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LETTER DATED 26 OCTOBER 1965 FROM THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OF INDIA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In his statement yesterday, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto, alleged:

"The record is open for all to observe and come to the only logical conclusion. India is flagrantly violating the cease-fire and then using the ineffectiveness of the cease-fire to frustrate any plan for withdrawal. Pakistan accepted the cease-fire in good faith and has taken no offensive action since it came into effect." (Page 37 of document S/FV.1247)

I will make no comment on Mr. Bhutto's propensity for exaggeration, misrepresentation, distortion of facts, and complete denial of responsibility for aggressive action. It is this characteristic of Mr. Bhutto which led him, in the month of August, 1965, to a bland denial to the Indian High Commissioner of Pakistan's responsibility for armed infiltration across the Cease-Fire Line. He must have been fully conscious of the fact that there were United Nations military observers in the area and that they would inevitably come to the conclusion that Pakistan had in fact dispatched armed personnel across the Cease-Fire Line beginning 5 August 1965. Soon enough, the Secretary-General stated in his report:

"The current serious trouble affecting the cease-fire and the CFL in Kashmir dated from 5 August 1965, and consists of a large number of violations of the CFL by crossings of the line, by firing across it with artillery pieces, and by the occupation of positions on the wrong side of the line.... General Nimmo has indicated to me that the series of violations that began on 5 August were to a considerable extent in subsequent days in the form of armed men, generally not in uniform, crossing the CFL from the Pakistan side for the purpose of armed action on the Indian side. This is a conclusion reached by General Nimmo on the basis of investigations by the United Nations Observers, in the light of the extensiveness and character of the raiding activities and their proximity to the CFL, even though in most cases the actual identity of those engaging in the armed attacks on the Indian side of the Line and their actual crossing of it could not be verified by direct observation or evidence." (document S/6651)

Yet only a few days earlier, Mr. Bhutto had denied all responsibility for this armed aggression.

Mr. Bhutto has asserted that India is flagrantly violating the cease-fire and that Pakistan had accepted the cease-fire in good faith. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The recent history of the efforts of the Security Council and the Secretary-General for the cessation of hostilities between the two countries proves beyond any shadow of doubt that it was India which was always willing and ready for a cease-fire and it was Pakistan which twice refused to accept the appeals of the Security Council and the Secretary-General and, finally, when it did accept the appeals of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, it did so with reservations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, when he arrived on the sub-continent, made two appeals to the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan for a simple and unconditional cease-fire (document S/6683). On both occasions, the Prime Minister of India affirmed his willingness to order a simple cease-fire at a specified time and date; the reply of the President of Pakistan was completely negative and the Secretary-General had to return to New York without succeeding in his mission to obtain a cease-fire and bring about the cessation of hostilities, solely due to the refusal of Pakistan to extend the necessary co-operation. Consequently, the Security Council passed resolution 211 of 20 September 1965, in which it noted the differing replies of India and Pakistan and demanded a cease-fire at the specified time and date. Within eighteen hours of the passage of the resolution, the Prime Minister of India informed the Secretary-General once again of his willingness to order a cease-fire provided Pakistan was also willing to comply with the demand of the Security Council. The President of Pakistan, far from conveying his readiness to comply with the resolution of the Security Council, sent Mr. Bhutto to New York to make desperate and last minute efforts to change the terms of the resolution. As was to be expected, his efforts failed miserably and in the early hours of 22 September, the Council met to hear from him, at the last possible moment before the expiry of the deadline set by it, that Pakistan was finally going to heed the demand. But by that time Pakistan's compliance had been delayed long enough to force India to ask for an extension of the time-limit. So much for Pakistan's alacrity in agreeing to a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities.

Truculence, evasion and refusal have characterized Pakistan's State-practice in matters relating to international peace and security. Though a comparative newcomer in the field of Realpolitik, Pakistan has excelled its masters in setting to naught the accepted concepts of international morality in the furtherance of its own interests. In this context, the most telling proof is provided by certain cynical remarks which Mr. Bhutto himself made recently. To quote a report in the London Times of 6 October from Rawalpindi:

"Mr. Bhutto, who was addressing correspondents, gave China decisive role in the United Nations handling of Indo-Pakistan war. The first two September resolutions of the Security Council could be called 'India's resolution' because they served India's interests by attempting simply to restore the status quo, he said. But the resolution of 20 September (which ordered the cease-fire and related that to a political settlement for Kashmir) he called 'China's resolution'. The Chinese ultimatum to India had shaken the United Nations and the great Powers into realizing the danger of war on the sub-continent, and that only a political settlement could allow permanent peace.

"Mr. Bhutto said it did not mean that Pakistan had abandoned Kashmir because it had accepted cease-fire. There would be a second round, 'We will fight for thousand years', but Pakistan would vindicate its pledge to Kashmir."

It is thus clear that Pakistan has by no means given up her policies of the use of force for national aggrandizement and territorial expansion.

Mr. Bhutto has asserted that Pakistan accepted the cease-fire in good faith and has taken no offensive action since it came into effect. Let us examine this preposterous claim.

Facts clearly prove that it is Pakistan which is to be blamed for a very large number of the cease-fire violations committed after the cease-fire came into effect in the early hours of 23 September 1965, IST. In fact, Pakistan's mentality is such that within three hours of the Pakistan Foreign Minister's solemn assurance to the Security Council that the armed forces of Pakistan would stop fighting at 0305 hours (New York time) on 22 September 1965, five Pakistan B-27 bombers with top fighter cover bombed Chheratta, a suburb of the Indian city of Amritsar, killing over fifty-five civilians and wounding about the same number. At least fifteen houses were destroyed in the bombing raid. That was a wanton and provocative act of destruction entirely contrary to the spirit and concept of the cease-fire, which was accepted by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in such a dramatized fashion barely three hours before the raid. That, of course, was merely

the beginning. In the short period of one month after the cease-fire came into effect, Pakistan has committed as many as 620 cease-fire violations.

It has been established that Pakistan has been moving forward its forces wherever it can - and particularly in Rajasthan where the land is largely uninhabited and the international frontier was undefended - and has thus made a farce of the cease-fire. Pakistan is continuing to violate the cease-fire in other sectors also and has also not given up its policy of infiltration into Kashmir.

Rajasthan

Pakistan's claims of having occupied large areas of Rajasthan at the time of the cease-fire of 22 September have no basis as already indicated in India's letter to the Security Council. The only place occupied by Pakistan at the time of the cease-fire was the Indian outpost of Munabao. Indian forces have intercepted Pakistani signals to their troops including the Indus Rangers, operating on the Rajasthan border, after the cease-fire was announced, asking them to capture the maximum possible territory of India. The intrusions into Rajasthan have, by and large, been made by Pakistani Rangers and irregulars called Mujahids and also, whenever these prove insufficient, by Pakistani troops. Pakistan has after the cease-fire occupied eleven undefended hamlets on the dates as shown below. Even this occupation leaves vast areas in between these hamlets and the international frontier. All this is desert area with few inhabitants. Even now, Indian patrols move freely up to the international border. All this proves that Pakistan's claim regarding the total area occupied in Rajasthan is utterly false. The eleven hamlets were occupied on the following dates:

1. 23 September 1965 Ghotaru
2. 23 September 1965 Longanwala
3. 23 September 1965 Ruily
4. 23 September 1965 Bhuttewala
5. 23 September 1965 Achchri Tota
6. 25 September 1965 Dharmi Khu
7. 26 September 1965 Sarkari Tara
8. 26 September 1965 Churanwala
9. 26 September 1965 Kishangarh
10. 30 September 1965 Shahgarh
11. 3 October 1965 Murar

Pakistan attacked the following Rajasthan armed constabulary posts, but the attacks were repulsed:

1. 23 September 1965 Asutar
2. 26 September 1965 Sachu
3. 26 September 1965 Tanot
4. 27 September 1965 Karara
5. 2 October 1965 Khara
6. 3 October 1965 Tanot
7. 3 October 1965 Asutar
8. 5 October 1965 Bakhri Toba
9. 7 October 1965 Karzewala
10. 11 October 1965 Tanot
11. 11 October 1965 Asutar
12. 12 October 1965 Tanot
13. 13 October 1965 Bandah by air

Pakistan has also been inciting religious fanaticism on the Rajasthan border. They have been recruiting irregulars in the name of religion with the assistance of fanatical persons like Pir Fagaro and using criminal elements of Sind. Irregulars have been encouraged to indulge in loot, arson and kidnapping of civilians. Innumerable atrocities have been perpetrated on the minority communities living along the frontier on the Pakistan side. The training of these irregulars was organized in Pakistan opposite the Indian border posts of Harbhaj-ki-Dhani, Hawala Head, Mandi Siddique Ganj, Nagarparkar and Chachro. All this would suggest that the infiltrations were planned on the model of the infiltration into Kashmir.

Tithwal area

Pakistan has alleged that from a captured Indian operational order it has been revealed that India had a plan for clearing the Pakistanis from the Tithwal area up to the Kishanganga river. The fact is that all these areas had come under the occupation of the Indian forces before the cease-fire came into effect. This occupation was in strength, leaving no scope for Pakistan to claim that it held any positions in the area between Keran and Tithwal. Pakistan, however, has,

after the cease-fire, been using the Shahkot and Jura bridges to make intrusions across the Cease-Fire Line of 22 September. On the night of 10/11 October Pakistani troops launched an attack in battalion plus strength at an Indian position in the area of Point 8667. Our operations have been purely defensive to prevent intrusions into this area.

Among the outstanding Pakistani violations of the cease-fire are the following:

- (i) On 25 September, Pakistan launched a massive attack with 1,100 troops and tanks in the Fazilka Sector. Because of the strength of the Pakistani attack heavy casualties were suffered by both sides. On the Indian side eleven were killed and fifty-five missing. The Pakistani illegal intrusion in this Sector continues.
- (ii) In the Chhamb area Pakistani troops have, since the cease-fire, been infiltrating towards Kalidhar Ridge east of Munawar-Wali-Tawi river in an effort to gain observation over Sunderbian-Naushera road. They have gained fresh positions which have yet to be vacated.
- (iii) In the Rajasthan area Pakistani aircraft strafed the Indian village of Pandah in the Jaisalmer district of Rajasthan - thirty-six miles deep inside Indian territory - on 13 October 1965.
- (iv) On 11 October a battalion strength attack was made by Pakistan on Indian positions in an area north-west of Tangdhar. Indian forces had naturally to resist this attack in self-defence.
- (v) On 15 October Pakistan used tanks and artillery to attack Indian forces in the Nawatal area twenty-four miles south-east of Gadra city.

Conclusive evidence of violations by Pakistan is contained in the various reports submitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the observance of the cease-fire (documents S/6699, Add.1-7 and S/6710, Add.1-5). Extracts from these reports are given below:

- (i) A military observer at Funch reported that, on 24 September, between 1157 and 1230 hours Indian Standard Time, he had seen Pakistan troops firing with rifles and LMG towards the Uri-Funch road from dominating positions west of the road. General Nimmo has informed the CGS, Pakistan, of this violation and has urged him to take the necessary steps to ensure complete observance of the cease-fire.

- (ii) On 23 September 1965, the Indian local command at Naushera complained that Pakistan troops had advanced over the Cease-Fire Line and occupied a position one-half mile on the Indian side. The Indian local command requested the withdrawal of the Pakistan troops to their side of the CFL. The Pakistan local command at Kotli stated that their troops were on the Indian side of the CFL before the cease-fire began at 0300 hours on 23 September. The Chief Military Observer had requested the withdrawal of Pakistan troops from this position, but the request was refused by the Pakistan local command.
- (iii) A later report from observers in the area indicates that on 5 October Pakistan troops opened fire with artillery on Indian positions located eleven miles north of Chhamb at 0715 hours and that Indian forces shelled an area six miles north of Chhamb with field artillery between 0800 and 0900 hours. Observers also reported that concentration of Indian troops had been sighted in an area near Malla about ten miles north north-east of Chham (grid square NW 5978) at 1500 hours and in another area in the vicinity of Siriata about nine miles north of Chhamb (grid square NW 5678) at 1800 hours, and that in both cases Pakistan troops had reacted with artillery.

Sulaimanke sector

- (iv) Pakistan troops are reported to have moved forward in this area since the cease-fire and some heavy fighting has occurred in brigade strength with heavy casualties admitted by both sides.

Rajasthan sector

- (v) Since the cease-fire came into effect, the Indian Permanent Representative to the United Nations has submitted to the Secretary-General several complaints regarding alleged violations of the cease-fire by Pakistan forces in the Rajasthan sector (S, 6711, 6730, 6736, 6740, 6746 and 6752). On 1 October and again on 6 October, the Foreign Minister of India personally protested to the Secretary-General about extensive incursions by Pakistan forces into Indian territory in the Rajasthan sector, in an area which is sparsely inhabited.

Observers in the Rajasthan sector reported on 6 October that the cease-fire was not yet fully effective in their sector. It appeared that on 3 October Indian vehicles had been fired upon.

Uri-Poonch sector

- (vi) An Indian complaint received by Observers on 6 October alleged that Pakistan troops had fired six rounds of artillery on Indian troops located five miles on the Indian side of the CFL and five miles south of Poonch between 2205 and 2225 hours on 6 October. This was confirmed by an Observer.

On 16 October, the Indian local command at Poonch complained that Pakistan troops had fired with light and medium machine-guns towards an Indian position located half a mile on the Indian side of the CFL and five miles west of Poonch at 0930 hours on 16 October. This was confirmed by Observers in the area.

Mendhar sector

- (vii) On 11 October, the Indian local command at Galuthi complained that Pakistan troops had shelled an area located two miles on the Indian side of the CFL and five miles west of Mendhar at 1150 hours. This was confirmed by the Observers in the area.

On 13 October, Observers reported shelling by Pakistan artillery and mortars towards Balnoi (two miles on the Indian side of the CFL and seven miles west of Mendhar) and another Indian position in the area during the night of 12/13 October and again on the morning of 13 October.

Janghar sector

- (viii) On 12 October, the Observers stationed in the Khiratta-Janghar area reported that Pakistan artillery had fired during the night of 11/12 October and on 12 October. (The Indian complaints in document S/6781, sub-para. (vii), and in document S/6794, sub-para. (vi) also refer.) The shelling on 12 October took place between 1245 and 13 hours and was directed at an area approximately half a mile on the Indian side of the CFL.

Bhimber-Naushera sector

- (ix) The Indian local command at Naushera complained that Pakistan troops had intruded about half a mile on the Indian side of the CFL and had fired on an Indian picket located approximately one mile on the Indian side and four miles south-west of Naushera. This was confirmed by the Observers in the area.

Bhimber-Akhnur sector

- (x) On 6 October at 1100 hours the Indian local command at Akhnur complained that Pakistan aircraft had been seen flying over Indian positions approximately nine miles north of Chhamb and directing artillery fire towards Sundar Bain which is located nine miles north of Chhamb on the Naushera-Jammu road, at 1715 hours on 3 October. The observers stationed at Sundar Bain confirmed the Pakistan shelling.
- (xi) On 8 October, at 1158 hours two Observers saw a Pakistan light aircraft flying over Indian positions located approximately eight miles north-west of Sialkot.
- (xii) On 16 October, Observers reported that firing broke out in the Dograi area. Pakistan troops admitted that they had fired at Indian soldiers who were attempting to measure water depth in the canal. As a result of the firing, one Indian soldier was seriously wounded. The Observers who investigated this incident saw no evidence indicating that Indian troops had returned the fire.

On 16 October, Observers in the area saw Pakistan troops firing, at an Indian light observation aircraft with rifles and machine guns at 0935 and 1010 hours. The Observers noted that the aircraft was on the Indian side of the line.

Rawalkot-Poonch sector

- (xiii) The Indian local command at Poonch complained on 12 October that a Pakistan patrol had crossed the Cease-Fire Line five miles west of Poonch at 0900 hours on 12 October and returned later towards the Pakistan side of the Cease-Fire Line. The complaint also alleged that a

second patrol had crossed the Cease-Fire Line at the same place at 1400 hours on 12 October and occupied an area located at approximately five miles west of Poonch. An investigation carried out by Observers disclosed that Pakistan troops were at 1600 hours on 13 October at approximately 100 yards on the Indian side of the Cease-Fire Line in the area mentioned in the complaint.

- (xiv) On 20 October, the Indian local command at Naushera complained that Pakistan troops had shelled an Indian position located half a mile on the Indian side of the Cease-Fire Line and half a mile west of the Kotli-Naushera road between 1745 and 1830 hours on 19 October and again between 2350 and 0010 hours during the night of 19/20 October, and another Indian position located three miles on the Indian side of the Cease-Fire Line and four and a half miles east of the Kotli-Naushera road between 0900 and 0145 hours on 20 October. The Observers stationed in the area confirmed the shelling by Pakistan artillery during the afternoon of 19 October and indicated that Indian artillery had returned the fire.

Hukhanwala-Kasur-Narla-Bopa Rai sector

- (xv) On 15 October, at 1220 hours, three Pakistan Sabre jets flew over the Husainiwala area (GR 8469), well inside the Indian border.

On 16 October, Observers confirmed that Pakistan troops had moved 100 yards forward of the positions they had held on 24 September in the area where the Ferozepore road crosses the international boundary (GR 8239).

It is thus clear that Pakistan's compliance of the demand of the Security Council for cease-fire and cessation of hostilities has not been sincere. Even while the Secretary-General was in the sub-continent, the President of Pakistan had informed him in unmistakable terms that a cease-fire could be purposeful only if it were linked with the realization of Pakistan's political objectives. This was obviously an impossible demand and even before he put it forward, he must have known that India would never agree to it. Therefore, the real purpose of the demand was to delay the cessation of hostilities in order to provide Pakistan with time to recapture lost ground and thus force India to talk at the point of a bayonet.

However, the reverses on the battlefield and the lack of support from the world community had finally forced Pakistan to agree to the cease-fire demanded by the Security Council.

Pakistan has not of course, given up its aggressive designs and military objectives. This is the reason for the clear directive by Pakistani leaders to the armed infiltrators who crossed the Cease-Fire Line beginning 5 August that the cease-fire enforced by the Security Council on 23 September (Indian Standard Time) did not apply to them. In fact, the armed infiltrators have been urged to continue with their perfidious activities. There could not be a more blatant disregard of the cease-fire. What is more, the increased tempo of Pakistan's preparations for much more intensified attacks in Kashmir by armed infiltrators from Pakistan has recently been brought to light. According to the Government of India's information, 14,000 raiders from the north-west frontier have been recruited and dispatched to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir by the Pakistan Government. As to the preparations in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, the recruitment drive for infiltrators is in full swing there. Efforts were made by the Pakistan Government at the end of last month to recruit twenty new platoons of irregulars in the Khel sector alone. About the same time, instructions were issued to the district authorities that all ex-servicemen living in the territory, irrespective of their age and physical fitness, should be directed to report to the Officer Commanding, Qjhari Camp, which is the training centre of the so-called Azad Kashmir units of the Pakistan army. On 2 October, 150 recruits were sent to Shinkiari from the Afzalpur Training Centre in Mirpur Tehsil. On 7 October, 400 guerrillas completed their training at Durigi. Pakistan authorities are understood to have issued instructions that 1,000 additional men under the age of twenty-five are to be recruited from the district of Poonch in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and sent to the Thinkiari Training School. The Khel centre of Pakistani Scouts has been informed that infiltrators will have to remain active during the winter and will be issued high altitude scale of rations, if deployed above 7,000 feet.

All efforts of Pakistan, military, political and diplomatic, are intended to maintain and heighten tension in the sub-continent, particularly in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. The design still is to force India, by all means, to surrender its sovereignty over the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Pakistan's attitude towards the new cease-fire is almost exactly similar to the one it adopted after the cease-fire on 1 January 1949. As at that time so now, Pakistan does not visualize the cease-fire as providing an opportunity for reduction of tensions and establishment of peaceful and good neighbourly relations with India. Pakistan visualizes the period of cease-fire as providing the opportunity to continue to obtain through clandestine military and diplomatic activities what it failed to get by open use of armed force, which it had to abandon due to the demand of the Security Council and the force of world opinion. But Mr. Rhutto has already threatened; Pakistan is preparing for a second round and while the preparations are in full swing, it has marshalled all its diplomatic forces, in the world capitals and at the United Nations, in an effort to persuade the international community to overlook the real facts of the armed conflict which was begun by Pakistan and escalated at each stage by Pakistan. These misrepresentations and distortions of facts have already been answered in detail and proved for what they are. Here it is only necessary to recall that as after the first cease-fire in 1949, Pakistan is not anxious to implement the provisions of the Security Council resolutions in regard to cease-fire and withdrawal of all armed personnel. Thus even after the passage of the resolution dated 13 August 1948, Pakistan continues to remain in unlawful possession of two fifths of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir which it had grabbed by force. As after that resolution, Pakistan has no intention of withdrawing its troops and other armed personnel. The pattern of Pakistan's aggression and its efforts to misuse the suggestions and recommendations of the Security Council are the same in 1965 as they have been since 1948. It is the duty of the Security Council not to allow Pakistan to make a mockery of its recommendations - mockery to the extent of making its resolutions obsolete and dead. If the Security Council fails once again to effectively persuade Pakistan to observe the provisions of the resolutions passed in September 1965, within a short period, the resolutions would suffer the same fate as the earlier resolutions. The only way the Council can persuade Pakistan to pursue the path of peace is to declare it an aggressor in the recent conflict between India and Pakistan. Only such condemnation of the aggressor, which unfortunately was not done in 1948, would bring home to the leaders of Pakistan that the use of force for national aggrandizement and territorial expansion is ruled out under the Charter of the United Nations.

I cannot conclude this letter without referring to a strange remark made during the course of the meeting of the Security Council on 25 October. A representative said that the Council had assumed jurisdiction in the question before it and the parties had accepted the authority of the Council and therefore the term "domestic jurisdiction" did not apply. I must make it quite clear to the Council that at no time did India surrender its sovereignty over the State of Jammu and Kashmir to anybody; no one except India - not even the Security Council - has assumed or could assume jurisdiction over the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. If the remark of the representative concerned is meant to be a serious statement of policy, and if it is implied that, because India brought a complaint to the Council nearly eighteen years ago against Pakistani aggression on the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir, India thereby allowed the Security Council to assume jurisdiction over this State, he is sadly mistaken. I hasten to disabuse him of the serious misconception under which he is labouring. The sovereignty of India over the State of Jammu and Kashmir has never been questioned and I must reiterate that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. This position must be clearly understood.

The representatives of Pakistan never tire of emphasizing their small size in area and population in relation to India. In order to prove to the international community his charge that India is determined to exterminate Pakistan Mr. Bhutto himself has often used this argument. But at the meeting of the Security Council on 25 October Mr. Bhutto seems to have been unable to decide whether Pakistan was smaller than India or equal to India or even bigger. At one stage, he said: "That is why we were able to face aggression from a country six times our size" (p. 117 of S/PV.1247). But earlier, he had already stated: "We have established our equality for all time with India..." (*ibid.*, p. 107). To us, of course, it has been clear for over eighteen years now, within which period Pakistan has committed three aggressions against India, that the comparative size of Pakistan has never inhibited it in its ambition to establish equality and more, but that it is driven by delusion of military might and grandeur. To quote Mr. Bhutto again: "India, which herself has only just emerged from ten centuries of foreign domination - for 800 years they were under Pakistan..." (*ibid.*, pp. 104-105). Pakistan, which was created just a little over eighteen years ago,

had even before its creation, according to the fantastic claim of Mr. Bhutto, held India under imperialist domination. What is more, he went on to claim: "We who ruled India for 800 years, we who have dominated India for 800 years and who are responsible for the civilization of India, for all the Delhis and Taj Mahals and for all the grandeur and glory of India..." (ibid., pp. 109-110). This is not history; it is atavism. The rulers of Pakistan are dreaming of the days of the Moghul domination, forgetting that what is now Pakistan was as much under the imperial rule of the Moghuls as part of the sub-continent.

India, as a founder Member of the United Nations and one of the original signatories to the Charter, subscribes to the principle of sovereign equality of all States. India has no desire to exercise domination over Pakistan; India has no desire to possess even an inch of Pakistan's territory. India's desire for peace and friendship with Pakistan has been repeatedly demonstrated by the offer of a No-War Pact, which Pakistan has persistently spurned. Furthermore, since 1955 Pakistan has signed military pacts and joined military alliances in the clear hope and with the sole purpose of national aggrandizement and territorial expansion at the cost of India. From 1962, Pakistan has found another ally, with whose backing Pakistan threatens on Mr. Bhutto's own admission, a second round of aggression against India.

The Government of India have extended and will continue to extend their full co-operation to the United Nations in the efforts to stabilize the cease-fire. They are also prepared to co-operate in drawing up plans for the withdrawal of all armed personnel. However, the attempts of Pakistan to inch forward despite the cease-fire, its aggressive activities all over the cease-fire area, its preparations to launch thousands more infiltrators in thousands into the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir, its efforts to improve its tactical positions with an eye on the "second round", which as I said earlier has been threatened by Mr. Bhutto, all these activities stand in the way of the stabilization of the cease-fire.

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

Please accept, etc.

(Signed) Swaran SINGH
Minister for External Affairs
of India

