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LETTER DATED 2 JANUARY 1957 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF PAKISTAN ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

You may recall that in his report dated 27 March 1953, at the conclusion of his fifth mediatory effort to secure implementation of the International Agreement embodied in the UNCIP Resolutions dated 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949 whereunder the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan is to be decided by means of a free and impartial plebiscite to be held under the auspices of the United Nations, Dr. Frank P. Graham, the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan, expressed the hope that

"instead of the United Nations Representative continuing to report differences to the Security Council, may be leadership of over 400,000,000 people, with the good-will and assistance of the United Nations, join in negotiating and reporting an agreement on Kashmir and thereby light a torch along the difficult path of the people's pilgrimage toward peace." (Paragraph 57, document S/2967)

2. Consistently with their policy to co-operate with the United Nations in every way possible with a view to upholding its prestige and authority, the Government of Pakistan accepted the United Nations representative's suggestion and initiated direct negotiations with the Government of India with a view to resolving differences which were holding up implementation of the aforesaid International Agreement.

3. I regret to have to inform you that despite all our efforts during the last three years to reach a satisfactory solution of this dispute, we have unfortunately failed. The Government of India have hitherto refused on one pretext or another to honour their international commitments which they accepted under the two UNCIP Resolutions dated 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949. Statements made by the Indian Prime Minister in the Indian Parliament on 29 March 1956, and at a Press Conference on 2 April as well as his subsequent public utterances and the steps

that the so-called Constituent Assembly of Kashmir has taken in collusion with the Government of India in regard to the future disposition of the State in direct contravention of the Security Council's Resolution of 30 March 1951, have further forced us to the conclusion that continuance of direct negotiations between the Governments of Pakistan and India holds out no prospect of a settlement of this dispute.

4. The effect of the Indian Prime Minister's statement and of the failure of these negotiations on Indo-Pakistan relations in general and on the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the adjoining areas of Pakistan in particular has been most deleterious.

5. A reign of repression prevails in that part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir which is under Indian military occupation. Many prominent leaders of public opinion in the State, such as Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, ex Chief Minister, and Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beg, ex Revenue Minister of the State, Ghulam Mohiuddin Karra, President of the Kashmir Political Conference, and others have been languishing in jail for a long time, without just cause and without any trial. Even Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, President of the Kashmir Democratic Union, who has, after his extermination from the State, established his headquarters in Delhi suffered imprisonment twice and has only recently been released. Their only fault is that they demand that the people of the State be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination as envisaged in the Security Council resolutions. There is no freedom of speech or assembly in Indian-occupied Kashmir. Terrorist methods are being employed with the help of the Indian Army, the State Militia and the notorious "Peace Brigade" to crush all opposition to India's continued occupation of the State territory by force.

6. The reaction of public opinion throughout Pakistan and particularly in Azad Kashmir and the tribal belt on the North-West Frontier of the country, to these happenings has been sharp and outspoken. The tribesmen of the North-West Frontier of Pakistan, who had been required to leave the State in 1949 on the express assurance of the Government of Pakistan that a free and impartial plebiscite would be held in the near future, are now impatient to know what has happened to those assurances.
7. Nine years ago, over half a million Kashmiris were driven out of their hearths and homes by the Maharaja's forces and the Indian Army to seek asylum in Pakistan. Since then these refugees have been living in Azad Kashmir and neighbouring Pakistan territory in the hope that they would one day go back to the State in accordance with the provisions of Clause 6(a) of UNCIP's resolution dated 5 January 1949. They are now becoming increasingly restive. They want to return to the State without further delay to fight for their rights. There is a general clamour amongst them to launch a peaceful movement aimed at crossing the cease-fire line and starting a mass movement inside the State with a view to winning the Kashmiris' right to self-determination.
8. On the other hand, the Indian Prime Minister's declaration that he is now opposed to a plebiscite, accompanied by the steps that are being taken by the Government of India unilaterally to "integrate" the State with India in disregard of the assurances given by that Government to the Security Council and the mounting unrest both inside and outside Kashmir have combined to create an explosive situation which constitutes serious threat to peace in this area. If this dispute which has been pending in the Security Council for the last nine years is not resolved immediately and the faith of the people both inside and outside Kashmir is shaken in the ability of the United Nations to secure international justice in the hope of which the situation had remained calm so far, it is apprehended that the gravest consequences might ensue.
9. The Government of Pakistan feel that this situation calls for firm and timely action by the Security Council. The Council is already seized of the Kashmir dispute. It is most essential that early action should be taken to implement the UNCIP Resolutions dated 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949 which

constitute an International Agreement between India and Pakistan that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided by means of a free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices.

10. I am, therefore, to request you to circulate this letter to members of the Security Council, and fix a date at their earliest convenience for a meeting of the Council to consider the Kashmir question. It is hoped that it may be possible for the Council to take it up at a very early date. The Government of Pakistan intend to send a special Delegation to assist the Security Council in its deliberations.

I take this opportunity, etc.

(Signed) MALIK FIROZ KHAN NOON
Foreign Minister of Pakistan

