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LETTER DATED 21 JULY 1969 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Under instructions from my Government, I have the honour to forward copies of two notes, dated 25 June 1969, addressed by the Government of India to the High Commission of Pakistan in New Delhi and to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in New Delhi; these notes contain the protest of India against the construction of a road by Pakistan, with the assistance of the People's Republic of China, from Hor Khun in Northern Kashmir, presently under the illegal occupation of Pakistan, to the Khunjerab pass on the Kashmir-Sinkiang border.

2. The road will enable the extension of the road network of the People's Republic of China in the Tibet-Sinkiang region into areas of Kashmir under occupation by Pakistan and is of obvious military significance. This action by the Governments of Pakistan and China is calculated to alter further the situation in the area and poses a threat to the peace and security of the region.

3. I should be grateful if this letter together with its enclosures could be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) S. SEN
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative of India
to the United Nations

I

Copy of note dated 25 June 1969, from the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi to the High Commission of Pakistan in India, New Delhi

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the High Commission for Pakistan in India and has the honour to state as follows.

2. The Government of Pakistan have begun constructing a road from Mor Khun in Northern Kashmir, to the Khunjerab Pass on the Kashmir-Sinkiang border. The entire alignment of the road runs in Indian territory which is presently under the illegal and forcible occupation of Pakistan. Further, 12,000 Chinese personnel of the People's Liberation Army have been inducted into northern Kashmir to help build the road and are camped at Mor Khun, deep in Kashmir territory, and at Khunjerab. The road is being built in secrecy.
3. Pakistan cannot be unaware that this road will help to extend the Chinese road network in the Tibet-Sinkiang areas into northern Kashmir. Indeed this new road will give easier access to Chinese troops from areas which they have illegally occupied in north-east Kashmir and from Tibet to the Gilgit area in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir which lies immediately to the north of the Cease-Fire Line dividing the armed forces of India and Pakistan in Kashmir. Considering that this is being done with the approval of the Government of Pakistan, it is clear that this road forms part of a calculated and co-ordinated plan. Whereas Pakistan and China sought to justify the illegal construction of the road from Sinkiang into Gilgit through the Mintika Pass in 1968 for reasons of trade and commerce the new road cannot be justified except on grounds of military expansionism. The road is a threat to the peace and tranquillity in the region.
4. No part of Jammu and Kashmir is Pakistani territory and indeed Pakistan does not claim it as such. The whole of Jammu and Kashmir is a part of India. Neither Pakistan nor China has any locus standi in Kashmir except that of an aggressor and, therefore, whatever action they take singly or jointly to consolidate their hold on the territory of this State of the Indian Union is wholly illegal.
5. The Government of India lodge an emphatic protest against this violation of India sovereignty in Kashmir and deplore that Pakistan should be seeking

Chinese help in creating further tension in this area and in aggravating Indo-Pakistan relations, which both countries have undertaken under the Tashkent Declaration to improve by peaceful means. The Government of India would like to make it clear that in pursuance of their inherent right of self-defence they reserve the right to take all such measures as may be necessary against any violation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity in Jammu and Kashmir.

6. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Pakistan High Commission the assurances of its highest consideration.

II

Copy of note handed over to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China
in India by the Ministry of External Affairs on 25 June 1969

The Ministry of External Affairs addresses this note to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and with reference to the further evidence of China's interference in the Indian territory of Kashmir, illegally occupied by Pakistan, states as follows:

2. The Chinese authorities are secretly assisting Pakistan in building a road from Morkhun in northern Kashmir to Khujerab Pass on the Kashmir-Sinkiang border. Some 12,000 Chinese military personnel have been inducted in this area for the task. As is well-known, Pakistan continues to illegally occupy this area of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. The construction of this road demonstrates China's collusion with Pakistan to undermine the sovereignty of India and provides proof of China's policy of aggravating relations between India and Pakistan. The Government of India strongly protest against these activities of the People's Republic of China, which abet the illegal occupation of Indian territory by Pakistan and create tension between India and Pakistan.

3. This new road from Indian territory illegally under Pakistan's occupation is clearly designed to provide a link with the Chinese network of roads in Sinkiang and Tibet. It is obvious that Chinese authorities intend to develop a strategic network of roads with the connivance of Pakistan to subserve China's ambitions in the region.

4. The Chinese Government have throughout pursued a diabolical policy in regard to Kashmir. They would remember that in the Joint Statement issued by Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Cyrankiwicz of Poland on 11 April 1957 in Peking, it was stated that the Kashmir question "should be settled by the countries concerned through peaceful negotiations and should not be allowed to be made use of by external forces to create new tensions". China's pronouncements and actions in recent years completely repudiate this statement to which the Chinese Premier had subscribed. It is quite evident from such activities that China, an "external force" in Kashmir, is wilfully complicating Indo-Pakistani

relations and adding new tensions. Kashmir is legally an integral part of India. Pakistan and China have therefore no locus standi to undertake construction of roads, etc., in territory lawfully belonging to India.

5. By undertaking such activities that endanger the peace, good neighbourly relations and security of the countries in the region, the Government of the People's Republic of China make it abundantly clear that they are in no way interested in strengthening peace and reducing tensions. Chinese assistance to Pakistan to construct highways in portions of Indian territory under the illegal occupation of Pakistan is a fresh step taken by the People's Republic of China to further aggravate Sino-Indian relations. The consequences of such Chinese actions, which can only serve to bring about a further worsening in India-China relations, are to be entirely borne by the Government of the People's Republic of China.
