

This chapter focuses on India's relations with its two neighbours, Pakistan and China. When we look at India's threat perceptions, we normally focus on these two neighbours as primary threats. These threats are of both, conventional

and non-conventional nature. India has experienced border conflicts and also problems of insurgency. The nuclear weapons dimensions have complicated these relations.

### **Pakistan**

In 1947, British India was divided into two countries - India and Pakistan (East and West). Pakistan's founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah and his All-India Muslim League party had demanded a separate country for Muslims. Pakistan emerged as an Islamic State while India became a secular republic. The partition of British India was extremely violent; communal riots began in many western areas, mostly in Punjab and Bengal. More than a million people died in clashes, and millions more migrated from Indian territory to Pakistan and from the

Pakistani side to India.

The fear of India, which emerged as a stronger military power after partition, was the core of Pakistani world view after independence. Therefore, Pakistan's defence policies revolved around the theme of Indian domination and the ways to tackle it. Pakistan tried to solve this problem by seeking cooperation from the Arab countries in the early years of its independence. Later it took the help of China and also joined the American military alliances.

This chapter focuses on the following



**Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh**

issues of conflict between the two countries:

- (i) The Kashmir problem (including the Siachen issue)
- (ii) Cross Border terrorism and
- (iii) The China factor.

### Kashmir Issue

#### Do you know?

##### Jammu and Kashmir

Jammu and Kashmir is surrounded by Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in the North East, Tibet Autonomous Region in the East (both are part of China); Indian states of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab in the South; Pakistan in the West and Afghanistan border in the North West.

The Northern and Western region of Jammu and Kashmir is occupied by Pakistan. This region has three areas: Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan. Pakistan describes the areas of Gilgit and Baltistan as 'Northern Areas'.

The state of Indian Jammu and Kashmir had three regions: Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. In August 2019 this state was reorganised into two Union territories: Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh.

Under the British administration Jammu and Kashmir was a state ruled by a hereditary Maharaja. When the British decided to grant independence to India and Pakistan, the Princely states were given the option of joining India or Pakistan. In October 1947 the state was attacked by Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh sought help from India. He signed the Deed of Accession with India. India then sent troops to Srinagar to stop the

Pakistan supported raiders leading to the first war between India and Pakistan. The war ended in 1948 with a ceasefire. Pakistan controlled about one third of the area of the state and called it Azad Kashmir while the rest of the region remained with India.

India and Pakistan fought their second war over Kashmir in 1965. The conflict began after a clash between border patrols in the Rann of Kutch in May 1965, later it escalated after Pakistani soldiers crossed the ceasefire line dressed as Kashmiri locals. The war ended with a United Nations mandated ceasefire. In 1966, the two countries signed a peace agreement at Tashkent (now in Uzbekistan).

India and Pakistan went to war a third time in 1971, this time over East Pakistan. The conflict began when the Pakistani government refused to allow Awami League's Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whose party won the majority of seats in the 1970 parliamentary elections, to become the Prime Minister. Pakistan began a military crackdown on Dhaka. India became involved in the conflict after the Pakistani air force launched a pre-emptive attack on airfields in India's northwest. The Pakistani army surrendered at Dhaka and East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh on December 16, 1971. A peace conference was held at Shimla in 1972 where India and Pakistan agreed to establish durable peace in the subcontinent and settle any disputes by peaceful means.

The problem of internal security started in late 1980s. Pakistan began giving "moral and diplomatic" support to

the activist groups taking part in the fight in Kashmir. This was the beginning of cross border terrorism in Kashmir. There were a spate of political murders during 1989. These included assassination of Kashmiri Pandit intellectuals and other political leaders. Around this period the Mujahedeen fighters from Pakistan also started to enter Kashmir making it a religious struggle. The changes in the nature of conflict in Kashmir from a political struggle for independence to a religious struggle had an impact on the local population. The local Pandit families were forced to migrate out of Kashmir.

In 1999 conflict occurred in the Kargil sector. Pakistani forces occupied strategic positions on the Indian side of the Line of Control, prompting an Indian counter-offensive in which they were pushed back to the other side of the original Line of Control.

Pakistan's support to various terrorist groups in Kashmir continued resulting in terrorist attacks in various places. In 2001, an armed attack took place on the Indian Parliament in New Delhi by Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad. In 2008 a bomb attack took place on the Indian embassy in Kabul. India blamed Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) directorate for this attack. In 2008 armed gunmen conducted attacks on the Taj Mahal Hotel, the Oberoi Trident Hotel, the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, Leopold Cafe, Cama Hospital, Nariman House, a Jewish community centre, Metro Cinema and St Xavier's College. More than 160 people were killed in the attacks.

In January 2016 the Pathankot Air Force Station was attacked. India suspected Maulana Masood Azar to be responsible for the attack, the United Jihad Council (UJC) also claimed responsibility for the attack. In June terrorists targeted a Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) bus at Pampore and in September Pakistani terrorists stormed an Army camp at Uri in Baramulla district, killing 18 soldiers, while they were asleep. In November terrorists tried to storm an Army artillery camp at Nagrota in Jammu. The increased terrorist infiltration led India to take counter measures. In September 2016 India conducted strikes on the terrorist camps located in Pakistan occupied Kashmir region. On 14 February 2019, a suicide terror attack was conducted at Pulwama by a Pakistan based terrorist organization Jaish-e-Mohammad, killing almost 40 CRPF soldiers. On 26 February 2019, India struck the biggest training camp of Jaish-e-Mohammad in Balakot.

### Siachen Conflict

The Siachen Glacier is known as the highest battlefield of the world. Siachen Glacier lies in Northern Ladakh in the Karakoram mountain range. The total area of Siachen Glacier is approximately 78 km. Siachen is the longest glacier of the Karakoram Range and second largest glacier in the world outside the polar region. The average elevation of Siachen Glacier from sea level is approximately 17770 feet. Most of the Siachen Glacier is a disputed territory between India and Pakistan.

Prior to 1984, neither India nor Pakistan had any permanent presence in



### Siachen

the area. The Indian interpretation, based on the Shimla Agreement was that the Pakistani territory extended up to the Saltoro Ridge. India got intelligence in 1984 that Pakistan was preparing to capture the area of Siachen Glacier. But before Pakistan could deploy its army, India launched Operation Meghdoot and took control of the tactical high ground on the strategic Saltoro Ridge just west of the glacier. India's army reached this place first and is sitting at higher altitude

and Pakistan army is sitting at lower altitude; hence Indian army is in commanding position in this region.

### China Factor in Indo-Pak Relations

Pakistan's relations with China began in the 1950s. Pakistan considered China as a counter to India. In 1956 the two countries signed a Treaty of Friendship. Some of the strategically significant agreements that affect India's security are as follows:



### China Pakistan Economic Corridor



- (i) In 1963 China and Pakistan had a border agreement. Under this agreement, Pakistan ceded the Trans-Karakoram Tract (Shaksgam Valley) located in the Jammu and Kashmir area to China to end border dispute.
- (ii) The Karakoram Highway, also known as the Friendship Highway in China, was built by the governments of Pakistan and China. It was started in 1959 and was completed and opened to the public in 1979. The highway connects the Punjab province of Pakistan to the Khunjerab Pass in Gilgit-Baltistan, it then crosses into China to the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.
- (iii) Gwadar Port is situated on the shores of the Arabian Sea in the city of Gwadar, located in the Pakistani province of Balochistan. In 2002 Pakistan signed an agreement with China for the development of the Gwadar Port.
- (iv) The work on the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) began in 2015. It will connect Pakistan with China and the Central Asian countries with highway connecting Kashgar to Gwadar. CPEC projects will also upgrade the Karakoram highway and the Gwadar port.

### Do you know?

China - Pakistan friendship is described as follows:  
This friendship 'is deeper than the oceans and higher than the mountains'.  
China is described as Pakistan's 'all-weather friend'.

### Shimla Agreement 2 July 1972

India and Pakistan signed the Shimla Agreement on 2 July 1972. The agreement was signed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan. The Shimla Agreement contains the following set of guiding principles:

- A mutual commitment to the peaceful resolution of all issues through direct bilateral approaches.
- To build the foundations of a cooperative relationship with special focus on people to people contacts.
- To uphold the inviolability of the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir, which is the most important Confidence Building Measure (CBM) between India and Pakistan, and a key to durable peace.

### Lahore Declaration 21 February 1999

In response to an invitation by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister of India, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, visited Pakistan from 20-21 February, 1999, on the inaugural run of the Delhi-Lahore bus service. The two leaders held discussions on the entire range of bilateral relations, regional cooperation within SAARC, and issues of international concern. The two Prime Ministers signed the Lahore Declaration on 21 February 1999 embodying their shared vision of peace and stability between their countries and of progress and prosperity for their peoples.

The main points of the declaration were:

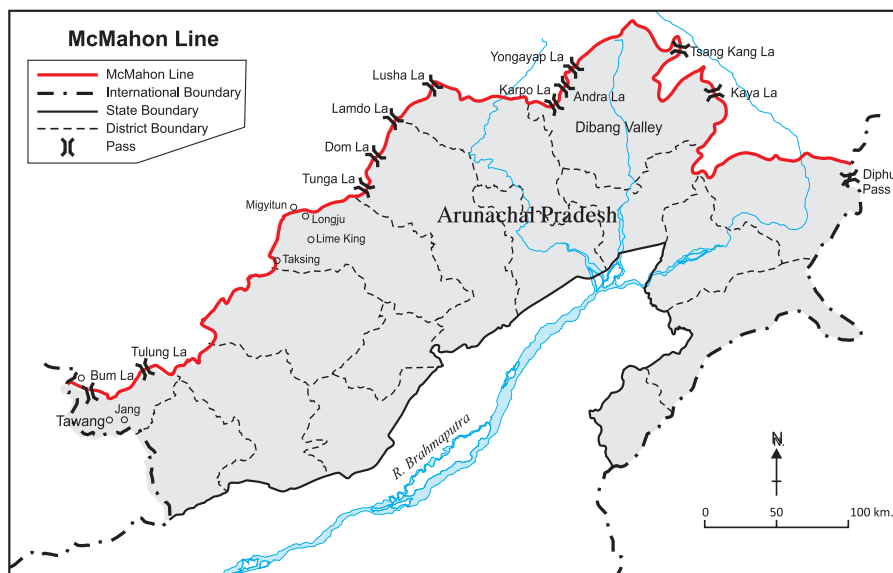
- Intensify efforts to resolve all issues, including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir.
- Refrain from intervention and interference in each other's internal affairs.
- Intensify the composite and integrated dialogue process
- Take immediate steps for reducing the risk of accidental or unauthorised use of nuclear weapons and discuss concepts and doctrines with a view to elaborating measures for confidence building in the nuclear and conventional fields, aimed at prevention of conflict.
- Reaffirm the commitment to the goals and objectives of SAARC
- Reaffirm the condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and the determination to combat this menace.
- Promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

## China

India and China share a long history of cultural and economic relations. The Silk Route had served as a major trade route between India and China. It also helped the spread of Buddhism from India into Tibet and China. China had participated at the Asian Relations Conference held at Delhi in 1947. China had supported the cause of regionalism in Asia.

In 1949 China became a communist state under the leadership of Mao Zedong.

India was one of the first countries to recognise the communist government of China. In 1950 China signed a security treaty with the Soviet Union and became part of the Soviet bloc in the cold war. India's relations with China in the early 1950s were tense because of the cold war rivalry. China did not recognise India's neutral position in the cold war and considered it an imperialist power. This changed in the late 1950s after the Korean war (1950-53), especially after the signing of the Tibet Agreement of 1954.



## McMahon Line

However, this phase did not last long and in 1962 the two countries went to war. It was only in the 1980s that there were serious efforts made to develop a dialogue between the two countries. Today, in the post-cold war era the two countries continue to have a dialogue, but also have small skirmishes on the border and differences on a number of issues.

The major issues of dispute are over the border and on the position of Tibet. Let us study them in detail.

### **Border Issues**

There are two sectors in which the two countries have major disputes over the border : Some areas of Western Ladakh to include the Aksai Chin area (called the western sector), and the McMahon Line (called the eastern sector).

The Aksai Chin area was part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The Chinese started constructing a highway from Tibet to Sinkiang which ran across the Aksai Chin region of North-East Ladakh. In 1957 it was announced that this road had been completed. India sent out two reconnaissance parties in 1958, an army party towards the north and a police party towards the southern area of the road. While the police party returned the army party was detained by the Chinese and later released. It was clear that the road was in Indian territory.

In the eastern sector the dispute is about the status of Arunachal Pradesh (earlier called the North East Frontier Agency, NEFA). The border between NEFA and Tibet had been finalised at the Shimla Conference of 1914. The border

is referred to as McMahon line. The Chinese do not accept this line and claim that the area south of the line (i.e. NEFA) belongs to China. The Chinese describe the region as South Tibet.

In 1962 the Chinese forces crossed the McMahon line and entered the region of Arunachal Pradesh. In the western sector they took control of the Aksai Chin region. After the end of the war the Chinese retained the Aksai Chin area with them but went back to the McMahon line in the eastern sector.

In 1967 clashes took place at Nathu La (Sikkim) when the Chinese launched an attack on the Indian posts. Indian forces defeated the Chinese and destroyed the fortifications built by the Chinese.

### **Tibet**

Tibet was always considered to be an autonomous region within China. The British used the word Chinese ‘suzerainty’ over Tibet and not ‘sovereignty’. Independent India followed the same policy. India had cultural and trade connections with Tibet that had existed for several centuries. In 1950 Chinese sent troops into Tibet to take control of the region.

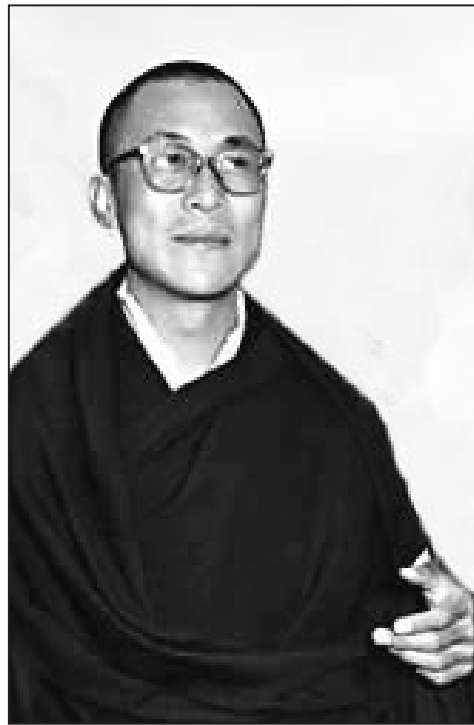
In 1954 India and China signed an agreement titled: ‘Agreement Between the Republic of India And the People’s Republic of China on Trade and Intercourse Between Tibet Region of China and India’. The agreement was based on the five principles of Panchsheel. Under this agreement India gave up the rights that it enjoyed in Tibet and recognised that Tibet was a region of China.

The uprising in Tibet and the suppression by China led to the Dalai Lama's exit from Tibet. He crossed the frontier into India on 31 March 1959 and was given political asylum in India. The Indian government made it clear that he should not indulge in political activity on Indian territory. Unfortunately, there continues to be unrest in Tibet against Chinese policies.

India's primary security concern has been Pakistan and China. India has disputed borders with both Pakistan and China. India has also expressed concern about the close strategic relations between China and Pakistan. China has provided assistance to Pakistan for its nuclear weapon and missile programmes. Increasing Chinese presence in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, especially in the Gilgit-Baltistan region is a matter of concern to India. The China-Pakistan-Economic Corridor is part of this Chinese presence.



**Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the banquet hall with Premier Chou EnLai, 1954.**



**The 14th Dalai Lama after arriving in India 1959.**

India has tried to initiate a dialogue with both the countries. In case of China India has tried to increase its economic relationship. However, the border skirmishes continue to be an irritant. In case of Pakistan, the issue of Pakistan sponsored terrorism, especially in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab are a matter of security concern.

See the following websites for additional details:

1. Briefs of Foreign Relations, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. <https://mea.gov.in/foreign-relations.htm>
2. Annual report, Ministry of Defence, Government of India (latest available)  
<https://mod.gov.in/sites/default/files/AR1718.pdf>



### Do you know?

#### **Agreements regarding boundaries:**

##### **The Ladakh region of the State of Jammu and Kashmir:**

A treaty of 1842 between Kashmir on the one hand and the Emperor of China and the Lama Guru of Lhasa on the other confirmed the traditional boundary between Ladakh and Tibet. In 1847 the Chinese Government admitted that the boundary was sufficiently and distinctly fixed.

##### **Sikkim:**

The boundary of Sikkim, a protectorate of India, with Tibet was defined in the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and jointly demarcated on the ground in 1895.

##### **The McMahon Line:**

This line which runs eastwards from Bhutan defines the boundary of China on the one hand and India and Burma on the other was drawn at a Tripartite Conference held at Shimla in 1913-14 between the Plenipotentiaries of the Governments of China, Tibet and India.

##### **Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas, 7 September 1993**

This agreement provides the framework for border security between the parties until final determination is made regarding border demarcation. The parties agree to reduce troop levels compatible with friendly and good relations between them. They also agree to undertake confidence building measures along the line of actual control including by providing notification of troop movements.

### EXERCISE

#### **Q1 (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements:**

- (i) Jammu and Kashmir became a part of India after the Maharaja of Kashmir
  - a. Declared cease fire in the war with Pakistan
  - b. India defeated Pakistan in the 1947-48 war with Pakistan.
  - c. The Maharaja signed the Deed of Accession.
  - d. Indian army defeated the Maharaja of Kashmir in the 1947-48 war.

- (ii) 'Pancsheel' is part of the
- 1914 Shimla Agreement
  - 1954 Tibet Agreement
  - 1966 Taskent Agreement
  - 1972 Shimla Agreement

**(B) Complete the following sentence by using an appropriate reason:**

- (i) A part of the territory of Kashmir is called 'Pakistan Occupied Kashmir'.
- (ii) Dalai Lama was given asylum in India.

**(C) Find the odd word from the given set:**

- (i) Salto Ridge, Shaksgam Valley, Khunjerab Pass, Nathu La.

**Q.2. State whether the following statements are true or false with reasons:**

- (i) The border between NEFA and Tibet had been finalised at the Shimla Conference of 1914.

**Q.3. Explain the correlation between the following:**

- (i) McMahon Line and Tibet
- (ii) Khunjerab Pass and Friendship Highway.

**Q.4. Answer the following:**

- (i) Write a note on the border dispute between India and China.

**Q.5. Answer the following in detail with reference to the given points;**

- (i) Kashmir problem has been one of the most important source of dispute between India and Pakistan. Write with reference to the following:
- 1947-48 war
  - 1965 war and
  - 1971 war.

**Activity**

Study the map of Jammu and Kashmir. Study the map of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. Find out the geopolitical significance of the region. Discuss it in class.

