



Faculty of Legal Sciences

International Studies Degree

**CHINA AS THIRD SUBJECT OF INTEREST IN
THE KASHMIR CONFLICT**

**Degree dissertation prior of obtaining the degree
of Bachelor of Arts in International Studies**

Author:

Juliana Carolina Ramírez Talbot

Director:

Damiano Scotton

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Dedication

I dedicate this degree work to my parents, who have been a constant motivation throughout my career. They are a very important pillar in my life, allowing me to rigorously continue my studies. I love them very much.

Acknowledgments

My biggest thanks go to my dad, Juan Fernando.

He has shown me that, with effort and dedication, anything can be possible.

During my academic period, my dad has been my greatest inspiration. This achievement is not only mine, but his as well. Thank you very much daddy.

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Resumen:

El conflicto de Cachemira inició en 1947 tras la independencia de la India y la formación del Estado de Pakistán. Esta disputa territorial inició con la India y Pakistán como sujetos de interés por esta zona, sin embargo, la China se unió tiempo después convirtiéndose en un tercer sujeto de interés. La participación china en el conflicto ha generado dudas sobre el futuro de esto, debido a su apoyo a Pakistán y notoria rivalidad con la India. Detrás de su intervención, salieron a la luz claros intereses que tiene sobre la región. El más notorio, el inicio de su proyecto One Belt, One Road o Nueva Ruta de la Seda.

Palabras clave: Cachemira, China, Conflicto, India, Pakistán, Tensiones

Abstract:

The Kashmir conflict began in 1947 after the independence of India and the formation of the State of Pakistan. This territorial dispute started with India and Pakistan as subjects of interest for this area. However, China joined sometime later becoming a third subject of interest. China's participation in the conflict has raised doubts about the future of the conflict, due to its support for Pakistan and notorious rivalry with India. Behind its intervention, clear interests in the region came to light. The most notorious, the beginning of its One Belt, One Road or New Silk Road project.

Keywords: China, Conflict, India, Kashmir, Pakistan, Tensions



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China as third subject of interest in the Kashmir Conflict

1. Introduction

China's involvement in the Kashmir conflict is extensive, however, its role in the conflict is not as recognized as those of India and Pakistan. This motivates the research, due to the relevance of China according to its global behavior. An important point to be taken into account in the investigation, is that its borders also delimit the Kashmir area, making it a third actor of interest.

In 1947, a territorial dispute that remains active to this day began between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. A territory rich in resources that also has a privileged location, a dispute, without binational and international attempts to solve it having been successful. Throughout this time, a third subject of interest, China, joined the dispute, since its borders also delimit Kashmir, which generated interest in the territory and thus added to its claim. The participation of this third state has completely changed the landscape of the conflict. Due to China's invasive actions, the international community's alertness has intensified to any of its movements.

The present degree dissertation is structured on the basis of three specific themes. The first theme alludes to the analysis of Kashmir since India's independence from the British Crown. The second is based on examining the different tensions that China has with India and Pakistan. Finally, China's potential gains from gaining the Cordillera will be analyzed. For the development of this, the methodology that will be used is based on a qualitative analysis proposed by Sampieri. This analysis is based on nine phases, finalizing with the results. With this methodology we aim to make a literature review on the topic "China as a third subject of interest in the Kashmir Conflict".

1.1 Objectives

General:

- Analyze the intentionality of China's intervention in the Kashmir Conflict.

Specifics:

1. Analyze Kashmir since its Independence.
2. Examining China's tensions with India and Pakistan.
3. Analyze China's potential gains from obtaining the Cordillera.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

1.2.1 Independence of India from the British Crown

India was a British colony from the beginning of the 18th century until the middle of the 20th century, that is, for about 200 years the United Kingdom remained in India. Initially to trade Indian resources, but over time they intervened and their stay solidified to the point of having power over its internal politics (Friedman, 2008). The British East India Company was a private company dedicated to the trade of Indian wealth, however, when they managed to expand and dominate the export markets of the Indian subcontinent. They began to acquire vast territories for the personal use of the British, to obtain fiscal privileges, to intervene and control local governments, but most importantly, they enacted laws that did not go hand in hand with Indian beliefs and traditions, which caused unrest among the population. To keep the population at the margin, the Company formed a mercenary army of 150,000 men who acted in the internal problems of the colony and maintained the interests of the Crown in different parts of Asia. What was their financing? The tax collection in the places that were conquered, maintaining for many years this hierarchical system where the most economically benefited were the Indian elites and the British officials, creating more displeasure in the "lower castes of the population" (Trueba, 2018).

By the middle of the 19th century, the colonial process had almost ended with the success of the British East India Company, which had organized and established all the military, administrative and

economic systems of the colony. However, the population was seriously punished by the measures chosen by the British, which led in 1857 to the uprisings known as the Great Mutiny. This forced the British Parliament in 1858 to withdraw the rights of the Company in India and transfer all the powers of the colony to the British Crown. This event marked India officially as a British colony (Trueba, 2018). When the Crown took full control over the colony, it was referred to as the British Raj until 1947, from which time the Secretary of State began talks with the Indians who had been exploited by the Company, to stop the rebellions. Nevertheless, the economic dispersion between the Indian castes and the British began to be very notorious. The Indian people died of hunger while the elites favored by the Crown lived privileged, adding to the precarious treatment towards the Indians, there began to be more confrontations between the Indians and the British. Of course, the reprisals for the Indians were brutal, some ending with the death of the protesters (Dube, 2012).

As Trueba (2018) points out, the oppression of the Indians by the British was overshadowed when the Indian National Congress (INC hereafter) was formed in 1885. This authority united the people to face the constant economic and political problems that arose. For example, the British didn't allow any Indians to take part in administrative and political matters of the colony because they were considered inferior and unfit for the trades. The INC focused on demands for increased Indian participation, reform of the legislative bodies and the creation of spaces for dialogue between the INC and the British. However, the organization was characterized as conservative as it did not advocate social reform or allude to religious controversies. In 1905 the INC declared that political rights were not claimed for the entire population but only for educated and enlightened Indians (only middle and upper class).

Following the discontent between the INC and the Indians who were not being represented, mostly Muslims, the British encouraged the formation of Muslim nationalist groups - thus founding the Muslim League in 1906. After World War I, in the interwar period in the British Raj, a strong sense of nationalism emerged among Indians, which prompted the emergence of nationalist movements. Friedman (2008) argues that the most important figure in terms of the nationalist movement was the Indian politician, lawyer and Hindu thinker Mohandas Mahatma Gandhi, who argued that liberation from the British Raj was a means and not an end to achieve total independence for India. One of the most important ideals held by Gandhi was that all nationalists should be united in the same struggle, regardless of their religion; Gandhi believed that Muslims should be respected and have the same rights as Hindus (Reference?). Sometime later he became a member of the Indian National Congress where he proposed satyagraha, a non-violent and non-cooperative form of demonstration. However, constant disagreements with the British led to strong protests with brutal reprisals for the nationalists for many years.

After the Second World War, more structured campaigns of non-cooperation that Gandhi had implemented began. These demonstrated the critical situation in which the United Kingdom found itself after the war, since its capacity to respond to demonstrations was not the same as before. As a result, discussions between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League to discuss how India should be governed arised. Nonetheless, their differences were irreversible, so the Muslim League suggested the creation of an independent state called Pakistan which would be inhabited only for Muslims and India only by Hindus (Gil, 2017). After serious clashes between Hindus and Muslims, Lord Louis Mountbatten who was the envoy of the crown to appease the demands of Muslims for Pakistan and the opposition of the Indian National Congress to this, announced at midnight on August 14th, 1947 the final demise of the British Raj. This gave rise to two new states, India and Pakistan (Trueba, 2018).

1.2.2 Territorial division between India and Pakistan

Shortly before India's independence was made official, the Muslim League opted for a firm position on the formation of a new state for Muslims called Pakistan. This generated opposition from the Indian National Congress because what they wanted and sought, was a unified nation. Nevertheless, their disagreements with the League made evident the little tolerance that existed between the two religious' groups (Gil, 2017). This problem arose when, in 1905, the largest province of the Raj, Bengal, was divided between Hindus and Muslims, however, the problem became more acute with the Radcliffe Line. This line, drawn by a British lawyer who had never been to India, caused much confusion because it divided areas that were already defined by Muslims or Hindus, especially in the provinces of Punjab and Bengal. This caused millions of inhabitants to be stranded in the wrong territory, causing a massive migration, since their religious beliefs did not coincide according to the places assigned to them (Urgell & Vilellas, 2010).

It is estimated that around ten million people had to migrate from different places to reach their destination, separated from their families, friends and communities. It is estimated that about one million people died in the process due to the geopolitical tensions already existing between Pakistan and India, in addition to the violence between both religious groups (Sharma, 2021). The new Muslim country was also divided in half into: West Pakistan (present-day Pakistan) and East Pakistan (later renamed Bangladesh) (Trueba, 2018). This caused many people in the area of northern India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to credit the territories to their jurisdiction for the various interests over the area, especially the Kashmir region. This territory has vast resources and strategic location which is very beneficial to India and Pakistan, however, China joined their demand also because their borders also delimit with Kashmir and they argue that their boundary limits were not respected at the time of Partition of India (Bharadwaj et al., 2008).

An important point to be mentioned is the religious issue within the conflict. According to the words of Haque (1993) the Muslims who lived in India and still live in Kashmir have suffered the most. The author warns that they are exposed to genocide by the Hindus simply because they have inherited Kashmir. This is where China comes in, Pakistan seeks the support and protection of Muslims through the Chinese government. However, over time hostile anti-Indian and anti-Hindu groups were created which India termed as terrorists. These groups claimed that if India did not respect the territory assigned to them, they would attack in the same way that the Maharaja of Kashmir at the time, Hari Singh, killed thousands of Muslims. Following these threats, attacks were carried out inside India, such as bombings in New Delhi's city hall. Those responsible were Pakistani religious extremist groups.

1.2.3 China's interest over Kashmir

With respect to China within this territorial dispute over Kashmir and other areas of interest, it is important to mention the different interests that this power has. First of all, if we think from an economic angle, the New Silk Road project presented by China needs to build a corridor or the Karakoram highway through Pakistan, specifically through the Kashmir region. This is why it defends the area occupied by Pakistan from India, as it would not lose its border with Pakistan which is paramount for the development of its ambitious project (Singh, 2013). Quoting Mohd Huda & Mohd Tahir (2022), China's bilateral relationship with Pakistan is increasingly solidifying in economic and military terms in order to confront India's sovereignty over the region. Another interest that China also has is the construction of a port of Gwadar in Pakistan, because this could provide a direct entry to the Arabian Sea, but India is strongly opposed because it assures that it will serve as a spy post, and not as a naval base.

China has supported Pakistan in the wars fought for more than 65 years¹ and through the current tensions it maintains with India. China has provided it with a large amount of war material and has publicly reproached India's treatment of the Pakistanis to the point of defending them before the United Nations. This is why Pakistan remains loyal to China, the port of Gwadar and the Karakoram highway are a clear example of this, even more so when Chinese forces protect them in the Kashmir region (Naseem, 2014). An important fact to mention, is the pact signed in 1963 by China and Pakistan called Sino-Pakistani Boundary Agreement of March 2nd 1963, which defined a common border between the two countries, but received much criticism, especially from India, which stated that both countries do not have a common border and that the territory of Kashmir was theirs. The international community also criticized it, maintaining that the Pakistanis had granted China thousands of square kilometers of territory (Lamb, 2008).

India's relations with China have been affected since the late 1950s, when China decided to build a permanent road to Tibet through the Aksai Chin area in the Kashmir region. Sometime later, in 1958, the Chinese government proposed the exchange of the Aksai Chin territory in exchange for giving up its territorial claims to Arunachal Pradesh in northeast India. However, the Indian government did not accept the proposal, which led to the first war between the two nations, which China won and caused all diplomatic ties between the two nations to be severed, leaving the course of their border unresolved. Again in 1988, the border issue was questioned, so both countries established a joint committee to demarcate the border and signed in the following years several agreements that would stabilize the region

¹ Pakistan and India clashed in 1947, 1965, and 1999 over the sovereignty of Kashmir following territorial partition after Indian independence.

and reduce tensions. In one of the agreements signed, the Line of Actual Control (LAC) was established, dedicated to patrolling and military routes accepted by both India and China. However, in more recent times, tensions have resurfaced between the two countries, accusing each other of not respecting their assigned territories (Wagner & Stanzel, 2020). Finally, another breaking point between these two nations is the arduous support and backing that Pakistan receives from China. As mentioned above, India does not agree that its old Pakistani enemy should be backed by its new threat, China.

2. Methods

The methodology that will be applied to this dissertation is qualitatively proposed by Sampieri. According to Hernández Sampieri (2014), the qualitative approach utilizes data collection and analysis to refine the research questions. It is structured in nine phases:

Phase 1: Idea

The idea behind this degree work in China as a third subject of interest in the Kashmir Conflict.

Phase 2: Statement of the problem

The problem addressed in the present dissertation is the significant impact of China entering as a third actor of interest in the conflict due to its global behavior towards other nations. It is known that China has a long history of intervention in territories that are of economic interest to the Republic. An example is the case of Taiwan, where China has great ambition to "recover" the island. Therefore, China's thirst for power may exacerbate the conflict further, given the contrasting interests of India and Pakistan in the region.

Phase 3: Initial field immersion

To perform the initial immersion, relevant articles, books, reports, or pertinent documents were reviewed and selected to help conduct the literature review. Academic libraries (databases) were accessed and academic search engines were used. After searching for sources, these were filtered based on criteria that meet the topic to be addressed. Thus, the sources already filtered and selected were used for the writing of the present degree work.

Phase 4: Study design conception

To begin the research, clear guidelines were established on which to base the search and subsequent selection of sources.

1. Select sources that contain historical information about Kashmir.
2. Select sources that have social, political, and economic information about Kashmir.
3. Select sources with territorial information about the Kashmir region and nearby regions.
4. Select sources relevant to China's intervention in Kashmir and its history.
5. Select sources that contain valid information to answer the specific objectives.
6. Do not select sources that are not academically validated.

Phase 5: Definition of the initial study sample and access to it

First of all, libraries and recognized search engines should be selected to obtain the required information. After this, the search should have eight keywords: Kashmir, China, India, Pakistan, intervention, conflict, tensions, and territorial division. Once the keywords were clear, Scopus was selected as the academic library or database to be used. Also, the academic search engines chosen were RefSeek for English sources and Google Scholar for Spanish sources.

- **Scopus:** this database helped to collect an important number of relevant sources that was used for the literature review work.
- **RefSeek:** this search engine yielded relevant sources in both Spanish and English.

- **Google Scholar:** this search engine helped in the collection of sources in Spanish, it was considered because it contains articles related to the topic validated for the elaboration of the literature review.

Phase 6: Data collection

Table 1 shows the number of sources returned by each academic library and search engine. It is based on the initial search using the selected keywords: Kashmir, China, India, Pakistan, intervention, conflict, tensions, and territorial division.

Table 1

Initial number of sources for data collection

Key words	Scopus	RefSeek	Google Scholar
Kashmir	10.225	4.360.000	8.660
China + Kashmir	382	527.000	6.150
India + Kashmir	5.705	2.380.000	6.270
Pakistan + Kashmir	1.937	362.000	2.960
Intervention + China + Kashmir	11	181.000	2.560
Conflict + Kashmir	674	321.000	3.900
Tensions + China + India + Pakistan	64	832.000	2.800
Territorial division + India	44	2.080.000	642.000

Note. This table shows the number of sources for each search engine and database. Based on the selected keywords.

Phase 7: Data analysis

The initial search yielded a large number of results in terms of the number of articles, books, reports, and book chapters in the three sites searched. The RefSeek search engine yielded the most sources, both in English and Spanish. Table 2 shows the total number of sources for each search site, how many of these were selected for reading and how many were discarded.

In cases where there were a large number of sources, we proceeded to filter according to the criteria mentioned in Phase 4: Conception of the study, because many of the results were not related to social, political, and economic issues. This was helpful because the remaining sources had to be filtered in terms of the Kashmir conflict itself and China's involvement in it.

Table 2

Number of relevant and discarded sources

Documents	Scopus	RefSeek	Google Scholar
Total	19.042	11.043.000	675.300

Relevant	127	193	215
Discarded	18.915	11.042.807	675.085

Note. This table shows the number of sources for each search engine and database that were considered relevant for further reading. The relevant sources were then filtered and the sources selected for the literature review remained.

When analyzing Table 2, the total number of sources is very high. Specifically, the results of RefSeek and Google Scholar. In the first research on the topic, the sources were not filtered. But at the time of interpreting them, a considerable number of them were not linked to the research topic or did not comply with guidelines such as containing valid information that would help to respond to the specific developments raised.

Table 3

Number of sources passed through the filters established in the guidelines

Guidelines	Start	Scopus	RefSeek	Google Scholar	Final
Historical information about Kashmir	11.737.342	8	35	27	70
Political, economic, and social information	11.737.342	16	103	117	236
Territorial information on Kashmir and related regions	11.737.342	4	87	46	137
History of Chinese involvement in Kashmir	11.737.342	1	32	29	62
Valid information to respond to the specific objectives	11.737.342	7	13	10	30
Total		36	270	229	535

Note: This table shows how many sources were chosen per database and search engine in total, resulting in 535 sources that were reviewed for further selection.

According to Table 3, after the initial search, which yielded a total of 11.737.342 results based on the keywords, each database and search engine was analyzed and it was concluded that 535 documents should be reviewed.

Phase 8: Results interpretation

Table 4 shows all the sources that were selected for the research results.

Table 4

Selected sources

Author	Year of publication	Title
Bharadwaj Prashant; Ijaz, Asim; Mian, Atif	2008	The Big March: Migratory Flows after the Partition of India
Gómez Aveda, Ana	2016	Kashmir, Asia's most coveted region
Zutshi, Chitrallekha	2010	Rethinking Kashmir's History from Borderlands Perspective
Bose, Sumantra	2003	Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths of Peace
Kabir, Ananya	2009	Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir
Izquierdo, María José	2017	The Kashmir conflict, beyond the territorial dispute
Ballesteros, Ana	2021	The many faces of Kashmir or the story of a collective failure
Mohd Arif, Sheikh	2015	Sino-India Border War
Hameedy, Qasim	2013	Sino-Indian War of 1962: Where do India and China Stand Today?
McGarr, Paul	2021	The Long Shadow of Colonial Cartography: Britain and the Sino-Indian War of 1962
Naudon, Carlos	1979	Who is not afraid of China?
Mukhtar, Shabnum	2021	History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir
McGranahan, Cole	2003	Kashmir and Tibet: Comparing Conflicts, States and Solutions
Tirimagni-Hurting, Christiane	2016	The Indo-Pakistani War and the Ending of a Power Balance in South Asia
Alcalde, María Celeste	2010	Indo-Pakistani Conflicts over Jammu and Kashmir
Travesedo de Castilla, Concepción	2005	New cycle in Kashmir
Masferrer, Bernat	2005	India, Pakistan and the Kashmir issue
Pardo de Santayana, José	2019	Geopolitical Overview of Conflicts 2019
Wu, Shihai; Zhang, Yili; Yan, Jianzhong	2022	Comprehensive Assessment of Geopolitical Risk in the Himalayan Region Based on the Grid Scale
Solórzano, Octavio; Portador, Teresa de Jesús	2021	Geopolitics in the Kashmir tri-border area: Conflicts between China, Pakistan and India
Gatto, Laura	2017	Clash of the Titans: Tensions between India and China
Gómez, Diana	2019	China and India: Two Great Rival Powers in the Global and Regional Order

Brethouwer, Jan-Tino; Fokkink, Robert; Greene, Kevin; Lindelauf, Roy; Tornquist, Caroline; V. S. Subrahmanian	2022	Rising tensions in the Himalayas: A geospatial analysis of Chinese border incursions into India
Southerland, Matthew	2014	China-India Relations: Tensions Persist Despite Growing Cooperation
Wagner, Christian	2019	Facing Global China: India and the Belt and Road Initiative
Priego, Alberto	2010	Sino-Pakistan Relations: Towards a New Paradigm?
Umaña, Jorge	2021	Kashmir Zone: Witness to tensions outlining the gravity of an unresolved dispute
Qaddos, Maira	2020	The Pakistan, India and China Triangle
Adeney, Katherine; Boni, Filippo	2021	How Pakistan and China Negotiate
Wagner, Christian	2016	The Effects of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on India-Pakistan Relations
Utria, Karen	2018	Geopolitical implications of the New Silk Road in light of China's Pacific Development.
Asensio, Ana	2018	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): Límites de un Game Changer Económico y Estratégico en la Región del sur de Asia
Ferrero, Julio	2015	China Today: Geostrategy of its Geopolitical Environment
Minghao, Zhao	2015	China's New Silk Road Initiative

Note. This table shows the sources that will be used to carry out the results

3. Results

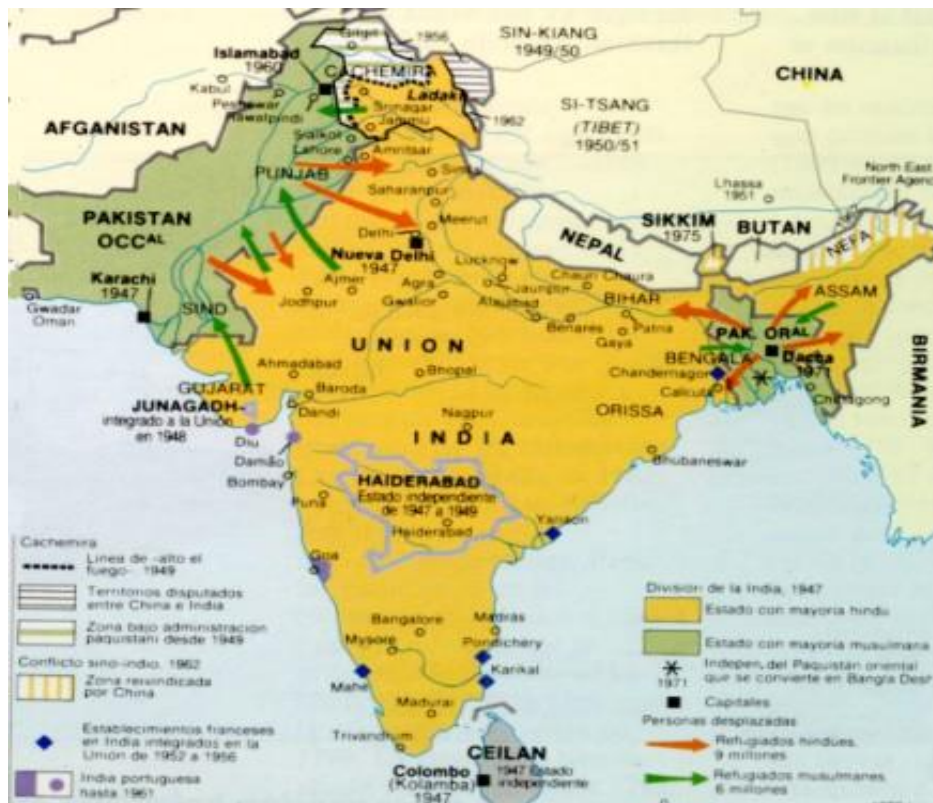
After an exhaustive literature review, it was concluded that 34 bibliographic materials will be used to develop this degree work. The results of the search yielded articles, books, reports, and book chapters. As for the first specific objective, Kashmir since independence, 17 bibliographic sources were selected. For the development of the second specific objective, China's tensions with India and Pakistan, 14 sources were selected. Finally, to develop the third specific objective, China's potential gains from gaining the Cordillera, 4 sources were selected. At the end of this section, there is a table summarizing the sources found, filtered, and selected for the literature review article.

3.1 Kashmir since Independence

Since the "Partition" of India in 1947, there have been territories that have been disputed between the new states of India and Pakistan, which were joined by China as well. One of the territories in question is Kashmir, a mountainous area located in the Himalayas in South Asia. It is characterized as a region rich in natural resources and has a privileged location. It has been disputed since 1947 by India and Pakistan to annex the entire territory, which has caused armed conflicts and human rights violations in the area. It is currently divided into three areas of interest, one administered by India, one by Pakistan, and one by China. *Figure 1* shows how the Indian territory was divided after Independence.

Figure 1

Map of the territorial division of India and Pakistan after the Partition of 1947



Note. This figure shows how the territories were divided between India and Pakistan.

Source: Taken from Partition of India, by Natalia Grey, n.d., <https://infogram.com/particion-de-la-india-1g8e20z31w01pod>

When the territorial division took place, many people were stranded on the wrong side, including a large number of Muslims in India as well as many Hindus in Pakistan. This caused a mass migration of people on both sides of the border. However, the large provinces of Punjab and Bengal happened to be where the territorial divisions were already marked, but the Radcliffe line² divided them without respecting the territories that were established. As stated by Bharadwaj et al. (2008), it is estimated that about 14.5 million people migrated between India, Pakistan, and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) of which about 3.4 million people are believed to have disappeared or died. It is imperative to mention that many Muslims who left India settled in northern India where the quality of life was relatively better due to the labor benefits the area offered. Gomez (2016) postulates that one such area was Kashmir, located in the Himalayan range with a population of approximately 13 million people. This region is important because the rivers that cross this area are derived from the Indus River. This means that its water resources are vast and this makes it more and more attractive to belligerent countries.

Based on the history of the Kashmir Valley, it was run by one of the most important dynasties of the region and arguably of India. From 1846 until 1952, which was abolished, the Dogra Dynasty was in charge of managing the territories of Kashmir and Jammu. This dynasty grew out of the Sikh Empire of Punjab which was founded by Ranjit Singh, the first Sikh Maharaja³ who annexed Kashmir in 1819 from the domains of the Afghans. Singh considered this territory sacred because of its geography from which he made his domains, apart from being a strategic point of direct connection with India, Central Asia, and Europe (Zutshi, 2010). Since Gulab Singh was appointed Maharaja of Kashmir, his dynasty tried to

² The Radcliffe Line was the line that divided India between West Pakistan (present-day Pakistan) and East Pakistan (present-day Bangladesh).

³ Maharaja is the name given to princes in India (Real Academia Española, 2014, definition 1).

change the course of this territory by asking for more rights and more participation in decision-making when India became the British Raj. However, their efforts faded when India's independence process began. The Dogras demanded that Jammu and Kashmir be independent territories of India and Pakistan, as the Maharaja of that time did not wish to depend on either state or decide which one to belong to (Bose, 2003).

But everything became complicated when Muslim politicians who were not in favor of the Maharaja of Kashmir learned that he did not want to annex the territory to Pakistan or India. The members of the Dogra Dynasty were one of the few Hindus in the region, as the majority were Muslims. Muslim political leaders stated that the Valley should belong to one of the two powers, but who better than Pakistan which was a new fully Muslim state (Kabir, 2009). Quoting Izquierdo (2017), two matters arise about Kashmir: India which maintained that all religions could coexist under its secular government, and on the other hand, Pakistan maintained that how a Hindu is going to rule in a state of Muslims. This led to confrontation soon after the territorial division of India and Pakistan, disputes began over this important mountainous area that has a privileged location, the Kashmir Valley.

In 1947, the Indian Independence Act stated that Kashmir was free to belong to either state. However, Hari Singh, the Maharaja of the time, opted for Kashmir to be part of India. This created great commotion in the population, because of the aforementioned fact its majority was Muslim and they were only being governed by a Hindu. As a result, this led to the first Indo-Pakistani confrontation over Kashmir in 1947 (Gomez, 2016). In late 1947, the newly formed Pakistan formed Operation Gulmarg in a desperate attempt to regain the Valley by force through regular and irregular Muslim forces. However, at the time of accountability for the occupation that was carried out, the Pakistani authorities did not take responsibility and blamed it on the tribal groups, although the British high command and members supporting Pakistan were all along aware of the situation (Ballesteros, 2021). Maharaja Hari Singh, seeing himself cornered, decided to request urgent military assistance from New Delhi to fight with the rebels. In response, the Indians sent the "Instrument of Accession to India" for the Maharaja to sign and thus have an endorsement that Kashmir was going to be annexed to India (Bose, 2003).

According to Izquierdo (2017), although this first confrontation lasted only one year, it caught the attention of the United Nations Organization (hereinafter UN), which, through the Security Council, sent observers to the territory in question. They dictated that Pakistan withdraw its troops immediately and that India cease its offensives, all this to call for a referendum called the Ceasefire Line (hereinafter LAF). Through this and the Indian Constitution in 1950, the following was established: Pakistan's total claim over the regions of Jammu and Kashmir and the annulment of the Instrument of Accession, with the argument that the majority of the population in the area is Muslim. On the other hand, India's full claim over Jammu and Kashmir because, when the Accession was signed, it was fully legal. Both countries formally accepted that it was not a legal discussion but to take into account the opinion of the Kashmiris on which state to belong to.

In 1962, the Indo-China War broke out due to the disrespect of the border lines that had already been established by both states in the past. However, it must be understood where this conflict was born. Mohd (2015) postulates that the rivalry between China and India originated in 1951 when China decided to occupy Tibet. This triggered the first misunderstandings between the two powers, but not yet with confrontations. The fact that China had violated many human rights⁴ of the people living in the area at the time of the occupation did not make India decide to take armed reprisals, but in 1954 the Indians recognized Tibet as Chinese territory. They did so in the hope that their relations with China would improve. But this did not last long because of constant encroachments or disrespect by the Chinese government in the area where the McMahon Line⁵, which had been established between Britain and Tibet in 1914, is located. Further discontent has followed along the extensive border shared by the Indian state with the Chinese state, specifically in the regions of Tibet to the west and Aksai Chin near Kashmir. The latter is one of the most important disputes between the two nations to this day. Between October and November 1962, China and India clashed again.

⁴ According to a report published by the United Nations in August 2022, there have been cases of torture, forced detention, and sexual and gender-based violence in the Xinjiang area since it was occupied by China in 1951.

⁵ The McMahon Line is the border agreed upon between the United Kingdom and Tibet in 1914. It is the effective border between China and India but is currently not recognized by the Chinese government.

As Hameedy (2013) points out, this armed conflict started on October 20 when China decided to build a road in the Aksai Chin area, which displeased India and took it as a threat to its security. But this was not the only offensive that took place, along their common border the Chinese government gave way to a large-scale dispute in the areas of Ladakh in the northern part of India and Arunachal Pradesh to the northeast. McGarr (2021) argues that this move generated a breakthrough for China because the Indian forces were taken by surprise and were unprepared for the clashes. However, the standoff lasted a little over a month when the Indian government announced a ceasefire on November 21. Subsequently, China withdrew from the territories it had seized, except for the Aksai Chin area, which is disputed to this day. According to Naudon (1979), the 1962 war had very serious consequences for Indian security. Being defeated by China called into question the effectiveness of its army as well as the people's confidence in India's leadership to confront the Chinese and Pakistani offensives of the time. This confrontation hurt subsequent relations between the two countries and remains tense to this day.

This brings us to the second Indo-Pakistan confrontation that occurred in 1965. Many thought that the Ceasefire Line would help the states no longer clash, offensives were maintained by India and Pakistan (Mukhtar, 2021). After the Indo-Chinese war of 1962, the Indian state significantly increased its military hardware and upgraded its army, while at the same time disrespecting the LAF agreement as it annexed Kashmiri territories. As a result, in 1965 Pakistan launched Operation Gibraltar which was based on infiltrating its irregular troops into Jammu and Kashmir to start a rebellion to destabilize the Indian government. But it was a great failure as they were soon discovered and were denounced by the Indian forces who denounced them to the UN for trespassing the LAF they had established. This caused the United Nations to intervene again for a ceasefire so that both nations were tied and could be credited with controlling part of the enemy territories. In 1966, a peace conference was held in Tashkent at the instigation of the Soviet Union, which resulted in the acceptance of a return to the situation before the 1963 confrontation. Although both India or Pakistan did not achieve their goals, this laid the groundwork for the Indian state to consolidate the territories it had seized before the conflict (McGranahn, 2003).

Tirimagni-Hurting (2016) mentions in her article "The Indo-Pakistani War and the Ending of a Power Balance in South Asia" that the tensions between India and Pakistan resurfaced in the early 1990s after their confrontation over Bangladesh in 1971. Although this last war between the two states lasted only two months, it garnered significant international attention due to both nations being nuclear-armed and threatening each other with nuclear attacks. According to Alcalde (2010), by 1999 both India and Pakistan had already conducted some nuclear tests. In 1998, India conducted three tests, and immediately Pakistan responded with another five nuclear tests. These actions intensified in the Kargil area, which held significant interest for Pakistan. Travesedo de Castilla (2005) indicates that this area, which is close to the LAC, was of great importance to the Pakistanis. If they gained control of it, they could infiltrate militants into the Indian zone and disrupt one of the most important highways in the region. This caused a lot of tension between the two states, to the point where former U.S. President Bill Clinton had to persuade Pakistan to give up its position and withdraw its army. However, according to Masferrer (2005), the international repercussions of the Kargil confrontation were extensive, marking the first time in history that two nuclear powers directly confronted each other. This led to the drafting of subsequent agreements between India and Pakistan that ensured the non-use of nuclear weapons to resolve their disputes. However, this was not the most serious thing, but the subsequent terrorist attacks carried out by extremist groups of the State of Islam in Pakistan.

For the past 76 years, Kashmir has remained a disputed territory among the major powers surrounding it. India and Pakistan, since their independence, have repeatedly clashed over the control and complete annexation of the Valley to their territories. This could mean two things: Firstly, these two new states wished to demonstrate their ability to maintain control over their decisions and in a way, lay the foundations of their national identity. Alternatively, their stubborn ambitions have led them to claim this territory due to the suspicion and mistrust that has built up over the years.

On the other hand, China, while annexing the Aksai Chin territories during the 1962 war and receiving certain territories from Pakistan, maintains a firm position regarding its claim to the majority of the Kashmir territory. It is important to mention that China has other interests near the disputed Valley, such as Tibet and all the pressure that the People's Republic exerts to obtain this great plateau north of the Himalayas. *Figure 2* shows the current divisions of Kashmir and how the three interested parties manage it.

Figure 2

Current Kashmir territory with its divisions



Note. This figure shows the current map of the territory of Kashmir with its respective divisions between India, Pakistan, and China.

Source: Taken from Kashmir: the maps that show the growing conflict in the region (and what China's role is in the dispute over it), by BBC News World, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-internacional-49297592>

3.2 China's tensions with India and Pakistan

This section is of great importance, it indicates the different tensions that China maintains and has maintained with both India and Pakistan since the beginning of the Kashmir Conflict. China, being a superpower not only in Asia but worldwide, harbors numerous economic and territorial interests that could contribute to expanding its power. However, this ambition to extend its empire has generated serious tensions with its opponents with India being the most prominent in this scenario. With this country it has a long history of tensions, on some occasions these even became confrontations, but the problem is that these have remained active until today. On the other hand, with Pakistan, it did have small tensions when China decided to join the Kashmir claim, however, with time the Chinese became great allies of the Pakistanis to confront the Indians. These tensions will be examined below.

3.2.1 Tensions with India

China and India are powers that are becoming more relevant to the global geopolitical configuration over time. Since the mid-20th century, bilateral relations between the two states have been hindered due to their border conflict. Although they share many international interests and considerations. This has generated a lot of mistrust between Beijing and New Delhi, one could even perceive some antagonism between the two (Pardo de Santayana, 2019). According to McGranahan (2003), a point that would help to understand the deterioration of relations between China and India is the conflict that took place in Tibet in the mid-1990s. This first confrontation between the two nations arose when China decided to build between 1957 and 1958, a road that crosses the territory of Aksai Chin in Ladakh. This first road is very important as it connects China with the rest of Central and Western Asia, making it imperative for China to secure their borders. But India, to this day, maintains that this territory belongs to them.

Wu. et al (2022) propose that China's intentions regarding the various regions it shares with India, especially those located in the Himalayas, are linked to natural resources. This mountain range serves as a land connection between China and Central Asia. Geopolitical tensions are mostly concentrated in the regions of Kashmir, Nepal, and Tibet, and minor ones on the Bhutan-Tibet border of China. A study by authors Shihai Wu, Yili Zhang, and Jianzhong Yang (2022) shows that the political risk is centered in the southern Kashmir Valley, while the economic risk is in the regions of Kashmir that are administered by Pakistan and Nepal. The risk of economic corridors built by China must also be taken into account. In the Himalayan region several factors stand out, including, political instability, economic vulnerability, the intervention of major economic powers such as China and India, religious extremism, terrorism, and notably ethnic conflicts. Ethnic conflicts refer to the confusion at the time of the Partition of India when

Muslims and Hindus found themselves stranded in the wrong states. The lack of awareness of the geopolitical risks has caused the construction of economic corridors such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and the Bangladesh-China-India-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor to generate more tensions between India and China, as well as substantial losses.

The Himalayas are of great importance to China as they provide substantial geopolitical connotations. The 1962 Indo-Chinese war interrupted the trade routes that were used in the region, which generated a blockage of trade and socio-economic ties, going from being a transit zone to a region isolated from the most important economic centers. Later, when Indo-Chinese relations improved, the natural resources offered by the Himalayas, especially water, were not taken into account. This is why the geopolitical risks involved in trade routes must be assessed. *Figure 3* below shows the physical map of the Himalayas.

Figure 3

Territory of the Himalayan Region



Note. This figure shows the physical map of the Himalayan region and its borders with China and India.

Source: Taken from: Physical map of the Himalayas, by Arenal, G, n.d., <https://didactalia.net/comunidad/materiaeducativo/recurso/mapa-fisico-del-himalaya-grid-arenal/184436f9-3a3a-4355-bbfe-45eebafa2eb7>

Returning to the Indo-Chinese tensions regarding Tibet, when the border limitations between China and India were formed, Britain and Tibet established the McMahon Line. As mentioned in the previous section, China and India had a brief confrontation in which the Chinese government gained control of Aksai Chin. As Solorzano and Portador (2021) state, China, upon occupying Tibet, killed thousands of inhabitants including the Dalai Lama and his monks. Subsequently, in 1986 India accused China of not having respected the McMahon Line, and the Chinese government in response claimed that Indian soldiers had trespassed into the region of Tibet that was controlled by China. In 1988, a peace agreement was signed in which both nations agreed to respect the LAC, the conflict was not resolved, but pacified. From 1990 onwards, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, India received a lot of support from the United States in terms of armaments because of the growing relationship between China and Pakistan. The Americans and Indians, fearing a nuclear standoff between the two other states, decided to address this situation. Gatto (2017) highlights that in 1993 both China and India signed the Agreement for the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility for the Line of Effective Control (hereafter LEC) and another in 1996 called the Military Field Peace Agreement, somewhat stabilizing their border issue.

However, China's relations with Pakistan have further heightened Indo-Chinese tensions. The Pakistanis are valuable strategic allies for the Chinese in their rivalry with the Indians. This is not favorable for India because if China succeeds in building its port in Gwadar, Pakistan, it would be an important platform for forging its economic ambitions in Central Asia, South Asia, and the Middle East. China is the world's largest importer of oil and will have access to the crude oil found in the Persian Gulf. The waters in that location are very deep which will allow it to have submarines and aircraft carriers keeping them informed of U.S. movements in the Gulf. This port is important as it will be not only a maritime but also a land point for China's new "One Belt, One Road" or New Silk Road project. However, India maintains that this post will serve as a spy post rather than an economic initiative. The close economic and military relationship between Pakistan and China helps contain Indian pressures in the region. As well as Chinese support in nuclear weaponry for Pakistan to curb Indian nuclear advances and the latter has been openly referred to as a Chinese threat (Gomez, 2019). Figure 4 shows the location of Gwadar port and its outlet in the Arabian Sea.

Figure 4

Chinese port at Gwadar, Pakistan



Note. This figure shows the route from China to the port at Gwadar, Pakistan. It provides a direct exit to the Arabian Sea.

Source: Taken from: Pakistan: Gwadar port starts operations, from Geopolitika, 2016, <https://www.geopolitika.ru/es/news/pakistan-el-puerto-de-gwadar-empieza-funcionar>

In 2005, they signed a protocol that emphasizes a long-term partnership for a final resolution to their conflict. Both nations agreed not to use force or threaten to use it. However, their relations in the following years continued to deteriorate due to China's military support to Pakistan in its dispute with India over the Kashmir region (Brethower et. al, 2022). Considering Solorzano and Portador (2021) in late 2017 there was a clash between the Chinese military and Indian military in the Nathu La area in the Himalayas, arguing that both nations crossed the established border. In the following years, there were annual meetings between the two countries to improve the situation of their border just like their dislikes in Kashmir and Jammu regions, these were maintained for a while until a new confrontation took place in 2020. Taking into consideration the words of Brethower et. al (2022), in June 2020, a Chinese and an Indian patrol clashed on the Galwan River in the Kashmir valley, leaving a toll of twenty Indian patrolmen while China claims that of theirs there were four casualties, but the Times magazine estimated that it was at least 35 patrolmen. This was one of the most violent incidents between the two nations after a long time. However, given the number of disputes and tensions in the area, an armed confrontation was expected to break out. Following the confrontation, both nations agreed to de-escalate tensions and demilitarize unnecessary areas to ensure a cessation of hostilities. The Line of Control remains the longest disputed border in the world.

Southerland (2014) argues that China has a larger capacity to move its military forces as well as weaponry in areas of conflict with India, especially in Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh. However, in

recent times India has increased its military forces along the LAC. According to Wagner (2019), India's relationship with China's proposed Belt and Road Initiative is complex, not only in terms of regional but also global dynamics. It is argued that India remains against this project, but it has two dilemmas working against it: China is its largest trading partner and at the same time its main strategic challenge. India's claims on Aksai Chin in Kashmir and China's claims on the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh in meridional Tibet increase tensions between the two without providing a solution to the conflict. An obstacle presented to China is the presence of the Dalai Lama in India plus the people who fled from Tibet to India, creating a bilateral security problem for the Chinese. The author argues that it is difficult for India to evade the One Belt, One Road project. China's investment in India will continue, as will its influence in neighboring countries by creating rules that Indian investors will have to comply with, thus being a long-term strategic competition between the two nations.

In general, Sino-Indian relations have been affected in many ways. Their clashes have caused them to move back and forth. Also, the cooperation that China provides to Pakistan is not favored by Indians, and the various economic projects that the Chinese government has in the area. This has prevented any improvement in their relations, apart from the growing influence that China has over the countries near the area. It is expected that in the future, both nations will be able to resolve the ongoing conflicts, specifically in the regions of Kashmir and Jammu. A conflict has been going on for some time and so far, the binational and international attempts to solve it have been unsuccessful. An important point raised by Solórzano and Portador (2021) in their work "Geopolitics in the Triple Frontier of Kashmir: Conflicts between China, Pakistan and India", is how the tensions between India and China may affect their economic-trade association, BRICS, which Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa belong. This bloc may be affected in terms of its international importance and may fail in the future. Why? Because the other countries belonging to the agreement have not been able to appease the existing tensions between the two countries in the Kashmir area. Therefore, military confrontations over this territory have been developing uncontrollable.

3.2.2 Tensions with Pakistan

The literature review showed that there have not been many tensions between China and Pakistan but more political and economic relations between the two states. To name the relations between the two countries it should be kept in mind that both are non-democratic states that share mutual interests (Priego, 2010). Umaña (2021) highlights that in 1963, when Pakistan announced its decision to cede territory to China in the Kashmir region, it attracted the attention of the international community, specifically India. However, both countries maintained that it was a joint decision with administrative and economic considerations.

This had consequences for the ongoing negotiations between India and Pakistan on a possible final division of Jammu and Kashmir. It is evident that these talks failed to materialize and no such division occurred. However, in 1960 Pakistan chose to use force in its Kashmir claims against India and they did so in subsequent clashes. It is then that China sees an opportunity for military cooperation with Pakistan to confront India. As noted by Qaddos (2020) in his work "The Pakistan, India, and China Triangle", China is Pakistan's largest supplier of military equipment and defense, and it is estimated that the Chinese government has supplied 70% of Pakistan's armaments since it entered the conflict. This has generated tensions between India and China as mentioned above, but it is believed that from the beginning the Pakistanis joined the Chinese to have an advocate for the Indians in terms of their growing tensions. This ensures territorial security.

However, the most notorious common interest between China and Pakistan is the hostilities they maintain with India, as well as economic and military factors. Relations between the two states began in 1950 when Islamabad (Pakistani territory) and Beijing established diplomatic relations. Since then, Pakistan has remained a loyal ally of China, in some cases it is said to be completely dependent on China for its survival in the region. Three aspects are very important for China to consider Pakistan as an ally: its power in the Islamic world, its shared enmity with India, and its strategic location to carry out its One Belt, One Road project. However, in 2010 this relationship was overshadowed when Asif Ali Zardari was elected president of Pakistan, and the security of the Chinese residents in the country was affected by various incidents of aggression towards them. But they overcame this, maintaining that their strategic relationship should be kept intact. This relationship is necessary for both (Priego, 2010).

The following section will discuss perhaps the most important relationship that China has with Pakistan, its economic initiative in the region, and the importance of Kashmir in the region. Quoting

Adeney and Boni (2021) the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (hereafter CECP) is the most ambitious project that China has invested in with an approximate budget of \$25 billion in roads, ports, power plants, etc. This mega project was announced in April 2015 and will be 3,000 kilometers long. Wagner (2016) proposes that a future investment could reach \$46 billion to complete this project which is part of the One Belt, One Road or New Silk Road macro project. The CECP passes through the disputed regions of Jammu and Kashmir, which is of interest to India, and is viewed negatively by India. This initiative plays a significant role in China's foreign policy, aiming to establish a single highway through Central and South Asia, as well as a sea route in the Indian Ocean. Once both routes are completed, the CECP will encompass roads, rail networks, and gas pipelines. However, its construction has raised concerns in Pakistan regarding the benefit of the provinces through which it will pass. The Pakistanis have agreed that the project should benefit as many provinces as possible. Additionally, concerns arise regarding the safety of Chinese workers, an example of which are the kidnappings and assaults they receive in Baluchistan. Finally, there are fiscal demands imposed by China in exchange for relaxing the credit conditions received by Pakistan.

This corridor seeks to connect the city of Kashgar in the Xinjiang region of northeastern China with the port of Gwadar in Baluchistan in southwestern Pakistan. This economic corridor provides the Chinese government with direct access to the Arabian Sea. Beijing has shown much interest in Kashmir's water resources and India argues that the CECP may be just a screen to access these. But Pakistan has denied these allegations, citing the importance of economic cooperation with China. However, this project has been affected by the tensions that are maintained in the borders of Kashmir. Many times, it has been slowed down due to the clashes that have occurred or blockades by the Pakistani inhabitants themselves, who are against the corridor (Solórzano and Portador, 2021).

While China has not faced any specific tensions with Pakistan, some obstacles in its relations with Pakistan have emerged from the CECP. China's growing power over the region and most of all the Kashmir issue must be taken into consideration. The relations between the two countries are very important. For Pakistan it is a matter of ensuring its security, while for China, it means increasing its influence and dealing with the power that India holds in the region as well.

3.3 China's potential gains from gaining the Cordillera

If one thinks of China's primary benefit from obtaining disputed territory in Kashmir, it is of an economic nature. As Utria (2018) suggests, the CECP initiative and its New Silk Road project will provide China with unimaginable economic gains. It will not only make it earn a lot of money through trade but also gain more power in terms of its international perception. This initiative will also make China strategically unite with other countries in the region, as it needs others to make this new trade route a reality. In this way, it will solidify its international relations and the international community should not see it as a giant that uses small countries to achieve its objectives. On the other hand, Asensio (2018) argues that, if China manages to appease the tensions present in the Kashmir region, this will not only end its One Belt, One Road mega project but also bring an end to a conflict that has been active for 76 years. This is imperative for there to be a significant breakthrough in the international perception of China as posited by the previous author. However, they should be mindful of the friction and dissatisfaction that the people of Gwadar and other provinces have expressed about the Chinese government's treatment of them. These have been reflected in altercations among the thousands of Chinese workers who are working in Pakistan. In the area of Kashmir that was provided to China by Pakistan, there have also been clashes not only with Indian soldiers but also with Pakistanis who remain in the region.

Another important point suggested by Ferrero (2015), is China having a free passage through Kashmir would give way to direct access to the Indian Ocean. This would be a breakthrough for China's proposed trade development. Because it could not only have a naval base to face the influence of the United States in the Persian Gulf but would facilitate trade to Africa, Europe, and the rest of the world. Minghao (2015) states that, if China succeeds in advancing with the New Silk Road, it would economically connect by sea with East Asia at one end and with Europe at the other. By land, it would form a Eurasian bridge through an economic corridor that would include China-Mongolia-Russia. This is through safe and efficient transport routes. With this project, China would fulfill very important aspects: expanding investment cooperation, improving coordination of development policies, enhancing financial integration, projecting a broad infrastructure network, and deepening ties between nations. China has also used politics to encourage countries to participate in the project and international organizations to cooperate. An example would be the joining of the One Belt, One Road with the Eurasian Economic

Union and other organizations. This would also forge relations between China and the European Union (hereafter EU), with economic cooperation between the Chinese state and the EU both gaining significant monetary gains.

If one continues with what Minghao (2015) proposes about China's relations with the EU, in 2015 President Xi Jinping visited the EU headquarters. It was the first time a Chinese president had visited the headquarters in 40 years. This proposed four major partnerships for relations with the EU to be strengthened: peace, reform, growth, and civilization. If China succeeds in strengthening these ties, it would mean the growth of its global influence and thus serve to strengthen the interests shared by Beijing and Brussels. However, relations have been overshadowed by the partial support Russia receives from China. Another EU concern is China's policy on maritime issues and suspicions that the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) does not respect international rules, as it is a Chinese-led organization. The One Belt, One Road initiative implies greater responsibility on the part of China in its commitment to international development.

This mega-project proposes EU facilitation of trade routes connecting Asia to Europe, protection of maritime routes, funding for structures in the EU, and opening up new markets. But China has sensed some disagreement among EU member states over One Belt, One Road. Europeans are concerned about China's transparency and that financing arrangements could dull the competitiveness of European companies in the agreement. To allay these concerns, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang affirmed that China is willing to participate in the European Fund for Strategic Investments (EFSI). This would mean the creation of a joint fund to help with joint procurement, project participation, and mutual financing. If the EU were to commit to the New Silk Road initiative, it could stabilize its relations with Russia and open the way to changing international trade and investment rules - which is of great benefit to China.

If China were to obtain the area of interest it has in Kashmir, it would have a clear path to continue with the construction of its New Silk Road project. This would imply economic progress not only for China but also for the other countries that would be part of this initiative. For this to happen, the tensions that remain latent in the Kashmir region must be reduced and better resolved. But the Indian opposition factor puts a halt to India's progress, even though Pakistan has already given it a free pass to do so.

4. Discussion

Based onto the 36 bibliographic sources that were found, the literature review on the topic "CHINA AS A THIRD SUBJECT OF INTEREST IN THE CACHEMIRA CONFLICT" was successfully completed. The sources include articles, books, book sections, theses, and reports. Authors from different nationalities were considered, especially those linked to the conflict such as Chinese, Indians, and Pakistanis, so that there is no single opinion on the issues discussed. The information that was considered relevant was used for the elaboration of the research results.

The findings suggest that China being a third subject of interest alters the dynamics within the Kashmir Conflict. This is because China needs this territory to continue with one of its most ambitious projects called One Belt, One Road, which would imply unimaginable economic growth for the Chinese economy. The importance of this finding makes the research take a different turn since China's intentions at the time of intervening in the conflict were not very clear. According to these findings, the research answers the three objectives that were raised in the beginning: 1. To analyze Kashmir since Independence, 2. To examine China's tensions with India and Pakistan, and 3. To analyze China's possible gains from obtaining the Cordillera.

The most pertinent contradictory result is when examining the tensions between China and Pakistan. However, the findings suggest that there have been more economic and military relations, rather than tensions as such. This contributes to the research by offering a different perspective on the Conflict. Nevertheless, for future studies on this topic, one could delve into the growing rejection of Pakistanis towards Chinese workers. Such frictions may be detrimental to the progress of China's One Belt, One Road project in the future.

This work presents some weaknesses and certain limitations at the time of developing the research. The weakness of the study lies in the extensive nature of analyzing a conflict like Kashmir. Due to its historical relevance and extent, there have been no indications that it will be resolved soon. The parties

involved have very different interests in the area. This causes weakness at the time of a gain analysis of the Kashmir territory. On the other hand, another limitation of the study is the amount of information from India and Pakistan, but not from China. Finally, the general limitations were the authors, since there was not a great representation of Chinese nationals but more from other countries in general. As a result, this did not provide a clear view of China's perspective, apart from its interests in the One Belt, One Road project.

Future lines of research are open. Authors could address issues such as the implication that China's New Silk Road Project has on its economic competition with India and, why not, with the United States. Also, what the Kashmiris' perspectives on the conflict are, since their opinion is not usually included in the decisions taken on their territory.

5. Conclusions

As a conclusion, the final conceptions of the solved objectives will be discussed. In response to Kashmir's first issue since independence, this territory has suffered greatly since 1947. Since that time China, India, and Pakistan have not put a stop to their differences and clashes over the territory. Turning Kashmir into a highly militarized and controlled zone. There has been no progress in bilateral relations indicating the solvency of the various disputes between the three states. Over time, the various tensions between China and Pakistan with India have weakened their relations. The Indo-China War of 1962 was one of the most important because it officially defined the division of Kashmir, from which China took the territory of Aksai Chin. Since then, there have been agreements such as the Line of Actual Control, which marks the territorial divisions in the Valley and implies that the states must respect. Nevertheless, the Chinese government needs to have free access through Kashmir as soon as possible to complete its One Belt, One Road project. This is why China disrespects the dividing lines and increased tensions with India in particular. Unfortunately, the nations disputing Kashmir want to annex the territory to their own without taking into account what the Kashmiris want - to be an independent state. The three states have clashed on several occasions, resulting in many deaths over the years.

This brings us to the second proposed theme, China's tensions with India and Pakistan. From this, it is concluded that tensions with India are the most important, as they remain latent to this day. While, with the research on Pakistan, it is concluded that there have been no significant tensions, but bilateral relations. However, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is generating doubts and regrets among Pakistanis. China's relations with India stem not only from their clashes over Kashmir territory but also from their economic competition to be the most influential country in Asia. Their border clashes in Kashmir have caused their tensions to escalate to the point of constantly disrespecting their border agreements and accusing each other of encroaching on their territories. Another important point is the lack of acceptance of Chinese support for the Pakistanis, as the Indians state that they are at a disadvantage in the conflict. It is hoped that in the future both nations will be able to bring closure to their ongoing conflicts, specifically in the regions of Kashmir and Jammu.

Since a significant worsening in the relation between China and India may affect their economic-trade association to BRICS, to which Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa belong. This bloc may be affected in terms of its international importance and may fail in the future. In addition, the other countries belonging to the agreement have not been able to defuse the tensions between the two countries in the Kashmir area to the point of not controlling the military confrontations over this territory. Although the two countries share many international interests and considerations and China is India's largest trading partner, they must seek the earliest possible solution to the Kashmir dispute. Not only will there be a historic breakthrough, but they will also put an end to a confrontation that has been simmering for more than 70 years.

However, the relations between China and Pakistan are very different from those explained above. The two states are strategic allies in dealing with India. An example of this is when Pakistan ceded Kashmir territory to China so that they have a common border. This helped China enormously in laying the foundations for an economic corridor that is now one of the most important in Asia. It is also imperative to mention the military protection provided by the Chinese government to the Pakistani government. This protection means the survival of Pakistan in its conflict with India since 70% of the war material it uses comes from China. On the other hand, their collaboration to implement the CECP, brings two significant benefits, for Pakistan's security and China an increase of its economic power in the region. However, some obstacles have arisen from the CECP in its relations with Pakistan. Therefore, China

must prioritize its relations with Pakistan because it is through this country that its great One Belt, One Road project begins.

Finally, China must win its fight for Kashmir. With Pakistan as an ally, it just needs to negotiate well with India. Although it is not easy because of India's claims over the Valley, the Chinese government must engage in negotiations for an early solution to the conflict. If it does not win the whole territory but only the part or parts that interest it, it will be able to continue with its New Silk Road project. In doing so, China will be unstoppable and its economic gains will be unimaginable. This would imply economic progress not only for China but also for the other countries that would be part of this initiative. For this to happen the tensions that are still simmering in the Kashmir region need to be lessened and better resolved. But the Indian opposition factor puts a stop to India's progress, even though Pakistan has already given it a free pass to do so. In addition to the religious issues that are increasingly present in the region, these were not explored in depth in the present research but may be analyzed in future research.

Thus, China has become a third actor of interest in the Kashmir conflict. A very important subject that since its participation changed the rules of the game. It provides support to Pakistan and is a major opponent for India. Of the three states, China is perhaps the one that most desires the territory of Kashmir due to its interests and projects in the region. But it will have to put aside its differences and try to solve the conflict, it already has the support of Pakistan, it only has to reach an agreement with India. The frictions in Kashmir are increasingly constant as well as the disagreements. If they are not appeased, armed clashes may break out and result in wars, as happened in the past.

Only now China, Pakistan, and India are nuclearized countries, which poses a huge risk not only to the region but to the whole world. China's ambition to expand its territory and to initiate the One Belt, One Road project may cause it to make hasty and unforeseen decisions regarding the Kashmir Conflict.

6. References

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ANNEX

Annex 1

Tipo de fuente	Autor	Coficicación de fuentes	Año de publicación	País de origen	Contenido teórico general	Contenido teórico específico	Base de datos
Artículo	Bharadwa,j Prashant; Ijaz, Asim; Mian, Atif	[14]	2008	Estados Unidos	La Partición de la India.	Flujos migratorios después de la división territorial de la India y Pakistán.	Scopus
Documento de opinión	Gómez Aveda, Ana	[22]	2016	España	Región de Cachemira.	Codicia asiática por el Valle de Cachemira	Google Académico
Artículo	Zutshi, Chitralkha	[12]	2010	Reino Unido	Perspectiva de las fronteras	Reestructuración de la historia de las fronteras de Cachemira	Scopus
Libro	Bose, Sumantra	[2]	2003	Reino Unido	Raíz del Conflicto de Cachemira	Raíces y soluciones de paz al Conflicto de Cachemira	Refseek
Libro	Kabir, Ananya	[8]	2009	Estados Unidos	Valle de Cachemira	Deseo por el Valle de Cachemira	Refseek
Sección de libro	Izquierdo Alberca, María José	[34]	2017	España	Conflicto de Cachemira	Otras concepciones aparte del conflicto en sí	Google Académico
Artículo	Ballesteros Peiró, Ana	[6]	2021	España	Distintas perspectivas internacionales sobre Cachemira	Historia de un fracaso colectivo en Cachemira	Google Académico

Artículo	Mohd Arif, Sheikh	[24]	2015	India	Guerra en la frontera Indo-china	Tensiones entre la China y la India por su frontera compartida	Scopus
Tesis	Hameedy, Qasim	[7]	2013	Pakistán	Guerra Indo-china de 1962	Actuales tensiones entre la China y la India tras su enfrentamiento en 1962	Refseek
Artículo	McGarr, Paul	[32]	2021	Reino Unido	Repercusiones coloniales en el mapa asiático	Influencia del Reino Unido para el desarrollo de la Guerra Indo-China de 1962	Scopus
Artículo	Naudon, Carlos	[10]	1979	México	Miedo hacia la China	Influencia internacional de la China en la década de los 70.	Google Académico
Artículo	Mukhtar, Shabnum	[20]	2021	India	Historia de la liberación de Cachemira	Dificultad para los cachemires en liberarse del conflicto territorial en su región	Scopus
Sección de libro	McGranahan, Cole	[18]	2003	Reino Unido	Comparación entre Cachemira y el Tíbet	Comparación de conflictos, estados y soluciones entre Cachemira y el Tíbet	Scopus
Artículo	Tirimagni-Hurting, Christiane	[17]	2016	India	Guerra Indo-Pakistaní	El fin del balance de poder en el Sur del Asia	Refseek

Working paper	Alcalde, María Celeste	[5]	2010	Argentina	Conflictos Indo-pakistaníes	Desarrollo de los conflictos en Cachemira y Jammu	Google Académico
Artículo	Travesedo de Castilla, Concepción	[28]	2005	Colombia	Conflictos territoriales en Cachemira	Concepciones actuales de Cachemira y sus posibles soluciones	Scopus
Artículo	Masferrer, Bernat	[31]	2005	España	India, Pakistán y la cuestión de Cachemira	Intervención de China en la cuestión de Cachemira entre la India y Pakistán	Scopus
Sección de libro	Pardo de Santayana, José	[13]	2019	España	Conflictos en la frontera Indo-china	Tensiones por cuestiones fronterizas entre la China y la India	Google Académico
Artículo	Wu, Shihai; Zhang, Yili; Yan, Jianzhong	[33]	2022	China	Recursos naturales en los Himalaya	Riesgos geopolíticos por el deseo de los recursos naturales en los Himalaya	Scopus
Artículo	Solórzano, Octavio; Portador, Teresa de Jesús	[23]	2021	México	Geopolítica en Cachemira	Conflicto entre la China, India y Pakistán en la triple frontera de Cachemira	Google Académico
Artículo	Gatto, Laura	[16]	2017	España	Tensiones entre la India y la China	Las distintas disputas que han aumentado las tensiones entre ambos gigantes asiáticos	Refseek

Artículo	Gómez, Diana	[11]	2019	Colombia	Diferencias entre la India y la China	Las disputas territoriales y de poder entre la India y la China por ganar el orden global y regional	Google Académico
Artículo	Brethouwer, Jan-Tino; Fokkink, Robert; Greene, Kevin; Lindelauf, Roy; Tornquist, Caroline; V. S. Subrahmanian	[9]	2022	India	Tensiones en los Himalaya	las incursiones de la China en las fronteras de la India en la Cordillera de los Himalaya	Scopus
Reporte	Southerland, Matthew	[19]	2014	Estados Unidos	Las relaciones entre la China y la India	Como las tensiones entre la China y la India persisten aunque su cooperación incrementa cada vez más	Refseek
Artículo	Wagner, Christian	[21]	2019	Alemania	Incremento del poder de China en Asia	Lo que debe afrontar la India con el proyecto de la China de la Nueva Ruta de la Seda	Scopus
Artículo	Priego, Alberto	[7]	2010	España	Las relaciones entre la China y Pakistán	Como las relaciones entre la China y Pakistán han aumentado tras el ingreso de la China al conflicto de Cachemira	Google Académico

Artículo	Umaña, Jorge	[15]	2021	Alemania	La disputa por el territorio de Cachemira	La gravedad de la disputa por Cachemira en la región y porquéno ha sido resuelta	Scopus
Artículo de revista	Qaddos, Maira	[29]	2020	Dinamarca	El triángulo entre la China, India y Pakistán	La posición de Pakistán en la disputa Indo-China por Cachemira	Refseek
Reporte	Adeney, Katherine; Boni, Filippo	[25]	2021	Estados Unidos	Cómo la China y Pakistán negocian	Las distintas pautas que establecieron la China y Pakistán para negociar sus intereses en la región	Scopus
Comentario	Wagner, Christian	[27]	2016	Alemania	Corredor Económico China-Pakistán	Los efectos del Corredor Económico China-Pakistán en las relaciones entre la India y Pakistán	Scopus
Tesis	Utria, Karen	[3]	2018	Colombia	La Nueva Ruta de la Seda	Implicaciones de la Nueva Ruta de la Seda en el desarrollo pacífico de la China	Google Académico

Tesis	Asensio, Ana	[26]	2018	España	Pacto de un corredor económico entre la China y Pakistán	Como el Corredor Económico China-Pakistán establece los límites económicos y estratégicos en la Región del Sur de Asia	Google Académico
Artículo	Ferrero, Julio	[1]	2015	España	Distintos intereses de China sobre la región asiática y Cahemira	Geoestrategia de China y cómo ha evolucionado su entorno geopolítico en la región	Google Académico
Acta de una conferencia	Minghao, Zhao	[4]	2015	Italia	La nueva iniciativa de la China sobre la Nueva Ruta de la Seda	Ganancias y obstáculos de la China al inciar y desarrollar su proyecto de la Nueva Ruta de la Seda	Scopus