

# **AGGRESSION IN KASHMIR**

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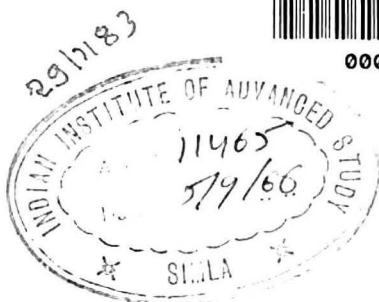
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## **AGGRESSION IN KASHMIR**

In view of Pakistan's foreign policy manoeuvres since the Chinese invasion of India and its persistent anti-Indian propaganda, it is doubtful whether much can be expected from fresh moves intended to reopen negotiations on the Kashmir issue.

As far as India is concerned, her position is clear. She has always been ready for an amicable settlement of the problem which is neither of her making nor has been kept alive by her actions and policies. The problem might never have arisen but for certain attitudes adopted by Pakistan almost from the moment of its birth as a State in the middle of August 1947, and maintained by its successive Governments ever since.

### **PLEBISCITE ISSUE**

The story of the Kashmir issue is easily told. Within no more than seven weeks of the creation of Pakistan, tribal raiders from its territory invaded the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Indian troops moved in to defend the State when its ruler acceded to India. The accession was fully in accordance with the British Statute enacted for the transfer of power. But even then the Government of India voluntarily made the announcement that the people of Kashmir would be consulted about their State's future when normal conditions were restored.

A clear offer of a plebiscite in Kashmir was made by the Prime Minister of India in a broadcast in November 1947. It was also communicated to the Government of Pakistan which rejected it. Thus it was neither Pakistan nor the United Nations (which was not even in the picture at the time) that first suggested plebiscite as a solution to the Kashmir problem. The proposal was made by India itself.

On January 1, 1948, the Government of India lodged a complaint against Pakistan's aggression with the Security Council of the United Nations in order to ensure that there was no war with Pakistan. While fighting continued, the Security Council sent out a Commission for India and Pakistan to study the

situation. The Commission, on the lines of the announcement made earlier by the Government of India, suggested that if and when Pakistani troops withdrew from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, a plebiscite should be considered as one of the methods for ascertaining the will of the people. The Government of India agreed. But Pakistan, which had sent in its regular troops to support the tribal raiders, knew that, having been responsible for pillage, rape, murder and arson, it could not hope to win a plebiscite. Pakistan, therefore, put forward one excuse after another to avoid withdrawal of its troops from Kashmir.

### VERDICT AT U. N.

Pakistan's intentions became clear when it began to claim equality with India in Kashmir even though named as the aggressor by the U.N. representative, Sir Owen Dixon. It has been recognised that the presence of Pakistani troops in Kashmir, which is Indian territory, constitutes aggression. This is evident from the statements made by important members of the Security Council from time to time.

As early as February 4, 1948, the U.S. representative in the Security Council declared :

“External Sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir is no longer under the control of the Maharaja . . . With the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India this foreign sovereignty went over to India and is exercised by India and that is how India happens to be here as a petitioner.”

At the 611th meeting of the Council this view was supported by the representative of the Netherlands. He said :

“We know of course that in 1947 the then ruler of the State of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India by an instrument which was accepted by the then Governor General of India, Lord Mountbatten.”

At the 768th meeting of the Council, the representative of Colombia referred to the findings of the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan, and declared :

“The Commission never recognised the legality of the presence of Pakistani troops in Kashmir.”

Similarly, the representative of the U.S.S.R. said at the 765th meeting :

“The question of Kashmir has been settled by the people of Kashmir themselves. They decided that Kashmir is an integral part of the Republic of India.”

More recently, on September 27, 1962, while referring to the Chinese aggression in Ladakh, Britain's Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, said in the U.N. General Assembly :

“The Chinese are now 150 miles inside Indian territory.”

### FRUITLESS TALKS

All this, however, had made hardly any impression on Pakistan which, even when talking of a settlement of the Kashmir issue, continues to claim the State as its own. Abundant evidence of this irrational and unrealistic attitude was provided by Pakistan's representatives in the course of the series of Indo-Pakistan talks which began at the end of 1962 and ended early in 1963.

During these talks, Pakistan, like China, tried to make a virtue of aggression and demanded that the Kashmir issue should be solved on the basis of complete surrender by India. Unmindful of the realities of the situation, legal or constitutional rights and any sense of equity, the Pakistan delegation claimed the whole of Jammu and Kashmir (which has a total area of 86,000 square miles), except for a small pocket of about 3,000 square miles in the southern part of the State. It is not surprising that the patent absurdity of the claim and the unusual arguments put forward to sustain it should eventually have wrecked the talks.

### NOVEL ARGUMENTS

There was a touch of rare ingenuity in the case as presented by Pakistani delegates. They contended that their country should have control of the watersheds and catchment areas of

the rivers in Jammu and Kashmir, because Pakistan could not otherwise store water for irrigation or produce hydro-electric power. If such an argument were to be accepted, every lower riparian country could claim the watershed of a common river in the territories of upper riparian States. In effect it would mean that the country last in the line should have control of all others through which a river passes.

The national boundaries of not many countries in Asia, Africa, Europe or the Americas would be secure if this expansionist theory were to be upheld. Applied in practice, it would lead to chaos in international relations in most parts of the world.

Pakistan's audacity in making the suggestion can only be matched by the Chinese who seek to swallow Indian territory on the basis of so-called "actual control" as distinguished from legal and constitutional sovereignty.

Another, equally astounding, argument advanced by Pakistani delegates in support of their claim was that Kashmir was essential for their country's security, for without control of the State Pakistan could not protect its rail and road communications. If this thesis were accepted as valid, any country could claim the territory of its neighbours in the name of safeguarding its railways and roads. This certainly is a novel excuse for territorial aggrandisement.

### MUSLIMS' ATTITUDE

Pakistani delegates did not fail to repeat the contention that Kashmir should be a part of their country because the State's population has a majority of Muslims. They could not, however, explain why any country should lay claim to the territory of a neighbour merely on the strength of common religion. Even if such an argument were to be entertained, India with its 50 million Muslims has a far stronger claim to Kashmir than West Pakistan with its Muslim population of 45 millions.

In any case the Muslims of Kashmir have expressed no desire to join Pakistan. Their attitude was made clear in 1947 when

they stoutly resisted Pakistani invaders. Though unarmed, Kashmiri Muslims fought against the raiders from Pakistan and those of them who lost their lives while fighting receive homage as martyrs at a regular ceremony every year.

Muslims not only in Kashmir but in the whole of India have repeatedly repudiated Pakistan's claim. Their organizations have left no one in doubt about their views. On June 12, 1963, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, a premier Muslim organization enjoying the support of the Muslim masses, passed a resolution at its annual session in Meerut declaring Kashmir as an integral part of India. By another resolution the Jamiat condemned aggression and called upon Muslims to defend the country at all costs. It is thus clear that the Muslims of India condemn both Chinese and Pakistani aggression.

### HOLLOW WORDS

It is of interest to note that the elaborately worked out arguments of Pakistani delegates were not only wanting in logic and realism but laid bare many glaring inconsistencies in the case built up by their country over the years. Both at home and abroad Pakistani spokesmen have been professing disinterested solicitude for the people of Kashmir who, they alleged, were being denied the right of self-determination. If Pakistan's concern for the Kashmir people were real, its delegation would not have talked of the State merely as a bit of territory to be handed over to the rulers in Rawalpindi to enable them to secure their lines of communication and their supply of river waters.

The hollowness of the Pakistani assurances of sympathy for Kashmir's people is further brought out by the grim tale of their own condition and status told by representatives of East Pakistan in the country's National Assembly. If, as indicated by their legislative spokesmen, the people of East Pakistan have lost their political, economic and human rights and have been forced to accept the position of second class citizens, the promises of those who have brought all this about can hardly be taken seriously by anyone.

A country which denies freedom to its own people and openly supports Communist China's aggression against India cannot expect the world to believe that its interest in Kashmir springs from genuine sympathy with its inhabitants who, being free in free India, are neither in need of sympathy nor have asked for it. Even though Pakistan has not had a free election ever since it came into being, it has been clamouring for a plebiscite in Kashmir. The incongruity of it cannot be lost on the people of Kashmir who exercise their free vote every five years.

### **A NEW AXIS ?**

It is evident that, despite its unending propaganda campaigns, Pakistan is not prepared for a settlement of the Kashmir problem except on its own terms. To prove its claim on Kashmir it seems to be ready to go to any length regardless of its firm international commitments or even of its own and its neighbours' security.

Pakistan joined the CENTO and SEATO pacts to help in preserving the freedom of the "free world". But when China attacked India the aims of these alliances were forgotten and Pakistan went out of its way to sign an agreement with Peking on Kashmir's border with Sinkiang. Pakistan itself has no border with China. But apparently to spite India it negotiated an agreement and gave away to China large chunks of the most strategic areas in northern Kashmir, gaining nothing for itself.

It is in the same spirit of recklessness that Pakistan has been loudly echoing the Chinese claim that it was India that committed aggression against China. It has also joined China in opposing military aid being offered by friendly nations to India to enable it to resist Chinese imperialism and to check Peking's expansionist drive. Pakistan is no less eager than China itself to convince the world that China poses no threat to India or to any other country.

### **NO COMMON FRONT**

In view of the attitude adopted by Pakistan, those who hope and believe that India and Pakistan can forge a common front



against China cannot but be disillusioned. Statements made by the Pakistan Government's responsible spokesmen can leave no one in doubt about the role Rawalpindi wishes to play.

In November 1962, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr Z. A. Bhutto, declared :

“It would be a folly on the part of anyone who thought that Pakistan would go to help India in her fight with China.”

A few days later, he went further and announced that “Pakistan would not join India in any action against Communist China even if the Kashmir dispute was resolved amicably.”

It is not, therefore, surprising that Pakistan should have rejected every reasonable offer for a settlement of the Kashmir and other problems and should have vehemently opposed even the suggestion of a no-war pact with India leading to disengagement of armed forces. By refusing to accept the proposal for a no-war agreement, Pakistan, directly and deliberately, prevented India from withdrawing her troops from the cease-fire line in Kashmir and strengthening her border with China. Though a member of Western military alliances, Pakistan helped the Chinese aggressors against India.

Notwithstanding Pakistan's bitter hostility towards India, friendly Western powers suggested mediation between the two countries even though similar efforts in the past had yielded no results. The proposal had hardly been given full consideration when Pakistan's Foreign Minister came out with impossible conditions for its acceptance by his country. Among other things, he demanded that the mediator should complete his work within three months and that all arms aid to India should stop during the period of mediation. No opportunity arose for a proper discussion of these or any other terms, for, before long, the President of Pakistan rejected the proposal.

The inevitable result of Pakistan's persistent refusal to consider any move for a reasonable settlement of the Kashmir and

other outstanding problems has been continuance of the years old deadlock.

### MILITARY AID

Perhaps this stalemate suits Pakistan's rulers who appear to have convinced themselves that they can achieve their objectives through bluster and prolific propaganda. Pakistan leaders, including the country's President, have declared that they are opposed to arms aid to India since it will have the effect of upsetting the military balance on the sub-continent. If this were so, any settlement of the Kashmir issue would have little meaning or relevance to the situation created by the Chinese aggression.

Pakistan also sees a threat to her security in foreign military assistance to India. Its spokesmen's reasoning is that India's population is five times the population of Pakistan and that her industrial potential is even greater. If, therefore, India receives military aid, Pakistan's security would be endangered. By the same criteria Pakistan should find China a much bigger threat to its security, but its Government has expressed no fear about Chinese intentions, though it cannot but be fully aware of Peking's perfidy in its relations with India or of the Chinese declared faith in war as a means of enlarging their influence and widening their sway.

The only conclusion one can draw is that Pakistan's real aim in opposing the supply of arms to India is to strengthen China's military might, whatever the consequences. This short-sighted and essentially dangerous policy being pursued by Pakistan may not be easily explicable. But when it is realised that Pakistan is no less an aggressor against India than China, their coming together begins to make some sense. Since both wish to consolidate their positions as aggressors on Indian territory, it is not unnatural that they should employ similar tactics and arguments and should appear to be acting in concert.

### UNSTABLE CONDITIONS

China has everything to gain and little to lose by making common cause with Pakistan. But the obsession with military

power is of no help to Pakistan. According to an independent observer, neither military alliances nor its allies' good offices on Kashmir, nor India's assurances, much less the recent understandings with China over the northern border, have enabled Pakistan authorities to take an optimistic view of their country's security and stability.

Lack of stability has been Pakistan's main problem ever since it was brought into being. On per capita basis Pakistan has received a much greater volume of economic aid from Western countries than India. Apart from its own expenditure on defence, Pakistan has been receiving military aid from the U.S. and under CENTO and SEATO. But, despite this substantial help from abroad, Pakistan has neither succeeded in overcoming conditions of instability nor achieved economic progress. The fact that the real per capita income has remained stationary for a decade speaks for itself.

### **ALL-ROUND PROGRESS**

In contrast, Kashmir, which Pakistan so frequently commiserates with, has made remarkable progress as part of the Indian Union. Perhaps never in its long history has the State seen so many revolutionary changes brought about in an orderly, peaceful manner as during the past decade. For the first time in 800 years the people of Kashmir are ruling themselves within the protective framework of the Indian federal system. What is more significant, no other constituent State in the Union enjoys a greater measure of autonomy.

Kashmir has a progressive constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected by the State's people in 1951 on the basis of adult franchise. In no other State in India is education free right up to and including the University stage or land was taken over and redistributed to the tillers without compensation to the absentee owners.

In a rapidly transforming scene social and economic development has been gathering pace. During the last 10 years, the number of factories has risen from 44 to 138, of high and higher

secondary schools from 50 to 262, and of hospitals and dispensaries from 89 to 349. During the same period, planned investment has jumped from \$25 million to \$67 million.

### FIRM IDEOLOGY

Like the rest of India, Kashmir has passed through many upheavals and seen periods of violence and bloodshed. But its people have continued to adhere to the spirit of religious and social tolerance so necessary for a society consisting of followers of many faiths. In Kashmir, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Buddhists live in amity. Its leaders, reflecting the will of the people, accepted the ideals of secularism and democracy during the early days of the State's struggle for popular rule.

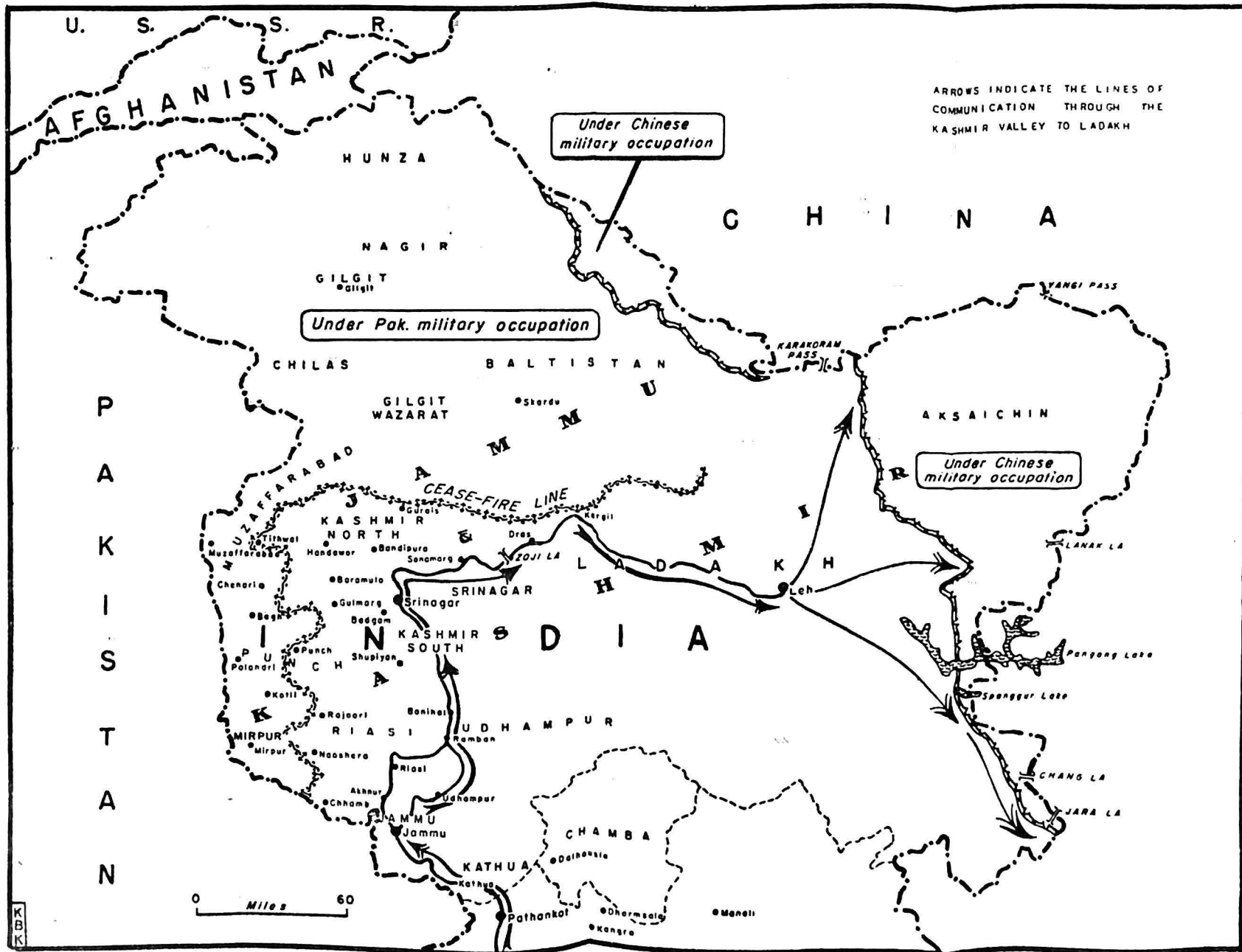
It was in accordance with this ideology that the Kashmir leaders rejected the theocratic concept of the founders of Pakistan and they have remained loyal to their principles through the years. The way things have gone in Pakistan could not but have strengthened their conviction that Kashmir can live in freedom and with dignity and honour only as an integral part of India which it has been throughout its history.

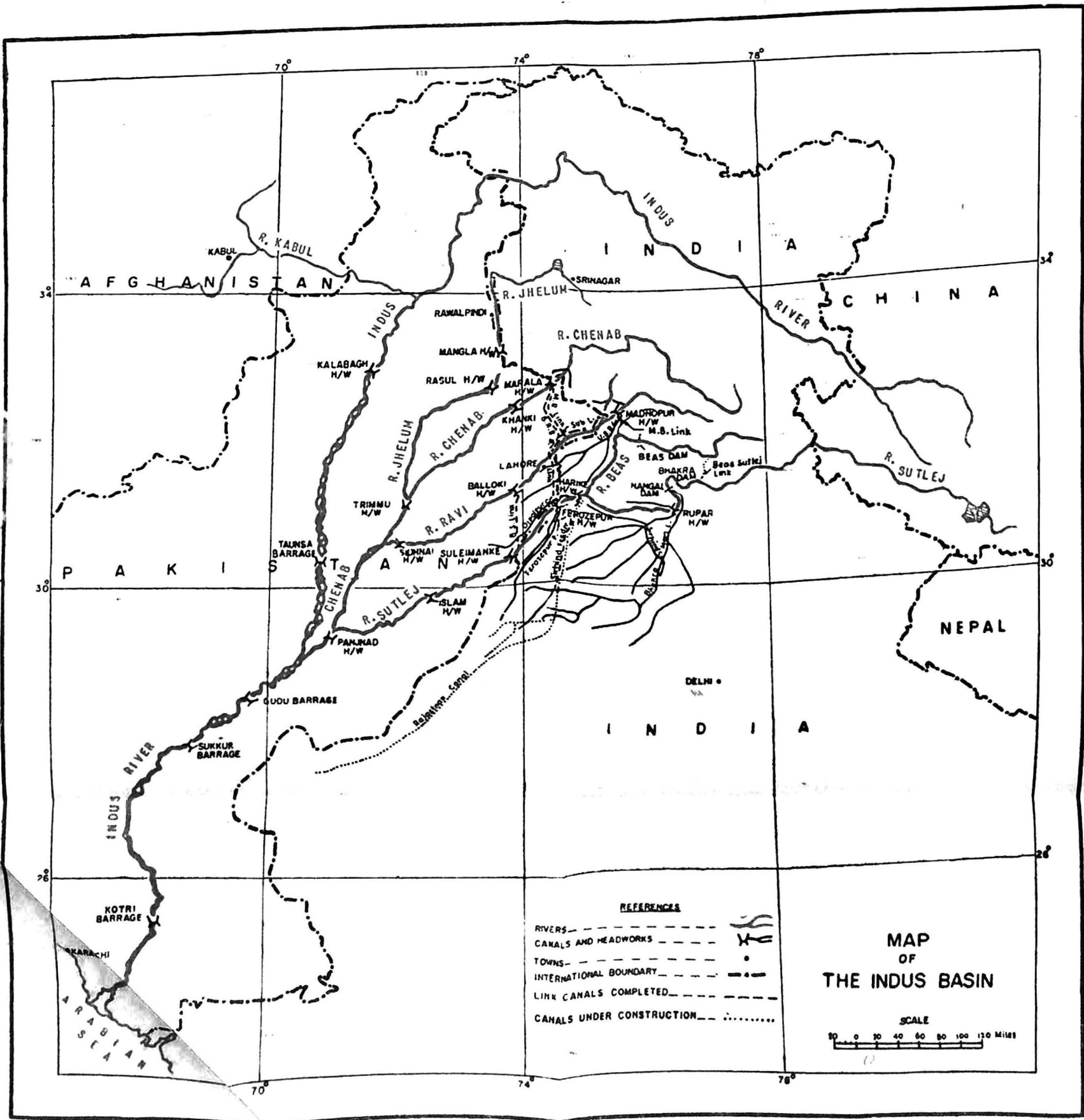
### MAPS

- (1) Jammu and Kashmir—Corner-stone of India's defence
- (2) The Indus Basin



## JAMMU AND KASHMIR — CORNERSTONE OF INDIA'S DEFENCE





**REFERENCES**

- RIVERS ————
- CANALS AND HEADWORKS ————
- TOWNS ————
- INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY ————
- LINK CANALS COMPLETED ————
- CANALS UNDER CONSTRUCTION ————

**MAP OF THE INDUS BASIN**

