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LETTER DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1965 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In continuation with my letters dated 18 October 1965 (S/6801) and 1 November 1965 (S/6857), I am instructed by the Government of Pakistan to state that alarming reports are continually being received about extreme repression in Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir. These reports indicate that the Indian authorities are no longer inhibited by even a vestigial sense of humanity or civilized conduct from taking barbarous measures to crush a people who only demand the fulfilment of the pledge solemnly given to them by the United Nations.

2. According to the latest information received from reliable sources, ninety-five patriots were killed by armed bands of the Jan Sangh (a militant and fanatical organization in India) at Phulwari on a single day this week. These hooligans have been imported into Indian-occupied Kashmir under a pre-arranged scheme with the connivance of the Indian army and police. While they attacked and killed the citizens of Phulwari, the Indian police guard which was responsible for the latter's protection did not interfere. It is reported that a large number of Jan Sangh bands have been concentrating at Bandipur and Achhabal in the Vale of Kashmir near Indian military camps. The Home Minister of the Indian-sponsored Government, D.P. Dhar, in Srinagar is reported to be acting on a plan whereby these bandits are given training by the Indian military in the use of hand-grenades and automatic weapons and receive instructions as to how they should operate against the local, overwhelmingly Muslim population of the Kashmir valley and other parts of the State. D.P. Dhar is now touring Jammu, organizing these bands and is being helped by Karan Singh, the so-called Governor of Jammu and Kashmir who, it must be recalled, is the son of Hari Singh, the notorious Maharaja of Kashmir who was responsible for the entry of Indian troops into Kashmir in 1947.

3. An earlier outrage which needs to be brought to the attention of the Security Council was the burning of the village of Ghandharbal during the last weekend. This village, which is about ten miles from Srinagar, was ransacked by the Jan Sangh

bands with the assistance of Indian troops. The reports say that armed hooligans first surrounded the village to prevent the escape of the residents, then set fire to 185 houses. One hundred and eight charred bodies were recovered from the debris. These bodies were not returned to the Muslims of surrounding areas for interment but were carried away in army trucks. This village seems to have been singled out for virtual extermination because it was the scene of a popular demonstration in favour of a plebiscite. When the demonstrators clashed with the police, thirty-five patriots were seriously injured, including ten students with two women.

The same has been the fate of the village of Malka in the Rajauri area where the Zaildar (village elder) Karamatullah and twenty other leading patriots were tortured to death.

4. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan, in his statement to the Security Council at the 1247th meeting on 25 October 1965 stated that, despite stringent restrictions on press dispatches from Srinagar confirmed by responsible newspapers like The New York Times, reports are beginning to appear in the world Press about the Resistance Movement in Indian-occupied Kashmir and India's brutal response to it. In his statement, he read extracts from the dispatches which have appeared in Le Figaro, Paris, Newsweek, New York, The Star, Washington, the Daily Telegraph, London, The Guardian, London, and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and other newspapers. Since then, further reports have been regularly appearing in the world Press which confirm the story of extreme repression by the police. The Times, London, reported in a dispatch from Srinagar on 24 October:

"The Government is using all the means at its disposal to quash any agitation for Kashmiri self-determination. The leaders of all Opposition parties are imprisoned, the schools and colleges, from which students had begun to step into the breach, have been closed and all opposition journals are suppressed. The sole remaining weapon of the Opposition is the hartal, a strike of all citizens against the Government, and this weekend the authorities began to disarm that, too.

"On Friday the hartal declared earlier in the week was still largely effective, most shops were closed and taxis, tongas and buses were off the roads. That morning parties of police began to break open the shutters on closed shops and when they could not readily do so, to seal the premises. Owners of shops who were not at hand or who refused to attend their shops were threatened with forfeiture of licences or leases if they were tenants of government-owned buildings.

"Even harsher in its immediate effect was the threat reported by numerous shopkeepers that, if they tried to maintain the hartal, their ration cards would be cancelled. All staple foods in Kashmir are rationed and to cut them off would threaten shopkeepers and their families with hunger or dependence upon the rationed food of others. That this measure had been threatened was not denied by officials....

"The foreigner on the streets of Srinagar is constantly hearing whispered, angry complaints about the police actions."

The Evening Star, Washington, of 26 October, commented:

"There is mounting evidence that India under Prime Minister Shastri is resorting to the harshest measures to repress all pro-plebiscite elements in predominantly Moslem Kashmir. As The Star's Haynes Johnson has reported from the scene, and as others have since confirmed, the measures have created tensions that constitute a clear threat to the fragile cease-fire existing there.

"Students and others demonstrating in favour of a plebiscite have been dealt with very roughly. Some have been shot dead; some - numbering in the hundreds - have been thrown into prison. Srinagar, Kashmir's summer capital and most important city, has become a place where suppression is suffocating smog in the air.

"Mr. Shastri and his colleagues in New Delhi may sincerely believe that all this is essential to Hindu India's well being. But the Moslem Kashmiris - feverently supported by Pakistan's Moslems - feel that they have a right to determine for themselves, through a free and unfettered vote, whether to be independent or to be part of Pakistan or India. An idea of this kind cannot forever be held down.

"Sooner or later - and the sooner the better - the Indians will have to recognize this reality. Otherwise the tragedy-ridden Asian sub-continent may suffer yet another disaster."

The New York Times of 27 October reported how the students in India-occupied Kashmir had taken over the direction of the self-determination movement. It quoted a high-ranking Government official as acknowledging that "virtually all the city's Moslim students supported the movement".

The Globe and Mail of Toronto, Canada, reported on 27 October from Srinagar:

"A police reign of terror has broken the back of the Moslem movement for self-determination among the people of Kashmir.

"But it has not solved any basic problems and there can be no doubt it has increased the hatred of many Kashmiri Moslems for India....

"Helmeted, brown-uniformed police took up new weapons to add to their lathis or heavy bamboo sticks, sometimes tipped with steel, .303 rifles and the occasional Sten gun. They used pickaxes to open heavy locks on shops. Many protesting Moslem shopkeepers were told they faced a Government takeover of their property unless they resumed business. Except for a few holdouts on winding dirt lanes of the old city of Srinagar, most complied.

"Bus, taxi and horsecart drivers were forced back on the streets by the threat of cancellation of their licenses. Faced with the loss of their livelihood, they drove their vehicles once again, joining police trucks on the streets....

"India has held on to the Vale by physical force but in so doing it has underlined the fact that Kashmir is an occupied State, a place where the people and the police regard each other coldly as enemies (though many Moslem police manage to make clear where their hearts lie). It is a place where India's secular democracy has broken down and almost a colony of India that the people of India know very little about."

The Sun, Baltimore, of 2 November, reported from Delhi:

"Indications of continued unrest were reported here today. Twenty-three more students were arrested in Srinagar during the weekend. More than a hundred houses in a village, seventeen miles from Srinagar, were destroyed by fire last night. Three more houses were burnt in a nearby village this morning."

The Reporter, New York, of 4 November, gives a background to the conflict in Kashmir by Richard Critchfield, a knowledgeable correspondent of the Evening Star of Washington. Describing the rebellion in Kashmir in 1964, this correspondent describes how on a day when there was a huge demonstration in Srinagar shouting "Down with India", the All India Radio in Delhi broadcast news reports that the people of Kashmir were rejoicing and dancing in the streets in celebration. The writer adds:

This Indian version was largely carried in the world Press. For anyone who was there, nothing that India says on Kashmir can be quite the same again."

The same correspondent comments:

"India has always insisted that whatever unrest there is in Kashmir is caused by the religious bias of a backward people, and that the Kashmiris themselves are largely indifferent pawns in the struggle between India and Pakistan. Many fair-minded Indians are convinced that this is true. While many Westerners concede that the Kashmiris would join Pakistan on religious grounds if given a choice, few realize the amount of opposition among Kashmiris to Indian rule on purely political and economic grounds as well."

The Time Magazine of 5 November reports:

"Many - perhaps a majority - of the 3.5 millions inhabitants of Indian-held Kashmir are strongly inclined towards union with Pakistan and are letting the Indian-controlled government know it. The Government has struck back sternly, suspending civil rights, closing schools and universities, centres of protests, and jailing pro-Pakistan politicians. Units of the 30,000 man Indian-controlled police force have waded into demonstrators and beaten scores to the ground with their lathis (long, steel-tipped staves). Fearing a full-scale revolt, government officials protect their homes with sandbags and helmeted troops: soldiers guard all important bridges and public buildings."

The Newsweek, New York, of 8 November, writes:

"All over the Kashmiri capital of Srinagar local policemen, imported Punjabis, and Indian Army troops are constantly in evidence, riding through the streets in heavy trucks or lolling on the bridges, fingering their lathis (heavy bamboo sticks) or .303 Enfield rifles. And for the last few weeks, they have had their work cut out, trying to suppress a rising tide of pro-Pakistan demonstrations by Kashmiri Moslems."

Finally, a story appearing in the Daily Mirror, London, of 1 October 1965, graphically describes the poignant tragedy which is being suffered by the people of Kashmir in their long trail to freedom from Indian rule:

"For three days she walked without food. On the fourth day, her nine-month-old son died from starvation. She scraped a shallow grave with her bare hands....

"And she buried her child under heavy stones beneath the snow lines of the Himalayas. Then she walked on to freedom.

"Her name is Jan Din. I met her today in a miserable collection of grey stone huts being used as a refugee camp along the banks of the roaring brown headwaters of the Jhelum River, in the Pakistani area of Kashmir.

"She was about thirty years old. She looked fifty.

"Her eyes filled with sorrow, she huddled in her torn red shawl against a wall of dried mud.

"Through interpreters she told me of her eight-day, ninety-mile walk from her home in Indian-held Kashmir.

"When the Indian soldiers came to our village they demanded eggs and chickens. Anyone who refused was shot dead.

"Two families were locked inside their houses and the houses set on fire. There were children inside too. We could hear them screaming as they burned to death.

"Jan Din is typical of the 1,100 men, women and children who throng the camp.

"All have crossed 10,000 ft.-high mountains to get here.

"In a makeshift cookhouse, huddled by a cauldron of boiling rice, was ten-year-old Shariff Jan, whose mother, two brothers and sister were mown down by Indian machine-gun bullets.

"Shariff saw her father being dragged away for forced labour from their homes in Indian-occupied Kashmir.

"The last she saw of him was when he was being pushed over the tailboard of a truck.

"Next day Indian soldiers shot her twenty-year-old brother, because they suspected him of being a freedom fighter.

"Then they shot her mother and the rest of the family, including her four-year-old sister.

"Shariff fled.

"The President of the Pakistani-held Kashmir, Abdul Hamid Khan, told me today: "Until the Indian soldiers are withdrawn from Kashmir, there can never be peace.

"And until then, shoddy refugee camps like this will remain a gruesome monument to freedom."

5. In addressing this letter to the Security Council, my Government expresses its belief that humanity's conscience, represented by the United Nations, will not and cannot remain insensitive to this appalling tragedy now being enacted by Indian authorities in the tormented State of Jammu and Kashmir.

6. I should be grateful if this letter is circulated as a Security Council document.

Please accept, etc.

(Signed) Syed AMJAD ALI
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the
United Nations

