

UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



GENERAL

S/1453
6 February 1950

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Letter dated 3 February 1950 from General McNaughton, permanent representative of Canada to the United Nations to the President of the Security Council communicating his report on the India-Pakistan Question

Mr. President:

You will recall that the Security Council on 17 December 1949 requested me, as President, to "meet informally with the two parties and to examine with them the possibility of finding a mutually satisfactory basis for dealing with the Kashmir problem". I reported to the Council on 29 December 1949 on the discharge, up to that date, of my responsibilities pursuant to this decision. I also agreed, at the request of the Representatives of India and Pakistan, to continue to hold myself at their service as long as my mandate from the Security Council ran; and I undertook to report to the Council whenever the Council so desired, in order to bring it up to date regarding the discharge of these responsibilities.

2. As I have understood the mandate given to me in this matter by the Council, it terminated at midnight on 31 December 1949, when my term of office as President expired. Consequently, I have not undertaken any substantive action in this matter since that date. However, I agreed, at the request of the parties, to act as a transmitting agent for them in interchanging their views, to the extent that they wished to use my services for this purpose.

3. The purpose of this letter is to report to you on my activities in this regard since the Security Council meeting of 29 December 1949, and to give you the text of the communications which have passed between myself and the representatives of India and of Pakistan respectively. I should add that, in making this correspondence available to the Security Council, I am acting with the written agreement of the distinguished representatives of India and of Pakistan.

4. You will recall that, as I reported to the Council on 29 December 1949, I undertook at the request of the representatives of India and Pakistan to formulate a proposal for demilitarization, designed to make possible the realization of conditions for holding a plebiscite in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, as provided in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission which both parties have accepted. This proposal was handed to the representatives of the two parties on the night of 22 December 1949. Replies to this proposal were received respectively on 28 December 1949, from the Government of Pakistan and on 29 December from the Government of India.

5. The reply of the Government of Pakistan to my proposals reads as follows:

/"28 December 1949

"23 December 1949

My dear General:

"I have the honour to refer to the proposals which you handed over to me on 22 December 1949, concerning settlement of the question of Jammu and Kashmir and to say that the Government of Pakistan have authorized me to communicate their acceptance of these proposals subject to the amendments set out in annexure I. As you will be pleased to observe, these amendments do not seek to alter your proposals and were suggested to bring out more clearly the objective you have in view. They are confined to such of the amendments originally proposed by us as you were agreed might well be accepted as clarifications of intent. A memorandum explaining the amendments is enclosed (Annexure II).

"Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration,

(Signed) Zafrulla Khan

Minister of Foreign Affairs and
Commonwealth Relations,
Government of Pakistan"

"General A.G.L. McNaughton,
President of the Security Council,
New York

Annexure I

"AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY PAKISTAN
TO GENERAL McNAUGHTON'S PROPOSALS
OF 22ND DECEMBER 1949

1. Para 1 (a)

For the words "the future of Jammu and Kashmir" substitute the following:

"the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan."

2. Para 2

At the end of sub-para (a) of para 2 add the following:

"the final disposal of all forces remaining in the State will be determined by the Plebiscite Administrator under UNCIP's resolution of 5 January 1949."

/3. Para 3

3. Para 3

Omit the words "to the Government of India" in the first sentence of sub-para 3 (a).

4. Para 4

Add the following as sub-clause 4 (c):

"of obtaining an assurance from the appropriate authorities on either side of the cease-fire line and of making it publicly known throughout the State of Jammu and Kashmir that peace, law and order will be safe-guarded and that all human and political rights will be guaranteed."

5. Para 5

Put a fullstop after the words "India and Pakistan", and substitute the immediately following words "and which" by the words "These resolutions".

6. Para 6

Omit the words "and enduring".

...

Annexure II

EXPLANATIONS OF AMENDMENTS PROPOSED
BY PAKISTAN IN ANNEXURE I

1. Para 1 (a)

The phrase employed in the original is vague. The amendment seeks to substitute the accepted language of the preamble to the Security Council's resolution of 21 April, 1948, and of clause I of UNCIP's resolution of 5 January, 1949.

2. Para 2

As is apparent from its heading, paragraph 2 of the proposals deals with "demilitarisation preparatory to the plebiscite". The proposals do not affect the arrangements already arrived at with regard to the plebiscite stage. The concluding sentence of paragraph 5 of the proposals provides that "the functions and powers of the Plebiscite Administrator remain as set forth in UNCII's resolution of 5 January, 1949". These functions include the final disposal of all forces remaining in the State (vide clause 4). The amendment makes it clear that the final disposal of all forces remaining in the State after the programme of demilitarisation

/envisaged in

envisaged in paragraph 2 of the proposals has been carried out will be determined by the Plebiscite Administrator under UNCIP's resolution of 5 January, 1949.

3. Para 3

The use of the words "to the Government of India" in sub-para 3 (a) might lead to difficulties and is open to serious objection. The assurance sought could be expressed in general terms or to the United Nations.

4. Para 4

The amendment seeks to incorporate clause B.3 of Part II of UNCIP's resolution of 13 August, 1948, in the proposals.

5. Para 5

This is only a drafting change.

6. Para 6

The use of the words "and enduring" might give rise to misunderstanding as to the scope of the proposal.

6. The reply of the Government of India, dated 29 December 1949, to my proposal, reads as follows:

"December 29, 1949

"Dear General McNaughton,

"As suggested by you, we asked the Government of India whether they would wish us to suggest amendments to your proposals in order to meet the objections which I submitted on their behalf. My Government have authorized me to propose such amendments and I am enclosing these for consideration.

"Yours sincerely,

(Signed) B.N. Rau"

"AMENDMENTS TO GENERAL McNAUGHTON'S PROPOSALS

December 29, 1949

(Words proposed to be added are underlined and words proposed to be omitted are enclosed in brackets)

I. For sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 2 substitute

/"(a) The

"(a) The programme of demilitarization should include the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of the regular and irregular forces of Pakistan; the disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir Forces; and the withdrawal of the regular forces of India not required for purposes of security or for the maintenance of local law and order on the Indian side of the cease-fire line."

(Also the reduction, by disbanding and disarming, of local forces including on the one side the Armed Forces and Militia of the State of Kashmir, and on the other, the Azad Forces.)

II. For sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph 2 substitute

"(b) After the withdrawal of Pakistan forces referred to in sub-paragraph (a)

(i) the responsibility for the defence of the "Northern Areas" shall vest in the Government of India; and

(ii) the responsibility for the administration of the "Northern Areas" shall vest in the Government of Jammu and Kashmir who will guarantee that there shall be no victimization of the inhabitants of the area.

(The "Northern Area" should also be included in the above programme of demilitarization and its administration should, subject to United Nations supervision, be continued by the existing local authorities.)

III. In sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 3 for "tribal incursions" substitute "incursions by tribesmen or Pakistan nationals" and for "tribesmen" substitute "tribesmen or Pakistan nationals"

IV. In paragraph 4 in line 8 for "this United Nations Representative" substitute "the United Nations Representative" and in line 11 for "This United Nations Representative" substitute "In addition to the functions assigned to him in paragraphs 3 and 6, the United Nations Representative"

V. In sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph 4 for "respectively" substitute "as the case may be" and at the end of the sub-paragraph add "and of the guarantees referred to in paragraph 2(b)"

VI. In paragraph 6 for the words "to make any suggestions to the Governments of India and of Pakistan" substitute "to make to the Governments of India and of Pakistan and to the Security Council any suggestions"; and at the end of the paragraph for "their disposal" substitute "the disposal of the two Governments for the purpose"

/VII. These are

VII. These are the main amendments; there may have to be minor or consequential amendments, which we think it unnecessary to detail at this stage.

7. On the evening of 29 December 1949, following the meeting of the Security Council on that date, I interchanged the replies of the two parties. The reply of the Government of Pakistan was handed to the representative of India at 7:35 p.m., 29 December. The reply of the Government of India to my proposal was handed to the representative of Pakistan at 7:50 p.m., 29 December 1949. Just before receiving the reply of the Government of India, the representative of Pakistan left in my office a letter to me regarding his views on the procedure to be employed in interchanging the replies of the two parties. This letter to me, dated 7:30 p.m., 29 December 1949, from the representative of Pakistan reads as follows:

"7:30 p.m.
29 December, 1949

"My dear General,

"In your statement made to the Security Council this afternoon you stated with regard to the further procedure that you had intended to follow: I had then intended to see their representatives separately with a view to endeavouring to narrow the differences in so far as might be possible in discussions with them.

"You will recall that when your proposals were conveyed to us it was explained to us that though the parties were at liberty to suggest any amendments, you would put forward to the other party only such amendments as were substantially in accord with your proposals and which you could commend to the Security Council.

"I presume that the further procedure indicated by you in your statement made to the Security Council this afternoon is subject to the same condition as you attached to the consideration of any proposed amendments at the time of communicating your proposals. This is all the more necessary as the approach of the Pakistan Government to your proposals has been governed by that condition and any departure from it would upset the basis upon which the consideration of your proposals has proceeded and on which the reply of the Government of Pakistan communicated to you by me on December 28th is founded.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

Zafrulla Khan
Minister of Foreign Affairs and
Commonwealth Relations

8. On 30 December 1949, I replied to the Representative of Pakistan on this question of procedure. The text of my reply reads as follows:

/"620 5th Avenue,

"620 5th Avenue, Room 544,
New York 20, N.Y.,
30 December, 1949

"Dear Sir Zafrulla,

"I have received your letter dated 7:30 p.m., 29 December 1949, stating that you had understood that I had placed some limit on the handling of amendments suggested by either party. Since this does not exactly coincide with my interpretation, I think I should restate the position, as I have understood and intended it, regarding the status of my proposal and of any amendments thereto.

"You will recall that my formal position in this matter is based on the Security Council resolution, proposed by the Representative of Norway, that "the President should meet informally with the two parties and examine with them the possibility of finding a mutually satisfactory basis for dealing with the Kashmir problem." In other words, the status of my proposal is not that of any authoritative decision by the United Nations. As I said in my statement to the Security Council yesterday, I formulated my proposal at the request of the parties, and have throughout maintained the position that what I hope to see come to pass is an agreed settlement. I hope that my proposal will be a contribution to this end.

"My intention and understanding throughout has been that unless my proposal is accepted by both parties, it has the informal status which it derives from the Security Council resolution to which I have referred. I have naturally hoped that my proposal would prove acceptable to both parties as a basis for further negotiation, and I have, I hope, made it clear that it could be amended either by agreement between the parties, or in drafting matters by myself for purposes of clarification of the understood intention. I also undertook to assist the parties, by discussing with them and transmitting to the other any amendments of whatsoever nature which the Governments of India and Pakistan might wish to propose. Naturally in making myself available for this purpose, I would, to the extent that I feel it might contribute towards reaching agreement between the parties, be prepared to discuss any amendments with the party which intended to put them forward, and, if that party wished me to transmit them to the others, then at an appropriate time after their receipt I would discuss them with the other party also.

"In other words, I have throughout intended to retain freedom to form and express my own views on any amendments, to command them or otherwise as I may feel right, but at no time have I contemplated imposing these views on anyone, be it the parties or my colleagues in the Security Council. It has certainly never been my intention to refuse to put forward to the other party any amendments which either Government might wish me thus to transmit. Were I to refuse to transmit

/any amendments,

any amendments, I would cease to be acting as a channel between the parties and in fact I might have been held to have assumed a function never contemplated either by the Security Council or myself in which I might have come to act as a block to communications between the parties.

"I hope you will agree that the position on amendments which I have indicated is the one most calculated to assist the parties in reaching an agreement.

"When you handed over your letter yesterday evening, I understand that you told Mr. Carter that your Prime Minister has further proposals regarding paragraph 6 of the proposal which I had put forward. I will be very glad to receive these proposals, and if you wish me to do so, to transmit them immediately to the representatives of India. If you wish to have a preliminary discussion of your proposal with me before its transmission to the representatives of India, I am, of course, very happy to be at your disposal.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

A.G.L. McNaughton,
President of the Security Council."

9. Subsequently on 31 December 1949, I received a further additional reply from the Government of Pakistan, regarding paragraph 6 of my proposal. The text of this letter from the representative of Pakistan reads as follows:

"31 December 1949"

"Dear General,

"The Prime Minister has enquired whether he would be right in presuming that the intent of paragraph 6 of your proposals of December 22nd is that the "solution of the Kashmir question" mentioned in that paragraph would be in accordance with the UNCIP resolutions of 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949, which under paragraph 5 of the proposals are to be reaffirmed except in so far as their provisions are modified by the proposals. To obviate any doubt on the point, I propose that the following clarifying words be added to paragraph 6 after the words solution of the Kashmir question, namely: in accord with the UNCIP resolutions of 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Zafrulla Khan
Minister of Foreign Affairs and
Commonwealth Relations,
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN"

/On that same date

On that same date this additional reply from the Government of Pakistan was transmitted by me to the representative of India.

10. On 2 January 1950, the representative of India called in my office to make oral comments, on behalf of his Government, concerning the reply received to my proposal from the Government of Pakistan. In my absence the representative of India was received by Mr. Arnold Smith. On the basis of these comments by the representative of India, and at his request, Mr. Smith undertook to write a letter to the representative of Pakistan transmitting the comments of the Government of India on Pakistan's reply. The text of this communication to the representative of Pakistan was, of course, cleared beforehand with the representative of India, in order to ensure that it precisely reflected the position of the Indian Government on Pakistan's reply. The text of this letter from Mr. Smith to the representative of Pakistan reads as follows:

"4 January 1950

"Dear Sir Zafrulla,

"General McNaughton has been requested by the representative of India to forward to you comments received from the Indian Governments on the amendments to his proposals of 22 December 1949, which you gave to him on behalf of the Government of Pakistan under cover of your letter of 28 December, 1949.

"These comments are as follows:

1. Para 1(a)

For the words "the future of Jammu and Kashmir"
substitute the following:

"the question of the accession of the State
of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan."

No comment was made. India reserved its position.

2. Para 2

At the end of sub-para (a) of para 2 add the
following:

"the final disposal of all forces remaining
in the State will be determined by the
Plebiscite Administrator under UNCIP's
resolution of 5th January 1949"

According to India's understanding, the basis of General McNaughton's proposals is demilitarization, with the agreement of the two Governments, in one comprehensive instalment. The amendment proposed by

/Pakistan seems

Pakistan seems to envisage demilitarization in two instalments. The Government of India see no necessity for this and, therefore, are not disposed to accept the amendment proposed by Pakistan.

3. Para 3

Omit the words "to the Government of India" in the first sentence of sub-para 3(a)

No comment was made. India reserved its position.

4. Para 4

Add the following as sub-clause 4 (c):

"of obtaining an assurance from the appropriate authorities on either side of the cease-fire line and of making it publicly known throughout the State of Jammu and Kashmir that peace, law and order will be safeguarded and that all human and political rights will be guaranteed."

This amendment was not accepted by India on the grounds that it would, in effect, give the Azad authorities (on the one side of the cease-fire line) the same status as the lawful government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir (on the other side of the cease-fire line)

5. Para 5

Put a fullstop after the words "India and Pakistan", and substitute the immediately following words "and which" by the words "These resolutions."

India has no objection to this amendment.

6. Para 6

Omit the words "and enduring".

No comment was made. India reserved its position.

7. Para 6. (Amendment forwarded in your letter of 31 December 1949)

Add after the words "solution of the Kashmir question" the words "in accord with the UNCIP resolutions of 13th August 1948 and 5th January, 1949".

/The purpose

The purpose of paragraph 6 of the proposals presented by General McNaughton would seem to be to broaden the terms of reference of the U.N. representative so as to enable him to make whatever suggestions he considers to be likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the Kashmir question. The amendment proposed by the Government of Pakistan would have the effect of limiting the representative's functions to helping in the implementation of such agreements as may be reached between the two Governments on the programme of demilitarization. In other words, this would make paragraph 6 of the proposals superfluous. For this reason the Government of India find themselves unable to accept the amendment proposed by the Government of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Arnold C. Smith
Principal Adviser"

11. Subsequently, on 13 January 1950, I received from the representative of Pakistan the comments of his Government on the reply to my proposal received from the Government of India. The text of this message from the representative of Pakistan reads as follows:

"13th January 1950

"Dear General McNaughton,

"Will you kindly refer to Sir B.N. Rau's letter dated 29th December, 1949, enclosing a copy of the Government of India's amendments to your proposals of 22 December.

2. "Our views were explained to you at our meeting on 30th December, 1949, but as for the purposes of your report to the Security Council you may wish to have them in writing, I set them out below in brief.

3. "It appears from Sir B.N. Rau's letter that the Government of India did not accept your proposals, but at your suggestion formulated their objections in the form of amendments. This is confirmed by a perusal of the so-called amendments which amount to a clear rejection of your proposals and seek to substitute in their place a scheme wholly incompatible with them. In these circumstances the Pakistan Delegation does not feel that any useful purpose would be served

/by their attempting

by their attempting an analysis of the Indian proposals and entering upon a refutation thereof.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Zafrulla Khan
Minister of Foreign Affairs and
Commonwealth Relations,
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN."

On 16 January 1950, the operative part of this communication was transmitted by me to the representative of India.

12. This is a comprehensive record of my activities since the Council meeting of 29 December, in interchanging the replies and observations received from the two parties regarding my proposal of 22 December 1949. I do not believe it is either necessary or desirable for me to comment on the replies of the two parties. Moreover you will of course understand that in exchanging these replies and observations I acted solely as a channel of communication; and that my transmittal of these communications did not imply either agreement or disagreement with the particular interpretations put forward by one party or the other regarding any part of the proposal of 22 December.

13. In conclusion, I should say that in acting as I did in December as President of the Security Council, and in formulating at the request of the representatives of India and of Pakistan my proposal of 22 December, I believe I have acted in strict accord with the mandate given to me by the Council's decision of 17 December 1949, and that this matter was carried forward as far as was possible under the circumstances.

14. Since the expiry of my mandate on 31 December 1949, I have acted, at the request of the parties and in accordance with the wish of several members of the Council expressed at the meeting of 29 December 1949, as a channel of communication between the parties; and I feel that this responsibility is also now outdated.

15. In the absence of clear evidence that further mediation by me would seem likely to assist the Governments of India and Pakistan toward an agreed course of action, I do not believe that further activity on my part would serve any useful purpose.

16. It is my view that the further procedure to settle this dispute should be determined by the Security Council; and in this connection, I think that the two parties should be given an opportunity to explain their policies and state their views to the Council. When this has been done, the Council will be in a position to determine the action which is appropriate. As regards my own view, you have the proposal which I submitted to the parties on 22 December 1949, and I have nothing to add to it. In regard to my proposal, you will recall that I had a full opportunity of explaining to the Council, on 29 December 1949, the principles on which it is based. Briefly, two main elements were in my mind in drafting the proposal. In the first place I felt that it would be most unwise to discard

/whatever measure

whatever measure of agreement had thus far been achieved between the two parties, unless some alternative agreement had first been reached between them. In the second place I sought to concentrate on the development of appropriate arrangements for the future rather than to attempt an analysis, or to pronounce judgment, on the highly controversial and disputed issues of the past few years.

17. I would like to add that my conversations with the representatives of India and of Pakistan, and my association with this problem during the two years when I sat on the Security Council, have impressed me deeply with the paramount necessity of resolving this controversy. So long as the dispute over Kashmir continues, it is a serious drain on the military, economic and, above all, on the spiritual strength of these two great countries. It is obvious that the real long-term interest both of India and of Pakistan lies in mutual friendship and in cooperation, and that the prosperity and security of each will be increased directly with the prosperity and security of the other. Generosity and sympathetic understanding are always the two keys to good-neighbourliness between nations, and thus to the great future which these two neighbours will surely have.

18. Finally, Mr. President, I should like through you to express my appreciation for the courtesy which the representatives of India and of Pakistan have shown me; and to express to you, to the members of the Council, and particularly to the representatives of India and of Pakistan, my best wishes for success in the efforts now being made to find an early and enduring settlement of this important question.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

A.G.L. McNaughton,
Permanent delegate of Canada
to the United Nations.

/PROPOSAL

22 December 1949

PROPOSAL IN RESPECT OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR MADE BY GENERAL A.G.L. MCNAUGHTON,
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, PURSUANT TO THE
DECISION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TAKEN AT ITS 457th MEETING, ON 17 DECEMBER 1949

1. The principal considerations underlying the following proposals of the
President of the Security Council of the United Nations are:

- (a) To determine the future of Jammu and Kashmir by the democratic method
of a free and impartial plebiscite, to take place as early as possible;
- (b) Thus to settle this issue between the Governments of India and Pakistan
in accordance with the freely expressed will of the inhabitants, as is
desired by both Governments;
- (c) To preserve the substantial measure of agreement on fundamental
principles which has already been reached between the two Governments under
the auspices of the United Nations;
- (d) To avoid unprofitable discussion of disputed issues of the past, and
to look forward into the future towards the good-neighbourly and constructive
co-operation of the two great nations.

DEMILITARIZATION PREPARATORY TO THE PLEBISCITE

2. There should be an agreed programme of progressive demilitarization, the
basic principle of which should be the reduction of armed forces on either side
of the Cease-Fire line by withdrawal, disbandment and disarmament in such stages
as not to cause fear at any point of time to the people on either side of the
Cease-Fire line. The aim should be to reduce the armed personnel in the State
of Jammu and Kashmir on each side of the Cease-Fire line to the minimum
compatible with the maintenance of security and of local law and order, and to
a level sufficiently low and with the forces so disposed that they will not
constitute a restriction on the free expression of opinion for the purposes of
the plebiscite.

- (a) The programme of demilitarization should include the withdrawal from
the State of Jammu and Kashmir of the regular forces of Pakistan; and
the withdrawal of the regular forces of India not required for purposes of
security or for the maintenance of local law and order on the Indian side
of the Cease-Fire line; also the reduction, by disbanding and disarming,
of local forces, including on the one side the Armed Forces and Militia
of the State of Kashmir and on the other, the Azad Forces.

/(b) The "Northern

(b) The "Northern Area" should also be included in the above programme of demilitarization, and its administration should, subject to United Nations supervision, be continued by the existing local authorities.

SUGGESTED BASIS OF AGREEMENT

3. The Governments of India and Pakistan should reach agreement not later than 31 January 1950 in New York on the following points:

- (a) The Government of Pakistan should give unconditional assurance to the Government of India that they will deal effectively within their own borders with any possibility of tribal incursion into Jammu and Kashmir to the end that, under no circumstances, will tribesmen be able unlawfully to enter the State of Jammu and Kashmir from or through the territory of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan should undertake to keep the senior United Nations military observer informed and to satisfy him that the arrangements to this end are and continue to be adequate.
- (b) The Governments of India and Pakistan should confirm the continued and unconditional inviolability of the "Cease Fire Line".
- (c) Agreement should be reached on the basic principles of demilitarization outlined in paragraph 2 above.
- (d) Agreement should be reached on the minimum forces required for the maintenance of security and of local law and order, and on their general disposition.
- (e) Agreement should be reached on a date by which the reduction of forces, to the level envisaged in paragraph 2 above, is to be accomplished.
- (f) Agreement should be reached on the progressive steps to be taken in reducing and redistributing the forces to the level envisaged in paragraph 2 above.

4. In respect to the foregoing matters, the Governments of India and of Pakistan should further agree that a United Nations representative, to be appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in agreement with the two Governments, should supervise the execution of the progressive steps in reduction and redistribution of armed forces and that it should be the responsibility of this United Nations representative to give assurance to the people on both sides of the Cease-Fire line that they have no cause for fear at any stage throughout the process. This United Nations representative should have the duty and authority.

/(a) of

- (a) of interpreting the agreements reached between the parties pursuant to paragraph 3, sub-paragraphs (c), (d), (e) and (f) above, and
- (b) of determining, in consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan respectively, the implementation of the plans for the reduction and redistribution of armed forces referred to in paragraph 3 (f) above. .

5. When the agreed programme of demilitarization preparatory to the plebiscite has been accomplished to the satisfaction of the United Nations representative, the Plebiscite Administrator should proceed forthwith to exercise the functions assigned to him under the terms of UNCIP resolution of 5 January 1949, which, together with UNCIP resolution of 13 August 1948, was accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan and which are now reaffirmed by these Governments except in so far as the provisions therein contained are modified by the relevant provisions of this document. The functions and powers of the Plebiscite Administrator remain as set forth in UNCIP resolution of 5 January 1949.

6. The United Nations representative should be authorized to make any suggestions to the Governments of India and of Pakistan which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the Kashmir question, and to place his good offices at their disposal.

Prepared in identic copies to be delivered to Sir Girja Bajpai for the Government of India and to Sir Zafrulla Khan for the Government of Pakistan, respectively.

(Signed)

A.G.L. McNaughton
President of the Security Council

New York City
23.00 hours
22 December 1949

