bone of contention between the two sub-continental powers and its solution alone could herald an era of durable peace in the region, with all its spillover fruitful effects on its badly-needed development. However, if Beijing is willing to play its role as mediator and facilitate the process, the people of Kashmir in their birthright to decide their own future through a free and fair
plebiscite held under the auspices of the UN, which would be even more welcome and would stand great chance of success in solving the matter. That is what India, that had itself taken the dispute to the UN Security Council, committed there and to the Kashmiris also. China should press it to honor its solemn pledge.

**Future Prospects**

Economic interaction among India, Pakistan and China is not in the interest of one country. It is in the interests of not only these three but also in the favor of the region. China is economically penetrating in South Asia and desiring peace in its neighborhood. So for both reasons there is need of peace between India and Pakistan relations. China has Western Development Strategy for its two autonomous regions Xinjiang and Tibet which need stability on both sides of the borders. Through these provinces China wants to increase its trade and serve as trading hub for China’s Western neighbors.

Both India and Pakistan should realize the situation that China is now in its economic rise and wants to move towards South for balancing American and European markets. Linkage of Tibet and Xinjiang with Western markets is not sufficient and it needs sufficient links with India and Pakistan’s markets. This is a key opportunity for both India and Pakistan to cooperate with China or use China’s Card by putting their differences behind. Kashmir is in the centre of these three nations and now region wants to get rid of old conflict and work for peace and economic development of the region.

**Conclusion**

China’s mix foreign policy towards Kashmir involves an effort to balance its interests with both India and Pakistan. The objective of Chinese foreign policy is to increase cooperation with all South Asian Nations particularly with India and Pakistan. As China is rising peacefully, it needs peace and stability particularly in its neighborhood because any conflict can pose different challenges to its security or economic rise. In South Asian region, this Kashmir issue has the potential to
initiate a full-fledge war which can turn into nuclear war. China has massive concerns on the issue.

On international level no one is thinking over the graveness of local people and all international players are gaining their own benefits. Currently whole international community seems to fail regarding the resolution of the dispute. In present circumstance, China can become a hope for the people of Kashmir. China has capacity to use its influence on both India and Pakistan regarding the resolution. Pakistan is a strong ally of China and will favor the solution which China will propose but problem will be on Indian side. China has capacity to negotiate with India and also bring her on the table for any peaceful solution. In spite of China’s capacity it seems that it doesn’t want to indulge itself in this conflict and encourage both India and Pakistan for some peaceful solution.