

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **Third Parties Influences Towards The Kashmir Conflict**

India and Pakistan have a long disputed in Kashmir valley. Because of that, several countries or organizations got involved in the disputed. Third Parties which also involved in Kashmir including United States, China, United Nations and SAARC. Third Parties try to give their influences such as supported India or Pakistan and facilitate mediation for India and Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir conflict.

In this chapter, the writer not only explains more detail about the third parties which involved in Kashmir dispute but the writer also will explain about the United Nations and SAARC influence to resolve the Kashmir conflict, including the several resolutions which release by United Nations and the strategy SAARC to increase the cooperation among Asian member.

#### **A. The Efforts of United Nations and South Asian Association for**

## **Regional Cooperation (SAARC) to Resolve Jammu-Kashmir Conflict**

### **1. United Nations**

On January 1, 1948, India complains that Pakistan gives illegal assistance to Kashmiri insurgent, and India asks assistance from the United Nations Security Council. In that time, India promised to resolve the Kashmir accession if invader leaves that region. United Nations did not take policy directly about India complain but gives responded by adopting a resolution with establishing the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) (Rajan, 2005).

United Nations proposed the function of United Nation Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) to finding a fact and provide mediating influence toward Kashmir dispute. United Nations release resolution 47 as the basic United Nations stance on the resolution of the Kashmir dispute during 15 years. Resolution 47 divided into three part procedure towards Kashmir :

1. Pakistani demilitarization of the Kashmir region
2. Indian must reduction in military presence and commensurate with the maintenance of law and order
3. Proposed final resolution by an impartial United Nations which administered plebiscite to determine the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

The resolution 47 made for Kashmir resolution by the United Nations, but the resolution cannot be implemented well, mainly difficult to achieve on the procedure part 1 and 2 of demilitarization. India rejected to withdraw of troops from the Kashmir region and ask Pakistani to evacuation before to any demobilization of Indian troops, but Pakistan did not agree to demilitarize but decide to escalate the situation by mobilizing Pakistan troops in direct violation of the Security Council resolution and do negotiations between the nations.

Actually, the demilitarization procedures cannot hold well, however on January 1, 1949, the United Nations Commissions able to negotiate and implemented a ceasefire agreement. After that, the parties also able implemented the ceasefire line on the geographical location but the Commission was disbanded and mediation efforts were continued by individual United Nations representatives from 1949 to 1953 (Ibid., 7).

Sir Owen Dixon, as the first United Nations representative in India and Pakistan (UNRIP) and appointed to mediate in the Kashmir conflict. Owen Dixon gives the suggestion of conducting a plebiscite regionally than on a statewide but the suggestion was rejected. A year later, Frank Graham replace the Dixon place, On December 23, 1952, the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) also suggest a reduction in

military presence by both side but only Pakistan accepted and rejected by India (Ibid., 8).

The effort of United Nations Representative in India and Pakistan (UNRIP) to find a solution Kashmir conflict was Graham's proposal o February 14, 1953, and also rejected by India and Pakistan. Actually, the effort of mediation to focus on creating optimal conditions for plebiscite or referendum but internal and external political development made India away from the idea of a referendum (Ibid., 8).

## **2. The South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC)**

The South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) as an organization in South Asia. It established on December 8, 1985, and played an important role with make the member countries more closer by holding several meeting and summits at various levels. Actually, the government of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka formally adopted SAARC charter providing for the promotion of social, economic and cultural development within the South Asian region and also for friendship and cooperation with other developing countries (Shaheen, 2013).

SAARC also increase the cooperation among member substantially, with its purpose to improve the living standards of the people, cultural, regional economic growth and increasing

cooperation with other regions of the world. SAARC also take several efforts to realize the importance of regional cooperation and development. Including economic and trade discussions, increase in external support or cooperation with observers, social cohesion among member countries, cooperation on security and terrorism, focus on youth, poverty eradication, financial cooperation and also integrated programme of action (IPA) (Ibid., 2).

However, among the SAARC member still, there is mistrust among member and difficult to mutual security perceptions and still has hostility. SAARC member still feels a threat to their political, economic and territorial stability from the neighbouring countries. Because of the historical conflict of colonial rules, SAARC member still stuck in the situation loss of property, lives, identities and communal violence (Ibid., 4).

The failure of SAARC in the South Asian nations that there is a fear of India hegemonic role in the region. Indian want to participate in the decision making the process of the region as a leader and make among the neighbouring countries particularly Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh worried. Because of the concerns among member countries in South Asia make development between member has obstructed (Ibid., 5).

According to Professor Samuel Huntington which mentioned in his book "The Clash of Civilizations" that the failure of SAARC because SAARC member has different cultures. Such as India and Pakistan, they are enemies and fight on minor things, it makes impossible of these two countries to support each other in the same organization. According to Professor Samuel Huntington that no country in the region is having any feeling of belongingness with the other state (Ibid., 5).

In the political systems also as the reason for the failure of SAARC to increase the cooperation among member, because of all the South Asian Countries have different kinds of political systems, such as India has democracy in the political system, in Pakistan has transitional democracy, kingship in Nepal and presidential system in Sri Lanka. The dispute between India and Pakistan towards Kashmir issue also make India and Pakistan still have their differences on the SAARC forum. Besides that, India also has disputes with several SAARC members, including Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, and it makes difficult to achieve the SAARC objectives (Ibid., 6).

Towards India and Pakistan conflict, SAARC also initiatives several actions to reduce the hostility and control the differences by peaceful efforts. The SAARC also gives important role by holding a several forum to suggest that

South Asian states should have a good relationship and make cooperation to form a tighter union. On 1986 16-17, November SAARC summit was held at Bangalore (India) and discuss many new ideas for expanding and strengthening cooperative programs under the SAARC, but in that time India and Pakistan did not take any specific step from that summits (Jabeen, 2010).

SAARC aims also to promote economic cooperation by implemented free trade in the South Asian region, that why the economic ties between India and Pakistan very important. In several time, Islamabad rejected to declare India as a Most Favored Nation (MFN) as per the rules the World Trade Organization, The disputes in Kashmir region also make India extended the MNF status towards Pakistan too in 1995 (Ibid.).

Meanwhile, before the Seventeenth SAARC summit in 2011, after a bilateral meeting in Pakistan, Islamabad decided to grant MNF to India, its decision also make India reducing non-tariff barriers on trade with Pakistan to enhance the volume of trade. India and Pakistan also agreed to increase the number of the item, especially on the list of tradable goods by 2012 to increase the volume of trade to \$6 billions by 2014 (Ahmed, 2012)

## **B. The Intervention of India Towards Kashmir Conflict**

The conflict in Kashmir started since Kashmir was annexed by India even though the majority of Kashmir is Muslim. In 1948, the Indian government made a formal complaint towards the Security Council of the United Nations against Pakistan aggression, because of that complaint in an international forum, the dispute between India and Pakistan become an international issue (United Nations, 1951). In that time, the United Nations give several resolutions including a ceasefire, and also India and Pakistan should proceed with holding a plebiscite and it already agreed by the Government of India and Pakistan (United Nations).

However, the right of self-determination towards the people of Jammu and Kashmir still do not implement until now, according to India that the effort of Pakistan signing of defence agreement with the United States gives threatened towards India security, and it made India withdraw from the commitment of holding plebiscite (Khalid, 2011).

In another side, according to Pakistan that the decision Pakistan on joining the United States defence alliances to keep India away from Pakistan and provide security and political sovereignty on Pakistan territorial integrity (Sarvepalli, 1976). In the history of Kashmir conflict, Pakistan and India involved in wars in 1948 and 1965. In 1965 India



and Pakistan have a war on the dispute and do not achieve the solution for the Kashmir dispute (Bahry, 1983).

Since 1947 India did exploitation towards Kashmir, according to Kashmiri that India would never give their right for self-determination or plebiscite, therefore, in 1980 Kashmiri decides to against towards India occupation (Kishwar, 2002). Actually, The struggle of Kashmiri was peaceful in the first time, but India used force and brutality action to responds the movement of the Kashmiri, India kills and tortured thousands of Kashmir people, because of that Kashmiri took arms in self and decide to against India with armed struggle.

In 1990, the Kashmiri movement got a new momentum with the success of Mujahideen in Afghanistan. In that time, Afghanistan's success against a superpower gives inspiration towards Kashmiri mujahideen (Fayaz, 2016). Kashmiri hope that if they still continue their effort against India occupation, they believe that they also can achieve their right of self-determination.

India also blamed that Pakistan give support towards the rebel to cover its violence in Kashmir, but it only a trick to make international community mislead and make India can continue its repression the Kashmir. India adds thousands of its troops and mined the whole area around Line of Control, in that time Pakistan suggested India give monitoring of Line of Control to United Nations, but India rejected the suggestion and showed the

allegations on Pakistan. Besides that, Pakistan always supported the solution of Kashmir dispute based on the United Nations resolutions and through the peaceful efforts. Pakistan also tried to have negotiations with India, meanwhile, India still emphasizes that Kashmir is an integral part of India and rejected the dialogue on Kashmir problems, if India agreed to negotiations on Kashmir dispute, the negotiation was never found a solution and only to deflect international pressure (Ibid.).

In April 1999, Kashmir blocked the road of Indian supplies to the forces in Siachen or known as Kargil crisis. In that time, India blamed Pakistan for its involvement. India stated immense and threatened Pakistan of all out of the war. This crisis ended with Washington Accord in July through the United States efforts, because of that, the world realizes that Kashmir can become a nuclear flashpoint between India and Pakistan. After that crisis, India adopted a several policies towards Pakistan, India abandoned bilateral relations with Pakistan and make Pakistan isolated on the international level by convincing the world community about Pakistan inappropriate action in Kargil, India also tried to develop its relations with the United States as a US role in resolve the crisis in India held Kashmir (Ibid., 69).

The strategic situation on the struggle of Kashmiris when the organizations such as Lashkar-e-Tayyiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad which support Kashmir freedom were banned by the

United States and other states (Ibid., 70). India still blamed Pakistan on a support of the freedom fighter and also showed the terrorist attack on Kashmir to defame the freedom struggle of Kashmiris, according to India that freedom fighters as terrorists and blamed Pakistan as a state which supports terrorist.

Actually, India asked Pakistan to take action for against the Lashkar e Tayyibe (LeT) and the Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM), but the relations between India and Pakistan become deteriorated because India stopped its diplomatic relations with Pakistan and also stop road and air communication with Pakistan (Ibid., 71). Besides that, India increased troops deployment on LoC and make escalation border tension with Pakistan. Pakistan also responds with the same action and make the threat of nuclear between India and Pakistan increased. India also tried to attack Pakistan with the reason to eliminate the roots of terrorism and to punish the terrorists.

Hardliners in India asked India to take punitive action against the terrorists with bombing the camp across the LoC, India also has considered an attack on terrorist camps in Pakistan, however India did not take that action because of several reasons, such as:

1. Insufficient information about the location of such camps

2. The use of force could trigger a full-scale war between India and Pakistan

The intention of attack and use of force against terrorists was dropped, but India still continues its threat statements to fulfil the people expectation about the war between India and Pakistan. After Pakistan announced about its nuclear weapons used if India did an invasion, the war fever of India decreased. Actually, the real breakthrough between India and Pakistan over Kashmir was narrowed down by the differences both of countries towards the aspects of above provisions. According to India Pakistan do not give self-rule towards Kashmir under Pakistan control and its country already granted a considerable autonomy to the Kashmir under India control. Another side that India stands for giving representation towards Kashmir in consultative mechanism if Pakistan opposed took the stand that the representation should be given in consultative mechanism also. The disagreement between India and Pakistan also on the matter of demilitarization of Kashmir, Pakistan wanted a reduction of troops beside that India does not want demilitarization of Kashmir (Ibid., 71).

Because of the differences, there is no significant progress towards in the solution of Kashmir problem. India also stopped the negotiations towards the solution of Kashmir problem when terrorists attack in 2008 in Mumbai,

and India also blamed Pakistan for this attack (Fayaz, 2016).

India also discontinued the peace process with Pakistan and stated it will be continued again if Pakistan takes action against the terrorists, meanwhile Pakistan already banned the militant groups and dismantled their network. In 2009, Indian Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor revised the Indian military doctrine of "two front war" against Pakistan and China, it makes the peace process between India and Pakistan was stalemated again (Ibid., 74).

Pakistan Army Chief also responded this matter and make the relations between India and Pakistan worsened (Ibid., 74). According to Pakistan the change in the attitude of India because of there is no sincerely from India in resuming composite dialogue and the effort to normalize relations between India and Pakistan were stalled.

During the conflict between India and Pakistan, below the estimated victims and casualties by Indian Army in Jammu and Kashmir region:

**Table 4.1 People Killed by Indian Forces in Jammu**

NO	Years	Civilians	Freedom Fighters	Total
1.	1989	79	0	79
2.	1990	862	183	1045
3.	1991	594	614	1208

4.	1992	859	873	1732
5.	1993	1023	1328	2351
6.	1994	1012	1651	2663
7.	1995	1161	1338	2499
8.	1996	1333	1194	2527
9.	1997	840	1177	2017
10.	1998	877	1045	1922
11.	1999	799	1184	1983
12.	2000	842	1808	2650
13.	2001	1067	2850	3917
14.	2002	839	1714	2553
15.	2003	658	1546	2204
16.	2004	534	951	1485
15.	2005	521	1000	1521
16.	2006	349	599	948
17.	2007	164	492	656
18.	2008	69	382	451
19.	2009	86	291	377
20.	2010	100	277	377
21.	2011	40	67	107
22.	2012	37	80	117
23.	2013	20	100	120

Source : [www.satp.org](http://www.satp.org)

In 1989, a new dimension added towards the Kashmir conflict between the young Kashmiri (Guerilla movement) against India government in Jammu and Kashmir. India government response the movement with use several of draconian laws and increase the thousand of India security forces against the Kashmiri freedom fighters, this condition makes the character of the Kashmir

conflict from a mere dispute become a multi-dimensional nationalist struggle (Majid, 2016).

The conflict in the state of Jammu and Kashmir has largely because of Indian government ineptitude methods. Actually, India proposes several greater autonomy to redress the sense of deprivation of the Kashmiris, but Indian also increase security forces and many military troops have violated on human rights, they were torture, rape and also did executions (Ibid.).

### **C. The Intervention of Pakistan towards**

#### **Kashmir**

In the conflict of Kashmir, the perceptions of Pakistan and India is different. According to Pakistan Kashmir as an unfinished agenda of the division of India in 1946. Pakistan tried to gives the right of self-determination to the Kashmiris which also accepted by the United Nations Security Council Resolution. The importance of Kashmir for Pakistan based on the two nations theory that all India Muslim League based its demand have separate Muslim homeland. The theory mentions that Hindu and Muslims are two separate nations who cannot live together and that the Muslim cannot lead their life and their belief under Hindu domination. The problem happened because Indian control over Kasmir which the majority in the region was Muslim and as the Muslim region that was not given to Pakitan. In another side, in 1948 the

Hindu majority state of Junagadh, whose Muslim ruler preferred to join Pakistan was incorporated by India. According to the majority of Pakistani, Kashmir is so central to their national identity, without Kashmir, the partition of India and liberation of Pakistan still remains fundamentally incomplete (Akhtar, 2011).

In the late 1980s, youths people of Kashmiri concluded that self-determination can be achieved only through an armed struggle. In this situation, Pakistan had been looking for an opportunity to give its influence towards Kashmir and also as the strategy to avenge the humiliation inflicted by India during the 1971 war (Singh, 2016). The situation in Kashmir Valley made Pakistan started providing arms and ammunition towards young Kashmiri Muslims.

Because of that situation, many armed movements was established and received massive support in Muslim dominated areas of Jammu and Kashmir. Several Kashmiris including government employees, the police forces, the academic intelligent and several top bureaucrats supported the separatist slogans which raised by the militants. That situation finally worsened and make India considered of re-establishing the Indian state's right over Kashmir.

The Pakistani leadership also tried several efforts to involve the international community by highlighting the issue on several forums. On January 2, 2009, former President



Pakistan, Zardari told the United States ambassador to Pakistan Anne W. Patterson that "He would have no choice to respond militarily to an Indian attack and there was no more politically sensitive issue in Pakistan than Kashmir", Pakistani side also expecting that the United States to play a leading role in the issue. Besides that, former President United States, Obama said that with ending India and Pakistani differences over Kashmir as one of the keys to calming tension in South Asia and winning the war on terror (Shafiq, 2015).

On the 67th session of the United Nations General Assembly, Zardari as the former Pakistan president stated that "Kashmir remains a symbol of the failure of the UN system and Pakistan's principled position on territorial disputes remains the bedrock of its foreign policy. We will continue to support the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to peacefully choose their destiny in accordance with the UN Security Council's long-standing resolutions on this matter (Hindustan Times, 2012)."

During his visit to Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Zardari also stated that "The struggle for Kashmir began before the struggle for Pakistan. We achieved Pakistan, we will also achieve Kashmir. India could never hope to get its way on Kashmir by force. Democratic governments in Pakistan had negotiated with India on equal terms (Shafiq, 2015)."

Actually, before the Kargil conflict, Pakistan under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif has a close relationship with India. At that time, the leadership of India and Pakistan agreed on increasing cooperation and working together for the resolution of unresolved disputes. Because of that, after becoming Premier of the country for the third time, Nawaz Sharif still hopes as far as India and Pakistan relations are concerned. But a half of the first year of this government, the escalation of hostility on LoC happened (Ibid., 145).

The fact that several right-wing politicians and activists showed their support to the forum, and the pro-Jihad elements have also been active in giving pro militancy statements, it made India has blamed Pakistan that Pakistan giving a free hand to the extremist elements such as Hafiz Saeed to influence sentiments against India under the guise of "Difa-e-Pakistan Alliance". However, Prime Minister Sharif has stated that peace with India as the highest priority which he committed in his agenda (Ibid.).

Actually the Kashmir policy of the Nawaz government still ambiguous, the government did not point a specific effort to resolve the dispute with India and also did not start the Lahore Declaration. However, it has become clear when the Adviser to Prime Minister on National Security and Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz's visit to India that Pakistan agrees to keep all diplomatic channels open with India (Ibid.).

The Pakistan policy toward the Kashmir dispute also changes time to time. Although the policy is important for the relations Pakistan with India, nevertheless every government in Pakistan has devised its own method, so the importance and interest of the dispute have varied and changed time to time. Especially to domestic political factors, the international scenario has also substantially influenced Pakistan policy (Ibid., 146).

The effort to war on terror gives significantly influence towards Pakistan foreign policy including its neighbours, India and Afghanistan. Therefore, the external factor of Pakistan also affected towards the Kashmir policy. the change of dictatorship to democracy, changes in governments, terrorism, extremism and weak in economic sectors, also an imported war on the western border, it as the main factors which influenced the course of Pakistan policy toward the dispute.

#### **D. The involvement of the USA in India-Pakistan disputed**

Kashmir which located in geographic strategic location also makes other countries including the United States has interest towards Kashmir region, not only the United States but also the Soviet Union has interest and looked Kashmir as a good area for and a spreading board of communism especially in South Asia. The Soviet Union thought that Kashmir can give

impact to increase Soviet influence in India. Because of that, Soviet Union agreed that Kashmir as an integral part of India. But the United States as a superpower country knew that if the Soviet Union get its interest in Kashmir and succeed to establishing a military base in Kashmir, it will make the whole region of South Asia in under control of the Soviets Union (Ejaz, 2016).

In 1991, Teresita C. Schaffer as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, on Asian and Pacific Affairs and the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, stated that Kashmir as an unstable region because of terrorists' activities and asked to stop any external support. In that time, to support the Indian position, the United States tried to threaten Pakistan that Pakistan country would be put in the list as the terrorist country if Pakistan still gives support to terrorist in Kashmir. James Baker also sent a letter to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that Pakistan would be designated as a terrorist state under a 1985 congressional mandate if Pakistan did not stop to gives aid for Kashmiri (Ibid., 14).

However, the result of United States Department on December 31, 1992, stated that Pakistan cannot be mentioned as a country which supports terrorism but as a country which supports separatism in Kashmir region. In January 1993, the US State Department spokesman reported that the United States was concerned about the continuing reports from

Pakistani which support Kashmiri militants who commit of terrorist acts in India. United States will discuss this issue with the Pakistan government and still aware for views, and keep the situation under active review (Ibid.).

Since the violence in Kashmir in 1989 happened, the dispute in Kashmir region also causes the regional security situation decrease. The military Pakistan and Indian which faced standoff in the middle 1990 also could any time became a nuclear showdown of Kashmir problem and nuclear capability of both countries. Because of that. Kashmir dispute becomes bracketed as other conflicts in the World. It makes Presided George Bush said that Kashmir as "one of the most dangerous issues on the horizon". In September 1993, The U.S President Clinton also stated similarly in his speech to United Nation in General Assembly session mentioned about Kashmir issued, he stated that "Bloody ethnic religious and civil wars rage from Angola, the Caucasus to Kashmir." (Ibid., 15).

In 1999, Pakistan's forces LoC crossed and tried to take control positions in the Kargil sector which administered in India, Jammu and Kashmir. Its attempt was detected by India in May 1999. Because of that, India gives a fast response with used power on land and air forces to drive out the rioter from the Indian side on the LoC. In that time, gory conflict happening, Indian force can take control Tololing as a high position on 14 June and Tiger Hill on 4 July (Roy-Chaudhury, 2004).

Indian forces make Pakistani get critical defeats. The United States asked Pakistan to respect the LoC and withdraw Pakistan forces in LoC across. The United States also urging India to keep itself from crossing the LoC and makes another conflict. That conflict has a potential for escalation into a full-scale conventional war and makes international community fears that the nuclear escalation can be happened (Ibid.).

Based on the Simla Agreement after the war in 1971, Kashmir was divided into a Line of Control (LoC). The LoC made to replace the ceasefire line. This Line of Control stretched approximately 450 miles from grid reference NW 650 550, in the boundary from the international border it was 35 miles west of Jammu to NJ 980 420 in the Karakoram Range and 65 miles of southeast of Mount K2 and 12 miles north of the Shyok River (Cheema, 2015).

Pakistan viewed that the international isolation towards Pakistan increasing, ultimately Pakistani Prime Minister come to Washington and organized meeting with President of United States, Clinton, on 4 July and asked American intervention to stop the fighting and resolve the Kashmir disputed. Clinton as the President United States at that time told that Pakistani must withdraw from the LoC. Finally, Sharif as Pakistan Prime minister agreed to take concrete and tried to immediate for regression the LoC (Roy-Chaudhury, 2004).

On December 13, 2001, American led the military in Afghanistan got threatened by

Pakistan Jaish e Mohammed which wants gives an attack to the Indian Parliament. After that, India released a 'coercive diplomacy' as a response to against Pakistan. India declares Operation Parakram on December 19, 2001, in known as the largest mobilization of the Indian armed forces. In that time, the nuclear-armed status between India and Pakistan considerable increase. On March 20, 2002, George Tenet as the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) gives warned towards the United States that the chances of war between India and Pakistan increase since 1971 (Ibid.).

In this period, the United States gives a role for India and Pakistan communication. For India, United States can give pressure towards Pakistan to cease cross-border infiltration of militants in India which administered in Kashmir region. On another side, Islamabad as the capital city of Pakistan thought that the United States can control India from military action. The relations between the United States towards India and Pakistan have strengthened extremely in that period, has a unique relationship of trust by two antagonistic nuclear-armed states, India and Pakistan (Ibid., 36).

The facilitation of United States for ending the Kargil conflict, easing tension during confrontation border, and initiate a dialogue between India and Pakistan was classified successfully, but India still remains unwilling to accept the United States mandated resolution for the Kashmir dispute, based in the Simla

declaration in July 2, 1972, both of countries India and Pakistan agreed to settle their differences using peaceful through bilateral negotiations or other peaceful (Ibid., 37).

The United States tries to involve in the conflict between India and Pakistan as the efforts of United States against terrorist networks. According United States that strategic dialogue with Pakistan is the way to counter terrorism cooperation. United States also stated that "We need to work together to address this difference. We continue to work closely with Pakistan, to make sure that they have the support and capacity to conduct counter-terrorism operation," (DAWN, 2013).

On October 22, 2015, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has a meeting with Senator United States Bob Corker, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Ranking members of the Committee at the Capitol Hill. In that meeting, Sharif briefed about four point peace proposal towards India and explain that third-party intervention, as well as the United States, would be most relevant (The Economic Times, 2015).

In the Kashmir dispute, India still rejected any third party intervention to the Kashmir issue and tried that all of the matter between India and Pakistan must be resolved bilaterally between India and Pakistan. In another side, United States assured Pakistan of the continued support by the Congress in complimenting Pakistan efforts which tried



eliminates militancy and extremism movement from Kashmir region (The Tribune India, 2015).

As stated in chapter III, when Hizbul Mujahideen commander Burhan Wani was killed by security forces, violence in Jammu and Kashmir recurred. Farooq Abdullah as former Jammu and Kashmir chief minister said that India should approach third parties, such as the United States and China to mediate Kashmir dispute. The National Conference (NC) leader also said that India has many friends across the world, and allies can act as a mediator between India and Pakistan (Ahmad, 2016).

As written by the hindustannews.com (2017), Abdullah as former Jammu and Kashmir chief minister also said that India and Pakistan must have a dialogue, need other countries to act as mediator, moreover, US President Trump also said that he wants to settle Kashmir problem, not only the United States but also China said that it wants to mediate in Kashmir (Hindustan Times, 2017).

Nowadays, in 2018, the president of the United States confirmed that the United States cut its military aid towards Pakistan. The White House confirmed around \$255 million military aid cut to Pakistan followed by cutting of \$1,3 billion in annual aid to the South Asian nuclear power. Actually, this decisions had many connotations for South Asia, especially towards Pakistan which has been in conflict with India about the status of Kashmir (Shah, 2018).

Since 2002, Pakistan has received aid from the United States more than \$33 billion, the decision of United States cut around \$2 billion make the relations between the United States and Pakistan in a bitter situation. According to the United States that the United States only spending national security assistance only towards Pakistan, until the Pakistani government take serious action against groups, including the Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani network (Ibid.).

According to Dalton as the co-director of the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington D.C that the tension in Kashmir including firings the LoC, attacks on Indian military bases and civil unrest, mostly internal problems for India and Pakistan, but Afghanistan clearly showed that problems as the interstate competition, and it would not become surprised if in the future there are attacks on Indian affiliated locations (Ibid.).

### **E. China influence in Kashmir conflict**

Kashmir is a territory which surrounded by India, Pakistan, China and Afghanistan. In Kashmir disputed between India and Pakistan, China also has interest in Kashmir which occupied by India, and Kashmir which occupied by Pakistan. India interest is related to energy and military primacy of India. China also considers India as a big rival and tried to support Pakistan. China and Pakistan also maintained strong cooperation and strategic partnership and

supported Pakistan in the military conflict between Pakistan and India. China also tried to favour several resolutions for peaceful of Kashmir by both South Asia Nations (Parveen, 2014).

China also has several efforts towards Kashmiri peoples. In 2009, Mirwaiz Umer Farooq as the leader and president of All Parties Hurriyat was invited by China, Mirwaiz was first time invited to official visit China and discuss about the Kashmir cause. In 2009, China also adopted separate visa policy for Indian administrated Kashmir, but in that time China did not make policy for Pakistan, because China tried to give a view that Kashmir is not the internal part of India. China rejected to give a visa for Lt. Gen B S Jaswal, as the head of Indian army which have a command in occupied Kashmir. China gave investment on different energy and power generation projects for Azad Jammu and Kashmir and similarly in Gilgit Baltistan region, China also still rejected to accept Indian control of Kashmir but still involved on Pakistan side (Ibid.).

The interest of China in Kashmir actually caused because Kashmir located in geographic strategic location. Silk Route is very vital to connect China and Pakistan and passes in Kashmir region. Silk Route also good strategic position to allow China for preferable military position over India, through Gilgit in Kashmir Valley, China can insinuate India more closer. China and Pakistan also can build a powerful

military force against India through Siachen Glacier (Ibid., 16).

In 1999, China suggested Pakistan for adhere the "sanctity of the Line of Control" and withdraw Pakistan troops from the Indian side of the LoC. Nowadays, China tried its role as a mediator towards Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. According to China, its responsibility as a "stabilizing force and conflict mediator" in South Asia. Through Beijing intervention and mediation, Global Times in China also focused on the Kashmir dispute and the resolution to resolve the Kashmir conflict (Joshi, 2017).

China stated that China has always adhered to the principle that China does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, but China can not ignore the demands of Chinese interest in protecting the foreign investment. China investment already made along the One Belt and One Road, it makes China must give influence towards regional conflicts, including the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan (Ibid.).

Based report on website [greaterkashmir.com](http://greaterkashmir.com) China investment about \$46 billion on China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), CPEC is the key of the One Belt One Road (OBOR) as a project of Chinese President Xi Jinping but India opposed the project, India stated that they won't give approve of the road which goes through its territory occupied by Pakistan. India also still rejected any third party

get involved in the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir (Greater Kashmir, 2017).

According to China analyst, "a third country army can enter Kashmir based on Pakistan request and use the same logic like the Indian Army used to stop the Chinese military from constructing a road the Doklam area in the Sikkim sector on behalf of Bhutan," which reported by the Economic Times. In that article also explain that, if the Pakistani government request, a third country's army can enter the area disputed by India and Pakistan, also can enter India- controlled Kashmir. It can show that, if Pakistan agreed that third country or third party enter into Kashmir dispute, it possible that third party get involved though China rejects it (The Economic Times, 2017).