



## **ENCYCLOPEDIA**

**of Dates, Quotes, Documents on Pakistan, India, China  
and the United States; and Their Relations**

**(7000 BC to 2013 AD)**

### **VOLUME 2**

**By**

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**AFRASIAB**  
**MEHDI HASHMI QURESHI**

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**DOCUMENTS RELEVANT TO PAKISTAN-INDIA  
RELATIONS**



## **TREATY OF AMRITSAR OF 16 MARCH 1846**

The treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharajah Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esq. and Brever-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of her Britannic Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, Governor-General of the possessions of the East India Company, to direct and control all the affairs in the East Indies and by Maharajah Gulab Singh in person.

### **Article 1**

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever in independent possession to Maharajah Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the River Indus and the westward of the River Ravi including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

### **Article 2**

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharajah Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

### **Article 3**

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing article Maharajah Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on or before the 1st October of the current year, A.D., 1846.

### **Article 4**

The limits of territories of Maharajah Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without concurrence of the British Government.

### **Article 5**

Maharajah Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or question that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighboring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

### **Article 6**

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Forces, the British troops when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

### **Article 7**

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages never to take to retain in his service any British subject nor the subject of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.

### **Article 8**

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V, VI and VII of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11<sup>th</sup> March 1846.

### **Article 9**

The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

### **Article 10**

Maharajah Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This Treaty of ten articles has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq. and Brever-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under directions of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General, on the part of the British Government and by Maharajah Gulab Singh in person, and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General. (Done at Amritsar the sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rubee-ul-Awal (1262 Hijree).

(Signed) **H. Hardinge** (Seal)

(Signed) **F. Currie**

(Signed) **H.M. Lawrence**

**JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS**  
(28 March 1929)

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislative, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present, provided it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favor of a joint electorate.
6. Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North West Frontier Province.
7. Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or any resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourth of the members of any community in that Particular body oppose such a bill resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.
11. Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the services of the state and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institution and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the state and by local self-governing bodies.
13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the State's contribution of the Indian Federation.

**WRITE-UP ON THE IDEA OF PAKISTAN, 'NOW OR NEVER: ARE WE TO LIVE OR PERISH FOR EVER?' BY RAHMAT ALI**

(28 January 1933)

At this solemn hour in the history of India, when British and Indian statesmen are laying the foundations of a Federal Constitution for that land, we address this appeal to you, in the name of our common heritage, on behalf of our thirty million Muslim brethren who live in PAKISTAN - by which we mean the five Northern units of India, Viz: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan - for your sympathy and support in our grim and fateful struggle against political crucifixion and complete annihilation.

Our brave but voiceless nation is being sacrificed on the altar of Hindu Nationalism not only by the non-Muslims, but to the lasting disgrace of Islam, by our own so-called leaders, with reckless disregard to our future and in utter contempt of the teachings of history. The Indian Muslim Delegation at the Round Table Conference have committed an inexcusable and prodigious blunder. They have submitted, in the name of Hindu Nationalism, to the perpetual subjection of the ill-starred Muslim nation. These leaders have already agreed, without any protest or demur and without any reservation, to a Constitution based on the principle of an All-India Federation. This, in essence, amounts to nothing less than signing the death-warrant of Islam and its future in India. In doing so, they have taken shelter behind the so-called Mandate from the community.

But they forgot that that suicidal Mandate was framed and formulated by their own hands. That Mandate was not the Mandate of the Muslims of India. Nations never give Mandates to their representatives to barter away their very souls; and men of conscience never accept such self-annihilating Mandates, if given - much less execute them. At a time of crisis of this magnitude, the foremost duty of saving statesmanship is to give a fair, firm and fearless lead, which, alas, has been persistently denied to eighty millions of our co-religionists in India by our leaders during the last seventy-five years.

These have been the years of false issues, of lost opportunities and of utter blindness to the most essential and urgent needs of the Muslim interests. Their policy has throughout been nerveless in action and subservient in attitude. They have all along been paralyzed with fear and doubt, and have deliberately, time and again, sacrificed their political principles for the sake of opportunism and expediency. To do so even at this momentous juncture of Bedlam. It is idle for us not to look this tragic truth in the face. The tighter we shut our eyes, the harder the truth will hit us.

At this critical moment, when this tragedy is being enacted, permit us to appeal to you for your practical sympathy and active support for the demand of a separate Federation - a matter of life and death for the Muslims of India - as outlined and explained below.

India, constituted as it is at the present moment, is not the name of one single country; nor the home of one single nation. It is, in fact, the designation of a State created for the first time in history, by the British. It includes peoples who have never previously formed part of India at any period in its history; but who have, on the other hand, from the dawn of history till the advent of the British, possessed and retained distinct nationalities of their own.

In the five Northern Provinces of India, out of a total population of about forty millions, we, the Muslims, contribute about 30 millions. Our religion, culture, history, tradition, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are basically and fundamentally different from those of the people living in the rest of India. The ideals which move our thirty million brethren-in-faith living in these provinces to make the highest sacrifices are fundamentally different from those which inspire the Hindus. These differences are not confined to the broad basic principles - far from it. They extend to the minutest details of our lives. We do not inter-dine; we do not inter-marry. Our national customs, calendars, even our diet and dress are different.

It is preposterous to compare, as some superficial observers do, the differences between Muslims and Hindus with those between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Both the Catholics and Protestants are part and parcel of one religious system - Christianity; while the Hindus and Muslims are the followers of two essentially and fundamentally different religious systems. Religion in the case of Muslims and Hindus is not a matter of private opinion as it is in the case of Christians; but on the other hand constitutes a Civic Church which lays down a code of conduct to be observed by their adherents from birth to death.

If we, the Muslims of Pakistan, with our distinct marks of nationality, are deluded into the proposed Indian Federation by friends or foes, we are reduced to a minority of one to four. It is this which sounds the death-knell of the Muslim nation in India for ever. To realise the full magnitude of this impending catastrophe, let us remind you that we thirty millions constitute about one-tenth of whole Muslim world. The total area of the five units comprising PAKISTAN, which are our homelands, is four times that of Italy, three times that of Germany and twice that of France; and our population seven times that of the Commonwealth of Australia, four times that of the Dominion of Canada, twice that of Spain, and equal to France and Italy considered individually.

These are facts - hard facts and realities - which we challenge anybody to contradict. It is on the basis of these facts that we make bold to assert without the least fear of contradiction that we, Muslims of PAKISTAN, do possess a separate and distinct nationality from the rest of India, where the Hindu nation lives and has every right to live. We, therefore, deserve and must demand the recognition of a separate national status by the grant of a separate Federal Constitution from the rest of India.

In addressing this appeal to the Muslims of India, we are also addressing it to the two other great interests - British and Hindu - involved in the settlement of India's future. They must understand that in our conviction our body and soul are at stake. Our very being and well-being depends upon it. For our five great Northern states to join an All-India Federation would be disastrous, not only to ourselves, but to every other race and interest in India, including the British and the Hindu.

This is more especially true when there is just and reasonable alternative to the proposed settlement, which will lay the foundations of a peaceful future for this great continent; and should certainly allow of the highest development of each of these two peoples without one being subject to another. This alternative is a separate Federation of these five predominantly (sic) Muslim units - Punjab, North-West Frontier (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. The Muslim Federation of North-West India would provide the bulwark of a buffer state against any invasion either of ideas or arms from outside. The creation of such a Federation would not materially disturb the ratio of the Muslim and Hindu population in the rest of India. It is wholly to the interest of British and Hindu statesmanship to have an ally a free, powerful and contented Muslim nation having a similar but separate Constitution to that which is being enacted for the rest of India. Nothing but a separate Federation of homelands would satisfy us.

This demand is basically different from the suggestion put forward by Doctor Mohammed Iqbal in his Presidential address to the Al-India Muslim League in 1930. While he proposed the amalgamation of the provinces into a single state forming a unit of the All-India Federation, we propose that these Provinces should have a separate Federation of their own. There can be no peace and tranquility in the land if we, the Muslims, are duped into a Hindu-dominated Federation where we cannot be the masters of our own destiny and captains of our own souls.

Do the safeguards provided for in the Constitution give us any scope to work for our salvation along our own lines ? Not a bit. Safeguard is the magic word which holds our leaders spellbound, and has dulled their consciences. In the ecstasy of their hallucinations they think that the pills of safeguards can cure nation-annihilating earthquakes. Safeguards asked for by these leaders and agreed to by the makers of

the Constitution can never be a substitute for the loss of separate nationality. We, the Muslims, shall have to fight the course of suicidal insanity to death.

What safeguards can be devised to prevent our minority of one in four in an All-India Federation from being sacrificed on every vital issue to the aims and interests of the majority race, which differs from us in every essential of individual and corporate life? What safeguards can prevent the catastrophe of the Muslim nation smarting and suffering eternally at the frustration of its every social and religious ideal? What safeguards can compensate our nation awakened to its national conscious for the destruction of its distinct national status? However effective and extensive the safeguards may be, the vital organs and proud symbols of our national life, such as army and navy, foreign relations, trade and commerce, communications, posts and telegraphs, taxation and customs, will not be under our control, but will be in the hands of a Federal Government, which is bound to be overwhelmingly Hindu. With all this, how can we, the Muslims, achieve any of our ideals if those ideals conflict - conflict as they must - with the ideals of Hindus?

The history of the last century, in this respect, is full of unforgettable lessons for us. Even one who runs may read them. To take just one instance. Despite all these safeguards and guarantees we have enjoyed in the past, the very name of our national language - URDU, even now the lingua franca of that great continent - has been wiped out of the list of Indian languages. We have just to open the latest census report to verify it. This by itself is a tragic fall. Are we fated to fall farther? But that too is dust in the scales by comparison with the tremendous national issues involving our whole future as a nation and a power not only India but also in the whole of Asia.

In the face of these incontrovertible facts, we are entitled to ask for what purpose we are being asked to make the supreme sacrifice of surrendering our nationality and submitting ourselves and our posterity to Non-Muslim domination? What good is likely to accrue to Islam and Muslims by going into the Federation is a thing which passes our understanding. Are we to be crucified just to save the faces of our leaders or to bolster up the preposterous.....

May we be permitted to ask of all those statesmen - Muslim or British or Hindu - supporting the Federal Constitution, if it is really desirable to make our nation sacrifice all that Islam has given us during the last fourteen hundred years to make India a nation? Does humanity really stand to gain by this stupendous sacrifice? We dare say that still in Islam the ancient fire glows and promises much for the future, if only the leaders would let it live.

Whilst in Europe, excluding Russia, in about the same area as that of India and with about the same population, there live and prosper as many as twenty-six nations, with one and the same religion, civilization and economic system, surely it is not only possible but highly desirable for two fundamentally different and distinct nations, i.e. Muslim and Hindu, to live as friendly neighbours in peace and prosperity in that vast continent. What bitter irony is it that our leaders have not the courage to stand up and demand the minimum for our political salvation.

We are face to face with a first-rate tragedy, the like of which has not have been seen in the long and eventful history of Islam. It is not the question of a sect or of a community going down; but it is the supreme problem which affects the destiny of the whole of Islam and the millions of human beings who, till quite recently, were the custodians of the glory of Islam in India and the defenders of its frontiers.

We have a still greater future before us, if only our soul can be saved from the perpetual bondage of slavery forged in an All-India Federation. Let us make no mistake about it. The issue is now or never. Either we live or perish for ever. The future is ours only if we live up to our faith. It does not lie in the lap of the gods, but it rests in our own hands. We can make or mar it.

The history of the last century is full of open warnings, and they are as plain as were ever given to any nation. Shall it be said of us that we ignored all these warnings and allowed our ancient heritage to perish in our hands?

## **PAKISTAN RESOLUTION**

(Adopted by the All-India Muslim League at Lahore in its  
Twenty-Seventh Annual Session on 23 March 1940)

While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of September and 22<sup>nd</sup> of October, 1939, and 3<sup>rd</sup> of February, 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18<sup>th</sup> of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1939, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India. Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered 'do novo' and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in the country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, *viz.*, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs, and such other matters as may be necessary.

Proposed by---	The Hon'ble Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Haque, Premier of Bengal
Seconded by---	Choudhari Khaliuzzaman Saheb, M.L.A. (U.P.)
Supported by---	Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (Central)
	Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (N.W.F.P. Province).
	Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, M.L.A. (Central)
	K.B. Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb, M.L.C. (Bihar)
	Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan Saheb, President of Balochistan Provincial Muslim League
	Abdul Hameed Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (Madras)
	I.I. Chundrigar Saheb, M.L.A. (Bombay)
	Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, M.L.A. (C.P.)
	Dr. Mohammad Alum, M.L.A. (Punjab)
	Syed Zakir Ali Saheb (U.P.)
	Begum Sahiba Maulana Mohammed Ali
	Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Qadri (U.P.)

**LETTER DATED 26 OCTOBER 1947 SAID TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY  
MAHARAJA HARI SINGH TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN**

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have to inform Your Excellency that a grave emergency has arisen in my State and request the immediate assistance of your Government. As Your Excellency is aware, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not acceded to either the Dominion of India or Pakistan. Geographically my State is contiguous with both of them. Besides, my State has a common boundary with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and with China. In their external relations the Dominion of India and Pakistan cannot ignore this fact. I wanted to take time to decide to which Dominion I should accede or whether it is not in the best interests of both the Dominions and of my State to stand independent, of course with friendly and cordial relations with both. I accordingly approached the Dominions of India and Pakistan to enter into standstill agreement with my State. The Pakistan Government accepted this arrangement. The Dominion of India desired further discussion with representatives of my Government. I could not arrange this in view of the developments indicated below. In fact the Pakistan Government under the standstill agreement is operating the post and telegraph system inside the State. Though we have got a standstill agreement with the Pakistan Government, the Government permitted a steady and increasing strangulation of supplies like food, salt and petrol to my State.

Afridis, soldiers in plain clothes, and desperadoes with modern weapons have been allowed to infiltrate into the State, at first in the Poonch area, then from Sialkot and finally in a mass in the area adjoining-Hazara district on the Ramkote side. The result has been that the limited number of troops at the disposal of the State had to be dispersed and thus had to face the enemy at several points simultaneously, so that it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property and the looting of the Mahura power house, which supplies electric current to the whole of Srinagar and which has been burnt. The number of women who have been kidnapped and raped makes my heart bleed. The wild forces thus let loose on the State are marching on with the aim of capturing Srinagar, the summer capital of my government, as a first step to overrunning the whole State. The mass infiltration of tribesman drawn from distant areas of the North-West Frontier Province, coming regularly in motor trucks, using the Manwehra-Muzaffarabad road and fully armed with up-to-date weapons, cannot possibly be done without the knowledge of the Provincial Government of the North-West Frontier Province and the Government of Pakistan. In spite of repeated appeals made by my Government no attempt has been made to check these raiders or to stop them from coming into my State. In fact, both radio and the Press of Pakistan have reported these occurrences. The Pakistan radio

even put out the story that a provisional government has been set up in Kashmir. The people of my State, both Muslims and non-Muslims, generally have taken no part at all.

With the conditions obtaining at present in my State and the great emergency of the situation as it exists, I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally, they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to the Dominion of India. I have accordingly decided to do so, and I attach the instrument of accession for acceptance by your Government. The other alternative is to leave my state and people to free booters. On this basis no civilised government can exist or be maintained.

This alternative I will never allow to happen so long as I am the ruler of the State and I have life to defend my country. I may also inform your Excellency's Government that it is my intention at once to set up an interim government and to ask Sheikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities in this emergency with my Prime Minister.

If my State is to be saved, immediate assistance must be available at Srinagar. Mr. V.P. Menon is fully aware of the gravity of the situation and will explain it to you, if further explanation is needed.

In haste and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Hari Singh  
(October 26, 1947)

**THE SO - CALLED INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION**  
(October 1947)

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as INDIA, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modification as the Governor-General may by order specify be applicable to the Dominion of India;

And Whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof:

Now Therefore I Shriman Inder Mahander Rajrajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shri Hari Singhji Jammu and Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshadhipathi, Ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State, in the exercise of my Sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor-General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall, by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession, but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India, on the 15th Day of August 1947 (which Act as so in force is hereinafter referred to as "the Act").
2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.
3. I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.
4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act 1947 unless such amendment is accepted by me by Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purpose of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense, or, if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future constitution.

8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my Sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this 26th day of October, nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

**Hari Singh,  
Maharajadhiraj of Jammu and Kashmir State.**

**EXCERPTS FROM TELEGRAM DATED 26 OCTOBER 1947  
FROM PRIME MINISTER NEHRU TO BRITISH PRIME  
MINISTER CLEMENT ATTLEE**

*.....I should like to make it clear that question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to influence the State to accede to India. Our view which we have repeatedly made public is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or State must be decided in accordance with wishes of people and we adhere to this view.*

*It is quite clear, however, that no free expression of will of people of Kashmir is possible if external aggression succeeds in imperiling integrity of its territory.*

*I have thought it desirable to inform you of situation because of its threat of international complications.*

**LORD MOUNTBATTEN 'S LETTER DATED  
27 OCTOBER 1947 SAID TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN TO THE  
MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR**

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Your Highness' letter dated 26 October has been delivered to me by Mr. V. P. Menon. In the special circumstances mentioned by your Highness my Government have decided to accept the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India. Consistently with their policy that in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question if accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people.

Meanwhile in response to your Highness' appeal for military aid action has been taken today to send troops of the Indian Army to Kashmir to help your own forces to defend your territory and to protect the lives, property and honour of your people.

My Government and I note with satisfaction that your Highness has decided to invite Sheikh Abdullah to form an interim Government to work with your Prime Minister.

With kind regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Mountbatten of Burma  
October 27, 1947

**PRIME MINISTER NEHRU'S TELEGRAMS (DATED 27 OCTOBER 1947;  
AND 31 OCTOBER 1947) ON THE ISSUE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR  
ADDRESSED TO PAKISTAN'S PRIME MINISTER LIAQUAT ALI KHAN**

*I should like to make it clear that the question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to influence the State to accede to India. Our view which we have repeatedly made public is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or State must be decided in accordance with the wishes of people and we adhere to this view.*

Four days later, in his telegram of 31 October, 1947 to Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, Nehru again stressed: .... *our assurance that we shall withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the decision about the future of the State to the people of the State is not merely a pledge to your government but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world.*

## **PRIME MINISTER NEHRU'S BROADCAST OF 2 NOVEMBER 1947 ON THE ISSUE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR**

*We have decided to accept this accession and to send troops by air, but we made a 'condition that the accession would have to be considered by the people of Kashmir later when peace and order were established. We were anxious not to finalise anything in a moment of crisis, and without the fullest opportunity to the people of Kashmir to have their say. It was for them ultimately to decide.*

*And here let me make clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to either Dominion, the decision must be made by the people of the State. It was in accordance with this policy that we added a proviso to the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir.*

*We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given, and the Maharaja has supported it not only to the people of Kashmir but the world.*

*We will not, and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations. We want it to be a fair and just reference to the people, and we shall accept their verdict.*

**PRIME MINISTER NEHRU'S REITERATION OF PLEBISCITE PLEDGE  
ON KASHMIR IN TELEGRAM DATED 3 NOVEMBER 1947 TO THE  
PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN**

*I wish to draw your attention to broadcast on Kashmir which I made last evening in which I have stated our Government's policy and made it clear that we have no desire to impose our will on Kashmir but to leave final decision to people of Kashmir.*

*I further stated that we have agreed on impartial international agency like United Nations', supervising any referendum.*

**FROM PRIME MINISTER NEHRU'S ADDRESS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA ON 25 NOVEMBER 1947**

- *Further we made it clear that as soon as law and order had been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invaders, the question of the State's accession should be settled by reference to the people.*
- *In order to establish our bonafides we have suggested that when the people are given the chance to decide their future this should be done under the supervision of an impartial tribunal such as the United Nations Organisation.*

**INDIAN COMPLAINT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL  
(LETTER DATED 1 JANUARY 1948 FROM THE  
REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL)**

The Government of India have instructed me to transmit to you the following telegraphic communication:

1. Under Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations, any Member may bring any situation whose continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security to the attention of the Security Council. Such a situation now exists between India and Pakistan owing to the aid which invaders, consisting of nationals of Pakistan and of tribesmen from the territory immediately adjoining Pakistan on the north-west, are drawing from Pakistan for operations against Jammu and Kashmir, a State which has acceded to the Dominion of India and is part of India. The circumstances of accession, the activities of the invaders which led the Government of India to take military action against them, and the assistance which the attackers have received and are still receiving from Pakistan are explained later in this memorandum. The Government of India request the Security Council to call upon Pakistan to put an end immediately to the giving of such assistance, which is an act of aggression against India. If Pakistan does not do so, the Government of India may be compelled, in self-defence, to enter Pakistan territory, in order to take military action against the invaders. The matter is, therefore, one of extreme urgency and calls for immediate action by the Security Council for avoiding a breach of international peace.
2. From the middle of September 1947, the Government of India had received reports of the infiltration of armed raiders into the western parts of Jammu province of Jammu and Kashmir State; Jammu adjoins West Punjab, which is a part of the Dominion of Pakistan. These raiders had done a great deal of damage in that area and taken possession of part of the territory of the State. On 24 October, the Government of India heard of a major raid from the Frontier Province of the Dominion of Pakistan into the Valley of Kashmir. Some two thousand or more fully armed and equipped men came in motor transport, crossed over to the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, sacked the town of Muzaffarabad, killing many people and proceeded along the Jhelum Valley road towards Srinagar, the summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir State. Intermediate towns and villages were sacked and burnt, and many people killed. These raiders were stopped by Kashmir State troops near Uri, a town some fifty miles from Srinagar, for some time, but the invaders got around them and burnt the power house at Mahora, which supplied electricity to the whole of Kashmir.

3. The position, on the morning of 26 October, was that these raiders had been held by Kashmir State troops and part of the civil population, who had been armed, at a town called Baramula. Beyond Baramula there was no major obstruction up to Srinagar. There was immediate danger of these raiders reaching Srinagar, destroying and massacring large numbers of people, both Hindus and Muslims. The State troops were spread out all over the State and most of them were deployed along the western border of Jammu province. They had been split up into small, isolated groups and were incapable of offering effective resistance to the raiders. Most of the State officials had left the threatened areas and the civil administration had ceased to function. All that stood between Srinagar and the fate which had overtaken the places en route followed by the raiders was the determination of the inhabitants of Srinagar, of all communities, and practically without arms, to defend themselves. At this time Srinagar had also a large population of Hindu and Sikh refugees who had fled there from West Punjab owing to communal disturbances in that area. There was little doubt that these refugees would be massacred if the raiders reached Srinagar.

4. Immediately after the raids into Jammu and Kashmir State commenced, approaches were informally made to the Government of India for the acceptance of the accession of the State to the Indian Dominion. .....

5. Events moved with great rapidity, and the threat to the Valley of Kashmir became grave. On 26 October, the ruler of the State, His Highness Maharaja Sir Hari Singh, appealed urgently to the Government of India for military help. He also requested that the Jammu and Kashmir State should be allowed to accede to the Indian Dominion. An appeal for help was also simultaneously received by the Government of India from the largest popular organization in Kashmir, the National Conference, headed by Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah. The Conference further strongly supported the request for the State's accession to the Indian Dominion. The Government of India were thus approached not only officially by the State authorities, but also on behalf of the people of Kashmir, both for military aid and for the accession of the State to India.

6. The grave threat to the life and property of innocent people in the Kashmir Valley and to the security of the State of Jammu and Kashmir that had developed as a result of the invasion of the Valley demanded immediate decision by the Government of India on both the requests. It was imperative on account of the emergency that the responsibility for the defence of Jammu and Kashmir State should be taken over by a Government capable of discharging it. But, in order to avoid any possible suggestion that India had utilised the State's immediate peril for her own political advantage, the Government of India made it clear that once the soil of the State had been cleared of the invader and normal conditions restored, its

people would be free to decide their future by the recognized democratic methods of a plebiscite or referendum which, in order to ensure complete impartiality, might be held under international auspices.

7. The Government of Indian felt it their duty to respond to the appeal for armed assistance because:

- (1) They could not allow a neighbouring and friendly State to be compelled by force to determine either its internal affairs or its external relations;
- (2) The accession of Jammu and Kashmir State to the Dominion of India made India really responsible for the defence of the State.

8. The intervention of the Government of India resulted in saving Srinagar. The raiders were driven back from Baramulla to Uri and are held there by Indian troops. Nearly 19,000 raiders face the Dominion forces in this area. Since operations in the Valley of Kashmir started, pressure by the raiders against the western, and south-western border of Jammu and Kashmir State had been intensified. Exact figures are not available. It is understood, however, that nearly 15,000 raiders are operating against this part of the State. State troops are besieged in certain areas. Incursions by the raiders into the State territory, involving murder, arson, loot, and the abduction of women continue. The booty is collected and carried over to the tribal areas to serve as an inducement to the further recruitment of tribesmen to the ranks of the raiders. In addition to those actively participating in the raid, tribesmen and others, estimated at 100,000 have been collected in different places in the districts of West Punjab bordering Jammu and Kashmir State, and many of them are receiving military training under Pakistani nationals, including officers of the Pakistan Army. They are looked after in Pakistan territory, fed, clothed, armed and otherwise equipped, and transported to the territory of Jammu and Kashmir State with the help, direct and indirect, of Pakistani officials, both military and civil.

9. As already stated, the raiders who entered the Kashmir Valley in October came mainly from the tribal areas to the north-west of Pakistan and, in order to reach Kashmir, passed through Pakistan territory. The raids along the south-west border of the State, which had preceded the invasion of the valley proper, had actually been conducted from Pakistan territory, and Pakistan nationals had taken part in them. This process of transmission across Pakistan territory and utilisation of that territory as a base of operations against Jammu and Kashmir State continues. Recently, military operations against the western and south-western borders of the State have been intensified, and the attackers consist of nationals of Pakistan as well

as tribesmen. These invaders are armed with modern weapons, including mortars and medium machine-guns, wear the battle dress of regular soldiers and, in recent engagements, have fought in regular battle formation and are using the tactics of modern warfare. Man-pack wireless sets are in regular use and even mark V mines have been employed. For their transport the invaders have all along used motor vehicles. They are undoubtedly being trained and to some extent led by regular officers of the Pakistan Army. Their rations and other supplies are obtained from Pakistan territory.

10. These facts point indisputably to the conclusion

- (a) that the invaders are allowed transit across Pakistan territory;
- (b) that they are allowed to use Pakistan territory as a base of operations;
- (c) that they include Pakistan nationals;
- (d) that they draw much of their military equipment, transportation, and supplies (including petrol) from Pakistan;  
and
- (e) that Pakistan officers are training, guiding, and otherwise actively helping them.

There is no source other than Pakistan from which they could obtain such quantities of modern military equipment, training or guidance. More than once, the Government of India had asked the Pakistan Government to deny to the invaders facilities which constitute an act of aggression and hostility against India, but without any response. The last occasion on which this request was made was on 22 December, when the Prime Minister of India handed over personally to the Prime Minister of Pakistan a letter in which the various forms of aid given by Pakistan to the invaders were briefly recounted and the Government of Pakistan were asked to put an end to such aid promptly; no reply to this letter has yet been received in spite of a telegraphic reminder sent on 26 December.

11. It should be clear from the foregoing recital that the Government of Pakistan are unwilling to stop the assistance in material and men which the invaders are receiving from Pakistan territory and from Pakistan nationals, including Pakistan Government personnel, both military and civil. This attitude is not only un-neutral, but constitutes active aggression against India, of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir forms a part.

12. The Government of India have exerted persuasion and exercised patience to bring about a change in the attitude of Pakistan. But they have failed, and are in consequence confronted with a situation in which their defence of Jammu and Kashmir State is hampered and their measures to drive the invaders from the territory of the State are greatly impeded by the support which the raiders derive from Pakistan. The invaders are still on the soil of Jammu and Kashmir and the inhabitants of the States are exposed to all the atrocities of which a barbarous foe is capable. The presence, in large numbers, of invaders in those portions of Pakistan territory which adjoin parts of Indian territory other than Jammu and Kashmir State is a menace to the rest of India. Indefinite continuance of the present operations prolongs the agony of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, is a drain on India's resources and a constant threat to the maintenance of peace between India and Pakistan. The Government of India have no option, therefore, but to take more effective military action in order to rid Jammu and Kashmir State of the invader.

13. In order that the objective of expelling the invader from Indian territory and preventing him from launching attacks should be quickly achieved, Indian troops would have to enter Pakistan territory; only thus could the invader be denied the use of bases and cut off from his sources of supplies and reinforcements in Pakistan. Since the aid which the invaders are receiving from Pakistan is an act of aggression against India, the Government of India are entitled, under international law, to send their armed forces across Pakistan territory for dealing effectively with the invaders. However, as such action might involve armed conflict with Pakistan, the Government of India, ever anxious to proceed according to the principles and aims of the Charter of the United Nations, desire to report the situation to the Security Council under Article 35 of the Charter. They feel justified in requesting the Security Council to ask the Government of Pakistan,

- (1) to prevent Pakistan Government personnel, military and civil from participating or assisting in the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir State;
- (2) to call upon other Pakistani nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir State;
- (3) to deny to the invaders: (a) access to any use of its territory for operations against Kashmir, (b) military and other supplies, (c) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle.

14. The Government of India would stress the special urgency of the Security Council taking immediate action on their request. They desire to add that military

operations in the invaded areas have, in the past few days, been developing so rapidly that they must, in self-defence, reserve to themselves the freedom to take, at any time when it may become necessary, such military action as they may consider the situation requires.

15. The Government of India deeply regret that a serious crisis should have been reached in their relation with Pakistan. Not only is Pakistan a neighbor but, in spite of the recent separation, India and Pakistan have many ties and many common interests. India desires nothing more earnestly than to live with her neighbour-State on terms of close and lasting friendship. Peace is to the interest of both States; indeed to the interests of the world. The Government of India's approach to the Security Council is inspired by the sincere hope that, through the prompt action of the Council, peace may be preserved.

16. The text of this reference to the Security Council is being telegraphed to the Government of Pakistan.

**AGREEMENT BETWEEN MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES OF INDIA  
AND PAKISTAN REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CEASE-FIRE  
LINE IN THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR**

(Karachi, 27 July 1949)

(I)

**INTRODUCTION**

A. The military representatives of India and Pakistan met together in Karachi from 18 July to 27 JULY 1949 under the auspices of the Truce Sub-committee of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.

B. The members of the Indian Delegation were:

- Lt.-Gen. S.M. Shrinagesh
- Maj.-Gen. K.S. Thimaya
- Brig. S.H.F.J. Manekshaw

As observers:

- Mr. H.M. Patel
- Mr. V. Sahay C.

The members of the Pakistan Delegation were:

- Maj.-Gen. W.J. Cawthorn
- Maj.-Gen. Nazir Ahmad
- Brig. M. Sher Khan

As observers:

- Mr. M. Ayub
- Mr. A. A. Khan.

D. The members of the Truce Sub-committee of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan were:

- Chairman, Mr. Hernando Samper (Colombia)
- Mr. William L.S. Williams (United States)
- Lt.-Gen. Maurice Delvoie (Military Adviser)
- Mr. Miguel A. Marin (Legal Adviser).

(II)

## AGREEMENT

### A. Considering:

1. That the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, in its letter dated 2 July 1949, invited the Governments of India and Pakistan to send fully authorised military representatives to meet jointly in Karachi under the auspices of the Commission's Truce Sub-committee to establish a cease-fire line in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, mutually agreed upon by the Governments of India and Pakistan;
2. That the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan in its letter stated that "The meetings will be for military purposes; political issues will not be considered", and that "They will be conducted without prejudice to negotiations concerning the Truce Agreement"
3. That in the same letter the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan further stated that: "The cease-fire line is a complement of the suspension of hostilities, which falls within the provisions of Part I of the Resolution of 13 August 1948, and can be considered separately from the questions relating to Part II of the same Resolution";
4. That the Governments of India and Pakistan, in their letters dated 7 July 1949 to the Chairman of the Commission, accepted the Commission's invitation to the military conference in Karachi;

### B. The Delegations of India and Pakistan, duly authorized, have reached the following agreement:

1. Under the provisions of Part I of the Resolution of 13 August 1948, and as a complement of the suspension of hostilities in the State of Jammu and Kashmir on 1 January 1949, a cease-fire line is established.
2. The cease-fire line runs from MANAWAR in the south, north to KERAN and from KE RAN east to the glacier area, as follows:
  - (a) The line from MANAWAR to the south bank of the JHELUM River at URUSA (inclusive to India) is the line now defined by the factual positions about which there is agreement between both parties. Where there has hitherto not been agreement, the line shall be as follows:

- (i) In PATRANA area: KOEL (inclusive to Pakistan) north along the KHUWALA KAS Nullah up to point 2276 (inclusive to India), thence to KIRNI (inclusive to India).
  - (ii) KHAMBHA, PIR SATWAN, point 3150 and Point 3606 are inclusive to India, thence the line runs to the factual position at BAGLA GALA, thence to the factual position at Point 3300.
  - (iii) In the area south of URI the positions of PIR KANTHI and LED! GAL! are inclusive to Pakistan.
- (b) From the north bank of the JHELUM River the line runs from a point opposite the village of URUSA (NL 972109), thence north following the BALLASETH DA NAR Nullah (inclusive to Pakistan), up to NL 973140, thence northeast to CHOTA KAZINAG (Point 10657, inclusive to India), thence to NM 010180, thence to NM 037210, thence to Point 11825 (NM 025354, inclusive to Pakistan), thence to TUTUMARI GALI (to be shared by both sides, posts to be established 500 yards on either side of the GALI), thence to the northwest through the first "R" of BURST NAR to north of GABDORI, thence straight west to just north of Point 9870, thence along the black line north of BIJILDHAR to north of BATARASI, thence to just south of SUPPURA, thence due north to the KATHAKAZINAG Nullah, thence along the latter Nullah to its junction with the GRANGNAR Nullah, thence along the latter Nullah to KAJNWALA PATHRA (inclusive to India), thence across the DHANNA ridge (following the factual positions) to RICHMAR GALI (inclusive to India), thence north to THANDA KATHA Nullah, thence north to the KISHANGANGA River. The line then follows the KISHANGANGA River up to a point situated between JARGT and TARBAN, thence (all inclusive to Pakistan) to BANKORAN, thence northeast to KHORI, thence to the hill feature 8930 (in Square 9053), thence straight north to Point 10164 (in Square 9057), thence to Point 10323 (in Square 9161), thence northeast straight to GUTHUR, thence to BHUTPATHRA, thence to NL 980707, thence following the BUGINA Nullah to the junction with the KISHANGANGA River at Point 4739. Thereafter the line follows the KISHANGANGA to KERAN and onwards to Point 4996 (NL 975818).
- (c) From Point 4996 the line follows (all inclusive to Pakistan) the JAMGAR Nullah eastward to Point 12124, to KATWARE, to Point 6678, thence to the northeast to SARIAN (Point 11279), to Point 11837, to Point 13090, to Point 12641, thence east again to Point 11142, thence to DHAKKI, thence to Point 11415, thence to Point 10301, thence to Point 7507, thence to Point 10685, thence to Point 8388, thence southeast to Point 11812. Thence the line runs (all inclusive to India) to Point 13220, thence across the River to the east to Point 13449 (DURMAT), thence to Point 14586 (ANZBARI), thence to Point 13554, thence to Milestone 45

on the BURZIL Nullah, thence to the east to ZIANKAL (Point 12909), thence to the southeast to Point 11114, thence to Point 12216, thence to Point 12867, thence to the east to Point 11264, thence to KARO (Point 14985), thence to Point 14014, thence to Point 12089, thence following the track to Point 12879. From there the line runs to Point 13647 (KAROBAL GALI, to be shared by both sides). The cease-fire line runs thence through RETAGAH CHHISH (Point 15316), thence through Point 15889, thence through Point 17392, thence through Point 16458, thence to MARIOLA (to be shared by both sides), thence through Point 17561, thence through Point 17352, thence through Point 18400, thence through Point 16760, thence to (inclusive to India), DALUNANG.

(d) From DALUNANG eastwards the cease-fire line will follow the general line Point 15495, ISHMAN, MANUS, GANGAM, GUNDERMAN, Point 13620, JUNKAR (Point 17628), MARMAK, NATSARA, SHANGRUTH (Point 17531), CHORBAT LA (Point 15700), CHALUNKA (on the SHYOK River), KHOR, thence north to the glaciers. This portion of the cease-fire line shall be demarcated in detail on the basis of the factual position as of 27 July 1949 by the local commanders, assisted by United Nations Military Observers.

C. The cease-fire line described above shall be drawn on a one inch map (where available) and then be verified mutually on the ground by local commanders on each side with the assistance of the United Nations Military Observers, so as to eliminate any no-man's land. In the event that the local commanders are unable to reach agreement, the matter shall be referred to the Commission's Military Adviser, whose decision shall be final. After this verification, the Military Adviser will issue to each High Command a map on which will be marked the definitive cease-fire line.

D. No troops shall be stationed or operate in the area of the BURZIL Nullah from south of MINIMARG to the cease-fire line. This area is bounded on the west by the Ridge leading northeast from DUDGAI KAL to Point 13071, to Point 9447, to Point 13466, to Point 13463, and on the east by the Ridge running from Point 12470, to Point 11608, to Point 13004, to Point 13976, to Point 13450. Pakistan may, however, post troops on the west of the above ridges to cover the approaches to KHAMBRI Bypass.

E. In any dispositions that may be adopted in consequence of the present agreement troops will remain at least 500 yards from the cease-fire line except where the KISHANGANGA River constitutes the line. Points which have been shown as inclusive to one party may be occupied by that party, but the troops of the other party shall remain at a distance of 500 yards.

F. Both sides shall be free to adjust their defensive positions behind the cease-fire line as determined in paragraphs A to E inclusive above, subject to no wire or mines being used when new bunkers and defences are constructed. There shall be no increase of forces or strengthening of defences in areas where no major adjustments are involved by the determination of the cease-fire line.

G. The action permitted by paragraph F above shall not be accompanied or accomplished by the introduction of additional military potential by either side into the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

H. Except as modified by Paragraphs II-A to II-G, inclusive, above, the military agreements between the two High Commands relating to the cease-fire of 1 January 1949 shall continue to remain operative. I. The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan will station Observers where it deems necessary.

I. The Delegations shall refer this Agreement to their respective Governments for ratification. The documents of ratification shall be deposited with the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan not later than 31 July 1949.

J. A period of 30 days from the date of ratification shall be allowed to each side to vacate the areas at present occupied by them beyond the cease-fire line as now determined. Before the expiration of this 30-day period there shall be no forward movement into areas to be taken over by either side pursuant to this agreement, except by mutual agreement between local commanders.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the undersigned sign this document in three original copies.  
DONE in Karachi on 27 July 1949

For the Government of India:  
(Signed) S.M. SHRINAGESH

For the Government of Pakistan:  
(Signed) W.J. CAWTHORN

For the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan:  
(Signed) HERNANDO SAMPER  
(Signed) MAURICE DELVOIE.

**AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF INDIA AND  
PAKISTAN REGARDING SECURITY AND RIGHTS OF MINORITIES  
(NEHRU-LIAQUAT AGREEMENT - 1950)**

New Delhi,  
8 April 1950.

A. The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure, to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality. Members of the minorities shall have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces.

Both Governments declare these rights to be fundamental and undertake to enforce them effectively. The Prime Minister of India has drawn attention to the fact that these rights are guaranteed to all minorities in India by its Constitution. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out that similar provision exists in the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It is the policy of both Governments that the enjoyment of these democratic rights shall be assured to all their nationals without distinction. Both Governments wish to emphasise that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens, and that it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances.

B. In respect of migrants from East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where communal disturbances have recently occurred, it is agreed between the two Governments:

- (i) That there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit;
- (ii) That there shall be freedom to remove as much of his moveable personal effects and household goods as migrant may wish to take with him. Moveable property shall include personal jewelry. The maximum cash allowed to each adult migrant will be Rs. 150 and to each migrant child Rs. 75;
- (iii) That a migrant may deposit such of his personal jewellery or cash as he does not wish to take with him with a bank. A proper receipt shall be furnished to him by

the bank for cash or jewellery thus deposited and facilities shall be provided, as and when required for their transfer to him, subject as regards cash to the exchange regulations of the Government concerned;

(iv) That there shall be no harassment by the Customs authorities. At each customs post agreed upon by the Governments concerned, liaison officers of the other Government shall be posted to ensure this in practice;

(v) Rights of ownership in or occupancy of the immoveable property of a migrant shall not be disturbed. If, during his absence, such property is occupied by another person, it shall be returned to him provided that he comes back by the 31st December, 1950. Where the migrant was a cultivating owner or tenant, the land shall be restored to him provided that he returns not later than the 31st December, 1950. In exceptional cases, if a Government considers that a migrant's immoveable property cannot be returned to him, the matter shall be referred to the appropriate Minority Commission for advice. Where restoration of immoveable property to the migrant who returns within the specified period is found not possible, the Government concerned shall take steps to rehabilitate him.

(vi) That in the case of a migrant who decides not to return, ownership of all his immoveable property shall continue to vest in him and he shall have unrestricted right to dispose of it by sale, by exchange with an evacuee in the other country, or otherwise. A committee consisting of three representatives of minority and presided over by a representative of Government shall act as trustees of the owner. The Committee shall be empowered to recover rent for such immoveable property according to law. The Governments of East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura shall enact the necessary legislation to set up these Committees. The Provincial or State Government, as the case may be, will instruct the District or other appropriate authority to give all possible assistance for the discharge of the Committee's functions. The Provisions of this sub-paragraph shall also apply to migrants who may have left East Bengal for any part of India, or West Bengal, Assam or Tripura for any part of Pakistan, prior to the recent disturbances but after the 15th August, 1947. The arrangement in this sub-paragraph will apply also to migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances or fear thereof.

C. As regards the Province of East Bengal and each of the States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura respectively the two Governments further agree that they shall:

(1) Continue their efforts to restore normal conditions and shall take suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder.

(2) Punish all those who are found guilty of offences against persons and property and of other criminal offences In view of their deterrent effect, collective fines shall be imposed, where necessary. Special Courts will, where necessary, be appointed to ensure that wrong doers are promptly punished.

(3) Make every possible effort to recover looted property.

(4) Set up immediately an agency, with which representatives of the minority shall be associated, to assist in the recovery of abducted women. 53.....NOT recognise forced conversions. Any conversion effected during a period of communal disturbance shall be deemed to be forced conversion. Those found guilty of converting people forcibly shall be punished.

(5) Set up a Commission of Enquiry at once to enquire into and report on the causes and extent of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing recrudescence of similar trouble in future. The personnel of the Commission, which shall be presided over by a Judge of the High Court, shall be such as to inspire confidence among the minority.

(6) Take prompt and effective steps to prevent the dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by press or radio or by any individual or organisation. Those guilty of such activity shall be rigorously dealt with.

(7) Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of such propaganda.

D. Sub-paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (7) and (8) of C of the Agreement are of General scope and applicable according to exigency to any part of India or Pakistan.

E. In order to help restore confidence, so that refugees may return to their homes, the two Governments have decided

(i) to depute two Ministers, one from each Government, to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary;

(ii) to include in the Cabinets of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam a representative of the minority community. In Assam, the minority community is already represented in the Cabinet. Appointments to the Cabinets of East Bengal and West Bengal shall be made immediately.

F. In order to assist in the implementation of this Agreement, the two Governments have decided, apart from the deputation of their Ministers referred to in E, to set up Minority Commissions, one for East Bengal, one for West Bengal and one for Assam. These Commissions will be constituted and will have the functions described below:

- (i) Each Commission will consist of one Minister of the Provincial or State Government concerned, who will be Chairman, and one representative each of the majority and minority communities from East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam, chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State Legislatures, as the case may be.
- (ii) The two Ministers of the Governments of India and Pakistan may attend and participate in any meeting of any Commission. A Minority Commission or any two Minority Commissions jointly shall meet when so required by either Central Minister for the satisfactory implementation of this Agreement.
- (iii) Each Commission shall appoint such staff as it deems necessary for the proper discharge of its functions and shall determine its own procedure.
- (iv) Each Commission shall maintain contact with the minorities in Districts and small administrative headquarters through Minority Boards formed in accordance with the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.
- (v) The Minority Commissions in East Bengal and West Bengal shall replace the Provincial Minorities Boards set up under the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.
- (vi) The two Ministers of the Central Governments will from time to time consult such persons or organisations as they may consider necessary.
- (vii) The functions of the Minority Commission shall be:
  - (a) to observe and to report on the implementation of this Agreement and, for this purpose, to take cognizance of breaches or neglect;
  - (b) to advise an action to be taken on their recommendations.
- (viii) Each Commission shall submit reports, as and when necessary, to the Provincial and State Governments concerned. Copies of such reports will be submitted simultaneously to the two Central Ministers during the period referred to in E.

(ix) The Governments of India and Pakistan and the State and Provincial Governments will normally give effect to recommendations that concern them when such recommendations are supported by both the Central Ministers. In the event of disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.

(x) In respect of Tripura, the two Central Ministers shall constitute a Commission and shall discharge the functions that are assigned under the Agreement to the Minority Commissions for East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. Before the expiration of the period referred to in E, the two Central Ministers shall make recommendations for the establishment in Tripura of appropriate machinery to discharge the functions of the Minority Commissions envisaged in respect of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam.

G. Except where modified by this Agreement, the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948 shall remain in force.

**TASHKENT DECLARATION**  
[January 1966]

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighborly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.

They considered that the interests of peace in the region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and, indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It is against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides put forth its respective position.

II

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25 February 1966, to the positions they held prior to 5 August 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

III

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

IV

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

## V

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on diplomatic intercourse.

## VI

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

## VII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

## VIII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue the discussion of questions relating to the problems of refugees, evictions and illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

## IX

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for their constructive friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality.

They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to witness this declaration.

Prime Minister of India: Lal Bahadur Shastri.

President of Pakistan: Mohammad Ayub Khan.

Tashkent, the 10<sup>th</sup> January, 1966.

**ADDRESS BY MAULVI MUHAMMAD FAROOQ AT STATE PEOPLES CONVENTION, SRINAGAR, HELD ON 10-16 OCTOBER 1968**

- As you all know, in 1947, the subcontinent was partitioned and two new Dominions of India and Pakistan were carved out in consequence and the princely Indian states were given the option to accede to one or the other dominion.
- Most of these states exercised their option and some of them acceded to India and some to Pakistan, In doing so, the deterring factors were largely those connected with geographical compulsions and other affinities of the people living in those states.
- Unfortunately, however, Kashmir and Hyderabad were the two principal states, which did not take the decision in time in this regard. It is not necessary for me to go into the fate that befell Hyderabad. I am dealing here with the question of Kashmir.
- According to all the geographical compulsion the state of J&K had a natural affinity with Pakistan, inspite of the infamous Radcliff Award which alone gave a foothold to India in this respect. All the natural boundaries of the state were encased by Pakistan whereas only a small strip of land connected it with India, but all its rivers and all its mountains and all its boundaries were so located that the state of J&K could only be regarded as a part and parcel of Pakistan.
- The few miles of Indian territory from Lakinpur which joined the state were cut into two by the river Ravi, but its frontiers which joined themselves with Pakistan extending right from Lakinpur to Chitral and right up to Afghanistan and Soviet Russia, these frontiers ran across plateaus, rivers and mountains, but every drop of water that flow from these rivers in Kashmir found their way into Pakistan.

- In short, from a geographical standpoint the state had innumerable affinities with Pakistan unlike India.
- In these circumstances, if there was a pause and the state had not acceded to either of the two Dominions following 15th August, 1947 then because of these geographical considerations, Pakistan became naturally and vitally interested in the accession of the State to one of the two Dominions and therefore, if India had conceded this right to Pakistan of being a party to this whole matter, then we could not lay the blame at the door of India, because by sheer dint of geography and history, Pakistan was a necessary party to this dispute and no expertise is needed to bring home this point.

**TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN  
THE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS**  
[New Delhi, 9 August 1971]

DESIROUS of expanding and consolidating the existing relations of sincere friendship between them,

BELIEVING that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the basic national interests of both the States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world,

DETERMINED to promote the consolidation of universal peace and security and to make steadfast efforts for the relaxation international tensions and the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism,

UPHOLDING their firm faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between States with different political and social systems,

CONVINCED that in the world today international problems can only be solved by cooperation and not by conflict,

REAFFIRMING their determination to abide by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter,

The Republic of India on one side,

AND

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic on the other side,

HAVE decided to conclude the present Treaty, for which purposes the following Plenipotentiaries have been appointed:

On behalf of the Republic of India:

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH,**  
Minister of External Affairs,

On behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic:

**Mr. A.A. GROMYKO,**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,

WHO, having each presented their Credentials, which are found to be in proper form and due order,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

#### Article I

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that enduring peace and friendship shall prevail between the two countries and their peoples. Each Party shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other party and refrain from interfering in the other's internal affairs. The high Contracting Parties shall continue to develop and consolidate the relations of sincere friendship, good neighborliness and comprehensive cooperation existing between them on the basis of the aforesaid principles as well as those of equality and mutual benefit.

#### Article II

Guided by the desire to contribute in every possible way to ensure enduring peace and security of their people, the High Contracting Parties declare their determination to continue their efforts to preserve and to strengthen peace in Asia and throughout the world, to.....and to achieve general and complete disarmament, including both nuclear and conventional, under effective international control.

#### Article III

Guided by their loyalty to the lofty ideal of equality of all Peoples and Nations, irrespective of race or creed, the High Contracting Parties condemn colonialism and

.....  
The High Contracting Parties shall cooperate with other States to achieve these aims and to support the just aspirations of the peoples in their struggle against colonialism and racial domination.

#### Article IV

The Republic of India respects the peace loving policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aimed at strengthening friendship and co-operation with all nations.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics respects India's policy of non-alignment and reaffirms that this policy constitutes an important factor in the maintenance of universal peace and international security and in the lessening of tensions in the world.

## Article V

Deeply interested in ensuring universal peace and security attaching great importance to their mutual cooperation in the international field for achieving those aims, the High contracting Parties will maintain regular contracts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both of States by means of meetings and exchanges of views between their leading statesmen, visits by official delegations and special envoys of the two Governments, and through diplomatic channels.

## Article VI

Attaching great importance to economic, scientific and technological co-operation between them, the High Contracting Parties will continue to consolidate and expand mutually advantageous and comprehensive co-operation in these fields as well as expand trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and most-favoured-nation treatment, subject to the existing agreements and the special arrangements with contiguous countries as specified in the Indo-Soviet Trade Agreement of December 26, 1970.

## Article VII

The High Contracting Parties shall promote further development of ties and contacts between them in the fields of science, art, literature, education, public health, press, radio, television, cinema, tourism and sports.

## Article VIII

In accordance with the traditional friendship established between the two countries each of the High Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each High Contracting Party undertakes to abstain from any aggression against the other Party and to prevent the use of its territory for the commission of any act which might inflict military damage on the other High contracting Party.

## Article IX

Each High Contracting Party undertakes to abstain from providing any assistance to any third party that engages in armed conflict with the other Party. In the event of either Party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and the security of their countries.

## Article X

Each High Contracting Party solemnly declares that it shall not enter into any obligations, secret or public, with one or more states, which is incompatible with this Treaty. Each high Contracting Party further declares that no obligation exists, nor shall any obligation be entered into, between itself and any other State or States, which might cause military damage to the other Party.

## Article XI

This treaty is concluded for the duration of twenty years and will be automatically extended for each successive period of five years unless either High Contracting Party declares its desire to terminate it by giving notice to the other High Contracting Party twelve months prior to the expiration of the Treaty. The Treaty will be subject to ratification and will come into force on the date of the exchange of Instruments of Ratification which will take place in Moscow within one month of the signing of this Treaty.

## Article XII

Any difference of interpretation of any Article or Articles of this Treaty that may arise between the High Contracting Parties will be settled bilaterally by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

The said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty in Hindi, Russian and English, all texts being equally authentic and have affixed thereto their seals.

DONE in New Delhi on the ninth day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy one.

On behalf of the  
Republic of India

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH

On behalf of the  
Union of  
Soviet Socialist  
Republics

A.A. GROMYKO

**INSTRUMENT OF SURRENDER**  
 [Dacca, 16 December 1971]

The Pakistan Eastern Command agree to surrender all Pakistan Armed Forces in Bangladesh to Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Indian and Bangladesh forces in the eastern theatre. This surrender includes all Pakistan land, air and naval forces as also all Para-military forces and civil armed forces. These forces will lay down their arms and surrender at the places where they are currently located to the nearest regular troops under the command of Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora.

The Pakistan Eastern Command shall come under the order of Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora as soon as this instrument has been signed. Disobedience of orders will be regarded as a breach of the surrender terms and will be dealt with in accordance with the accepted laws and usages of war. The decision of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora will be final should any doubt arise as to the meaning or interpretation of the surrender terms.

Lieutenant-General-Jagjit-Singh-Aurora gives a solemn assurance that personnel who surrender shall be treated with dignity and respect, that soldiers are entitled to in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention and guarantees the safety and wellbeing of all Pakistan military and Para-military forces who surrender. Protection will be provided to foreign nationals, ethnic minorities and personnel of West Pakistan origin by the forces under the command of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora.

Sd/-

JAGJIT SINGH AURORA  
 Lieutenant General,  
 General Officer Commanding-in-  
 Chief, Eastern Command  
 (India)

Sd/-

AMIR ABDULLAH KHAN NIAZI  
 Lieutenant General,  
 Martial Law Administrator Zone B  
 and Commander, Eastern Command  
 (Pakistan)

16 December 1971

**TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH**

[Dacca, 19 March 1972]

INSPIRED by common ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism,

HAVING struggled together for the realisation of these ideals and cemented ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangladesh,

DETERMINED to maintain fraternal and good-neighbourly relations and transform their border into a border of eternal peace and friendship,

ADHERING firmly to the basic tenets of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, mutual cooperation, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,

DETERMINED to safeguard peace, stability and security and to promote progress of their respective countries through all possible avenues of mutual cooperation,

DETERMINED further to expand and strengthen the existing relations of friendship between them, convinced that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the national interests of both States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world,

RESOLVED to contribute to strengthening world peace and security and to make efforts to bring about a relaxation of international tension and the final elimination of vestiges of colonialism, racialism and imperialism,

CONVINCED that in the present-day world international problems can be solved only through cooperation and not through conflict or confrontation,

REAFFIRMING their determination to follow the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Republic of India, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of Bangladesh, on the other,

HAVE decided to conclude the present Treaty.

**Article 1**

The high Contracting Parties, inspired by the ideals for which their respective peoples struggled and made sacrifices together, solemnly declare that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between their two countries and their peoples, each side shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other side.

The high Contracting Parties shall further develop and strengthen the relations of friendship, good-neighbourliness and all-round cooperation existing between them,

on the basis of the above-mentioned principles as well as the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

#### Article 2

Being guided by their devotion to the principles of equality of all peoples and states, irrespective of race or creed, the high Contracting Parties condemn colonialism and racialism in all forms and manifestations and are determined to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The high Contracting Parties shall cooperate with other states in achieving these aims and support the just aspirations of people in their struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination and for their national liberation.

#### Article 3

The high Contracting Parties reaffirm their faith in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as important factors for easing tension in the world, maintaining international peace and security, and strengthening national sovereignty and independence.

#### Article 4

The high Contracting Parties shall maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both States, through meetings and exchanges of views at all levels.

#### Article 5

The high Contracting Parties shall continue to strengthen and widen their mutually advantageous and all-round cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical fields. The two countries shall develop mutual cooperation in the fields of trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the most-favoured nation principle.

#### Article 6

The high Contracting Parties further agree to make joint studies and take joint action in the fields of flood control, river basin development and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation.

#### Article 7

The high Contracting Parties shall promote relations in the fields of art, literature, education, culture, sports and health.

### Article 8

In accordance with the ties of friendship existing between the two countries each of the high Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each of the high Contracting Parties shall refrain from any aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may cause military damage to or constitute a threat to the security of the other high contracting party.

### Article 9

Each of the high Contracting Parties shall refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict, against the other party. In case either party is attacked or threatened with attack, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to take appropriate effective measures to eliminate the threat and thus ensure the peace and security of their countries.

### Article 10

Each of the high Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not undertake any commitment secret or open, toward one or more States which may be incompatible with the present Treaty.

### Article 11

The present Treaty is signed for a term of twenty five years and shall be subject to renewal by mutual agreement of the high Contracting Parties.

The Treaty shall come into force with immediate effect from the date of its signature.

### Article 12

Any differences in interpreting any article or articles of the present Treaty that may arise between the high Contracting Parties shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

DONE in Dacca on the nineteenth day of March nineteen hundred and seventy two.

INDIRA GANDHI

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

**SIMLA AGREEMENT**  
[July 1972]

1. The Government of Pakistan and the Government of India are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples. In order to achieve this objective, the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India have agreed as follows:-

- i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;
- ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;
- iii) That the pre-requisite for reconciliation, good neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;
- iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;
- v) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;
- vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

2. Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

3. In order progressively to restore and normalize relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:

- i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts, and air links including over flights.
- ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.
- iii) Trade and cooperation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.
- iv) Exchanges in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

4. In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

- i) Pakistani and Indian forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.
- ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this Line.
- iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

5. This Agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the Instruments of Ratification are exchanged.

6. Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(Zulfikar Ali Bhutto)  
President  
Islamic Republic of Pakistan

(Indira Gandhi)  
Prime Minister of the  
Republic of India

Simla, the 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 1972.

**PROTOCOL OF 1974 CONSTITUTING AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN  
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN ON VISITS TO RELIGIOUS  
SHRINES**

Islamabad, 14 September 1974.

The Government of INDIA  
AND  
The Government of PAKISTAN,

TAKING note of the sentiments and devotion of the various communities in the two countries for the historic and sacred shrines in the other

HAVE agreed on the following principles for facilitating visits to such shrines :

- (i) Such visits from one country to the other shall be allowed without discrimination as to religion or sect. The list of shrines to be visited will be finalised shortly through correspondence. The agreed list may be enlarged from time to time by mutual agreement.
- (ii) Up to 20 parties may be allowed to visit from one country to the other every year. This number may be revised from time to time.
- (iii) Every effort should continue to be made to ensure that places of religious worship mentioned in the agreed list are properly maintained and their sanctity preserved.
- (iv) Such visitors will be given Visitor Category visas.

Sd/-  
KEWAL SINGH  
Foreign Secretary  
Ministry of External Affairs  
Government of India

Sd /-  
AGHA SHAHI  
Foreign Secretary  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Government of Pakistan

Islamabad, September 14, 1974.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT AFTER PRIME MINISTER LEVEL TALKS IN NEW YORK OF SEPTEMBER 1998**

The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan held a bilateral meeting on the sidelines of UN General Assembly in New York on 23rd September, 1998.

Their discussions covered the whole range of bilateral relations. The two Prime Ministers also carried out a detailed review of new developments in the region during the past few months.

They reaffirmed their common belief that an environment of durable peace and security was in the supreme interest of both India and Pakistan, and of the region as a whole. They expressed their determination to renew and reinvigorate efforts to secure such an environment. They agreed that the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, was essential for this purpose.

The two leaders reiterated their commitment to create conditions which would enable both countries to fully devote their resources, both human and material, to improving the lives of their people, particularly the poorest among them.

The two Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the agreement reached between the Foreign Secretaries on operationalizing the mechanism to address all items in the agreed agenda of 23rd June, 1997 in a purposeful and composite manner. They directed the Foreign Secretaries, accordingly, to resume the dialogue on the agreed dates.

New York  
September 23, 1998.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT AFTER FOREIGN SECRETARY LEVEL TALKS IN NEW YORK IN SEPTEMBER 1998**

The Foreign Secretary of India, Shri K. Raghunath, and the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Mr. Shamshad Ahmad, met in New York on 23rd September, 1998.

Pursuant to the agreement set out in para 4 of the Joint Statement issued at Islamabad on 23 June, 1997, the Foreign Secretaries agreed as follows:

- (i) The mechanism to address all the outstanding issues listed in para 4 (i) of the Joint Statement would now be made operational.
- (ii) As stipulated in para 4 (ii) of the Joint Statement, all the issues shall be addressed substantively and specifically through the agreed mechanism in an integrated manner.
- (iii) All outstanding issues shall be dealt with at the levels indicated below:
  - (a) Peace and Security including CBMs at the level of Foreign Secretaries
  - (b) Jammu and Kashmir, Foreign Secretaries
  - (c) Siachen, Defence Secretaries
  - (d) Wular Barrage/Tulbul Navigation, Secretaries, Water & Power
  - (e) Sir Creek, Additional Secretary (Defence)/Surveyors General
  - (f) Terrorism and Drug Trafficking, Home/Interior Secretaries
  - (g) Economic and Commercial Cooperation, Commerce Secretaries
  - (h) Promotion of friendly exchanges, in various fields, Secretaries Culture
- (iv) The detailed composition of the official teams is left to the discretion of each side.

The above mentioned subjects of this composite dialogue process will be discussed at the indicated levels in separate meetings. The dates of these meetings will be determined by mutual consent. At each round, the Foreign Secretaries will hold separate meetings on

(a) Peace and Security including CBMs and

(b) Jammu and Kashmir and review the progress of the dialogue process.

The Foreign Secretaries will commence the substantive dialogue with separate meetings on

(a) Peace and Security including CBMs and

(b) Jammu and Kashmir in Islamabad on 15-18 October, 1998. The remaining six subjects i.e.

(c) Siachen,

(d) Wular Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project,

(e) Sir Creek,

(f) Terrorism and Drug Trafficking,

(g) Economic and Commercial Cooperation, and

(h) Promotion of friendly exchanges in various fields, shall be taken up in substantive and separate meetings in New Delhi in the first half of November 1998.

The cycle of meetings of the Foreign Secretaries will be continued on this pattern on agreed dates.

New York,

September 23, 1998.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT OF 18 OCTOBER 1998**

Mr. Shamshad Ahmad, Foreign Secretary of Pakistan and Mr. K. Raghunath, Foreign Secretary of India, met in Islamabad on 15-18 October, 1998. They held separate meetings on agenda item (a) Peace and Security, including Confidence-building Measures, and (b) Jammu and Kashmir, on the basis of the 23rd June, 1997 Agreement. The talks were held in a cordial and frank atmosphere within the framework of the composite and integrated dialogue process.

The deliberations between the Foreign Secretaries were guided by the shared belief of their Prime Ministers as expressed in their joint Statement of 23 September, 1998 that an environment of durable peace and security was in the supreme interest of both countries, and the region as a whole, and that the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, was essential for this purpose.

The Foreign Secretary of India called on the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Nawaz Sharif, and conveyed to him a message of goodwill from Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee. The Prime Minister of Pakistan warmly reciprocated the Indian Prime Minister's good wishes. The Indian Foreign Secretary also called on Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz.

The meeting on 16th October, 1998 discussed issues of peace and security, including Confidence Building Measures. Both sides underscored their commitment to reduce the risk of a conflict by building mutual confidence in the nuclear and conventional fields.

The meeting on 17th October discussed Jammu and Kashmir. The two sides reiterated their respective positions.

The two Foreign Secretaries agreed that the next round of talks on the issues of Peace and Security and Confidence Building Measures and Jammu and Kashmir, respectively, and a review of the round would be held in the first half of February, 1999 in New Delhi.

Islamabad,  
October 18, 1998.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 1998 ON WULLAR BARRAGE**

As part of the composite and integrated dialogue between India and Pakistan on the basis of the agreed agenda of 23rd June, 1997, Wullar Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project was discussed in New Delhi on 5.11.1998. The Indian delegation was led by Shri Z. Hasan Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of Water Resources and the Pakistan delegation was led by Syed Shahid Husain Secretary to Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Water and Power.

Syed Shahid Husain will call on Shri B.C. Mishra, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister of India.

The discussions were held in a frank and constructive atmosphere. While reaffirming their continued commitment to the Indus Waters Treaty of 1960, both sides exchanged views and took note of the previous discussions on the subject from October 1987 to August 1992.

It was agreed that the discussions would continue at the next round of the dialogue process with a view to finding a solution to the issue consistent with the provisions of the Treaty.

New Delhi,  
November 5, 1998.

**PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT ON SIACHEN  
OF 6 NOVEMBER 1998**

As part of the composite and integrated dialogue process between India and Pakistan on the basis of the agreed agenda of the Joint Statement of June 23, 1997, discussions were held on the Siachen issue in Delhi on November 6, 1998. The Indian delegation at these discussions was led by Defence Secretary, Shri Ajit Kumar and the Pakistani delegation by Defence Secretary Lt Gen (Retd.) Iftikhar Ali Khan.

The Pakistan Defence Secretary also called on Raksha Mantri (Defence Minister), Shri George Fernandes.

Discussions were held in a frank and cordial atmosphere. The two sides stated their respective positions on the issue.

It was agreed to continue discussions on the issue during the next round of the dialogue process.

New Delhi,  
November 6, 1998.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT ON SIR CREEK OF 9 NOVEMBER 1998**

As part of the composite and integrated dialogue between India and Pakistan on the basis of the agreed agenda of 23 June, 1997, Sir Creek was discussed in New Delhi on 9th November, 1998.

The Indian delegation was led by Lt. Gen. A.K. Ahuja, Surveyor General of India and the Pakistan delegation was led by Rear Admiral M. Jameel Akhtar, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Defence.

The discussions were held in a frank and cordial atmosphere. The two sides stated their respective positions. It was agreed to continue discussions during the next round of the dialogue process.

New Delhi,  
November 9, 1998.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION OF 10 NOVEMBER 1998**

As part of the composite and integrated dialogue process between India and Pakistan on the basis of the agreed agenda of June 23, 1997, discussions were held on Economic and Commercial cooperation in Delhi on November 10, 1998. The Indian delegation at these discussions was led by Commerce Secretary, Shri P.P. Prabhu, and the Pakistan delegation by Commerce Secretary, Mr. Mohammad Sulaiman.

Mr. Mohammad Sulaiman will call on Commerce Minister, Shri R.K. Hegde at 1600 hours today.

The discussions were held in a frank and cordial atmosphere.

They exchanged views on various aspects of Economic and Commercial Cooperation and decided to continue discussions at the next round of the dialogue process.

New Delhi,  
November 10, 1998.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT ON TERRORISM AND DRUG MATTERS OF 12 NOVEMBER 1998**

As part of the composite and integrated dialogue between India and Pakistan on the basis of the agreed agenda of 23 June, 1997, Terrorism and Drug Trafficking were discussed in New Delhi on 12 the November, 1998.

The Indian delegation was led by Shri B.P. Singh, Home Secretary and the Pakistan delegation was led by Mr. Hafeezullah Ishaq, Secretary, Ministry of Interior.

The discussions were held in a frank and cordial atmosphere. The two sides stated their respective positions.

It was agreed to continue discussions during the next round of the dialogue process.

New Delhi,  
November 12,1998.

**DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE VISIT TO PAKISTAN BY PRIME  
MINISTER VAJPAYEE**  
(February 1999)

**LAHORE DECLARATION**

The Prime Ministers of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and The Republic of India:-

Sharing a vision of peace and stability between their countries, and of progress and prosperity for their peoples;

Convinced that durable peace and development of harmonious relations and friendly cooperation will serve the vital interests of the peoples of the two countries, enabling them to devote their energies for a better future;

Recognizing that the nuclear dimension of the security environment of the two countries adds to their responsibility for avoidance of conflict between the two countries;

Committed to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and the universally accepted principles of peaceful co-existence;

Reiterating the determination of both countries to implementing the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit;

Committed to the objectives of universal nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation;

Convinced of the importance of mutually agreed confidence building measures for improving the security environment;

Recalling their agreement of 23 September, 1998, that an environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both sides and that the resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose;

Have agreed that their respective Governments:-

- shall intensify their efforts to resolve all issues, including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir.
- shall refrain from intervention and interference in each other's internal affairs.
- shall intensify their composite and integrated dialogue process for an early and positive outcome of the agreed bilateral agenda.
- shall take immediate steps for reducing the risk of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons and discuss concepts and doctrines with a view to elaborating measures for confidence building in the nuclear and conventional fields, aimed at prevention of conflict.
- reaffirm their commitment to the goals and objectives of SAARC and concert their efforts towards the realization of the SAARC vision for the year 2000 and beyond with a view to promoting the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life through accelerated economic growth, social progress and cultural development.
- reaffirm their condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and their determination to combat this menace.
- shall promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Signed at Lahore on the 21st day of February 1999.

Muhammad Nawaz Sharif  
Prime Minister of the  
Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee  
Prime Minister of the  
Republic of India.

## JOINT STATEMENT

In response to an invitation by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister of India, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Pakistan from 20-21 February, 1999, on the inaugural run of the Delhi-Lahore bus service.

2. The Prime Minister of Pakistan received the Indian Prime Minister at the Wagah border on 20 February 1999. A banquet in honour of the Indian Prime Minister and his delegation was hosted by the Prime Minister of Pakistan at Lahore Fort, on the same evening. Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Minar-e-Pakistan, Mausoleum of Allama Iqbal, Gurdawara Dera Sahib and Samadhi of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. On 21<sup>st</sup> February, a civic reception was held in honour of the visiting Prime Minister at the Governor's House.

3. The two leaders held discussions on the entire range of bilateral relations, regional cooperation within SAARC, and issues of international concern. They decided that:-

- a) The two Foreign Ministers will meet periodically to discuss all issues of mutual concern, including nuclear related issues.
- b) The two sides shall undertake consultations on WTO related issues with a view to coordinating their respective positions.
- c) The two sides shall determine areas of cooperation in Information Technology, in particular for tackling the problems of Y2K.
- d) The two sides will hold consultations with a view to further liberalizing the visa and travel regime.
- e) The two sides shall appoint a 2 member committee at ministerial level to examine humanitarian issues relating to Civilian detainees and missing POWs.

4. They expressed satisfaction on the commencement of a Bus Service between Lahore and New Delhi, the release of fishermen and civilian detainees and the renewal of contacts in the field of sports.

5. Pursuant to the directive given by the two Prime Ministers, the Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India signed a Memorandum of Understanding on 21

February 1999, identifying measures aimed at promoting an environment of peace and security between the two countries.

6. The two Prime Ministers signed the Lahore Declaration embodying their shared vision of peace and stability between their countries and of progress and prosperity for their peoples.

7. Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee extended an invitation to Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif to visit India on mutually convenient dates.

8. Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee thanked Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif for the warm welcome and gracious hospitality extended to him and members of his delegation and for the excellent arrangements made for his visit.

Lahore,  
February 21, 1999.

#### MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

The Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India:-

Reaffirming the continued commitment of their respective governments to the principles and purposes of the UN Charter;

Reiterating the determination of both countries to implementing the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit;

Guided by the agreement between their Prime Ministers of 23 September 1998 that an environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both sides and that resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose;

Pursuant to the directive given by their respective Prime Ministers in Lahore, to adopt measures for promoting a stable environment of peace, and security between the two countries;

Have on this day, agreed to the following:-

The two sides shall engage in bilateral consultations on security concepts, and nuclear doctrines, with a view to developing measures for confidence building in the nuclear and conventional fields, aimed at avoidance of conflict.

The two sides undertake to provide each other with advance notification in respect of ballistic missile flight tests, and shall conclude a bilateral agreement in this regard.

The two sides are fully committed to undertaking national measures to reducing the risks of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons under their respective control. The two sides further undertake to notify each other immediately in the event of any accidental, unauthorized or unexplained incident that could create the risk of a fallout with adverse consequences for both sides, or an outbreak of a nuclear war between the two countries, as well as to adopt measures aimed at diminishing the possibility of such actions, or such incidents being misinterpreted by the other. The two sides shall identify/establish the appropriate communication mechanism for this purpose.

The two sides shall continue to abide by their respective unilateral moratorium on conducting further nuclear test explosions unless either side, in exercise of its national sovereignty decides that extraordinary events have jeopardized its supreme interests.

The two sides shall conclude an agreement on prevention of incidents at sea in order to ensure safety of navigation by naval vessels, and aircraft belonging to the two sides.

The two sides shall periodically review the implementation of existing Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and where necessary, set up appropriate consultative mechanisms to monitor and ensure effective implementation of these CBMs.

The two sides shall undertake a review of the existing communication links (e.g. between the respective Directors-General, Military Operations) with a view to upgrading and improving these links, and to provide for fail-safe and secure communications.

The two sides shall engage in bilateral consultations on security, disarmament and non-proliferation issues within the context of negotiations on these issues in multilateral fora.

Where required, the technical details of the above measures will be worked out by experts of the two sides in a meeting to be held on mutually agreed dates, before mid-1999, with a view to reaching bilateral agreements.

Done at Lahore on 21 February 1999 in the presence of Prime Minister of India Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif.

(Shamshad Ahmad)  
Foreign Secretary of the  
Islamic Republic of Pakistan

(K. Raghunath)  
Foreign Secretary of the  
Republic of India

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT OF 19 MARCH 1999 AFTER FOREIGN MINISTER-LEVEL TALKS IN SRI LANKA**

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan Mr. Sartaj Aziz and the Minister of External Affairs of India, Shri Jaswant Singh met today on the sidelines of the 21st Session of the SAARC Council of Ministers at Nuwara Eliya, Sri Lanka.

They reiterated the historic significance of the Lahore Declaration which embodies the vision of the Prime Ministers of the two countries for ending the legacy of tensions and conflicts of the past fifty years and for ushering a new era of peace, security and prosperity. They discussed ways and means to build on the Lahore Declaration which commits the two countries to build trust and confidence, develop mutually beneficial cooperation and intensify their efforts to resolve all outstanding issues including Jammu and Kashmir.

The two Foreign Ministers agreed on the urgency of taking concrete measures for implementation of the Lahore Declaration, the Memorandum of Understanding and the Joint Statement issued during the Lahore Summit. In this context, the Ministers agreed that the composite and integrated dialogue process must be intensified.

The Ministers agreed to the following :

- (i) The meetings of Experts for implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding will be held over the next two months.
- (ii) The next round of the composite and integrated dialogue process in accordance with the agreed agenda will commence in May 1999 in New Delhi and Islamabad and will be held over a period of six weeks.
- (iii) They will meet shortly after the conclusion of the May - June Round of the composite and integrated dialogue process.
- (iv) The Committee on humanitarian issues composed of Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan and the Minister of State of External Affairs of India set up by the Prime Ministers at the Lahore Summit will meet in April 1999 to formalize the agreement on the issue of release of civilian prisoners as well as to discuss other humanitarian issues.
- (v) That both sides have agreed to relax the visa regime for several categories of visitors. The specific visa relaxation measures shall be announced by the two Governments shortly.

(vi) Delegations of experts from India shall visit Pakistan during April 1999 for identifying areas of cooperation in information technology, Y2K and WTO-related issues.

Sri Lanka,  
March 19, 1999.

**INDIAN PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT THE BANQUET HOSTED FOR  
PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF DURING THE VISIT TO INDIA BY THE  
PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN**

(14 July 2001)

Excellency President Musharraf,  
Begum Musharraf,  
Distinguished Guests from Pakistan,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

"It is with the greatest pleasure that I extend to you and Begum Musharraf and the distinguished members of your delegation, a cordial welcome on behalf of the Government and the people of India. You must have, Excellency, sensed the warmth with which Delhi is welcoming one of its distinguished sons on his first visit to the city after nearly half a century. From this capital city that throbs with old and new history, the heart of a modern and resurgent India, may I give expression to the hope of our people that your visit, on any reckoning a historic one, will open a new chapter in the relations between our two countries that will enable us to walk together on the high road of peace and friendship to our common goal of progress and prosperity.

In 1945-46, when the partition of India appeared almost inevitable, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, sitting in a cell in a British jail, wrote in his book "The Discovery of India", and I quote, "It is obvious that whatever be the future of India, even if there is regular partition, the different parts of India, will have to co-operate with each other, in a hundred different ways". And after the partition took place, he declared his belief that "it is to India's advantage that Pakistan should be a secure and prosperous State with which we can develop close and friendly relations." Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah expressing the same sentiment to the press said that "now that the division of India has been brought about by a solemn agreement between the two Dominions, we should bury the past, and resolve that, despite all that has happened, we shall remain friends. There are many things which we need from each other as neighbours, morally, materially and politically, and thereby raise the prestige and status of both the Dominions". It is this vision of the future articulated by the leaders of both our countries that we have to pursue as the unfinished agenda of partition for resolving all the differences between us and for ensuring peace and prosperity for our peoples.

India, Your Excellency, is home to one-sixth of humanity. It is a nation of unparalleled diversities, held together by the spirit of tolerance, by its policy and practice of secularism, and its deep attachment to democracy. The words of

Emperor Asoka still rings in our ears, "all sects deserve reverence . . . By thus acting a man exalts his own and at the same time does service to others". It was the same message that Akbar the Great proclaimed. I recall the words of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah in Pakistan Constituent Assembly when he referred to the tolerance and goodwill that Emperor Akbar showed to all as something that should be followed and practised. We in India hold fast to the fundamentals of tolerance and secular democratic principles and it is our conviction that on the basis of these principles India and Pakistan can regulate their relationship to one of genuine peace, friendship, and co-operation.

Excellency, history has left behind many issues and problems between our two countries. But the major and the overriding issue for the millions that inhabit the sub-continent is that of poverty, illiteracy and ill health, in short general and massive deprivation. You have, Excellency, often talked about this. In India it has been our main preoccupation since Independence to eradicate poverty and to elevate the levels of living of our people. Mahatma Gandhi had said that his mission in life was "to wipe every tear from every eye". He had advised us whenever you have to make a decision, you recall to your mind the face of the poorest man you might have seen and ask yourself if the decision you are going to take will help him or not. Tomorrow when you and the Prime Minister of India sit together in Agra for your dialogue I hope the face of the poorest person in the sub-continent will be before you and you will ponder together how this impoverished common man will be benefited by your deliberations and decisions. If this is held before you I believe that all other issues between us will pale into secondary importance and will become amenable to amicable and satisfactory solutions.

There are many fields in which we can work together and co-operate constructively for the benefit of our peoples. Both our countries have made significant strides in economic development and in science and technology. Let us remove all impediments in the path of interaction between our peoples. Let our scholars, artists, writers and professionals and above all our common people meet freely and sense the warmth of fraternal friendship. Let us join our forces and the talents of our gifted people to make development and the blessings of modern science and technology for the benefit of our people. It is only common sense that for this purpose we need an atmosphere of peace and mutual confidence between us. We have to rule out violence from our relationship. We seek friendly and co-operative relations with all states, particularly with those in our neighbourhood. We believe that our region has to progress together even while each state safeguards and develops its individual and distinct personality and its own chosen way of life. India continues to support and strengthen SAARC on the basis of the well-thought out charter of the organisation. I believe that if India and Pakistan can establish normal bilateral relations SAARC will be transformed into a dynamic regional organisation.

Excellency, let us endeavour during this visit to build upon what we have agreed upon in the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration. At Shimla we had solemnly declared that "the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations". It is time to implement this eloquently stated desire of our two countries. The City of Agra where you would be parleying with our Prime Minister from tomorrow is the city of love as well as the city of reconciliation. It is near there at Sikandra where Akbar the Great lies buried. May his spirit pervade the conference chamber tomorrow. I believe that the dialogue between India and Pakistan that we have initiated will evolve into a structured dialogue at the summit as well as other levels which will lead to the removal of all obstacles and misunderstandings that stand in our way and pave the way to the solutions of problems and the creation of enduring friendship between our two nations.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I invite you to raise a toast: to the establishment of friendship and cooperation between India and Pakistan; to the progress and prosperity of the people of Pakistan; to the good health and happiness of the President of Pakistan and Begum Musharraf.

**INDIAN PRIME MINISTER'S OPENING STATEMENT AT THE  
PLENARY OF INDIA-PAKISTAN SUMMIT IN AGRA  
(15 July 2001)**

I extend to you and your delegation a warm welcome to this ancient and historic city of Agra. I hope that your stay here will be comfortable, and that our deliberations will take our relations forward positively and constructively.

2. Through the past five decades, India has held firm in its abiding desire for peace and friendship with Pakistan. We remain committed to the establishment of trust and confidence, to developing mutually beneficial cooperation and to address all outstanding issues, including Jammu & Kashmir. We believe that the core concern of our peoples is their struggle against poverty, want, hunger and deprivation.

3. We have always taken a comprehensive view of India-Pakistan relations, because it is our conviction that we must progress where we can, even as we address the more complex issues. We believe that, rather than operating in segments, we should take a broad based approach across the spectrum of possibilities in our relationship.

4. It is with these perspectives that we announced a few decisions in advance of your visit, aimed at addressing some of the mutual concerns of our peoples. They relate to peace and security, to the development of people to people ties, and to promote contacts by facilitating travel.

5. We have already had a frank discussion on important matters. We look forward to a further detailed exchange of views on all issues including that of Jammu & Kashmir. You are fully aware of our views on this subject and we have heard yours. We cannot deny that there are vast differences between us on this. We are willing to address these differences and to move forward. But for this, it is important to create a conducive atmosphere. The terrorism violence being promoted in the State from across its borders do not help to create such an atmosphere. We will counter them resolutely. Let no one think that India does not have the resolve, strength or stamina to continue resisting terrorism and violence. But, they do not promote meaningful dialogue.

6. We firmly believe that a framework to address the differences between us on Jammu & Kashmir would have to include the issue of cross-border terrorism in its ambit. We can also look at other confidence building measures to further encourage this process.

7. The subjects which we have identified for the Composite Dialogue between our two countries cover a wide range. Progress on them can meaningfully contribute to the welfare and security of our peoples. We believe that the time has come to resume our engagement on the entire range of these issues.

8. I wish to refer to certain additional specific matters.

A. We have consistently for over two decades urged Pakistan to release the 54 Indian POWs that we strongly believe remain in your custody. This is a human problem. I would urge that Pakistan takes urgent and purposeful action to end the agony of the families of these soldiers.

B. We know that some terrorists and criminals, guilty of crimes like the bomb blasts in Mumbai in 1993 and the hijacking of the Indian Airlines flight, are living in Pakistan. We have requested Pakistan that they should be arrested and handed over to us. They have to be brought to justice.

C. We have recently issued instructions to our Coast Guard not to take into custody Pakistani fishermen, who inadvertently stray into our waters, but to turn them back after due warning. A similar reciprocal gesture on Pakistan's part would lead to a permanent resolution of this recurring problem.

D. Pilgrims to religious shrines in both countries have to be facilitated and their sentiments respected. The presence of known terrorist who have been allowed to stay in Sikh Gurudwaras in Pakistan is a matter of grave concern to our Sikhs. We have formally requested your authorities that these terrorists be handed over to us to face due process of law in connection with crimes for which they are wanted in India. I wish to specifically reiterate this request to you. While on the subject of religious shrines, the upkeep of Hindu temples and the treatment of Hindu pilgrim is also a matter of concern to us.

E. The enhancement of trade ties would be mutually beneficial- we seek no unilateral advantage. Trade and industry circles have constantly urged both governments to respond to the desire for great interaction. We are willing to take further major steps in this direction. We have already announced a reduction or elimination of tariffs on 50 tariff lines to encourage Pakistani.....

9. Our vision for the future of India Pakistan relations has to construct a durable road map for the future based firmly on the lessons of its often troubled history. We should respond not only to our immediate need for peace and progress for our peoples but also to an international environment that increasingly stresses inter-dependence and cooperation over conflict and discord. Let us grasp this fresh opportunity to create the lasting peace and amity which has eluded us for these past 54 years.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED IN ISLAMABAD ON 6 JANUARY 2004 ON SIDELINES OF SAARC SUMMIT**

The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India met during the SAARC Summit in Islamabad.

The Indian Prime Minister while expressing satisfaction over the successful conclusion of the SAARC Summit appreciated the excellent arrangements made by the host country.

Both leaders welcomed the recent steps towards normalization of relations between the two countries and expressed the hope that the positive trends set by the CBMs would be consolidated.

Prime Minister Vajpayee said that in order to take forward and sustain the dialogue process, violence, hostility and terrorism must be prevented. President Musharraf reassured Prime Minister Vajpayee that he will not permit any territory under Pakistan's control to be used to support terrorism in any manner. President Musharraf emphasized that a sustained and productive dialogue addressing all issues would lead to positive results.

To carry the process of normalization forward the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India agreed to commence the process of the composite dialogue in February 2004. The two leaders are confident that the resumption of the composite dialogue will lead to peaceful settlement of all bilateral issues, including Jammu & Kashmir, to the satisfaction of both sides.

The two leaders agreed that constructive dialogue would promote progress towards the common objective of peace, security and economic development for our peoples and for future generations.

Islamabad,  
January 6, 2004.

**PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT PRESS STATEMENT**  
[18 February 2004]

The Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan met in Islamabad on February 18, 2004.

2. They reviewed and endorsed the agreement worked out at the Director General/Joint Secretary level meetings on February 16-17 on the modalities and timeframe for discussions on all subjects on agenda of the composite dialogue.

3. Both sides agreed that they would approach the composite dialogue with the sincere desire to discuss and arrive at a peaceful settlement of all bilateral issues including Jammu & Kashmir, to the satisfaction of both sides. They reiterated their commitment to promote progress towards the common objective of peace, security and economic development for their peoples and for future generations.

4. They agreed to the following schedule of meetings:

- i. Foreign Secretaries would meet in May/June 2004 for talks on peace and security including CBMs; and Jammu & Kashmir.
- ii. Talks on Siachen, Wular Barrage/Tulbul navigation project, Sir Creek, Terrorism and Drug Trafficking, Economic and Commercial cooperation, and promotion of friendly exchanges in various fields would be held, at the already agreed levels in July 2004.

5. The following technical level meetings would be held earlier:

- a. Meeting between Director General, Pakistan Rangers and Inspector General Border Security Force in March/April 2004;
- b. Expert-level talks on nuclear CBMs in the latter half of May 2004;
- c. Committee on Drug Trafficking and Smuggling in June 2004.

6. They reviewed the existing links between the Directors General Military Operations of Pakistan and India and agreed to consider further strengthening these contacts.

7. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan and the External Affairs Minister of India would meet in August 2004 to review overall progress. This would be preceded by a one day meeting of the Foreign Secretaries.

Islamabad,  
18 February 2004.

**JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED ON 28 JUNE 2004 AFTER FOREIGN  
SECRETARY-LEVEL TALKS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA IN  
NEW DELHI**

The Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India met in New Delhi on 27-28 June 2004 to resume the composite dialogue. They discussed ‘Peace and Security’ including ‘CBMs’ and ‘Jammu and Kashmir’. The talks were held in a cordial and constructive atmosphere, and with the objective of taking the process forward.

2. They reiterated their commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and their determination to implement the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit.

3. Both sides expressed satisfaction over the ongoing process of dialogue and confidence building between the two countries. They approved the measures recommended by the expert level meeting on Nuclear CBMs in New Delhi on 19-20 June 2004. They agreed to conclude an agreement on pre-notification of flight testing of missiles, and entrusted the experts to work towards finalizing the draft agreement. Both sides reaffirmed the elements in the Joint Statement of 20<sup>th</sup> June on the need to promote a stable environment of peace and security, recognizing the nuclear capabilities of each other constituting a factor for stability, working towards strategic stability, and the call for regular working level meetings to be held among all the nuclear powers to discuss issues of common concern. The two sides proposed a comprehensive framework for conventional CBMs aimed at initiating and enhancing communication, coordination and interaction. These would be discussed further.

4. Recalling the reassurance contained in the Joint Press statement of January 6, 2004, they exchanged views on carrying the process forward in an atmosphere free from terrorism and violence.

5. The Foreign Secretaries reiterated the hope that the dialogue will lead to peaceful settlement of all bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, to the satisfaction of both sides. They held detailed exchange of views on Jammu & Kashmir and agreed to continue the sustained and serious dialogue to find a peaceful negotiated final settlement.

6. It was agreed that the strengths of the respective High Commissions would be restored immediately to the original level of 110; it was also agreed in principle to re-establish Pakistan’s Consulate General in Mumbai and India’s Consulate General in Karachi. Modalities would be worked out by the two governments. All

apprehended fishermen in each other's custody would be immediately released and a mechanism put in place for the return of unintentionally transgressing fishermen and their boats from the high seas without apprehending them. Steps would be initiated for early release of civilian prisoners.

7. The Foreign Secretaries also agreed that the meetings of the remaining six subjects of the composite dialogue on Siachen, Wular Barrage/Tulbul navigation project, Sir Creek, terrorism and drug trafficking, economic and commercial cooperation, and promotion of friendly exchanges in various fields, would take place between the third week of July and the first half of August 2004.

8. The Foreign Secretary of Pakistan conveyed invitations from the President of Pakistan to the President and Prime Minister of India, and to Ms. Sonia Gandhi.

9. The Foreign Secretaries will meet again in the third week of August to review progress achieved in the composite dialogue and prepare for the meeting of the Foreign Ministers which will immediately follow.

## **PAKISTAN INDIA FOREIGN SECRETARY-LEVEL TALKS IN NEW DELHI ON 4 SEPTEMBER 2004**

The Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India, H.E. Mr. Riaz H. Khokhar, and H.E. Mr. Shyam Saran, met on 4 September 2004 in New Delhi to review the progress in the Composite Dialogue.

They assessed positively the discussions held on the eight subjects in the Composite Dialogue i.e. Peace and Security including CBMs, Jammu and Kashmir, Siachen, Sir Creek, Wular Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project, Terrorism and Drug Trafficking, Economic and Commercial Cooperation and Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields. The Foreign Secretaries agreed that the discussions had been productive and had taken place in a cordial and constructive atmosphere. Several useful ideas and suggestions were made by both sides.

In their meeting today, the Foreign Secretaries discussed the ways of taking the process forward. They would be reporting to the Foreign Ministers with the recommendation that the Composite Dialogue should be continued with a view to further deepening and broadening the engagement between the two sides.

Islamabad,  
September 4, 2004.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT PRESS STATEMENT OF 8 DECEMBER 2004**

The first meeting between Pakistan and India on all issues related to the commencement of the bus service between Muzaffarabad and Srinagar was held in New Delhi on December 7-8, 2004. The Pakistani delegation was led by Mr. Jalil Abbas Jilani, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, while the Indian delegation was led by Mr. Alok Rawat, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Shipping, Road Transport and Highways.

The Pakistan delegation called on the Secretary, Department of Road Transport and Highways of India.

The talks were held in a frank, cordial and constructive atmosphere.

Both sides reiterated their commitment towards an early establishment of the proposed link. Ideas were exchanged on all aspects related to operationalization of the bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad. The two sides agreed to continue discussions at the next meeting to be held at mutually agreed dates.

**CONDOLENCES FROM PAKISTAN ON PASSING AWAY OF MR.  
NARASIMHA RAO, FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA**  
(23 December 2004)

The President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan have expressed their sorrow over passing away of former Indian Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao.

Mr. Rao will be remembered for his endeavours towards improvement of relations between Pakistan and India.

He was a distinguished writer and the people of India will miss him for his rich legacy.

Islamabad,  
December 23, 2004.

## **PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT OF 28 DECEMBER 2004**

The Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India met in Islamabad on 27-28 December 2004 to review overall progress, commence the next round of the Composite Dialogue and discuss the issues of Peace and Security including CBMs, and Jammu and Kashmir. Foreign Secretary of Pakistan Mr. Riaz H. Khokhar, led the Pakistan delegation while the Indian delegation was led by Foreign Secretary Mr. Shyam Saran. The talks were held in a frank, cordial and constructive atmosphere.

2. Recalling the solemn and categorical reassurance contained in the Joint Press Statement of 6th January, they expressed their determination to carry the process forward.

3. On the issue of Peace and Security including CBMs, the two Foreign Secretaries, inter-alia reviewed the progress made during the meetings of Experts on Nuclear and Conventional CBMs. Building upon the existing contacts between DG MOs, they agreed to promote regular contacts at local level at designated places and explore further CBMs along the international boundary and the LoC. They discussed and narrowed further their differences on the draft agreement on pre-notification of flight testing of ballistic missiles, and agreed to work towards its early finalization.

4. Both sides discussed the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and agreed to carry forward the process in the light of the Joint Statement issued after the meeting between President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh in New York on September 24, 2004.

5. The meetings on the other six subjects under the Composite Dialogue, i.e. Siachen, Wular Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project, Sir Creek, Terrorism Drug Trafficking, Economic Commercial Cooperation and Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields would be held on mutually agreed dates between April and June 2005.

6. The two sides also agreed that technical meetings including the Joint Study Group on Trade matters headed by the Commerce Secretaries, Indian Coast Guards and Pakistan Maritime Security Agency, Pakistan Rangers and Border Security Force of India, Expert level dialogue on Nuclear and Conventional CBMs, technical level meeting on bus service between/through Amritsar and Lahore, meeting between the Narcotics Control Authorities would be held between January and June 2005.

7. They also discussed issues related to apprehended fishermen, civilian prisoners and missing defence personnel. It was inter-alia agreed that:

- (i) Immediate notification would be provided to the respective High Commissions through the Foreign Ministries of arrested Pakistani/Indian nationals;
- (ii) Consular access would be provided within three months of apprehension;
- (iii) Repatriation would be done immediately after completion of sentence and nationality verification;
- (iv) A mechanism would be introduced for early repatriation, without sentencing of inadvertent crossers;
- (v) A similar mechanism would be established for early release, without sentencing of those under 16 apprehended by either side.

8. The Foreign Secretaries of the two countries would meet in New Delhi to review the overall progress in the Composite Dialogue in July-August 2005.

9. The Foreign Ministers and the Prime Ministers of the two countries would meet during the SAARC Summit in Dhaka in January 2005. The External Affairs Minister of India Mr. K. Natwar Singh would visit Islamabad in February 2005 for bilateral discussions.

10. The Foreign Secretary of India called on Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and Foreign Minister Khurshid M. Kasuri of Pakistan during the course of his visit to Islamabad.

Islamabad,  
December 28, 2004.

**PRESS STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF PAKISTAN AFTER  
TALKS WITH INDIAN MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**  
(16 February 2005)

I had a useful exchange of views with His Excellency Mr. K. Natwar Singh, External Affairs Minister of India.

Talks were held in a cordial, frank and positive atmosphere.

We had the opportunity to constructively review the status of our bilateral relations as well as the regional cooperation under SAARC.

We have agreed to work together for the early convening of the 13<sup>th</sup> SAARC Summit.

We have noted with satisfaction the overall improvement in atmospherics between the two countries. We have taken positive steps that augur well for the future of bilateral relations. We are strongly committed to carrying forward the Composite Dialogue process to make it productive and fruitful.

We had discussions on the core issue of Jammu & Kashmir and have impressed upon the Indian government for an early and final settlement of the issue in accordance with the aspirations of the people of Kashmir.

We discussed issues of Peace & Security. Pakistan expressed the hope that both the countries will be able to move forward to promote strategic stability in South Asia.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan has already instructed our Railway authorities to expedite the early operationalization of Khokhrapar-Munabao rail link.

We hope that the Joint Study Group meeting at the level of the Commerce Secretaries to be held in New Delhi from 22-23 February 2005 will come up with recommendations which will be mutually beneficial to both countries.

The Indian Government has agreed to lease a government-owned building and a plot of land in Mumbai for simultaneous opening of Pakistan's Consulate at Mumbai and Indian Consulate at Karachi.

We held discussion on the Siachen issue. It was agreed to direct the Defence Secretaries of the two countries to discuss the issue in a friendly and cooperative manner. I hope that the issue will be resolved in accordance with the understanding reached earlier.

The issue of detained fishermen and civilian prisoners is a humanitarian issue. We have agreed to work out a mechanism for their early release following a summary procedure. Civilian prisoners and detained children who have completed their prison term may be released at an early date.

We have noted with satisfaction the Indian decision to treat the Gas Pipeline project as a stand-alone project. We hope for the early finalization of an agreement.

We also held discussions over the Baglihar and Kishanganga projects. I impressed upon my Indian counterpart for an early resolution of the issues in accordance with the Indus Water Treaty.

The two Foreign Ministers took note of the joint survey conducted by the two countries on the Horizontal segment of the Blue dotted line in the Sir Creek area and express the hope that the issue would be resolved at an early date.

The two sides have agreed to continue the Composite Dialogue process in positive spirit and for constructive results in addressing all issues including Jammu & Kashmir, Peace & Security, conventional and nuclear CBMs, trade and people-to-people contacts.

The President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan reiterated invitation to Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India to visit Pakistan at the earliest convenience.

Islamabad,  
16 February 2005.

**CALL BY INDIAN MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ON THE  
PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN**  
(16 February 2005)

The Minister for External Affairs of India, Mr. Natwar Singh called on Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz at the Prime Minister's House today.

The Prime Minister noted the improvement in atmospherics between Pakistan and India and emphasized the need for resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people. He described the understanding reached to resume the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service as a step in the right direction.

The Prime Minister also underscored the importance of speedy resolution of the Baglihar Dam issue in accordance with the Indus Waters Treaty and mentioned that Pakistan's request to the World Bank for the appointment of Neutral Expert was strictly in accordance with the procedure stipulated in the Indus Waters Treaty and was therefore irreversible.

The Prime Minister also conveyed Pakistan's deep concern over Indian plans to construct Kishan Ganga Hydro-electric Project on the Neelum River, which was again in derogation of the Indus Waters Treaty provisions. He emphasised the need for resolving this issue quickly in accordance with the Indus Waters Treaty. Other matters relating to bilateral relations were also briefly touched upon.

The Prime Minister appreciated the decision of the Indian Cabinet to treat the Gas Pipeline as a stand-alone project.

The Prime Minister underscored the importance of ensuring that regional cooperation under the SAARC was not derailed due to the postponement of the 13<sup>th</sup> SAARC Summit and emphasised the necessity of working towards fixing fresh dates for the holding of the Summit in the near future.

The Prime Minister conveyed his sympathies for the victims of Tsunami and emphasized the importance of establishing an early warning system.

The Prime Minister also renewed the invitation earlier extended to Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh to visit Pakistan at his earliest convenience.

The Indian External Affairs Minister expressed satisfaction on the ongoing process and thanked the Prime Minister for receiving him.

Islamabad,  
16 February 2005.

**CALL BY INDIAN MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ON THE  
PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN**  
(16 February 2005)

Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr. K. Natwar Singh today called on President General Pervez Musharraf.

The President welcomed the decision taken by the two Governments today on the commencement of a Bus Service between Muzaffarabad and Srinagar. The President, appreciating the flexibility and statesmanship showed by the two sides, hoped that the two countries in this spirit could resolve all the issues, including the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

The President emphasized that the SAARC process needs to be strengthened and every effort should be made to make it a useful forum for the regional development.

The President stressed the need for peaceful resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the aspirations of the Kashmiri people, terming it as an essential pre-requisite for achieving full normalization of relations between the two countries. In this context, he emphasized that there was a need to raise the comfort level of the Kashmiris by improving the human rights situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir.

The President also raised the Baglihar issue with the Indian Minister for External Affairs and expressed serious concern on the non-resolution of the Baglihar Hydro-Electric Power Project issue in consonance with the Indus Water Treaty provisions.

The President regretted that after exhausting all avenues to resolve the issue bilaterally, Pakistan was constrained to approach the World Bank for appointment of a Neutral Expert as outlined in the provisions of the Indus Water Treaty. He, nevertheless, expressed the hope that the two countries would be able to resolve this issue bilaterally in spirit of cooperation and good neighbourliness.

The President stressed that in order to continue the Composite Dialogue Process in a positive and constructive manner, there was a need for maintaining the contacts between the two countries at the highest political level. The President hoped that the Indian Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh would be able to visit Pakistan at his earliest convenience.

The Indian External Affairs Minister, who is on a three-day bilateral visit to Pakistan, was accompanied by the Indian Foreign Secretary and other- senior officials.

Islamabad,  
16 February 2005.

**SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTER DR. MANMOHAN SINGH AT THE  
BANQUET FOR PRESIDENT PERVEZ MUSHARRAF**  
[April 2005]

President Musharraf, Begum Musharraf, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives my wife and me great pleasure to welcome President Musharraf and Begum Musharraf to our table this evening. The people of India are with me as we extend our hospitality to you on your visit to our country. Mr. President, last month we had the pleasure of meeting your mother, brother and your handsome son. I believe your son was quite a hit with young people here! My wife and I went down memory lane with your mother and brother, talking of common friends and shared experiences.

We were impressed by the wisdom and wit of your most affectionate mother. She was so utterly charming that my wife said to her, "I envy your daughter-in-law. She is so lucky to have a mother-in-law like you!"

Mr. President, when we met in New York I said that while I was born in what is now Pakistan, and you were born here, both of us have come to occupy these high offices in our countries without lengthy careers in politics! Fate has placed on our shoulders the burden of a sacred responsibility that we are now required to bear. The people of both our Nations expect us to play our due role, with sincerity of purpose and a commitment to our shared future.

India, Pakistan and especially the people of Jammu and Kashmir have paid a heavy price in terms of peace and development because of the persistent conflict of the past half century. The time has come to find an enduring solution to all the problems between the two countries. The people of our countries need a positive outcome and must not remain trapped in a zero-sum situation.

Mr. President,

South Asia has the potential to emerge as the most dynamic powerhouse of the world given its hugely talented human and abundant natural resources. There is no reason why the largest concentration of poor people in the world should be in South Asia. It is a challenge for all of us that the chronic poverty, ignorance and disease in our midst becomes a thing of the past in a reasonable period of time. Objective conditions point to South Asia emerging as a growth pole of the world economy. India and Pakistan, the two largest economies in the region, can give concrete shape to this vision and can find the pathway to a future of shared peace and prosperity.

A South Asia free of violence, poverty, disease and ignorance, in which there is a free movement of ideas, people, goods and services, needs to become a reality. The people of South Asia do not need further divisions, but greater unity. Clearly, a lasting peace between India and Pakistan is essential to ensure a stable and prosperous South Asia. The political leadership in both our countries has a solemn obligation to work in concert to realize this noble vision. History beckons us to rise to the challenge and grasp the opportunities to create boundless prosperity in our ancient land. If we fail to grasp these opportunities our people will not excuse us for the economy of vision and courage.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We cannot rewrite the past, but we can build a more secure future. A future that generates people's trust and confidence in the political leadership in South Asia. We must find practical ways and means to resolve all outstanding issues between us in a reasonable, pragmatic manner, cognizant of the ground realities.

The composite dialogue between the two countries, covering all outstanding issues, is encouraging. The confidence-building measures introduced have generated widespread enthusiasm. The bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad has tapped a latent reservoir of public support for stronger people-to-people contact between the two countries, especially among those living on either side of the Line of Control. The peace process and the composite dialogue need to be carried forward with even greater determination. However, in order to take forward and sustain the dialogue process, acts of terrorism must be prevented and we must together fight the scourge of terrorism in our region.

Our people and our common destiny urge us to make an earnest attempt to find a lasting solution to all issues. In a globalising and increasingly integrated world, borders have lost meaning for much of the world. The journey of peace must be based on a step-by-step approach, but the road must be travelled. As an ancient saying goes, a road is made by walking.

Mr. President, let us travel together on this path, to realize our shared vision of what the future holds for all of us.

Thank you.

**PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER TALKS IN NEW  
DELHI BETWEEN PRESIDENT PERVEZ MUSHARRAF AND PRIME  
MINISTER MANMOHAN SINGH**

[New Delhi, 18 April 2005]

1. The President of Pakistan, His Excellency General Pervez Musharraf and Begum Sehba Musharraf visited New Delhi as guests of the Prime Minister of India and Shrimati Gursharan Kaur on 16 to 18 April 2005.
2. While in New Delhi, the President of Pakistan called on the President of India. He also had a meeting with the Prime Minister of India, who hosted a dinner in his honour. The President also watched the last one-day international cricket match between India and Pakistan.
3. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India used the opportunity provided by the visit to review progress in Pakistan-India relations. They assessed positively the progress that had been made so far through confidence building, people-to-people contacts and enhancing areas of interactions and determined to build on the momentum already achieved.
4. They reaffirmed the commitments made in the Joint Press Statement of January 6, 2004 and the Joint Statement issued after their meeting in New York on September 24, 2004 and expressed satisfaction on the progress in the peace process and the improvement of relations between the two countries that has since been realized.
5. Conscious of the historic opportunity created by the improved environment in relations and the overwhelming desire of the peoples of the two countries for durable peace and recognizing their responsibility to continue to move forward towards that objective, the two leaders had substantive talks on all issues. They determined that the peace process was now irreversible.
6. In this spirit the two leaders addressed the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and agreed to continue these discussions in a sincere and purposeful and forward looking manner for a final settlement. They were satisfied with the discussions and expressed their determination to work together to carry forward the process and to bring the benefit of peace to their people.
7. They also agreed to pursue further measures to enhance interaction and cooperation across the LoC including agreed meeting points for divided families, trade, pilgrimages and cultural interaction.

8. They condemned attempts to disrupt the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service and welcomed its successful operationalisation. The two leaders pledged that they would not allow terrorism to impede the peace process.

9. They decided to increase the frequency of the bus service and also decided that trucks would be allowed to use this route to promote trade. They also agreed to operationalise additional routes including that between Poonch and Rawalakot. They also look forward to early start of the bus service between Amritsar and Lahore and to religious places such as Nankana Sahib.

10. They agreed to re-establish the Khokhrapar-Munnabao route by 1st January 2006.

11. They agreed that the Consulates General of the two countries in Mumbai and Karachi respectively would be opened before the end of the current year.

12. They endorsed the decisions taken in the meeting of Foreign Secretaries of the two countries on 27-28 December 2004, and the Foreign Minister on 15-17 February 2005, on the schedule of meetings later in the year, the agreements to be worked upon through these meetings and the measures to be taken to alleviate the situation of prisoners.

13. On the issues of Sir Creek and Siachen, they instructed that the existing institutional mechanisms should convene discussions immediately with a view to finding mutually acceptable solutions to both issues expeditiously.

14. It was agreed that the Ministers of Petroleum and Natural Gas would meet in May to explore cooperation in the sector including on the issue of pipelines.

15. Both leaders agreed that enhanced economic and commercial cooperation would contribute to the well-being of the peoples of the two countries and bring a higher level of prosperity for the region. The two leading economies of South Asia should work together for the greater prosperity of the region.

16. The leaders decided to reactivate the Joint Economic Commission as early as possible. They also agreed that the Joint Business Council should meet soon.

17. The President of Pakistan conveyed his gratitude for the hospitality provided during the visit and invited the Prime Minister to visit Pakistan. The invitation was accepted in principle. Mutually agreed dates would be worked out through diplomatic channels.

## **STATEMENT OF 18 JANUARY 2006 ON THE MEETING OF FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN IN NEW DELHI**

The Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India met in New Delhi on 17-18 January 2006 to commence the third round of talks under the Pakistan-India Composite Dialogue framework. Foreign Secretary of India Shri Shyam Saran led the Indian delegation while the Pakistan delegation was led by Foreign Secretary Mr. Riaz Mohammad Khan. They discussed issues related to ‘Peace and Security including CBMs’ and ‘Jammu and Kashmir’. The talks were held in a cordial atmosphere and were constructive.

The two Foreign Secretaries assessed the developments in bilateral relations and expressed satisfaction at the progress made during the Composite Dialogue process. The two sides reaffirmed their commitment to move forward the peace process in a meaningful way during the third round. They recalled the outcome of the discussions between the President of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India reflected in the Joint Statements of 6 January 2004, 24 September 2004, 18 April 2005 and 14 September 2005. Recalling the Joint Statement of 4 October 2005 issued at the conclusion of meeting of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and the Minister for External Affairs of India, the two sides reiterated their resolve to carry forward the peace process and maintain its momentum.

On the issue of Peace and Security including CBMs, the two Foreign Secretaries reviewed and assessed positively the progress made during the meetings of experts on Nuclear and Conventional CBMs. The two Foreign Secretaries, with the objective of promoting a stable environment of peace and security, agreed to mandate the two experts groups to continue consultations on security concepts and nuclear doctrines to develop measures for confidence building in the nuclear and conventional fields aimed at avoidance of conflict, including, *inter alia*, consideration of the following:

- i) Continue discussions with a view to finalising an agreement on “Reducing Risk of Nuclear Accidents or Unauthorized Use of Nuclear Weapons”, on which a draft has been presented by India;
- ii) Conclusion of an agreement on prevention of incidents at sea in order to ensure safety of navigation by naval vessels, and aircraft belonging to the two sides. The Pakistani side indicated that they will present a draft of such an agreement;
- iii) Elaborating, consistent with its intent, the agreement reached on no development of new posts and defence works along the LoC. The Indian side handed over proposed elements;

- iv) Modalities for the conduct of already agreed monthly flag meetings between local commanders at the selected sectors. Both sides handed over suggested modalities.

The two Foreign Secretaries had a detailed exchange of views on Jammu & Kashmir and agreed to continue the sustained dialogue in a purposeful and forward looking manner to find a peaceful and negotiated final settlement.

The Foreign Secretaries noted with satisfaction the opening of the five crossing points across the Line of Control, and hoped that the process of promoting greater interaction between the divided families would get further impetus. They reiterated their commitment to start a bus service between Poonch and Rawalakot and a truck service on Muzaffarabad-Srinagar route for trade in permitted goods as soon as the infrastructure damaged during the October 2005 earthquake is restored.

The two Foreign Secretaries recalled their decision of 2004 regarding provision of consular access to all civilian prisoners and fishermen and their early repatriation on humanitarian grounds.

Both sides reiterated their resolve to simultaneously reopen their respective Consulates General in Karachi and Mumbai and to facilitate the process.

Both sides discussed the schedule of meetings, including technical level meetings, under the Composite Dialogue framework. The Foreign Secretaries and Foreign Ministers will meet thereafter to review the third round of the Composite Dialogue.

Both sides also agreed to hold early meetings of the technical level working groups of the Joint Commission on Agriculture, Health, Science & Technology, Information, Education, I.T. & Telecommunication, Environment and Tourism so that they can report their progress to the Joint Commission.

The Foreign Secretary of Pakistan called on Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and Minister of State for External Affairs, Shri E. Ahmed during the course of his visit to New Delhi.

Islamabad,  
January 18, 2006.

**INDIAN STATEMENT ON THE KILLING OF NAWAB AKBAR KHAN  
BUGTI**  
(28 August 2006)

In response to questions on the killing of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, the Baloch leader, the Official Spokesperson said:

“The unfortunate killing of the veteran Baloch leader, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, is a tragic loss to the people of Balochistan and Pakistan. This military attack in which reportedly two of his grandsons were also killed and the heavy casualties in the continuing military operations in Balochistan underline the need for peaceful dialogue to address the grievances and aspirations of people of Balochistan. Military force can never solve political problems.

Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti played a prominent role in Pakistani politics for over four decades. His death leaves a vacuum that will be difficult to fill.”

New Delhi,  
August 28, 2006.

**PAKISTAN STRONGLY REJECTS INDIAN STATEMENT ON  
BALOCHISTAN**  
(28 August 2006)

Strongly rejecting the statement of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs Spokesman on the situation in Balochistan, the spokesperson said that the statement is not only against the well-established norms of interstate relations but also a blatant interference in the internal affairs of a neighbouring country.

India's purported concern for the peoples of other countries is ill-advised especially when India remains afflicted with several insurgencies including in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, Bundel Khand, Gorkhaland, Bodoland and Khaplang, which are being suppressed by force. Instead of oppression and use of force, India should politically address grievances and aspirations of the peoples of these areas.

India should focus on putting its own house in order rather than commenting on the internal affairs of other countries.

Islamabad,  
28 August 2006.

**FOREIGN MINISTER KASURI'S OPENING REMARKS AND DECISIONS  
TAKEN AT THE MEETING BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF  
PAKISTAN AND INDIA**  
(13 January 2007)

**OPENING REMARKS**

Distinguished Journalists, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It was a great pleasure to receive H.E. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee in Pakistan. We had a useful exchange of views in a cordial and constructive atmosphere. H.E. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee's visit has provided a good opportunity to review the status of our bilateral relations and it is a matter of satisfaction to note the overall improvement in relations between the two countries.

2. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee called on the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He also delivered letters inviting the Prime Minister and myself for the 14th SAARC Summit to be held in New Delhi from 2-4 April 2007.
3. We reviewed the progress on all issues on the composite dialogue framework comprising Peace and Security, Jammu and Kashmir, Siachen, Sir Creek, Terrorism and Drug Trafficking, Wular Barrage/Tulbul navigation project, promotion of friendly exchange and Trade & Economic Cooperation.
4. We also took certain decisions. I would request His Excellency Mr. Pranab Mukherjee to read out the decisions before you.

**DECISIONS**

- i. I have invited Foreign Minister Khurshid Kasuri to visit New Delhi in connection with the meeting of the Joint Commission which will be held in February 2007. Foreign Minister Kasuri has accepted my invitation.
- ii. We agreed to establish a Committee on Prisoners comprising retired judges of the superior judiciary to visit jails in the two countries and propose steps to ensure humane treatment and expeditious release of prisoners who have completed their prison terms.
- iii. We agreed to expedite the Liberalization of Visa Regime and agreed to complete the work in February.

iv. Several Agreements which are near or close to finalization will be concluded during the February visit of Foreign Minister Kasuri to New Delhi. These will include: (a) The Agreement on Reducing the Risk from Accidents relating to Nuclear Weapons etc.; (b) Speedy return of inadvertent Line Crossers; (c) Prevention of Incidents at Sea.

v. On Siachen, we discussed the issue and decided that the officials will meet at an early date to address the issue.

vi. We agreed to facilitate movement of diplomats to Noida and Gurgaon in India and Taxila and Hasanabdal in Pakistan. Procedures for this will be worked out.

vii. We agreed that the First Meeting of the Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism will take place before end of March 2007.

viii. Regarding Sir Creek, the officials concerned will be directed to expedite their work. The joint survey for Sir Creek will begin on 15th January 2007.

ix. We have decided to launch the 4th Round of the Composite Dialogue will be held on 13-14 March 2007.

x. I thank Foreign Minister Kasuri for the warm hospitality extended to me and my delegation in Islamabad. I look forward to receiving him in New Delhi.

Islamabad,  
13 January 2007.

## **APHC LEADERS CALL ON PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN**

(19 January 2007)

President General Pervez Musharraf received APHC Chairman Mir Waiz Omar Farooq and other APHC leaders, Mr. Abdul Ghani Bhatt, and Mr. Bilal Ghani Lone, and discussed with them the efforts being made by Pakistan for a just settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. He shared views with the Kashmiri leadership about the Composite Dialogue and the peace process as well as the recent visit of the Indian Minister for External Affairs.

The President reaffirmed Pakistan 's support for the Kashmiri cause and appreciated the efforts of the APHC leadership under Mir Waiz for the realisation of Kashmiri aspirations. He assured them that Pakistan would not agree to anything that is unacceptable to the Kashmiri people and their leadership. He reaffirmed Pakistan 's position that the Kashmiri leadership should be involved with the peace process.

The President further stated that elements hostile to the peace process, which has raised hopes for an acceptable solution, must be discouraged and their attempts to create misunderstanding about Pakistan 's position especially in the minds of the Kashmiri people should be strongly countered and rejected.

Chairman APHC Mir Waiz thanked the President for Pakistan 's support and appreciated the President's ideas for a Kashmir settlement relating to self-governance, demilitarization and joint management. He said that President's initiatives had created a historic opportunity for a just solution of the Kashmir dispute which must be seized with courage and determination.

The President expressed condemnation of the recent attack on the house of Mir Waiz who thanked the President for his concern over the incident.

Islamabad,  
19 January 2007.

**SECOND MEETING OF PAKISTAN-INDIA JOINT ANTI-TERRORISM  
MECHANISM [JATM], NEW DELHI**  
(22 October 2007)

In pursuance of the decision of the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India in Havana, Cuba on 16th September 2006, the second meeting of the Anti-Terrorism Mechanism was held in New Delhi on 22nd October 2007. The Pakistani delegation was headed by Mr. Khalid Aziz Babar, Additional Secretary (UN&EC), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan. The Indian delegation was led by Mr. K.C. Singh, Additional Secretary (IO), Ministry of External Affairs of India.

2. The two sides reviewed the follow up steps taken on the information shared during the first meeting of the Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism held in Islamabad on 6th March 2007 and in the intervening period.
3. Both sides shared new information on terrorist incidents including those which have occurred since the last meeting. They agreed to continue to work to identify measures, exchange specific information and assist in investigations.
4. The next meeting of the Mechanism will be held in Islamabad according to the schedule already agreed upon.

**STATEMENT BY INDIAN SPOKESPERSON ON DEVELOPMENTS IN  
PAKISTAN**  
(3 November 2007)

We regret the difficult times that Pakistan is passing through. We trust that conditions of normalcy will soon return permitting Pakistan's transition to stability and democracy to continue.

New Delhi,  
November 3, 2007.

**FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL REVIEW OF THE FOURTH ROUND OF  
COMPOSITE DIALOGUE, ISLAMABAD**  
(21 May 2008)

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi, and External Affairs Minister of India, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, met in Islamabad on 21 May 2008 to review the progress made in the Fourth Round of Pakistan-India Composite Dialogue. This was preceded by a meeting between the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan , Mr. Salman Bashir and Foreign Secretary of India , Mr. Shivshankar Menon, on 20 May 2008.

2. The talks were held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.
3. They reviewed the progress made in the Fourth Round of the Composite Dialogue encompassing (i) Peace and Security, including CBMs; (ii) Jammu and Kashmir; (iii) Siachen; (iv) Sir Creek; (v) Wular Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project; (vi) Terrorism and Drug Trafficking; (vii) Economic and Commercial Cooperation; and (viii) Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields.
- 4 They noted the positive contribution to improvement of relations by the Composite Dialogue process since its resumption after the joint statement of 6 January 2004 and the subsequent Summit Statements of 25 September 2004, 18 April 2005, 14 September 2005 and 16 September 2006. The Ministers reaffirmed their determination not to let terrorism impede the peace process and take all necessary steps to eliminate this scourge against humanity. They further resolved to carry forward the peace process and to maintain its momentum.
5. The Ministers noted that in 2007 and over the course of the Fourth Round of Composite Dialogue there had been a number of important bilateral achievements, including:
  - MoU to increase the frequencies, designated airlines and points of call in either country.
  - Agreement for the trucks from one side to cross the border up to designated points on the other side at the Wagah-Attari border.
  - Increase in frequency of Delhi- Lahore bus service from two to three trips per week.

- Signing of Agreement on 'Reducing the Risk from Accidents relating to Nuclear Weapons'.
- MoU between the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) and Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP) to facilitate the sharing of information between two agencies.
- Completion of the Joint Survey of Sir Creek and adjoining areas.
- Two meetings of the Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism.

6. The two sides signed the Agreement on Consular Access, which was finalised during the Fourth round of Composite Dialogue.

7. They exchanged views on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and agreed to continue discussions to build on convergences and narrow down divergences. They also agreed to continue with the implementation of Cross-LoC CBMs with a view to enhancing interaction and cooperation across the LoC. In this regard, they decided:

- a) To increase the frequency of Muzaffarabad - Srinagar and Rawalakot-Poonch Bus service from a fortnightly to a weekly basis.
- b) To finalize modalities for intra-Kashmir trade and truck service as early as possible.
- c) To implement other measures to expand and facilitate travel a meeting of Working Group on Cross-LoC CBMs would be convened within two months .

8. They reaffirmed the importance of ceasefire in place since November 2003 and the commitment of both sides to cooperate to safeguard it.

9. They agreed that progress has been made under the Composite Dialogue process on promoting a stable environment of Peace and Security including CBMs. The Expert Groups on Nuclear and Conventional CBMs should consider existing and additional proposals by both sides with a view to developing further confidence building measures in the nuclear and conventional fields.

10. Both sides exchanged views on Siachen and reiterated their commitment to seeking an early amicable solution.

11. Both sides expressed satisfaction on the progress made on Sir Creek, with the completion of the joint survey, the exchange of maps, and the discussions thereafter. They agreed to further facilitate the process for an early resolution of this issue .

12. Both sides reiterated their commitment to fight terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, and re-emphasized the need for effective steps for the complete elimination of this menace. In this context, it was agreed to continue cooperation in the Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism whose next meeting would be held within two months . Both sides agreed to refrain from hostile propaganda.

13. Both sides emphasized the need for further strengthening cooperation to eliminate drug trafficking and welcomed the finalization of an MOU on Cooperation between Pakistan's Anti-Narcotics Force and Narcotics Control Board of India.

14. Both sides reiterated the importance of enhancing mutually beneficial economic and commercial cooperation and agreed to discuss further steps for facilitating trade and redressing the trade imbalance. In this regard, Indian and Pakistan Railway officials would meet in June for resolving all technical issues to enable increase in to and fro freight movement. They also agreed to facilitate the process of early opening of bank branches in the two countries.

15. Both sides appreciated the work being done by the Judicial Committee on Prisoners, which will meet in Pakistan shortly; welcomed the finalization of the Consular Access Agreement that will help addressing humanitarian aspects relating to persons under detention in each other's country and; agreed to provide on a regular basis updated and comprehensive list of prisoners in each other's jails.

16. Both sides agreed to the need for promoting friendly exchanges between the two countries.

17. Both sides agreed to the early finalization of the Visa Agreement which will help liberalize the visa regime and facilitate people-to-people contacts.

18. The two Ministers reiterated their commitment to the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline project and had a useful exchange of views in this regard.

19. The two Foreign Ministers also exchanged views on promoting the Pakistan-India peace process, reinvigoration of SAARC and agreed to work towards promoting regional cooperation for enabling South Asia to realize its full development potential. It was agreed to work for promoting sustainable development and food and energy security.

20. It was decided that the two Foreign Secretaries will launch the Fifth Round of the Composite Dialogue in New Delhi in July 2008.

21. The External Affairs Minister of India, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, called on the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Islamabad,  
21 May 2008.

**JOINT PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER MEETING OF THE  
PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA IN  
NEW YORK**  
(24 September 2008)

The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India met during the 63rd UNGA session in New York.

Prime Minister Singh congratulated President Zardari on his election and the victory of democracy in Pakistan. He expressed the hope that this would pave the way for a profound transformation of the bilateral relationship, so that India and Pakistan could work together on their shared objectives of peace, prosperity and security.

Both leaders welcomed the several positive outcomes of the four rounds of the Composite Dialogue, which have brought their people, businesses and institutions closer, while permitting sustained efforts to be made to resolve all outstanding issues; these gains need to be consolidated. They agreed to work for an early and full normalization of relations between India and Pakistan, on the basis of mutual respect, peaceful coexistence and non-interference.

Both leaders acknowledged that the peace process has been under strain in recent months. They agreed that violence, hostility and terrorism have no place in the vision they share of the bilateral relationship, and must be visibly and verifiably prevented. Severe action would be taken against any elements directing or involved in terrorist acts. President Zardari reassured Prime Minister Singh that the Government of Pakistan stands by its commitments of January 6, 2004.

Both leaders agreed that the forces that have tried to derail the peace process must be defeated. This would allow the continuation and deepening of a constructive dialogue for the peaceful resolution and satisfactory settlement of all bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir.

The two leaders agreed that:

- The Foreign Secretaries of both countries will schedule meetings of the Fifth round of the Composite Dialogue in the next three months which will focus on deliverables and concrete achievements.
- The ceasefire should be stabilized. To this end, the DGMOS and Sector Commanders will stay in regular contact.

- A special meeting of the Joint Anti-Terror Mechanism will be held in October 2008 to address mutual concerns including the bombing of the Indian Embassy in Kabul.
- The expansion of people to people contacts, trade, commerce and economic cooperation provides an effective platform to develop and strengthen bilateral relations. Towards this end, it was decided to:
  - Open the Wagah-Attari road link to all permissible items of trade.
  - Open the Khokrapar-Munabao rail route to all permissible items of trade.
  - Continue interaction between the Planning Commissions of both countries to develop mutually beneficial cooperation including the energy sector.
  - Commence cross-LoC trade on the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalakot roads on October 21, 2008.

Modalities for the opening of the Skardu-Kargil route will be discussed soon.

New York,  
September 24, 2008.

**PAKISTAN INDIA JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AT SHARM EL SHEIKH AFTER THE MEETING OF THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS ON 16 JULY 2009**

The Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh and the Prime Minister of Pakistan Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani met in Sharm El Sheikh on July 16, 2009.

The two Prime Ministers had a cordial and constructive meeting. They considered the entire gamut of bilateral relations with a view to charting the way forward in India-Pakistan relations. Both leaders agreed that terrorism is the main threat to both countries. Both leaders affirmed their resolve to fight terrorism and to cooperate with each other to this end.

Prime Minister Singh reiterated the need to bring the perpetrators of the Mumbai attacks to justice. Prime Minister Gilani assured that Pakistan will do everything in its power in this regard. He said that Pakistan has provided an updated status dossier on the investigations of the Mumbai attacks and had sought additional information/evidence. Prime Singh said that the dossier is being reviewed.

Both leaders agreed that the two countries will share real time, credible and actionable information on any future terrorist threats.

Prime Minister Gilani mentioned that Pakistan has some information on threats in Balochistan and other areas.

Both Prime Ministers recognized that dialogue is the only way forward. Action on terrorism should not be linked to the Composite Dialogue process and these should not be bracketed. Prime Minister Singh said that India was ready to discuss all issues with Pakistan, including all outstanding issues.

Prime Minister Singh reiterated India's interest in a stable, democratic, Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Both leaders agreed that the real challenge is development and the elimination of poverty. Both leaders are resolved to eliminate those factors which prevent our countries from realizing their full potential. Both agreed to work to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. Both leaders reaffirmed their intention to promote regional cooperation.

Both Foreign Secretaries should meet as often as necessary and report to the two Foreign Ministers who will be meeting on the sidelines of the forthcoming UN General Assembly.

Sharm El Sheikh,  
July 16, 2009.

**IMPORTANT AGREEMENTS/MOUS SIGNED BETWEEN PAKISTAN  
AND INDIA**  
(1948 - 2008)

S. No.	Agreements	Venue
1.	<b>May 4, 1948:</b> Inter-Dominion Agreement between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan on the Canal Water Dispute between the East and West Punjab.	New Delhi
2.	<b>July 27, 1949:</b> Agreement between Military Representatives of India and Pakistan regarding the Establishment of a ceasefire line in the state of Jammu and Kashmir (Karachi Agreement).	Karachi
3.	<b>April 8, 1950:</b> Agreement between Pakistan and India regarding Security and Rights of Minorities.(Nehru-Liaquat Agreement)	New Delhi
4.	<b>January 22, 1954:</b> Agreement between Pakistan and India, East – West Bengal Boundary Alignment.	Karachi
5.	<b>January 22, 1957:</b> Trade Agreement between Pakistan and India.	New Delhi
6.	<b>September 10, 1958:</b> Indo-Pakistan Agreement (on territories involving the then East Pakistan and India).	Karachi
7.	<b>January 11, 1960:</b> Indo-Pakistan Agreement on West Pakistan-India Border Dispute	New Delhi
8.	<b>September 19, 1960:</b> Indus Waters Treaty.	Karachi
9.	<b>August 26, 1961:</b> West Pakistan/Punjab (India) Border Ground Rules 1961.	New Delhi
10.	<b>January 10, 1966:</b> Tashkent Declaration.	Tashkent
11.	<b>July 2, 1972:</b> Simla Agreement.	Simla
12.	<b>August 28, 1973:</b> Agreement on Repatriation of Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees. (Delhi Agreement)	New Delhi
13.	<b>April 9, 1974:</b> Agreement between Pakistan and India on Release and Repatriation of Prisoners Detained in Either Country Prior to Conflict of 1971.	New Delhi

14.	<b>April 9, 1974:</b> Bangladesh, India, Pakistan Agreement.	New Delhi
15.	<b>September 14, 1974:</b> Protocol on Visits to Religious Shrines.	Islamabad
16.	<b>September 14, 1974:</b> Visa agreement between the Government of Pakistan and The Government of India.	Islamabad
17.	<b>September 14, 1974:</b> Agreement between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India relating to the Exchange of Postal Articles.	Islamabad
18.	<b>November 30, 1974:</b> Protocol on the Resumption of Trade between India and Pakistan.	New Delhi
19.	<b>January 15, 1975:</b> Protocol on Resumption of Shipping Services between Pakistan and India.	New Delhi
20.	<b>January 23, 1975:</b> Trade Agreement between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India.	Islamabad
21.	<b>March 31, 1975:</b> Recommencement of Indo – Pakistan Shipping Services.	Bombay
22.	<b>June 28, 1976:</b> Agreement between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India Relating to the Resumption of Rail Communication between Pakistan and India.	New Delhi
23.	<b>July 16, 1976:</b> Agreement between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of Republic of India Relating to Air Services.	Rawalpindi
24.	<b>October 1, 1977:</b> Telecommunication Agreement between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India.	Islamabad
25.	<b>April 14, 1978:</b> Agreement between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of Republic of India regarding the Design of the Salal Hydroelectric Plant on the River Chenab Main.	New Delhi
26.	Protocol on Group Tourism between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of India.	Islamabad
27.	March 10, 1983: Agreement for the Establishment of a Joint Commission between the Government of Pakistan and Government of India.	New Delhi

28.	Visa Agreement between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India. (As amended through an Exchange of Letter in Islamabad on May 20, 1984).	Islamabad
29.	<b>December 31, 1988:</b> Agreement regarding the Avoidance of Double Taxation of Income Derived from International Air Transport.	Islamabad
30.	<b>December 31, 1988:</b> Agreement on Prohibition of Attack Against Nuclear Installations and Facilities between Pakistan and India.	Islamabad
31.	<b>December 31, 1988:</b> Culture Cooperation Agreement between Pakistan and India	Islamabad
32.	<b>April 6, 1991:</b> Agreement on Advance Notice on Military Exercises Manoeuvres and Troops Movement.	New Delhi
33.	<b>April 6, 1991:</b> Agreement between Pakistan and India on Prevention of Air Space Violations and for Permitting Over-flights and Landings by Military Aircraft.	New Delhi
34.	<b>August 19, 1992:</b> Code of Conduct for Treatment of Diplomatic/Consular Personnel in Pakistan and India.	New Delhi
35.	<b>February 17, 1999:</b> Agreement between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of the Republic of India for the Regulation of Bus Service between Lahore and New Delhi.	Islamabad
36.	<b>February 21, 1999:</b> Lahore MoU	Islamabad
37.	<b>February 21, 1999:</b> Lahore Declaration	Islamabad
38.	<b>January 6, 2004:</b> Joint Press Statement issued after the meeting between President of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India.	Islamabad

39.	<b>October 3, 2005:</b> MoU between Ministry of Defence of India and Ministry of Defence of Pakistan, for the Establishment of a Communication Link between Pakistan Maritime Security Agency and the Indian Coast Guard.	Islamabad
40.	<b>October 3, 2005:</b> Agreement on Pre-Notification of Flight Testing of Ballistic Missiles.	Islamabad
41.	<b>December 21, 2005:</b> Agreement between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of the Republic of India for the Regulation of Bus Service between Lahore (Pakistan) and Amritsar (India).	Lahore
42.	<b>July 11, 2006:</b> MoU between Pakistan and India regarding Utilization of Funds for Earthquake Relief Assistance.	New Delhi
43.	<b>December 14, 2006:</b> Protocol on Shipping Services between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of India	New Delhi
44.	<b>February 21, 2007:</b> Agreement between the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on Reducing the Risk from Accidents Relating to Nuclear Weapons.	New Delhi
45.	<b>January 28, 2008:</b> MoU between Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan and Securities and Exchange Board of India regarding assistance and mutual co-operation.	New Delhi
46.	<b>February 4, 2008:</b> MoU between Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS), Pakistan and Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis(IDSA) India	New Delhi
47.	<b>May 21, 2008:</b> Agreement on Consular Access	Islamabad

## **LIST OF IMPORTANT PAKISTAN-INDIA MEETINGS/VISITS ETC (1947 - 2010 )**

- Prime Ministers Liaquat Ali Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru meet in Lahore on 14-15 September 1947 to discuss refugee problems.
- Prime Ministers Liaquat Ali Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru meet in New Delhi on 19-20 September 1947 to discuss refugee problems.
- Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon meets Prime Minister Nehru during his visit to India on 10 September 1958.
- Prime Minister Nehru visits Pakistan on 19-23 September 1960.
- Between December 26, 1962 and May 16, 1963, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Sardar Swaran Singh hold meetings in Rawalpindi, New Delhi, Calcutta and Karachi, to resolve the Kashmir issue.
- Tashkent Agreement is signed on 10 January 1966.
- Foreign Minister-level talks between Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Sardar Swaran Singh take place in Rawalpindi on 1-2 March 1966.
- President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sign Simla Agreement on 2 July 1972.
- Aziz Ahmad-Swaran Singh talks regarding the Line of Control take place on 26 August 1972 in New Delhi.
- On 4 November 1984, President Zia-ul-Haq attends the last rites of the assassinated Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, in New Delhi.
- In August 1988, President R. Venkataraman visits Islamabad to attend the funeral of President Zia-ul-Haq.
- Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi undertakes a visit to Islamabad on 29-31 December 1988 to attend SAARC Summit.
- Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visits Pakistan on 16-17 July 1989 for talks with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

- Indian Minister for External Affairs attends Pakistan-India Joint Ministerial Commission meeting in Islamabad on 18 July 1989.
- Seven rounds of Foreign Secretary-level talks between Pakistan and India are held between 1990 and 1994. [First round in Islamabad on 18-19 July 1990; second round in New Delhi on 10-12 August 1990; third round in Islamabad on 18-20 December 1990; fourth round in New Delhi on 4-7 April 1991; fifth round in Islamabad on 29-31 October 1991; sixth round in New Delhi on 17-19 August 1992; and seventh round in Islamabad on 1-3 January 1994].
- At the initiative of the Government of Pakistan, bilateral talks with India resumed after a gap of three years. The first round at the Foreign Secretary level takes place in New Delhi in March 1997, and the second round in Islamabad in June 1997.
- Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India again meet in New York in September 1998 and later in Islamabad in October 1998.
- In response to an invitation by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister Vajpayee visits Pakistan on 20-21 February 1999, on the inaugural run of the Delhi-Lahore Bus Service.
- At invitation of Prime Minister Vajpayee, President Musharraf undertakes a visit to India from 14-16 July 2001.
- In a statement in the Lok Sabha on 23 April 2003, Prime Minister Vajpayee states that during his recent visit to Kashmir on 18-19 April, he at a press conference, had, expressed the hope that a new beginning can take place between India and Pakistan. Stopping cross border infiltration and destruction of terrorist infrastructure can open the doors for talks.
- On 28 April 2003, Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali speaks to Prime Minister Vajpayee on telephone, welcoming the Indian Prime Minister's offer of friendship to Pakistan and reiterates Pakistan's readiness for dialogue with India at any level. Prime Minister Jamali extends an invitation to Mr. Vajpayee to visit Pakistan at his convenience. Mr. Jamali also offers to visit India in the interest of peace and stability.
- In a statement in the Parliament on 2 May 2003, Prime Minister Vajpayee speaking positively of Pakistan mentions that he received a call on 28 April from Prime Minister Jamali and states that it has been decided to appoint a

High Commissioner to Pakistan and restore civil aviation links on the basis of reciprocity.

- In a statement issued in Islamabad on 6 May 2003, it is confirmed that Prime Minister Jamali had sent a formal invitation to Prime Minister Vajpayee to undertake a visit to Pakistan.
- President Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee meet during the SAARC Summit in Islamabad on 6 January 2004 and agree to resume the process of the Composite Dialogue.
- On 18 February 2004, Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India meet in Islamabad.
- Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India meet in New Delhi on 27-28 June 2004 to initiate Pakistan India Composite Dialogue.
- Foreign Minister Kasuri meets External Affairs Minister Natwar Singh in New Delhi on 5-6 September 2004 to review status of Composite Dialogue. The meeting is preceded by a meeting between Foreign Secretaries Shyam Saran and Riaz Khokhar on 4 September 2004.
- President Musharraf and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh meet in New York on 24 September 2004.
- Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz visits India in his capacity as Chairman of the 12<sup>th</sup> SAARC Summit on 23-24 November 2004.
- Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India meet in Islamabad on 27-28 December 2004 to commence the Second round of the Composite Dialogue.
- External Affairs Minister Natwar Singh has a meeting with Foreign Minister Kasuri in Islamabad on 16 February 2005.
- Commerce Minister Humayun Akhtar Khan visits India on 19-21 February 2005.
- A delegation of Indian Left parties led by Harkishan Singh Surjeet visits Pakistan in March 2005.
- President Musharraf undertakes a visit to New Delhi as guest of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on 16-18 April 2005.

- L. K. Advani visits Pakistan on 30 May-6 June 2005.
- Minister for Petroleum Mani Shankar Aiyar visits Pakistan on 4-7 June 2005.
- External Affairs Minister K. Natwar Singh calls on Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in Astana on 5 July 2005 on the sidelines of the SCO Summit.
- First meeting of Pakistan-India Joint Working Group (JWG) on Cooperation in trans-national pipelines is held at New Delhi on 12-13 July 2005.
- Second round of talks on “Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in various fields” is held at Islamabad on 26-27 July 2005.
- Expert Level Dialogue on Nuclear Confidence Building Measures is held at New Delhi on 5-6 August 2005.
- Second Round of Expert Level Talks on Conventional Confidence Building Measures is held at New Delhi on 8 August 2005.
- Second Round of talks on Economic and Commercial Cooperation is held at New Delhi on 9-10 August 2005.
- Second round of Home Secretary level Talks on Terrorism and Drug Trafficking is held at New Delhi on 29-30 August 2005.
- Foreign Secretary Riaz Mohammad Khan and Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran meet in Islamabad on 1 September 2005 to review the progress of the Second Round of Composite Dialogue.
- Second meeting of Joint Working Group on Cooperation on Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) Pipeline project is held at Islamabad on 8-9 September 2005.
- President Musharraf and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh meet in New York on 14 September 2005.
- Civil Aviation talks to review the existing bilateral arrangements are held at Rawalpindi on 27-28 September 2005.

- Second Round of Technical Level Talks on Operationalization of Amritsar-Lahore and Amritsar-Nankana Sahib Bus Service is held at New Delhi on 27-28 September 2005.
- On 3 October 2005, Indian External Affairs Minister Natwar Singh holds a meeting with Foreign Minister Kasuri in Islamabad to review the progress of the Second Round of the Composite Dialogue between Pakistan and India.
- Pakistan-India meeting to discuss the opening of crossing points across the LoC is held at Islamabad on 29 October 2005.
- Minister of State for External Affairs Mr. E. Ahamed visits Pakistan in November 2005 to participate in the International Conference on Earthquake Relief and Reconstruction.
- Seventh round of Directors General level Talks between Counter Narcotics agencies of Pakistan and India is held at Rawalpindi on 1-2 December 2005.
- Technical level talks on Shipping is held at Karachi on 8-10 December 2005.
- Third round of Technical level Talks for Operationalization of Lahore-Amritsar and Nankana Sahib-Amritsar Bus is held in Lahore on 20-21 December 2005.
- Talks for operationalizing the rail link between Monabao and Khokhrapar are held in New Delhi on 5-6 January 2006.
- Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India meet in New Delhi on 17-18 January 2006 to commence the Third round of talks under the Composite Dialogue.
- Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources Mr. Amanullah Khan Jadoon visits India on 16-18 February 2006.
- Former Minister for External Affairs Jaswant Singh visits Hinglaj Temple in Balochistan in February 2006.
- Civil Aviation talks to review existing bilateral arrangements are held in New Delhi on 6-7 March 2006.

- Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, Leader of Opposition, visits India on 7 February 2006.
- Joint Commission on Environment, Science and Technology meets in Islamabad on 21-22 March 2006.
- Joint Commission on Tourism and Agriculture meets in Islamabad on 18-19 April 2006.
- Indian Minister for Culture Ambika Soni visits Pakistan on 26 April 2006.
- India-Pakistan talks on Sir Creek are held in New Delhi on 25-26 May 2006.
- Third Round of the Pakistan-India Interior/Home Secretary talks on Terrorism and Drugs Trafficking is held in Islamabad on 30-31 May 2006.
- Third Round of Secretary-level talks on Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in various fields is held in New Delhi on 1-2 June 2006.
- Joint Commission on IT and Telecommunication meets in New Delhi on 20-21 June 2006.
- Pakistan-India talks on Wular Barrage and Storage Project / Tulbul Navigation Project are held in Islamabad on 22-23 June 2006.
- Foreign Secretary Riaz Mohammad Khan holds a meeting with Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran in Dhaka on 31 July 2006 on the sidelines of the SAARC Inter-Summit.
- Third Tripartite Joint Working Group meeting on Iran-Pakistan-India Gas Pipeline Project is held in New Delhi on 3-4 August 2006.
- President Musharraf and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh meet in Havana on 16 September 2006 on the sidelines of the NAM Summit.
- Foreign Secretary-level Review Meeting of the Third Round of Pakistan-India Composite Dialogue in New Delhi on 13-15 November 2006.

- Visit to India by Minister of State for Economic Affairs Hina Rabbani Khar to attend a meeting on Reconstruction of Afghanistan from 16 – 20 November 2006.
- Visit to India by the Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Pakistan on 24-27 November 2006 in connection with Golden Jubilee celebrations of Indian Law Institute.
- Private visit of Foreign Minister Kasuri to New Delhi to attend the wedding of the daughter of Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyer, Minister for Panchayati Raj. (25-28 November 2006).
- Visit to India by Minister of State for Finance Omar Ayub Khan on 26-28 November 2006 to attend the 22<sup>nd</sup> India Economic Summit.
- Visit of Pakistani Parliamentary delegation to India led by Dr. Farooq Sattar, MNA, at the invitation of the Government of India, from 4-9 December 2006.
- Visit to India by Pakistan's Minister for Shipping Mr. Babar Ghauri on 12-20 December 2006 for signing of the Shipping Protocol.
- Visit to India by Pakistan's Minister for Housing and Works Syed Safwanullah to attend the First Asia Pacific Ministerial Conference on Housing and Human Settlements (13-23 December 2006).
- Visit to Pakistan by India's Minister for Agriculture Sharad Pawar [13-15 December 2006]
- Visit to Pakistan by Ms. Meenakshi Data Ghosh, Secretary, Ministry of Panchayati Raj on 21-23 December 2006 regarding formalization of the setting up of Pakistan-India Joint Working Group on Local Governance.
- Visit to India by Mr. Abdul Razzaq A. Thahim, Minister for Local Government and Rural Development on 11-15 January 2007 to attend Intern-Ministerial Summit of AARDO Member States.
- Visit to Pakistan by Minister for External Affairs Pranab Mukherjee on 13-14 January 2007.

- Visit to India by Secretary, Women's Division, Mr. Salim Mahmud Salim to attend High level Policy Conference on Home based workers of South Asia arranged by UNIFEM on 17-22 January 2007.
- Visit to India by Malik Amin Aslam, MoS for Environment to participate in Delhi Sustainable Development Summit 2007 organized by The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI) on 22-24 January 2007.
- Foreign Minister Kasuri visited India on 20-22 February 2007 to attend the meeting of Pakistan-India Joint Commission.
- Visit to India by Auditor General of Pakistan 12-17 March 2007.
- Visit to India by Pakistan's Indus Waters Commissioner (19 March 2007).
- Visit to India by former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to attend the India Today Conclave on 24 March 2007.
- A 78-member delegation from Indian Rajya Sabha, Lok Sabha and State Assemblies visit Islamabad in March 2007 to attend the Third Joint Asia and India Regions Conference (organized by Pakistani Senate). The delegation led by Deputy Chairman Rajya Sabha, also included Speakers from the State Assemblies of West Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan and Haryana.
- Fourteenth SAARC Summit and related meetings in New Delhi on 29 March-4 April 2007. (Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz visited New Delhi on 2-4 April).
- Visit to India for a tourism moot by Tourism Minister Nilofer Bakhtiar in April 2007.
- Visit to India by Leader of the Opposition Maulana Fazlur Rehman and Chief Minister NWFP Mr. Akram Khan Durrani to attend an international conference on the life of Maulana Asad Madni.
- Visit to India by Mr. Mushahid Hussain, Secretary General Pakistan Muslim League on 1-5 May 2007.
- Visit to Pakistan by Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyar, Union Minister for Panchayati Raj, Youth Affairs and Sports, on 30 June – 4 July 2007 to

attend the Pakistan-India Symposium on Local Governance, held at Pearl Continental Lahore.

- Visit to Pakistan by a 10-member youth delegation from India on 30 June 7 July 2007.
- Visit to Pakistan by Mr. Charnjit Singh Atwal, Deputy Speaker of Lok Sabha, to attend Inter-Parliamentary Seminar on 'Developing a Protective Environment for South Asian Children; The Role of Parliamentarians in the Protection of Children in the Juvenile Justice System' held in Islamabad on 26 June 2007.
- Visit to New Delhi by Secretary Interior for talks on terrorism under the fourth round of Composite Dialogue on 2-3 July 2007.
- Visit to New Delhi by Secretary Commerce for the Fourth Round of talks on Economic and Commercial Cooperation on 31 July-1 August 2007.
- Visit to India by Secretary Water to attend Wullar Barrage Talks under the Fourth round of the Composite Dialogue in New Delhi on 30-31 August 2007.
- Visit to India by Education Minister Mr. Shams Lakha to attend UNESCO meeting on 29-30 November 2007.
- Visit to New Delhi by Foreign Minister Inam ul Haque on 6-8 December 2007 for Saarc Ministerial meeting.
- Meeting on Bus Services in New Delhi on 21 February 2008.
- Visit to India by the Pakistani chapter of the Judges of the Pakistan-India Judicial Committee on Prisoners, February 25-28, 2008.
- Visit to India by Minister for Information and Broadcasting Sherry Rehman, accompanied by Minister for Kashmir Affairs and others, to represent the Government of Pakistan at the funeral of Ms. Nirmala Deshpande on 2 May 2008.
- Visit to Islamabad by Indian Foreign Secretary Shivshankar Menon and External Affairs Minister (EAM) Pranab Mukherjee for the review meetings of the fourth round of Pakistan-India Composite Dialogue held on 20 and 21 May 2008.

- Deputy Chairman Planning Commission Salman Farooqi visits India on 22-27 July 2008.
- Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi visits New Delhi on 27 June 2008 at invitation of EAM Pranab Mukherjee.
- Fifth round of Pakistan-India Composite Dialogue is launched in New Delhi on 21 July 2008 when Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir meets Foreign Secretary Menon.
- Visit by National Security Advisor (NSA) Mahmud Ali Durrani to India at the invitation of NSA Narayanan on 13-14 October 2008.
- Visit to India by Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi on 26 November 2008 (Terrorists attack in Mumbai took place same day.)
- Pakistan-India Foreign Secretary level meeting on sidelines of SAARC Ministerial meeting in Colombo on 26 February 2009.
- President Zardari meets Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Yekaterinburg on 16 June 2009.
- Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi meets EAM Mr. S.M Krishna in Trieste on 26 June 2009.
- Foreign Secretary Mr. Salman Bashir meets Foreign Secretary Shivshankar Menon in Sharm-El-Shaikh on 14 July 2010.
- Prime Minister Gilani meets Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Sharm-El-Shaikh on 16 July 2010.
- Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir meets Foreign Secretary Nirupama Rao in New York on 26 September 2010.
- Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi meets EAM Krishna in New York on 27 September 2010.
- Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir meets Foreign Secretary Nirupama Rao in New Delhi on 25 February 2010.

- Prime Minister Gilani meets Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Thimphu on 29 April 2010.
- Foreign Secretary Nirupama Rao meets Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir in Islamabad on 24 June 2010.
- Home Minister Chidambaram undertakes visit to Islamabad on 25-27 June 2010 to attend the Third SAARC Interior Ministers Conference.
- Visit to Pakistan by Indian EAM SM Krishna on 14-16 July 2010.



**UN DOCUMENTS ON THE ISSUE OF  
JAMMU AND KASHMIR**



**RESOLUTION 38 (1948) SUBMITTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF  
BELGIUM AND ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 229TH  
MEETING HELD ON 17 JANUARY, 1948. (DOCUMENT NO. S/651 DATED  
17 JANUARY 1948)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having heard statements on the situation in Kashmir from representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan,

Recognizing the urgency of the situation,

Taking note of the telegram addressed on 6 January by its President to each of the parties and of their replies thereto; and in which they affirmed their intention to conform to the Charter of the United Nations.

1. Calls upon both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan to take immediately all measures within their power (including public appeals to their people) calculated to improve the situation, and to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation;
2. Further requests each of those Governments to inform the Council immediately of any material change in the situation which occurs or appears to either of them to be about to occur while the matter is under consideration by the Council, and consult with the Council thereon.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 17-1-48  
with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Argentina, \*\*Belgium, \*\*Canada, China,  
\*\*Columbia, France, \*\*Syria, U.K., and U.S.A.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: \*\*Ukrainian S.S.R. and U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION 39 (1948) SUBMITTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF  
BELGIUM AND ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 230TH  
MEETING HELD ON 20 JANUARY 1948. (DOCUMENT NO. S 654 DATED  
THE 20TH JANUARY 1948)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Considering that it may investigate any dispute or any situation which might, by its continuance, endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and that, in the existing state of affairs between India and Pakistan, such an investigation is a matter of urgency,

Adopts the following resolution:

A. A Commission of the Security Council is hereby established, composed of representatives of three Members of the United Nations, one to be selected by India, one to be selected by Pakistan, and the third to be designated by the two so selected. Each representative on the Commission shall be entitled to select his alternates and assistants.

B. The Commission shall proceed to the spot as quickly as possible. It shall act under the authority of the Security Council and in accordance with the directions it may receive from it. It shall keep the Security Council currently informed of its activities and of the development of the situation. It shall report to the Security Council regularly, submitting its conclusions and proposals.

C. The Commission is invested with a dual function; (1) to investigate the facts pursuant to Article 34 of the Charter of the United Nations; (2) to exercise, without interrupting the work of the Security Council, any mediatory influence likely to smooth away difficulties, to carry out the directions given to it by the Security Council; and to report how far the advice and directions, if any, of the Security Council, have been carried out.

D. The Commission shall perform the functions described in Clause C: (1) in regard to the situation in the Jammu and Kashmir State set out in the letter of the Representative of India addressed to the President of the Security Council, dated 1 January 1948, and in the letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan addressed to the Secretary-General, dated 15 January 1948; and (2) in regard to other situations set out in the letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan addressed to the Secretary-General, dated 15 January 1948, when the Security Council so directs.

E. The Commission shall take its decision by majority vote. It shall determine its own procedure. It may allocate among its members, alternate members, their assistants, and its personnel such duties as may have to be fulfilled for the realization of its mission and the reaching of its conclusions.

F. The Commission, its members, alternate members, their assistants, and its personnel, shall be entitled to journey, separately or together, wherever the necessities of their task may require, and, in particular within those territories which are the theatre of the events of which the Security Council is seized.

G. The Secretary-General shall furnish the Commission with such personnel and assistance as it may consider necessary.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 20-1-1948 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Argentina, \*\*Belgium, \*\*Canada, China, \*\*Columbia, France, \*\*Syria, U.K., and U.S.A.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**DRAFT RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY THE PRESIDENT (CANADA) OF  
THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE RAPPORTEUR (BELGIUM) ON 6  
FEBRUARY, 1948 (DOCUMENT NO. 667, DATED THE 10TH FEBRUARY,  
1948)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

1. Having considered the claims and allegations of India and Pakistan expresses the conviction that a peaceful settlement of the dispute about the accession of Jammu and Kashmir will best promote the interests of the peoples of Jammu and Kashmir of India, and of Pakistan.
2. Considers that it is urgent and important to stop acts of violence and hostility in Jammu and Kashmir and to decide the question of whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall accede to Pakistan or to India by the democratic method of a plebiscite to be held, as recognized by the parties, under the auspices of the United Nations to ensure complete impartiality.
3. Believes that the joint action of the Governments of India and Pakistan is required to carry out the purposes set forth below:
4. Alternative A: Takes note with satisfaction that both Governments, in seeking a solution by negotiation under the auspices of the Council, have agreed to cooperate with each other and with the Council in developing specific proposals, and, to this end, to apply the following principles which, in the opinion of the Council, should, among others, constitute the basis of a just settlement;  
  
Alternative B: Appeals, therefore, to both parties, in seeking a solution by negotiation under the auspices of the Council, to cooperate with each other and with the Council in developing specific proposals and, to this end, to apply the following principles which, in the opinion of the Council, should, among others, constitute the basis of a just settlement;  
  
(a) Acts of violence and hostility must end.  
  
(b) The withdrawal and continued exclusion of all irregular forces and armed individuals who have entered Jammu and Kashmir from outside must be brought about, each party using to that end all the influence at its disposal.  
  
(c) Regular armed forces in aid of the establishment and maintenance of order must be made available. In this connection the Governments should seek to ensure

cooperation between their military forces to establish order and security until the question of accession shall have been determined by the plebiscite.

(d) Regular armed forces must be withdrawn as soon as re-establishment of law and order permits.

(e) After acts of violence and hostility have ceased, all citizens of the Jammu and Kashmir State, who had left on account of the recent disturbances, shall be invited and be free to return to their homes and to exercise all their rights without any restrictions on legitimate political activity. There shall be no victimization. All political prisoners should be released.

(f) The conditions necessary for a free and fair plebiscite on the question of whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall accede to India or to Pakistan, including an interim administration which will command confidence and respect of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir must be established.

(g) Such conditions include that the plebiscite must be organised, held and supervised under the authority of the Security Council at the earliest possible date.

*\* This draft resolution was considered by the Security Council on 10th and 11th February, 1948, but was not put to vote. Subsequently, a Joint Draft Resolution was introduced by the Representatives of Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, United Kingdom and the United States of America and its amended version (Doc. No. S/726) was adopted by the Security Council on 21.4.1948, vide Resolution No. 47 (1948).*

**RESOLUTION 47 (1948) ON THE INDIA-PAKISTAN QUESTION  
SUBMITTED JOINTLY BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BELGIUM,  
CANADA, CHINA, COLUMBIA, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA AND ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL  
AT ITS 286TH MEETING HELD ON 21 APRIL 1948. (DOCUMENT NO.  
S/726 DATED 21 APRIL 1948)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having considered the complaint of the Government of India concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir, having heard the representative of India in support of that complaint and the reply and counter complaints of the representative of Pakistan,

Being strongly of opinion that the early restoration of peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir is essential and that India and Pakistan should do their utmost to bring about cessation of all fighting,

Noting with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite,

Considering that the continuation of the dispute is likely to endanger international peace and security,

Reaffirms its resolution 38 (1948) of 17 January 1948;

Resolves that the membership of the Commission established by its resolution 39 (1948) of 20 January 1948, shall be increased to five and shall include, in addition to the membership mentioned in that Resolution, representatives of ....and..., and that if the membership of the Commission has not been completed within ten days from the date of the adoption of this resolution the President of the Council may designate such other Member or Members of the United Nations as are required to complete the membership of five;

Instructs the Commission to proceed at once to the India sub-continent and there place its good offices and mediation at the disposal of the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view to facilitating the taking of the necessary measures, both with respect to the restoration of peace and order and to the holding of a plebiscite by the two Governments, acting in co-operation with one another and with the

Commission, and further instructs the Commission to keep the Council informed of the action taken under the resolution; and, to this end,

Recommends to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following measures as those which in the opinion of the Council and appropriate to bring about a cessation of the fighting and to create proper conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to accede to India or Pakistan.

#### A - RESTORATION OF PEACE AND ORDER

1. The Government of Pakistan should undertake to use its best endeavours:

- (a) To secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purposes of fighting, and to prevent any intrusion into the State of such elements and any furnishing of material aid to those fighting in the State;
- (b) To make known to all concerned that the measures indicated in this and the following paragraphs provide full freedom to all subjects of the State, regardless of creed, caste, or party, to express their views and to vote on the question of the accession of the State, and that therefore they should cooperate in the maintenance of peace and order.

2. The Government of India should:

- (a) When it is established to the satisfaction of the Commission set up in accordance with the Council's Resolution 39 (1948) that the tribesmen are withdrawing and that arrangements for the cessation of the fighting have become effective, put into operation in consultation with the Commission a plan for withdrawing their own forces from Jammu and Kashmir and reducing them progressively to the minimum strength required for the support of the civil power in the maintenance of law and order;
- (b) Make known that the withdrawal is taking place in stages and announce the completion of each stage;
- (c) When the Indian forces shall have been reduced to the minimum strength mentioned in (a) above, arrange in consultation with the Commission for the stationing of the remaining forces to be carried out in accordance with the following principles:

(i) That the presence of troops should not afford any intimidation or appearance of intimidation to the inhabitants of the State;

(ii) That as small a number as possible should be retained in forward areas;

(iii) That any reserve of troops which may be included in the total strength should be located within their present base area.

3. The Government of India should agree that until such time as the plebiscite administration referred to below finds it necessary to exercise the powers of direction and supervision over the State forces and policy provided for in paragraph 8, they will be held in areas to be agreed upon with the Plebiscite Administrator.

4. After the plan referred to in paragraph 2(a) above has been put into operation, personnel recruited locally in each district should so far as possible be utilized for the re-establishment and maintenance of law and order with due regard to protection of minorities, subject such additional requirements as may be specified by the Plebiscite Administration referred to in paragraph 7.

5. If these local forces should be found to be inadequate, the Commission, subject to the agreement of both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, should arrange for the use of such forces of either Dominion as it deems effective for the purpose of pacification.

## B - PLEBISCITE

6. The Government of India should undertake to ensure that the Government of the State invite the major political groups to designate responsible representatives to share equitably and fully in the conduct of the administration at the ministerial level, while the plebiscite is being prepared and carried out.

7. The Government of India should undertake that there will be established in Jammu and Kashmir a Plebiscite Administration to hold a Plebiscite as soon as possible on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan.

8. The Government of India should undertake that there will be delegated by the State to the Plebiscite Administration such powers as the latter considers necessary for holding a fair and impartial plebiscite including, for that purpose only, the direction and supervision of the State forces and police.

9. The Government of India should at the request of the Plebiscite Administration, make available from the Indian forces such assistance as the Plebiscite Administration may require for the performance of its functions.

10. (a) The Government of India should agree that a nominee of the Secretary-General of the United Nations will be appointed to be the Plebiscite Administrator.

(b) The Plebiscite Administrator, acting as an officer of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, should have authority to nominate the assistants and other subordinates and to draft regulations governing the Plebiscite. Such nominees should be formally appointed and such draft regulations should be formally promulgated by the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(c) The Government of India should undertake that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir will appoint fully qualified persons nominated by the Plebiscite Administrator to act as special magistrates within the State judicial system to hear cases which in the opinion of the Plebiscite Administrator have a serious bearing on the preparation and the conduct of a free and impartial plebiscite.

(d) The terms of service of the Administrator should form the subject of a separate negotiation between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Government of India. The Administrator should fix the terms of service for his assistants and subordinates.

(e) The Administrator should have the right to communicate directly, with the Government of the State and with the Commission of the Security Council and, through the Commission, with the Security Council, with the Governments of India and Pakistan and with their representatives with the Commission. It would be his duty to bring to the notice of any or all of the foregoing (as he in his discretion may decide) any circumstances arising which may tend, in his opinion, to interfere with the freedom of the Plebiscite.

11. The Government of India should undertake to prevent and to give full support to the Administrator and his staff in preventing any threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in the plebiscite, and the Government of India should publicly announce and should cause the Government of the State to announce this undertaking as an international obligation binding on all public authorities and officials in Jammu and Kashmir.

12. The Government of India should themselves and through the Government of the State declare and make known that all subjects of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, regardless of creed, caste or party, will be safe and free in expressing their views

and in voting on the question of the accession of the State and that there will be freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit.

13. The Government of India should use and should ensure that the Government of the State also use their best endeavour to effect the withdrawal from the State of all Indian nationals other than those who are normally resident therein or who on or since 15th August 1947 have entered it for a lawful purpose.

14. The Government of India should ensure that the Government of the State releases all political prisoners and take all possible steps so that:

(a) all citizens of the State who have left it on account of disturbances are invited and are free to return to their homes and to exercise their rights as such citizens;

(b) there is no victimization;

(c) minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection.

15. The Commission of the Security Council should at the end of the plebiscite certify to the Council whether the plebiscite has or has not been really free and impartial.

#### C - GENERAL PROVISIONS

16. The Governments of India and Pakistan should each be invited to nominate a representative to be attached to the Commission for such assistance as it may require in the performance of its task.

17. The Commission should establish in Jammu and Kashmir such observers as it may require of any of the proceedings in pursuance of the measures indicated in the foregoing paragraphs.

18. The Security Council Commission should carry out the tasks assigned to it herein.

\* *The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 20-1-1948 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Argentina, \*\*Canada, China, France, \*\*Syria, U.K. and U.S.A.*

*Against: None*

*Abstaining:\*\*Belgium, \*\*Columbia, \*\*Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non-permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION 51 (1948) ON THE INDIA-PAKISTAN QUESTION  
SUBMITTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF SYRIA AND ADOPTED BY  
THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 312TH MEETING HELD ON 3 JUNE  
1948 (DOCUMENT NO. S/819, DATED 3 JUNE, 1948)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

1. Reaffirms its resolutions 38 (1948) of 17 January, 39 (1948) of 20 January, and 47 (1948) of 21 April, 1948;
2. Directs the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan to proceed without delay to the areas of dispute with a view to accomplishing in priority the duties assigned to it by the resolution 47 (1948);
3. Directs the Commission further to study and report to the Security Council when it considers appropriate on the matters raised in the letter of Foreign Minister of Pakistan, dated 15th January, 1948, in the order outlined in paragraph D of Council resolution 39 (1948).

\* *The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 3-6-1948 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Argentina \*\*Belgium, \*\*Canada, \*\*Columbia, France, \*\*Syria, U.K., and U.S.A.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: China, Ukrainian S.S.R. and U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non-permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION  
FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN ON 13 AUGUST 1948. (DOCUMENT NO.  
S/1100, PARA 75, DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1948)**

**THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN**

Having given careful consideration to the points of view expressed by the Representatives of India and Pakistan regarding the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and

Being of the opinion that the prompt cessation of hostilities and the coercion of conditions the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security are essential to implementation of its endeavours to assist the Governments of India and Pakistan in effecting a final settlement of the situation.

Resolves to submit simultaneously to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following proposal:

**PART I**

**CEASE-FIRE ORDER**

A. The Governments of India and Pakistan agree that their respective High Commands will issue separately and simultaneously a cease-fire order to apply to all forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as of the earliest practicable date or dates to be mutually agreed upon within four days after these proposals have been accepted by both Governments.

B. The High Commands of India and Pakistan forces agreed to refrain from taking any measures that might augment the military potential of the forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. (For the purpose of these proposals "forces under their control" shall be considered to include all forces, organised and unorganized, fighting or participating in hostilities on their respective sides).

C. The Commanders-in-Chief of the Forces of India and Pakistan shall promptly confer regarding any necessary local changes in present dispositions which may facilitate the cease-fire.

D. In its discretion, and as the Commission may find practicable, the Commission will appoint military observers who under the authority of the Commission and with

the co-operation of both Commands will supervise the observance of the cease-fire order.

E. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan agree to appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations.

## PART II

### TRUCE AGREEMENT

Simultaneously with the acceptance of the proposal for the immediate cessation of hostilities as outlined in Part I, both Governments accept the following principles as a basis for the formulation of a truce agreement, the details of which shall be worked out in discussion between their Representatives and the Commission.

A. (1) As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State.

(2) The Government of Pakistan will use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting.

(3) Pending a final solution the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops will be administered by the local authorities under the surveillance of the Commission.

B. (1) When the Commission shall have notified the Government of India that the tribesmen and Pakistan nationals referred to in Part II A 2 hereof have withdrawn, thereby terminating the situation which was represented by the Government of India to the Security Council as having occasioned the presence of Indian forces in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and further, that the Pakistan forces are being withdrawn from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of India agrees to begin to withdraw the bulk of their forces from the State in stages to be agreed upon with the Commission.

(2) Pending the acceptance of the conditions for a final settlement of the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian Government will maintain within the lines existing at the moment of cease-fire the minimum strength of its forces which in agreement with the Commission are considered necessary to assist local

authorities in the observance of law and order. The Commission will have observers stationed where it deems necessary.

(3) The Government of India will undertake to ensure that the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will take all measures within their power to make it publicly known that peace, law and order will be safeguarded and that all human and political rights will be guaranteed.

C. (1) Upon signature, the full text of the Truce Agreement or communiqué containing the principles thereof as agreed upon between the two Governments and the Commission, will be made public.

### PART III

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the Truce Agreement both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured.

*\*The UNCIP unanimously adopted this Resolution on 13-8-1948*

*Members of the Commission: Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, Czechoslovakia and U.S.A.*

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN ON 5 JANUARY  
1949. (DOCUMENT NO. S/1196, PARA 15, DATED 10 JANUARY 1949)**

THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN,

Having received from the Governments of India and Pakistan in Communications, dated December 23 and December 25, 1948, respectively their acceptance of the following principles which are supplementary to the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948;

1. The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite;

2 A plebiscite will be held when it shall be found by the Commission that the cease-fire and truce arrangements set forth in Parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948, have been carried out and arrangements for the plebiscite have been completed;

3. (a) The Secretary-General of the United Nations will, in agreement with the Commission, nominate a Plebiscite Administrator who shall be a personality of high international standing and commanding general confidence. He will be formally appointed to office by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

(b) The Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir the powers he considers necessary for organizing and conducting the plebiscite and for ensuring the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite.

(c) The Plebiscite Administrator shall have authority to appoint such staff or assistants and observers as he may require.

4. (a) After implementation of Parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948, and when the Commission is satisfied that peaceful conditions have been restored in the State, the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator will determine, in consultation with the Government of India, the final disposal of India and State armed forces, such disposal to be with due regard to the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite.

(b) As regards the territory referred to in A 2 Part II of the resolution of 13 August, final disposal of the armed forces in that territory will be determined by the

Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator in consultation with the local authorities.

5. All civil and military authorities within the State and the principal political elements of the State will be required to cooperate with the Plebiscite Administrator in the preparation for and the holding of the plebiscite.

6. (a) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of the disturbances will be invited and be free to return and to exercise all their rights as such citizens. For the purpose of facilitating repatriation there shall be appointed two Commissions, one composed of nominees of India and the other of nominees of Pakistan.

The Commissions shall operate under the direction of the Plebiscite Administrator. The Governments of India and Pakistan and all authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will collaborate with the Plebiscite Administrator in putting this provision to effect.

(b) All persons (other than citizens of the State) who on or since 15 August 1947, have entered it for other than lawful purpose, shall be required to leave the State.

7. All authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will undertake to ensure in collaboration with the Plebiscite Administrator that:

(a) There is no threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in plebiscite;

(b) No restrictions are placed on legitimate political activity throughout the State. All subjects of the State, regardless of creed, caste or party, shall be safe and free in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan. There shall be freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit;

(c) All political prisoners are released;

(d) Minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection; and

(e) There is no victimization.

8. The Plebiscite Administrator may refer to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan problems on which he may require assistance, and the Commission may in its discretion call upon the Plebiscite Administrator to carry out on its behalf any of the responsibilities with which it has been entrusted;

9. At the conclusion of the plebiscite, the Plebiscite Administrator shall report the result thereof to the Commission and to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The Commission shall then certify to the Security Council whether the Plebiscite has or has not been free and impartial;

10. Upon the signature of the truce agreement the details of the foregoing proposals will be elaborated in the consultation envisaged in Part III of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948. The Plebiscite Administrator will be fully associated in these consultations.

Commends the Governments of India and Pakistan for their prompt action in ordering a cease-fire to take effect from one minute before midnight of first January 1949, pursuant to the agreement arrived at as provided for by the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948; and

Resolves to return in the immediate future to the sub-continent to discharge the responsibilities imposed upon it by the resolution of 13 August 1948, and by the foregoing principles.

*\*The UNCIP unanimously adopted this Resolution on 5-1-1949.*

*Members of the Commission: Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, Czechoslovakia and U.S.A.*

**PROPOSAL IN RESPECT OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR MADE BY  
GENERAL A.G.L. MCNAUGHTON, PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY  
COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, PURSUANT TO THE DECISION  
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TAKEN AT ITS 457TH MEETING, ON 22  
DECEMBER 1949**

1. The principal considerations underlying the following proposals of the President of the Security Council of the United Nations are:

- (a) To determine the future of Jammu and Kashmir by the democratic method of the free and impartial plebiscite, to take place as early as possible;
- (b) Thus to settle this issue between the Governments of India and Pakistan in accordance with the freely expressed will of the inhabitants, as is desired by both Governments;
- (c) To preserve the substantial measure of agreement of fundamental principles which has already been reached between the two Governments under the auspices of the United Nations.
- (d) To avoid unprofitable discussion of disputed issues of the past, and to look forward into the future towards the good- neighbourly and constructive cooperation of the two great nations.

**DEMILITARIZATION PREPARATORY TO THE PLEBISCITE**

2. There should be an agreed programme of progressive demilitarization, the basic principle of which should be the reduction of armed forces on either side of the Cease-Fire Line by withdrawal, disbandment and disarmament in such stages as not to cause fear at any point of time to the people on either side of the Cease-Fire Line. The aim should be to reduce the armed personnel in the State of Jammu and Kashmir on each side of the Cease-Fire Line to the minimum compatible with the maintenance of security and of local law and order, and to a level sufficiently low and with the forces so disposed that they will not constitute a restriction on the free expression of opinion for the purposes of the plebiscite.

(a) The programme of demilitarization should include the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of the regular forces of Pakistan; and the withdrawal of the regular forces of India not required for purposes of security or for the maintenance of local law and order on the Indian side of the Cease-Fire Line; also the reduction,

by disbanding and disarming, of local forces, including on the one side the Armed Forces and Militia of the State of Kashmir and on the other, the Azad Forces.

(b) The "Northern Area" should also be included in the above programme of demilitarization, and its administration should, subject to United Nations supervision, be continued by the existing local authorities.

#### SUGGESTED BASIS OF AGREEMENT

3. The Governments of India and Pakistan should reach agreement not later than 31 January 1950, in New York on the following points;

(a) The Government of Pakistan should give unconditional assurance to the Government of India that they will deal effectively within their own borders with any possibility of tribal incursion into Jammu and Kashmir to the end that, under no circumstances, will tribesmen be able unlawfully to enter the State of Jammu and Kashmir from or through the territory of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan should undertake to keep the senior United Nations military observer informed and to satisfy him that the arrangements to this end are and continue to be adequate.

(b) The Governments of India and Pakistan should confirm the continued and unconditional inviolability of the "Cease-Fire Line".

(c) Agreement should be reached on the basic principles of demilitarization outlined in paragraph 2 above.

(d) Agreement should be reached on the minimum forces required for the maintenance of security and of local law and order, and on their general disposition.

(e) Agreement should be reached on a date by which the reduction of forces, to the level envisaged in paragraph 2 above, is to be accomplished.

(f) Agreement should be reached on the progressive steps to be taken in reducing and redistributing the forces to the level envisaged in paragraph 2 above.

4. In respect to the foregoing matters, the Governments of India and Pakistan should further agree that a United Nations representative, to be appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in agreement with the two Governments, should supervise the execution of the progressive steps in reduction and redistribution of armed forces and that it should be the responsibility of this United Nations representative to give assurance to the people on both sides of the Cease-Fire Line

that they have no cause for fear at any stage throughout the process. The United Nations representative should have the duty and authority

(a) of interpreting the agreements reached between the parties pursuant to paragraph 3, sub-paragraphs (c), (d), (e) and (f) above, and

(b) of determining, in consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan respectively, the implementation of the plan for the reduction and redistribution of armed forces referred to in paragraph 3 (f) above.

5. When the agreed programme of demilitarization preparatory to the plebiscite has been accomplished to the satisfaction of the United Nations representative, the Plebiscite Administrator should proceed forthwith to exercise the functions assigned to him under the terms of UNCEP resolution of 5 January 1949, which, together with UNCIP resolution of 13 August 1948, was accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan and which are now reaffirmed by these Governments except in so far as the provisions therein contained as modified by the relevant provisions of this document. The functions and powers of the Plebiscite Administrator remain as set forth in UNCIP resolution of 5 January, 1949.

6. The United Nations representative should be authorised to make any suggestions to the Governments of India and Pakistan which, in his opinion are likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the Kashmir question, and to place his good offices at their disposal.

**RESOLUTION 80 (1950) CONCERNING THE INDIA-PAKISTAN  
QUESTION, SUBMITTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF CUBA,  
NORWAY, UNITED KINGDOM AND UNITED STATES AND ADOPTED  
BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON MARCH 14, 1950. (DOCUMENT NO.  
S/1469), DATED 14 MARCH, 1950)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having received and noted the reports of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan establishing its resolutions 39 (1948) of 20 January and 47 (1948) of 21 April 1948,

Having also received and noted the report of General A.G.L. McNaughton on the outcome of his discussions with the representatives of India and Pakistan which were initiated in pursuance of the decision taken by the Security Council on December 17, 1949,

Commending the Governments of India and Pakistan for their statesman like action in reaching the agreements embodied in the United Nations Commission's resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 for a cease-fire, for the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and for the determination of its final disposition in accordance with the will of the people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, and commending the parties in particular for their action in partially implementing these Resolutions:

- (1) The cessation of hostilities effected January 1, 1949,
- (2) The establishment of a cease-fire line on July 27, 1949, and
- (3) The agreement that Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz shall be Plebiscite Administrator.

Considering that the resolution of the outstanding difficulties should be based upon the substantial measure of agreement of fundamental principles already reached, and that steps should be taken forthwith for the demilitarization of the State and for the expeditious determination of its future in accordance with the freely expressed will of the inhabitants,

1. Calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to make immediate arrangements, without prejudice to their rights or claims and with due regard to the requirements of law and order, to prepare and execute within a period of five

months from the date of this resolution a programme of demilitarization on the basis of the principles of paragraph 2 of General McNaughton proposal or of such modifications of those principles as may be mutually agreed;

2. Decides to appoint a United Nations Representative for the following purposes who shall have authority to perform his functions in such place or places as he may deem appropriate;

(a) to assist in the preparation and to supervise the implementation of the programme of demilitarization referred to above and to interpret the agreements reached by the parties for demilitarization;

(b) to place himself at the disposal of the Government of India and Pakistan and to place before those Governments or the Security Council any suggestions which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute which has arisen between the two Governments in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

(c) to exercise all of the powers and responsibilities devolving upon the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan by reason of existing resolutions of the Security Council and by reason of the agreement of the parties embodied in the Resolutions of the United Nations Commission of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949;

(d) to arrange at the appropriate stage of demilitarization for the assumption by the Plebiscite Administrator of the functions assigned to the latter under agreements made between the parties;

(e) to report to the Security Council as he may consider necessary, submitting his conclusions and any recommendations which he may desire to make;

3. Requests the two Governments to take all necessary precautions to ensure that their agreements regarding the cease-fire shall continue to be faithfully observed, and calls upon them to take all possible measures to ensure the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations;

4. Extends its best thanks to the members of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and to General A.G.L. McNaughton for their arduous and fruitful labours;

5. Agrees that the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan shall be terminated, and decides that this shall take place one month after both parties have informed the United Nations Representative of their acceptance of the transfer to

him of the powers and responsibilities of the United Nations Commission referred to in paragraph 2(c) above.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 14-3-1950 with the following result:-*

*In favour: China, \*\*Cuba, \*\*Ecuador, \*\*Egypt, France, \*\*Norway, U.K., and U.S.A.*

*Against: None*

*Abstaining: \*\*India and \*\*Yugoslavia*

*Absent: U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non-permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION 91 (1951) CONCERNING THE INDIA-PAKISTAN  
QUESTION, SUBMITTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF UNITED  
KINGDOM AND UNITED STATES AND ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY  
COUNCIL ON 30 MARCH 1951. (DOCUMENT NO. S/2017/REV. I, DATED  
30 MARCH 1951)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having received and noted the report of Sir Owen Dixon, the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan on his mission initiated by the Security Council resolution 80 (1950) of March 14, 1950.

Observing that the Governments of India and Pakistan have accepted the provisions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of 13 August, 1948, and 5 January, 1949, and have re-affirmed their desire that the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations,

Observing that on 27 October, 1950, the General Council of the "All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference" adopted a resolution recommending the convening of a Constituent Assembly for the purpose of determining the "future shape and affiliations of the State of Jammu and Kashmir"; observing further from statements of responsible authorities that action is proposed to convene such a Constituent Assembly and that the area from which such a Constituent Assembly would be elected is only a part of the whole territory of Jammu and Kashmir.

Reminding the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in its resolutions 47 (1948) of 21 April 1948, 51 (1948) of 3 June 1948 and 80(1950) of 14 March 1950 and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of 13 August, 1948, and 5 January, 1949, that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations,

Affirming that the convening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of the "All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference" and any action that Assembly might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle,

Declaring its belief that it is the duty of the Security Council in carrying out its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security to aid the parties to reach an amicable solution of the Kashmir dispute and that a prompt settlement of this dispute is of vital importance to the maintenance of international peace and security, Observing from Sir Owen Dixon's report that the main points of difference preventing agreement between the parties were:

- (a) The procedure for and the extent of demilitarization of the State preparatory to the holding of a plebiscite, and
  - (b) The degree of control over the exercise of the functions of Government in the State necessary to ensure a free and fair plebiscite,
- (1) Accepts, in compliance with his request, Sir Owen Dixon's resignation and expresses its gratitude to Sir Owen for the great ability and devotion with which he carried out his mission;
  - (2) Decides to appoint a United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan in succession to Sir Owen Dixon;
  - (3) Instructs the United Nations Representative to proceed to the sub-continent and, after consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan, to effect the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of 13 August, 1948, and, 5 January, 1949;
  - (4) Calls upon the parties to co-operate with the United Nations Representative to the fullest degree in effecting the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir;
  - (5) Instructs the United Nations Representatives to report to the Security Council within three months from the date of his arrival on the sub-continent; if at the time of this report, he has not effected demilitarization in accordance with paragraph three above, or obtained the agreement of the parties to a plan for effecting such demilitarization, the United Nations Representative shall report to the Security Council those points of difference between the parties in regard to the interpretation and execution of the agreed resolutions of 13 August, 1948, and 5 January, 1949, which he considers must be resolved to enable such demilitarization to be carried out;

- (6) Calls upon the parties, in the event of their discussions with the United Nations Representative failing in his opinion to result in full agreement, to accept arbitration upon all outstanding points of difference reported by the United Nations Representative in accordance with paragraph five above. Such arbitration to be carried out by an arbitrator, or a panel of arbitrators, to be appointed by the President of the International Court of Justice after consultation with the parties;
- (7) Decides that the Military Observer Group shall continue to supervise the cease-fire in the State;
- (8) Requests the Governments of India and Pakistan to ensure that their agreement regarding the cease-fire shall continue to be faithfully observed and calls upon them to take all possible measures to ensure the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations and to refrain from any action likely to prejudice a just and peaceful settlement;
- (9) Requests the Secretary-General to provide the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan with such services and facilities as may be necessary in carrying out the terms of this resolution.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 30-3-1951 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Brazil, China, \*\*Ecuador, France, \*\*Netherlands, \*\*Turkey, U.K., and U.S.A.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: \*\*India, U.S.S.R. and \*\*Yugoslavia.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council*

**RESOLUTION 96 (1951) CONCERNING THE INDIA- PAKISTAN  
QUESTION ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON 10TH  
NOVEMBER 1951. (DOCUMENT NO. S/2392, DATED THE 10TH  
NOVEMBER 1951)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having received and noted the report of Dr. Frank Graham, the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan, on his mission initiated by the Security Council resolution 91 (1951) of 30 March 1951, and having heard Dr. Graham's address to the Council of 18 October 1951,

Noting with approval the basis for a programme of demilitarization, which could be carried out in conformity with the previous undertakings of the parties, put forward by the United Nations Representative in his communication of 7 September, 1951, to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan,

1. Notes with gratification the declared agreement of the two parties to those parts of Dr. Graham's proposals which reaffirm their determination to work for a peaceful settlement, their will to observe the cease-fire agreement and their acceptance of the principle that 'the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir should be determined by a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations;
2. Instructs the United Nations Representative to continue his efforts to obtain agreement of the parties on a plan for effecting the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir;
3. Calls Upon the parties to co-operate with the United Nations Representative to the fullest degree in his efforts to resolve the outstanding points of difference between them;
4. Instructs the United Nations Representative to report to the Security Council on his efforts, together with his views concerning the problems confided to him, not later than six weeks after this resolution comes into effect.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 10-11-1951 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Brazil, China, \*\*Ecuador, France, \*\*Netherlands. \*\*Turkey, U.K., U.S.A. and \*\*Yogoslavia.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: \*\*India and U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Nonpermanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION 98 (1952) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 611TH MEETING ON 23 DECEMBER, 1952. (DOCUMENT NO.  
S/2883, DATED THE 24TH DECEMBER, 1952)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Recalling its resolutions, 91(1951) of 30 March 1951, its decision of 30 April 1951 and its resolution 96 (1951) of 10 November 1951,

Further recalling the provisions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of 13 August 1948, and 5 January 1949, which were accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan and which provided that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan would be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations,

Having received the third report, dated 22 April 1952, and the fourth report, dated 16 September 1952, of the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan;

1. Endorses the general principles on which the United Nations Representative has sought to bring about agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan;
2. Notes with gratification that the United Nations Representative has reported that the Governments of India and Pakistan have accepted all but two of the paragraphs of his twelve-point proposals;
3. Notes that agreement on a plan of demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not been reached because the Governments of India and Pakistan have not agreed on the whole of paragraph 7 of the twelve-point proposals;
4. Urges the Governments of India and Pakistan to enter into immediate negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan in order to reach agreement on the specific number of forces to remain on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarization, this number to be between 3,000 and 6,000 armed forces remaining on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line and between 12,000 and 18,000 armed forces remaining on the India side of the cease-fire line, as suggested by the United Nations Representative in his proposals of 16 July 1952, such specified numbers to be arrived at bearing in mind the principles or criteria contained in paragraph 7 of the United Nations Representative's proposal of 4 September 1952;

5. Records its gratitude to the United Nation's Representative for India and Pakistan for the great efforts which he has made to achieve a settlement and requests him to continue to make his services available to the Governments of India and Pakistan to this end;
6. Requests the Governments of India and Pakistan to report to the Security Council not later than thirty days from the date of the adoption of this resolution;
7. Requests the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan to keep the Security Council informed of any progress.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 23-12-1952 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Brazil, \*\*Chile, China, France, \*\*Greece, \*\*Netherlands, \*\*Turkey, U.K. and U.S.A.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non--Permanent Members of the Security Council,  
One Member (Pakistan) did not participate in the voting.*

**RESOLUTION 122 (1957) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 765TH MEETING ON 24 JANUARY, 1957**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having heard statements from representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir,

Reminding the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in its resolutions 47 (1948) of 21 April 1948, 51 (1948) of 3 June 1948, 80 (1950) of 14 March 1950 and 91 (1951) of 30 March 1951, and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949, that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations,

1. Reaffirms the affirmation in its resolution 91 (1951) and declares that the convening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of the "All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference" and any action that Assembly may have taken or might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof, or action by the parties concerned in support of any such action by the Assembly, would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle;

Decides to continue its consideration of the dispute.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 24-1-1957 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Australia, China, \*\*Colombia, \*\*Cuba, France \*\*Iraq, \*\*Philippines, \*\*Sweden, U.K. and U.S.A.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council*

**THE INDIA-PAKISTAN QUESTION: AUSTRALIA, CUBA, UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: JOINT DRAFT RESOLUTION**

**THE SECURITY COUNCIL**

Recalling its resolution of 24 January 1957, its previous resolutions and the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on the India-Pakistan question;

Having taken into consideration the statements of the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan;

Concerned at the lack of progress in settling the dispute;

Considering the importance which it has attached to the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as a step towards the settlement of the dispute;

Noting that demilitarization preparatory to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices has not been achieved in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan;

Noting the proposal of the representative of Pakistan for the use of a temporary United Nations force in connection with demilitarization;

Believing that, insofar as it might contribute towards the achievement of demilitarization as envisaged in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and towards the pacific settlement of the dispute, the use of such a force would deserve consideration;

1. Requests the President of the Security Council, the representative of Sweden, to examine with the Governments of India and Pakistan proposals which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute to the achievement of demilitarization or to the establishment of other conditions for progress towards the settlement of the dispute, having regard to the previous resolutions of the Security Council and of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, and bearing in mind the statements of the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan and the proposal for the use of a temporary United Nations force;

2. Authorizes him to visit the sub-continent for this purpose;
3. Requests him to report to the Security Council as soon as possible but not later than 15 April 1957;
4. Invites the Governments of India and Pakistan to cooperate with him in the performance of these functions;
5. Requests the Secretary-General and the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan to render such assistance to him as he may request.

*\*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution (S/3787) on February 20, 1957 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Australia, China, \*\*Colombia, \*\*Cuba, France, \*\*Iraq, \*\*Philippines, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.*

*Against: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

*Abstaining: \*\*Sweden.*

*The President (Mr. Jarring, the Representative of Sweden) announced the result in the following words: "There were 9 votes in favour, one against and one abstention. Since the negative vote was cast by a permanent member of the Council, the joint draft resolution has not been adopted".*

**RESOLUTION 123 (1957) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 774TH MEETING ON 21 FEBRUARY, 1957. (DOCUMENT NO. S/3793,  
DATED THE 21ST FEBRUARY 1957)**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Recalling its resolution 122 (1957) of 24 January 1957, its previous resolutions and the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on the India-Pakistan question,

1. Requests the President of the Security Council, the representative of Sweden, to examine with the Governments of India and Pakistan any proposals which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute towards the settlement of the dispute, having regard to the previous resolutions of the Security Council and of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan; to visit the Sub-continent for this purpose; and to report to the Security Council not later than 15 April 1957;
2. Invites the Governments of India and Pakistan to cooperate with him in the performance of these functions;
3. Requests the Secretary-General and the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan to render such assistance as he may request.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 21-2-1957 with the following result:*

*In favour: \*\*Australia, China, \*\*Colombia, \*\*Cuba, France, \*\*Iraq, \*\*The Philippines, \*\*Sweden, U.K., U.S.A.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**THE INDIA-PAKISTAN QUESTION AUSTRALIA, COLUMBIA,  
PHILIPPINES, U.K., U.S.A. JOINT DRAFT RESOLUTION**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having received and noted with appreciation the report of Mr. Gunnar V. Jarring, the Representative of Sweden, on the mission undertaken by him pursuant to the Security Council resolution of 21 February 1957;

Expressing its thanks to Mr. Jarring for the care and ability with which he has carried out his mission;

Observing with appreciation the expressions made by both parties of sincere willingness to co-operate with the United Nations in finding a peaceful solution;

Observing further that the Governments of India and Pakistan recognize and accept the commitments undertaken by them in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan dated 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949, which envisage the determination of the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the will of the people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, and that Mr. Jarring felt it appropriate to explore what was impeding their full implementation;

Concerned over the lack of progress towards a settlement of the dispute which his report manifests;

Considering the importance which it has attached to demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as one of the steps towards a settlement;

Recalling its previous resolutions and the resolutions of U.N.C.I.P. on the India-Pakistan question;

1. Request the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing any acts which might aggravate the situation.....;

2. Requests the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan to make any recommendations to the parties for further action which he considers desirable in connection with Part I of the U.N.C.I.P. resolution of 13 August 1948, having regard to his third and fifth reports and the report of Mr. Jarring, and to enter into negotiations with the Governments of India and Pakistan in order to implement Part

II of the U.N.C.I.P. resolution of 13 August 1948, and in particular to reach agreement on a reduction of forces on each side of the cease-fire line to a specific number, arrived at on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions and having regard to the fifth report of the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan.

3. Calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to co- operate with the United Nations Representative in order to formulate an early agreement on demilitarization procedures, which should be implemented within three month of such an agreement being reached;

4. Authorizes the United Nations Representative to visit the sub- continent for these purposes; and

5. Instructs the United Nations Representative to report to the Security Council on his efforts as soon as possible.

*\*The Representative of the U.S.S.R. said in the Security Council on 21 November, 1957 that he would oppose this Joint Draft Resolution (S/391 1). The President deferred the consideration of the question without putting the draft resolution to vote. Subsequently, certain amendments were introduced by the Representative of Sweden to the Joint Draft Resolution and this Draft Resolution as amended (S/3920) was adopted by the Security Council on 2-12-1957, vide Resolution No. 126 (1957).*

**RESOLUTION 126 (1957) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 808TH MEETING ON 2 DECEMBER, 1957**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having received and noted with appreciation the report of Mr. Gunner V. Jarring, the Representative of Sweden, on the mission undertaken by him pursuant to its resolution 123 (1957) of 21 February 1957,

Expressing its thanks to Mr. Jarring for the care and ability with which he has carried out his mission,

Observing with appreciation the expressions made by both parties of sincere willingness to co-operate with the United Nations in finding a peaceful solution,

Observing further that the Governments of India and Pakistan recognize and accept the provisions of its resolution 38 (1948) of 17 January 1948 and of the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan dated 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949, which envisage in accordance with their terms the determination of the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the will of the people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, and that Mr. Jarring felt it appropriate to explore what was impeding their full implementation,

Concerned over the lack of progress towards a settlement of the dispute which his report manifests,

Considering the importance which it has attached to demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as one of the steps towards settlement,

Recalling its previous resolutions and the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on the India-Pakistan question,

1. Requests the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation, and to appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations;

2. Requests the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan to make any recommendations to the parties for further appropriate action with a view to making

progress towards the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949 and towards a peaceful settlement;

3. Authorizes the United Nations Representative to visit the subcontinent for these purposes;

4. Instructs the United Nations Representative to report to the Security Council on his efforts as soon as possible.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 2-12-1957 with the following result:*

*In favour: \*\*Australia, China, \*\*Colombia, \*\*Cuba, France, \*\*Iraq,  
\*\*Philippines, \*\*Sweden, U.K., and U.S.A.*

*Against: None. .*

*Abstaining: U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL  
(FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE) MADE, ON THE 18TH MAY, 1964, AT  
THE ELEVENTH HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH MEETING OF THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL. (DOCUMENT NO. S/PV. 1117, DATED THE 18TH  
MAY, 1964)**

- (a) The members of the Council noted that this week's debate was a continuation of our discussions of February and March on the question of Jammu and Kashmir. They recalled that they had already, particularly during the debate in February, stated the views of their Governments on the basic facts of the problem, including the relevant United Nations resolutions, the question as to the juridical status of Jammu and Kashmir, and the principles of the Charter applicable to the case. They confirmed that the statements which they had made at that time were still valid;
- (b) The members of the Council expressed their concern with respect to two great countries which have everything to gain from reestablishing good relations with each other and whose present disputes, particularly that centering upon Jammu and Kashmir, should be settled amicably in the interest of world peace;
- (c) The members of the Council expressed their feeling that recent developments were such as might lead to the adoption of more flexible positions to better mutual understanding, and therefore to a situation in which conversations between the parties concerned would have better prospects of leading to a settlement;
- (d) The members of the Council expressed their conviction that everything should be done to consolidate those favourable factors and to avoid jeopardizing those prospects, and that this required an attitude of conciliatory moderation on the part of the both parties and an attitude of caution, but also of vigilant attention, on the part of the United Nations;
- (e) The members of the Council expressed the hope that both parties would refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation and that they would take steps calculated to re-establish an atmosphere of moderation between the two countries and peace and harmony between the communities;
- (f) The members of the Council expressed the hope that, in the light of our recent debates, the two countries concerned would resume their contacts in the near future with a view to settling their disputes, particularly that centering upon Jammu and Kashmir, by negotiation;

II

Several members of the Council expressed the view that the Secretary-General of the United Nations might possibly give useful assistance to the parties in order to facilitate the resumption of negotiations in the question of Jammu and Kashmir, or might help them to continue such negotiations in the event of the latter encountering difficulties. Other members of the Council, however, expressed the view that the negotiations between India and Pakistan might be complicated by any outside intervention, and that even the principle of having recourse to the Secretary-General should be a matter for agreement between the parties.

III

The India-Pakistan question remains on the agenda of the Security Council.

**RESOLUTION 209 (1965) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 1237TH MEETING ON 4 SEPTEMBER, 1965**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Noting the report of the Secretary-General (S/6651) dated 3 September 1965,

Having heard the statements of the representatives of India and Pakistan,

Concerned at the deteriorating situation along with Cease-fire Line in Kashmir,

1. Calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all steps for an immediate cease-fire;
2. Calls upon the two Governments to respect the Cease-fire Line and have all armed personnel of each party withdrawn to its own side of the line;
3. Calls upon the two Governments to co-operate fully with the UNMOGIP in its task of supervising the observance of the cease-fire;
4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council within three days on the implementation of this resolution.

*\*The Security Council unanimously adopted this Resolution on 4-9-1965.*

*Members of the Council: \*\*Bolivia, China, France, \*\*Ivory Coast, \*\*Jordan,*

*\*\*Malaysia, \*\*Netherlands, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.A. and \*\*Uruguay.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION 210 (1965) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 1238TH MEETING ON 6 SEPTEMBER, 1965**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Noting the report by the Secretary-General on developments in the situation in Kashmir since the adoption of the Security Council cease-fire resolution on 4 September 1965 [S/RES/209 (1965)] being document S/6661 dated 6 September 1965,

Noting with deep concern the extension of the fighting which adds immeasurably to the seriousness of the situation,

1. Calls upon the parties to cease hostilities in the entire area of conflict immediately, and promptly withdraw all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before 5 August 1965;
2. Requests the Secretary-General to exert every possible effort to give effect to this resolution and the resolution of 4 September 1965, to take all measures possible to strengthen the UNMOGIP, and to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the resolutions and on the situation in the area;
3. Decides to keep this issue under urgent and continuous review so that the Council may determine what further steps may be necessary to secure peace and security in the area.

*\*The Security Council unanimously adopted this Resolution on 6-9-1965.*

*Members of the Council: \*\*Bolivia, China, France, \*\*Ivory Coast,*

*\*\*Jordan, \*\*Malaysia, \*\*Netherlands, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.A. and \*\*Uruguay.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION 211 (1965) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 1242ND MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1965**

“The Security Council having considered the reports of the Secretary-General on his consultations with the Governments of India and Pakistan.

Commending the Secretary-General for his unrelenting efforts in furtherance of the objectives of the Security Council's Resolutions of 4 and 6 September, having heard the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan, noting the differing replies by the Parties to an appeal for a Cease-Fire as set out in the report of Secretary-General (S/6683), but noting further with concern that no Cease-fire has yet come into being. Convinced that an early cessation of hostilities is essential as a first step towards a peaceful settlement of the outstanding differences between the two countries on Kashmir and other related matters.

1. Demands that Cease-Fire should take effect on Wednesday, 22 September 1965, at 0700 hours GMT and calls upon both Governments to issue orders for a Cease-Fire at that moment and a subsequent withdrawal of all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before 5 August 1965.
2. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the necessary assistance to ensure supervision of the Cease-Fire and withdrawal of all armed personnel.
3. Calls on all States to refrain from any action which might aggravate the situation in the Area.
4. Decides to consider as soon as operative Paragraph I of the Council's Resolution 210 of 6 September has been implemented, what steps could be taken to assist towards a settlement of the political problem underlying the present conflict, and in the meantime calls on the two Governments to utilise all peaceful means including those listed in article 33 of the Charter to this end.
5. Requests the Secretary-General to exert every possible effort to give effect to this resolution, to seek a peaceful solution, and to report to the Security Council thereon.”

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 20-9-1965 with the following result:-*

*In favour' \*\*Bolivia, China, France, \*\*Ivory Coast, \*\*Malaysia, \*\*Netherlands, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.A., and \*\*Uruguay-*

*Against: None*

*Abstaining: \*\*Jordan.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION 214 (1965) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 1245TH MEETING, ON 27TH SEPTEMBER, 1965**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Noting the reports of the Secretary-General (S/67 10, Add I and 2),

Reaffirming its resolutions of 4, 6 and 20 September 1965 (S/RES/209, S/RES/210, S/RES/211),

Expressing the grave concern of the Council that the cease-fire agreed to unconditionally by the Governments of India and Pakistan is not holding,

Recalling that the cease-fire demand in the Council's resolutions was unanimously endorsed by the Council and agreed to by the Governments of both India and Pakistan,

Demands that the parties urgently honour their commitments to the Council to observe the cease-fire; and further calls upon the parties to promptly withdraw all armed personnel as necessary steps in the full implementation of the resolution of 20 September.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 27-9-1965 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Bolivia, China, France, \*\*Ivory Coast, \*\*Malaysia, \*\*Netherlands, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.A. and \*\*Uruguay.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: \*\*Jordan.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION 215 (1965) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 125IST MEETING ON 5 NOVEMBER 1965**

**THE SECURITY COUNCIL,**

Regretting the delay in the full achievement of a complete and effective cease-fire and a prompt withdrawal of armed personnel to the positions held by them before 5 August 1965, as called for in its resolution 209 (1965) of 4 September, 210 (1965) of 6 September, 211 (1965) of 20 September and 214 (1965) of 27 September 1965,

1. Reaffirms its resolution 211 (1965) of 20 September 1965 in all its parts;
2. Requests the Governments of India and Pakistan to co-operate towards a full implementation of paragraph 1 of resolution 211 (1965); calls upon them to instruct their armed personnel to co-operate with the United Nations and cease all military activity; and insists that there be an end to violations of the Cease-Fire;
3. Demands the prompt and unconditional execution of the proposal already agreed to in principle by the Governments of India and Pakistan that their representatives meet with a suitable representative of the Secretary-General, to be appointed without delay after consultation with both parties, for the purpose of formulating an agreed plan and schedule for the withdrawals by both parties; urges that such a meeting shall take place as soon as possible and that such a plan contain a time-limit on its implementation; and requests the Secretary-General to report on the progress achieved in this respect within three weeks of the adoption of the present resolution;
4. Requests the Secretary-General to submit for its consideration as soon as possible a report on compliance with the present resolution.

*\*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 5-11-1965 with the following result:-*

*In favour: \*\*Bolivia, China, France, \*\*Ivory Coast, \*\*Malaysia, \*\*Netherlands, U.K., U.S.A. and*

*\*\*Uruguay.*

*Against: None.*

*Abstaining: \*\*Jordan and U.S.S.R.*

*\*\*Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council.*

**RESOLUTION 303 (1971) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 1606<sup>TH</sup> MEETING, ON 6 DECEMBER 1971**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having considered item on the agenda of its 1606th meeting, as contained in document S. Agenda/1606

Taking into account that the lack of unanimity of its permanent members at the 1606th and 1607th meetings of the Security Council has prevented it from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Decides to refer the question contained in documents S/Agenda/1606 to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, as provided for in Assembly resolution 377 A (V) of 3 November 1950.

*The Security Council voted on this Resolution on 6-12-1971  
with the following result:-  
In favour: 11 votes.  
Against: None.  
Abstaining: 4 (France, Poland, U.S.S.R. and Britain).*

**QUESTION CONSIDERED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 1606<sup>TH</sup>,  
1607<sup>TH</sup> AND 1608<sup>TH</sup> MEETINGS ON 4, 5 AND 6 DECEMBER, 1971**

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

Noting the reports of the Secretary-General of 3 and 4 December 1971 and the letter from the President of the Security council transmitting the text of Council Resolution 303 (1971) of 6 December 1971,

Gravely concerned that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

Recognizing the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities

Convinced that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

Mindful of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

Recalling the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6.

Recognizing further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between Indian and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders, .

Mindful of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the General Assembly's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 377 A (V) of 3 November 1950,

1. Calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders;

2. Urges that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes;

3. Calls for the full co-operation of all States with Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;
4. Urges that every effort be made to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area of conflict;
5. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly and the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution;
6. Decides to follow the question closely and to meet again should the situation so demand;
7. Calls upon the Security Council to take appropriate action in the light of the present resolution.

**RESOLUTION 307 (1971) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 1616TH MEETING, ON 21 DECEMBER 1971**

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Having discussed the grave situation in the subcontinent, which remains a threat to international peace and security.

Noting General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7 December 1971,

Noting the reply of the Government of Pakistan on 9 December 1971,

Noting the reply of the Government of India on 12 December

Having heard the statements of the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Foreign Minister of India,

Noting further the statement made at the 1616th meeting of the Security Council by the Foreign Minister of India containing a unilateral declaration of a cease-fire in the western theatre,

Noting Pakistan's agreement to the cease-fire in the western theatre with effect from 17 December 1971,

Noting that consequently a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities prevail,

1. Demands that a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until withdrawals take place, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces to their respective territories and to positions which fully respect the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir supervised by the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan;

2. Calls upon all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace;

3. Calls upon all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of the wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population;

4. Calls for international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes, and for full co-operation with the Secretary-General to that effect;
  5. Authorizes the Secretary-General to appoint if necessary a special representative to lend his good offices for the solution of humanitarian problems;
  6. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed without delay on developments relating to the implementation of the present resolution;
  7. Decides to remain seized of the matter and to keep it under active consideration.
- The Security Council voted on this resolution on 21-12-1971 with the following result:-

*In favour: 13 votes*

*Against: None*

*Abstaining: 2 (Poland and USSR)*

**DOCUMENTS ON PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS  
WITH THE UNITED STATES**



**MUTUAL DEFENCE ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT BETWEEN  
THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

[19 May 1954]

The Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States of America,

Desiring to foster international peace and security within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations through measures which will further the ability of nations dedicated to the purposes and principles of the Charter to participate effectively in arrangements for individual and collective self-defence in support of those purposes and principles;

Reaffirming their determination to give their full co-operation to the efforts to provide the United Nations with armed forces as contemplated by the Charter and to participate in United Nations collective defence arrangements and measures, and to obtain agreement on universal regulation and reduction of armaments under adequate guarantee against violation or evasion;

Taking into consideration the support which the Government of the United States has brought to these principles by enacting the Mutual Defence Assistance Act of 1949, as amended, and the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended;

Desiring to set forth the conditions which will govern the furnishing of such assistance;

Have agreed:

**ARTICLE I**

1. The Government of the United States will make available to the Government of Pakistan such equipment, materials, services or other assistance as the Government of the United States may authorize in accordance with such terms and conditions as may be agreed. The furnishing and use of such assistance shall be consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. Such assistance as may be made available by the Government of the United States pursuant to this Agreement will be furnished under the provisions and subject to all the terms, conditions and termination provisions of the Mutual Defence Assistance Act of 1949 and the Mutual Security Act of 1951, acts mandatory or supplementary thereto, appropriation acts thereunder or any other applicable legislative provisions. The two

Governments will, from time to time, negotiate detailed arrangements necessary to carry out the provisions of this paragraph.

2. The Government of Pakistan will use this assistance exclusively to maintain its internal security, its legitimate self-defence, or to permit it to participate in the defence of the area, or in United Nations collective security arrangements and measures, and Pakistan will not undertake any act of aggression against any other nation. The Government of Pakistan will not, without the prior agreement of the Government of the United States, devote such assistance to purposes other than those for which it was furnished.

3. Arrangements will be entered into under which equipment and materials furnished pursuant to this Agreement and no longer required or used exclusively for the purposes for which originally made available will be offered for return to the Government of the United States.

4. The Government of Pakistan will not transfer to any person not an officer or agent of that Government, or to any other nation, title to or possession of any equipment, materials, property, information, or services received under this Agreement, without the prior consent of the Government of the United States.

5. The Government of Pakistan will take such security measures as may be agreed in each case between the two Governments in order to prevent the disclosure or compromise of classified military articles, services or information furnished pursuant to this Agreement.

6. Each Government will take appropriate measures consistent with security to keep the public informed of operations under this Agreement.

7. The two Governments will establish procedures whereby the Government of Pakistan will so deposit, segregate or assure title to all funds allocated to or derived from any programme of assistance undertaken by the Government of the United States so that such funds shall not, except as may otherwise will be mutually agreed, be subject to garnishment, attachment, seizure or other legal process by any person, firm, agency, corporation, organization or government.

## ARTICLE II

The two Governments will, upon request of either of them, negotiate appropriate arrangements between them relating to the exchange of patent rights and technical information for defence which will expedite such exchange and at the same time protect private interests and maintain necessary security safeguards.

## ARTICLE III

1. The Government of Pakistan will make available to the Government of the United States rupees for the use of the latter Government for its administrative and operating expenditures in connection with carrying out the purposes of this Agreement. The two Governments will forthwith initiate discussions with a view to determining the amount of such rupees and to agreeing upon arrangements for the furnishing of such funds.
2. The Government of Pakistan will, except as may otherwise be mutually agreed, grant duty-free treatment on importation or exportation and exemption from internal taxation upon products, property, materials or equipment imported into its territory in connection with this Agreement or any similar Agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of any other country receiving military assistance.
3. Tax relief will be accorded to all expenditures in Pakistan by, or on behalf of, the Government of the United States for the common defence effort, including expenditures for any foreign aid programme of the United States. The Government of Pakistan will establish procedures satisfactory to both Governments so that such expenditures will be net of taxes.

## ARTICLE IV

1. The Government of Pakistan will receive personnel of the Government of the United States who will discharge in its territory the responsibilities of the Government of the United States under this Agreement and who will be accorded facilities and authority to observe the progress of the assistance furnished pursuant to this Agreement. Such personnel who are United States nationals, including personnel temporarily assigned, will, in their relations with the Government of Pakistan, operate as part of the Embassy of the United States of America under the direction and control of the Chief of the Diplomatic Mission, and will have the same privileges and immunities as are accorded to other personnel with corresponding rank of the Embassy of the United States who are United States nationals. Upon appropriate notification by the Government of the United States, the Government of Pakistan will grant full diplomatic status to the senior military members assigned under this Article and the senior Army, Navy and Air Force Officers and their respective immediate deputies.
2. The Government of Pakistan will grant exemption from import and export duties on personal property imported for the personal use of such personnel or of their families and will take reasonable administrative measures to facilitate and

expedite the importation and exportation of the personal property of such personnel and their families.

## ARTICLE V

1. The Government of Pakistan will:

- a) Join in promoting international understanding and maintaining world peace;
- b) Take such action as may be mutually agreed upon to eliminate causes of international tension;
- c) Make, consistent with its political and economic stability, the full contribution permitted by its manpower, resources, facilities and general economic condition to the development and maintenance of its own defensive strength and the defensive strength of the free world;
- d) Take all reasonable measures which may be needed to develop its defence capacities, and
- e) Take appropriate steps to insure the effective utilization of the economic and military assistance provided by the United States.

2. (a) The Government of Pakistan will, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations, furnish to the Government of the United States, or to such other governments as the Parties hereto may in each case agree upon, such equipment, materials, services or other assistance as may be agreed upon in order to increase their capacity for individual and collective self-defence and to facilitate their effective participation in the United Nations system for collective security.

(b) In conformity with the principle of mutual aid, the Government of Pakistan will facilitate the production and transfer to the Government of the United States, for such period of time, in such quantities and upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon of raw and semi-processed materials required by the United States as a result of deficiencies or potential deficiencies in its own resources, and which may be available in Pakistan.

Arrangements for such transfers shall give due regard to reasonable requirements of Pakistan for domestic use and commercial export.

## ARTICLE VI

In the interest of their mutual security the Government of Pakistan will cooperate with the Government of the United States in taking measures designed to control trade with nations which threaten the maintenance of world peace.

## ARTICLE VII

1. This Agreement shall enter into force on the date of signature and will continue in force until one year after the receipt by either party of written notice of the intention of the other party to terminate it, except that the provisions of Article I, paragraphs 2 and 4, and arrangements entered into under Article I, paragraphs 3, 5 and 7 and under Article II, shall remain in force unless otherwise agreed by the two Governments.
2. The two Governments will, upon the request of either of them, consult regarding any matter relating to the application or amendment of this Agreement.
3. This Agreement shall be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations.

Done in two copies at Karachi the 19<sup>th</sup> day of May, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-four.

Sd/- Zafarullah Khan  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
and Commonwealth Relations

Sd/- John K. Emmerson  
Charge d' Affaires a.i.  
of the United States of  
America

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE PRIME  
MINISTER OF PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**  
[14-21 October 1954]

As the visit to Washington of Prime Minister Mohammed Ali of Pakistan draws to a close, the Government of the United States and the Government of Pakistan consider it fitting to reaffirm their common purpose in striving to assure peace and economic security to their peoples. They are convinced that those objectives can be attained through measures of collective security, self-help and economic cooperation, at the same time, they share a common conviction that their goals can be attained only where fundamental spiritual values are permitted to flourish.

The Prime Minister and Cabinet members accompanying him have had discussions of problems of mutual interest with a number of high ranking officials of the United States, including President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, Secretary of Defence Wilson and Foreign Operations Administration Director Stassen.

The discussions were preceded and have been accompanied by earnest efforts within the United States Government to determine measures which the United States might take to strengthen Pakistan, bearing in mind Pakistan's special position in the Middle East and South Asia, its unreserved friendship and cooperation with the United States in its efforts for the security of the free world, and the economic problems with which Pakistan is at present faced.

With the report of the special FOA mission sent Pakistan last summer under the leadership of Mr. H J. Heinz, it became clear that, despite its own tremendous efforts, Pakistan was in urgent need of increased economic assistance to ameliorate shortage of consumer's goods and industrial raw materials, and that economic development programmes must be increased if economic stability were to be attained. Accordingly, it has been agreed that the United States Government will make available to Pakistan in the current fiscal year about dollars 105 million in economic aid, part of which will be in the form of loans. This figure which is five times last year's aid, includes funds for technical assistance, flood relief as previously agreed upon consequent to the disaster of last August in East Pakistan and funds for developmental purposes. To meet Pakistan's urgent needs for consumer goods and industrial raw materials, the total figure also includes substantial amount in the form of agricultural commodities.

Recognizing Pakistan's position in the common defence effort and following the military assistance agreement signed with the United States this spring, the United States will endeavour to accelerate the substantial military programmes for

Pakistan, which are beginning this year. In this connection, the United States cannot make commitments beyond the limits of existing and current appropriations. However, the Government of the United States and the Government of Pakistan intend to continue to study together in this and future years the best means of achieving their mutual objective: the strengthening of the economy and the defence capabilities of Pakistan.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE CONCLUSION OF TALKS,  
HELD IN KARACHI, BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN AND  
THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE US PRESIDENT**

[31 March 1957]

At the invitation of the Government of Pakistan, Ambassador James P. Richards, who as Special Representative of the President of the United States is touring the countries of the Middle East region, has visited Karachi to explain the American Doctrine as propounded by President Eisenhower on January 5, 1957.

The President, assisted by the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Finance Minister, has met Ambassador Richards, who has explained the purposes and aims of the Doctrine. It was emphasized by Ambassador Richards that the United States Middle East policy does not wish to establish any sphere of influence in the Middle East. It does not seek to fill any power vacuum in the region nor does it aim at securing military bases. United States policy is solely designed to strengthen the nations of the area so that they can maintain their independence and territorial integrity.

It was noted that Communist imperialism, through overt aggression or internal subversion, constitutes a direct threat to the national aspirations of the peoples of the Middle East, which if allowed to develop would jeopardize the independence and freedom of peoples everywhere. Ambassador Richards re-emphasized that the purpose of the American Doctrine is to enable the independent nations of the Middle East region to defend themselves against this direct and indirect threat by international Communism.

In reiterating their endorsement of the American Doctrine, the Government of Pakistan have expressed their willingness to cooperate with the United States Government in securing the peace of the Middle East, to which Pakistan is already committed as a member of the Baghdad Pact. They were pleased to learn of the United States decision to join the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact, if invited to do so. They have also welcomed American efforts to assist in the objective of securing the peace of the area not only by providing military and economic assistance to the countries of the Middle East region, but also by the employment of United States forces whenever deemed necessary, and if requested by any state or states of the Middle East region in the event of armed attack by forces of international Communism.

The determination of both Governments to oppose aggression from any quarter was reaffirmed.

The Government of Pakistan have suggested to Ambassador Richards certain economic and military projects as worthy of aid under the American Doctrine, and he has agreed to provide assistance in both fields. In particular, the United States will lend funds to assist in soon starting construction of fertilizer factories. The Government of Pakistan are glad to learn that the U.S. are also prepared to finance several joint projects of a regional nature which are already under the consideration of the Economic Committee of the Baghdad Pact.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE PRIME  
MINISTER OF PAKISTAN TO USA**  
[13 July 1957]

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Pakistan concluded today their series of discussions on a wide range of problems involving the maintenance of freedom and security. These discussions had been supplemented by further discussions between the Prime Minister and his advisers and the Secretary of State, and also meetings with the Secretary of Defence and other American officials.

The Prime Minister addressed both Houses of the United States Congress. After leaving Washington, the Prime Minister will visit other parts of the United States and meet with various political, cultural and business leaders.

The President and the Prime Minister reviewed the steady growth of close cooperative relations between their two countries. These relations are securely founded on mutual respect and trust between equal sovereign nations determined to maintain their independence by working together for peace and progress. They examined various joint programmes which serve further to strengthen these ties.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that international communism continues to pose the major threat to the security of the free world. They reaffirmed their determination to support and strengthen the systems of collective security which have been forged in Asia. They reiterated their determination to oppose aggression. It was recognised that this determination, expressed in such organizations as the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation and the Baghdad Pact, as well through mutual security agreement between Pakistan and the United States, has acted as a powerful deterrent to Communist aggression and has promoted stability in the treaty areas. They expressed the belief that an effective international agreement on disarmament under adequate and effective international safeguards would contribute not only to the security of the world but also to its material progress.

They discussed threat to the security and the integrity of the nations of the Middle East resulting from the intrusion of Communist influence and subversion in that area. It was agreed that United States and Pakistan would continue to exert their influence to promote conditions in the Middle East which will permit the Nations of the area to work out their national destinies in freedom and peace.

The Prime Minister referred to Pakistan's disputes with India over Kashmir and distribution of waters of Indus river and its tributaries. The Prime Minister said that Pakistan desires to settle such disputes peacefully and in conformity with International Law and decisions of the United Nations. The President expressed the hope that such regional disputes may be solved speedily, equitably and permanently in accordance with the principles of the United Nations. As regards the Indus waters, they welcomed the efforts of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to find a solution acceptable to the two parties concerned.

The President and Prime Minister discussed economic and commercial relations between the United States and Pakistan. They looked with satisfaction on many measures taken individually and jointly in recent years to expand trade, increase investment and enlarge the flow of technical information between the two countries. They agreed to give consideration to additional measures designed to strengthen the economic well-being of Asia. The Prime Minister emphasised serious financial pressures placed on his country by its efforts to undertake essential development projects while at the same time maintaining its security forces. He reviewed Pakistan's efforts to achieve financial stability without undue dependence on foreign aid. The President expressed his understanding of problems facing Pakistan, citing the substantial quantities of the United States economic and military assistance as concrete evidence of United States recognition of these difficulties.

The Prime Minister reviewed Pakistan's request to purchase additional amounts of food grains under the terms of United States surplus agricultural products disposal programme. The President assured the Prime Minister that Pakistan's minimum requirements would be given sympathetic and expeditious consideration and would be met contingent upon the enactment of the related programme by the Congress.

The President and the Prime Minister stated their conviction that the present exchange of views has further strengthened the mutual understanding and cooperation of their two countries. They expressed their desire to undertake further steps to increase this close relationship.

**AGREEMENT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF  
PAKISTAN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA**  
[15 March 1959]

The Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States of America;

Desiring to implement the Declaration in which they associated themselves at London on July 28, 1958;

Considering that under Article I of the Pact of Mutual Cooperation signed at Baghdad on February 24, 1955, the parties signatory thereto agreed to cooperate for their security and defence, and that, similarly, as stated in the above-mentioned Declaration, the Government of the United States of America, in the interest of world peace, agreed to cooperate with the Governments making that Declaration for their security and defence;

Recalling that, in the above-mentioned Declaration, the members of the Pact of Mutual Cooperation making that Declaration affirmed their determination to maintain their collective security and to resist aggression, direct or indirect;

Considering further that the Government of the United States of America is associated with the work of the major committees of the Pact of Mutual Cooperation signed at Baghdad on February 24, 1955;

Desiring to strengthen peace in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

Affirming their right to cooperate for their security and defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations;

Considering that the Government of the United States of America regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of Pakistan;

Recognizing the authorization to furnish appropriate assistance granted to the President of the United States of America by the Congress of the United States of America in the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and in the Joint Resolution to Promote Peace and Stability in the Middle East; and

Considering that similar agreements are being entered into by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Iran and Turkey, respectively, Have agreed as follows:

## ARTICLE I

The Government of Pakistan is determined to resist aggression. In case of aggression against Pakistan, the Government of the United States of America, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America, will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon and as is envisaged in the Joint Resolution to Promote Peace and Stability in the Middle East, in order to assist the Government of Pakistan at its request.

## ARTICLE II

The Government of the United States of America, in accordance with the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and related laws of the United States of America, and with applicable agreements heretofore or hereafter entered into between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States of America, reaffirms that it will continue to furnish the Government of Pakistan such military and economic assistance as may be mutually agreed upon between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States of America, in order to assist the Government of Pakistan in the preservation of its national independence and integrity and in the effective promotion of its economic development.

## ARTICLE III

The Government of Pakistan undertakes to utilize such military and economic assistance as may be provided by the Government of the United States of America in a manner consonant with the aims and purposes set forth by the Governments associated in the Declaration signed at London on July 28, 1958, and for the purpose of effectively promoting the economic development of Pakistan and of preserving its national independence and integrity.

## ARTICLE IV

The Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States of America will cooperate with the other Governments associated in the Declaration signed at London on July 28, 1958, in order to prepare and participate in such defensive arrangements as may be mutually agreed to be desirable, subject to the other applicable provisions of this agreement.

## ARTICLE V

The provisions of the present agreement do not affect the cooperation between the two Governments as envisaged in other international agreements or arrangements.

## ARTICLE VI

This agreement shall enter into force upon the date of its signature and shall continue in force until one year after the receipt by either Government of written notice of the intention of the other Government to terminate the agreement.

DONE in duplicate at ANKARA, this FIFTH day of MARCH, 1959.

For the Government of Pakistan

SAYID M. HASSAN

For the Government of the  
United States of America

FLETCHER WARREN

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO PAKISTAN**  
[8 December 1959]

On the morning of December 8, 1959, the President of Pakistan and the President of the United States, with advisers of both Governments, met to discuss matters of common interest. These discussions continued at lunch and the two Presidents have had other opportunities to exchange views.

Both Presidents warmly welcomed the opportunity afforded by President Eisenhower's visit to have these talks, which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and frankness characterizing relations between the two allied nations. They reviewed generally world-wide political questions, and in particular problems of relations between the Free World and the Sino-Soviet bloc. They were in full agreement as to the essentiality of co-operation among members of the family of free nations in the interest of their mutual security.

They discussed relationships among the nations of the area and the urgent desirability of finding solutions to existing disputes. In this way the energies of the people and governments may be directed more fully towards constructive programmes adding to stability and progress and a greater degree of co-operation among them may be achieved.

They reaffirmed their satisfaction with the increasingly close co-operation between Pakistan and the United States. Relations between the countries are based upon mutual respect and friendship, resting on the firm determination of both to work together for the achievement of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

They recognized the heavy financial burden placed upon Pakistan in its efforts to undertake substantial development projects and at the same time to maintain armed forces consonant with its national security. They reviewed various elements of technical, economic and military aid which is extended to Pakistan by the United States as part of the two nations mutual assistance which contributes to the security of both. They reiterated their conviction that the Free World's best interests require closer co-operation in order to advance economic growth and development. They reviewed with gratification the progress being made in Pakistan in this connection, and the President of the United States expressed in particular to President Ayub his admiration for the remarkable achievements in Pakistan toward the resettlement of those elements of the population which have been inadequately housed.

The President of Pakistan explained steps taken by his Government during the past year to strengthen the country. He outlined the "Basic Democracies Plan" and progress toward a new constitution. The President of the United States stated that his Government was following Pakistan's venture with genuine interest.

The two Presidents expressed their belief that the visit had led to an even closer understanding between Pakistan and the United States, had strengthened the strong ties already existing between the two countries, and had underlined the need of continued co-operative programme between them.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE  
US VICE-PRESIDENT TO PAKISTAN**  
[20 May 1961]

The President of Pakistan and the Vice-President of the United States of America met on Saturday, May 20, 1961, at the President House for talks, which were conducted in a frank and friendly atmosphere reflecting the continuing close cooperation of Pakistan and the United States in pursuit of common objectives.

The Vice-President expressed the friendly greetings and warm good wishes of President Kennedy and the American people for the President and the people of Pakistan. The Vice-President noted that the United States anticipated with pleasure President Ayub's visit in November. In this connection, Vice-president Johnson extended a personal invitation for President Ayub to visit the Vice President's ranch-home in Texas during the stay in the United States. President Ayub recalled that he had previously visited Texas which reminded him of Pakistan and expressed pleasure in accepting the Vice-President's invitation.

Vice-President Johnson explained that he had come at the request of President Kennedy and presented to President Ayub a personal letter from the President of the United States. The Vice-President said that President Kennedy wanted him to discuss with the leaders of Pakistan and other countries of South and South East Asia what might be done further to strengthen peace and freedom and to enhance the general welfare of the people. Vice-President Johnson said the exchange in Karachi would be of great value toward a closer understanding of Pakistan and the views of Pakistan's leaders towards regional and world problems.

In the course of the conversations, President Ayub and Vice-President Johnson noted with satisfaction the many common objectives and specific programmes of co-operation that link the two countries. They welcomed continued cooperation in regional collective security arrangements, such as CENTO and SEATO, and the growing economic and social cooperation among the regional members of these alliances. They discussed measures to strengthen these alliances.

President Ayub and Vice-President Johnson agreed that the long-term security of the free world must be built on a foundation of progress assuring greater opportunity and a better life for the people.

Specifically:

1. President Ayub reviewed the objectives of Pakistan's Second Five Year Plan and progress in its implementation. The Vice-President reaffirmed the United States' firm interest in supporting Pakistan's implementation of this farsighted programme.
2. The two leaders discussed the great problems arising from the loss of agricultural lands in Pakistan due to water logging and salinization. The President outlined the energetic programmes planned to cope with this problem, and the Vice-President received documentation for use in considering further means by which the United States might assist.
3. The importance of education was emphasised. President Ayub described the substantial educational programmes of his country to which both Government and private assistance is being extended from the United States. Means of further co-operation in this field were considered.
4. It was recognised that the provision of adequate housing is an essential primary need of any community or nation. In this context, assistance being extended by the United States to supplement Pakistan's housing programmes was reviewed.
5. The provision of greater health facilities was discussed at length.
6. Plans for the assignment to Pakistan of members of the American Peace Corps were discussed and President Ayub expressed particular interest in the assignment of Peace Corps members to work on projects in such fields as health, education and agriculture.
7. President Ayub discussed Pakistan's land-reform programmes in which millions of acres have been re-distributed, giving new ownership to hundreds of thousands of people who work the lands.
8. Vice-President Johnson said that the United States has high expectations that international cooperation in scientific developments will be of great benefit to countries on every continent. He mentioned in particular possibilities from weather, communication, navigational and mapping uses of space vehicles.
9. The President and Vice-President discussed the possible advantages of a meeting to be held in the near future of heads of nations of Asia and the Pacific area to review their common aspirations, objectives and problems and to seek means of greater co-operation among themselves.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF  
PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**  
[11-13 July 1961]

President Kennedy and President Ayub have had a cordial and frank exchange of views over the past three days on topics of mutual interest to their Governments. The visit afforded a timely opportunity for the two Presidents to establish a personal acquaintance and to carry forward the exchange of views which has taken place by correspondence over the past several months.

The two Presidents reviewed at length the international situation, with emphasis upon events in areas in which the dangers of conflict have become a cause of deep concern to the community of nations. The talks on these subjects again underlined the importance of close cooperation and understanding between nations of the Free World in order to provide the greatest possible unity in protecting the independence of States and in preserving international peace and security.

They considered the dangers arising out of recent events in Berlin and in South East Asia, especially in Laos.

The two Presidents examined together the threats to the free people of the Sub-Continent of South Asia and agreed that this area is a primary target of international Communism; that the integrity and independence of each country in this area depend heavily upon friendship and co-operation among all of them; and that solutions of divisive issues, which call for farsighted statesmanship on all sides, are a clear and present need.

President Ayub reaffirmed the desire and objective of his Government to maintain friendly relations with all neighbouring states, based on mutual respect and the integrity of Pakistan's borders. He reviewed his government's position on the Kashmir issue and stressed the great importance attached to this issue by the people of Pakistan. He stated that current developments in South Asia had made an early resolution of this issue imperative. President Kennedy affirmed the desire of the United States to see a satisfactory solution of the Kashmir issue, and expressed the hope that progress toward a settlement would be possible at an early date.

The coincidence of President Ayub's visit with the tenth anniversary of economic co-operation between the United States and Pakistan afforded a unique opportunity for a thorough review of Pakistan's economic development programme. The two Presidents discussed the substantial advances that have been made in agriculture, industrial production, communications, education and other programmes designed

to bring a better life to the people of Pakistan. They agreed upon the need for outside aid to fulfill the financing requirements of the current Five-Year Plan, and discussed the forthcoming Consortium meeting sponsored by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to provide needed assistance. President Ayub was assured of firm United States interest in the finding of adequate funds so that this programme will be implemented with the greatest possible effectiveness.

They examined the serious problem of water logging and salinity which is rapidly taking vast areas of land out of cultivation. It was agreed that the United States would send to Pakistan in the very near future a mission of highly qualified scientists and engineers with a view to making suggestions to the Government of Pakistan for speeding up progress in combating this problem which is recognised to be of greatest importance to the people of that country. Efforts will then be made with friendly countries to work out the provision of the necessary external financing.

President Kennedy expressed keen interest in President Ayub's description of the needs of Pakistan relating to scientific and technical facilities.

The two Presidents reaffirmed the solemn purpose of the bilateral agreements signed by the two Governments on March 5, 1959, which declares among other things that "The Government of the United States of America regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of Pakistan...." They also reaffirmed the value of existing collective security arrangements as an instrument for defence against aggression.

They reviewed the progress of United States' military assistance to Pakistan which is being extended in order to assist that nation to maintain forces for the preservation of its security.

President Ayub described the progress which has been made toward the development of a new Constitution suitable to the requirements of the people of Pakistan.

The two Presidents, agreed that this, their first meeting has greatly enhanced the understanding between the Governments of Pakistan and the United States and has contributed substantially to continuing close co-operation between the two nations.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED AFTER AN INFORMAL MEETING  
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENTS OF PAKISTAN AND THE UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA AT NEWPORT**

[24 September 1962]

President Kennedy and President Ayub had an informal meeting at Newport, Rhode Island today. The two Presidents have renewed their personal association established during the President's State Visit in 1961.

The two Presidents had a frank and cordial discussion which included a general review of the world situation, with particular reference to matters of national interest and concern to Pakistan and the United States.

The two Presidents agreed that, since their meeting last year, the threat to world peace has remained grave and that free nations must continue to cooperate in the defence of their integrity and independence. The two Presidents agreed that the close friendship and alliance between Pakistan and the United States continues to represent an important contribution to the free world's quest for a durable peace.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF  
PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

[15 December 1965]

President Johnson and President Ayub have had frank, wide-ranging and productive talks for the past two days. President Ayub's visit has given the two Presidents the opportunity to renew their warm personal acquaintance and to recall with pleasure their respective visits to Pakistan and the United States in 1961.

The two Presidents discussed at length recent events in South Asia, including the tragic conflict between India and Pakistan. In this context, they reaffirmed their Governments' support for the UN Security Council Resolution of September 20, 1965 in all its parts, as well as the resolutions adopted on September 27 and November 5, 1965.

President Johnson reaffirmed that the United States regards as vital to world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of Pakistan and expressed the continuing interest of the United States in Pakistan's economic and social development. President Ayub reaffirmed the importance that Pakistan attaches to a close and co-operative relationship with the United States and expressed the continuing desire of his Government to contribute to this objective.

The two Presidents agreed on the need for a peaceful resolution of all outstanding differences between India and Pakistan, so that the energies and resources of the peoples of the Sub-Continent would not be wastefully diverted from their efforts to meet their vitally important social and economic problems.

Within the context of a review of world-wide developments, the two Presidents discussed in depth the problem of achieving peace and stability in South-East Asia. They expressed the hope that the conflicts in that area would be peacefully resolved. They agreed that their diplomatic representatives would remain in close touch on these wider and critical Asian problems.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE CONCLUSION OF TALKS  
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENTS OF PAKISTAN AND THE UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA AT KARACHI**

[23 December 1967]

On the occasion of President Johnson's refueling, in Karachi, President Ayub joined him for a discussion which covered both bilateral matters and issues of common concern on the world scene.

President Ayub outlined the rapid progress being made in agricultural as well as industrial development in Pakistan. The two Presidents discussed Pakistan's additional needs of wheat and vegetable oil and agreed to ask for a staff study, to be made available at an early date.

President Johnson congratulated President Ayub on Pakistan's continuing progress and specially for the success of Pakistan in introducing new wheat strains, expanding human consumption of maize, and expanding both irrigation and chemical fertilizer application.

President Johnson expressed gratification at the inauguration of the Mangla Dam and the prospects for other such projects.

The two Presidents then reviewed the world situation with special emphasis on the possibilities of moving towards peace in Vietnam.

President Johnson conveyed his impressions from discussions earlier that day in Vietnam, and earlier in Australia, with several Asian leaders.

Both Presidents shared the deep hope that peace would soon be achieved in Vietnam, and agreed that every avenue should continue to be explored.

**TEXT OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S HAND-WRITTEN LETTER TO  
PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN ON PAKISTAN'S CONTRIBUTION  
TO US-CHINA RELATIONS**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 7, 1971

Dear Mr. President,

I have already expressed my official appreciation for your assistance in arranging our contacts with the People's Republic of China.

Through this personal note I want you to know that without your personal assistance this profound breakthrough in relations between the USA and the PRC would never have been accomplished.

I wish you would extend my personal thanks to your Ambassador in Washington and to your associates in Pakistan for their efficiency and discretion in handling the very sensitive arrangements.

Those who want a more peaceful world in the generations to come will forever be in your debt.

Mr. Kissinger joins me in expressing our deepest gratitude for the historic role you played during this very difficult period.

Sincerely,  
Richard Nixon

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE PRIME  
MINISTER OF PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**  
[18-24 September 1973]

President Nixon and Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan have held two cordial and wide-ranging working discussions during the Prime Minister's visit to Washington, September 18-20. The meetings gave the President and the Prime Minister an opportunity to renew their personal friendship and to discuss matters of common interest to Pakistan and the United States. Both President Nixon and Prime Minister Bhutto reviewed and welcomed the progress made in the past eighteen months in enhancing peaceful relations throughout the world and in reducing tension between the major powers. The leaders pledged their continuing efforts to build a just and lasting peace, based on principles of national sovereignty and equality, respect for territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of any state. They also reaffirmed the close ties of friendship that have long characterized relations between the United States and Pakistan. President Nixon assured Prime Minister Bhutto of strong U.S. support for Pakistan's independence and territorial integrity, which he considered a guiding principle of American foreign policy.

President Nixon took the opportunity to congratulate Prime Minister Bhutto on the progress Pakistan has made over the past twenty months. He noted the successes of the Prime Minister of Pakistan in establishing representative government under a democratic constitution recently adopted by the National Assembly, and in restoring the war-shattered economy of Pakistan, which has unfortunately received a serious set-back in the recent unprecedented floods.

Prime Minister Bhutto voiced his warm appreciation for the generous American response to Pakistan's severe flood losses. The two leaders discussed additional needs and ways in which the United States and the international community might be responsive. President Nixon pledged additional assistance and vigorous support for international relief efforts.

The two leaders also discussed Pakistan's long term assistance needs. They reviewed the substantial assistance which the United States has extended to Pakistan. President Nixon noted the importance which the United States attaches to Pakistan's stable development and reviewed for the Prime Minister plans for future assistance.

Prime Minister Bhutto reviewed for the President the Simla Agreement of July 1972, and the New Delhi Agreement of August 28, 1973, calling for repatriation of prisoners of war and other stranded persons from the 1971 war between India and

Pakistan. The President congratulated Prime Minister Bhutto on his statesmanship in reaching the agreements. President Nixon reiterated the United States' warm support for the process of reconciliation underway in South Asia, and expressed the United States' interest in expeditious implementation of the agreements and in the resolution of other outstanding issues in South Asia through peaceful means in accordance with internationally recognized principles.

There was also a discussion of international narcotics problems. President Nixon welcomed Prime Minister Bhutto's recent statement pledging efforts to control narcotics traffic and progressively to eliminate poppy cultivation. The President assured the Prime Minister of strong U.S. support for Pakistan's efforts.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED AT THE END OF THE VISIT OF THE  
UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE TO PAKISTAN**  
[31 October -1 November 1974]

At the invitation of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the United States Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, visited Pakistan from October 31 to November 1. Secretary Kissinger held comprehensive discussions with the Prime Minister and Minister of State, Mr. Aziz Ahmed, on Pakistan-United States bilateral relations and on a broad range of other international issues. The discussions took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect, in keeping with the special friendship and close ties that exist between Pakistan and the United States.

2. The Secretary conveyed to the Prime Minister, President Ford's personal greetings and reiterated the President's desire to maintain and expand the close and friendly relations which have traditionally existed between the two nations. The Prime Minister warmly reciprocated President Ford's message and welcomed the President's assurances that the United States would continue to support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a strong, secure and prosperous Pakistan as an important element in the maintenance of international peace, and that this would remain an important principle of American Foreign Policy. The Prime Minister and the Secretary agreed that mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs was essential for peaceful relations among all States.

3. The Prime Minister reviewed with the Secretary the efforts the Government of Pakistan has made to restore peace and bolster stability in the South Asian region. The Secretary expressed U.S. admiration of the Prime Minister's efforts to normalize Pakistan's relations with India and Bangladesh. He told the Prime Minister that the visits he had recently completed to New Delhi and Dacca had heightened his awareness of the importance of the normalization process and his confidence in its continued progress. He expressed his particular satisfaction with the progress Pakistan and India had made in moving forward together toward the implementation of the provisions of the 1972 Simla Agreement.

4. The Prime Minister called the Secretary's attention to the proposal for a nuclear weapons free zone in South Asia which Pakistan has sponsored in the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. They took note of the adverse implications for stability of nuclear proliferation and agreed that renewed efforts should be made to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

5. The Prime Minister expressed his Government's continued appreciation for the economic assistance the United States has over the years provided Pakistan. He welcomed the United States Government's decision to furnish approximately 100,000 tons of wheat under Public Law 480 program to help meet Pakistan's immediate needs. The Secretary assured the Prime Minister that the United States would continue to give careful consideration to Pakistan's additional requirements.

6. The Prime Minister and the Secretary took note of the increasing world economic interdependence and expressed concern over the steep rise in price levels of essential goods. They stressed the need for co-operative endeavours by all the Governments concerned to prevent further aggravation of the world economic situation. They hoped that the forthcoming World Food Conference in Rome would succeed in taking necessary steps to stabilise the food situation and especially to mitigate the serious food shortages faced by the most seriously affected developing countries.

7. The Secretary welcomed the initiatives being taken by the Government of Pakistan designed to achieve self-sufficiency in food for Pakistan itself and to expand Pakistan's food exports to deficit countries. He noted that the United States has been assisting the Government of Pakistan's expanded agricultural research efforts and pledged further U.S. assistance in such high priority areas as fertilizer production and water resources utilization.

8. The Prime Minister and the Secretary reviewed the efforts now going forward to bring about further progress toward a just and lasting solution to the problems of the Middle East. The Prime Minister commended the Secretary for the initiatives he had taken during his recent visit to Middle Eastern capitals and urged him to continue these valuable efforts.

9. The Secretary expressed his deep appreciation to the Prime Minister for the warm hospitality he and his colleagues had again received in Pakistan. He and the Prime Minister agreed that the discussions they had held had been most useful and they looked forward to meeting again to exchange views. In this connection Secretary Kissinger delivered an invitation to Prime Minister Bhutto from President Ford to visit with him in Washington at a mutually convenient date within the first three months of the coming year. The Prime Minister accepted the invitation with pleasure. The Prime Minister conveyed an invitation for President Ford to visit Pakistan in 1975, and Secretary Kissinger accepted the invitation on behalf of the President.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED AT THE END OF THE VISIT OF PRIME  
MINISTER OF PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**  
[4-7 February 1975]

President Ford and Prime Minister Bhutto held cordial and useful discussions during the Prime Minister's visit to Washington, February 4 to February 7. They welcomed the opportunity to establish a personal relationship in the spirit of cooperation and understanding which has traditionally existed between leaders of the two countries. The President and the Prime Minister stressed their commitment to the strengthening of the close ties which have been maintained between the United States and Pakistan for many years.

The two leaders discussed the important international political developments of the past 18 months with particular emphasis on the significant steps taken in furthering international detente, the vital efforts to secure a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and proposals to increase cooperation between developing and developed countries.

They also reviewed the important steps taken to bring about more normal relations among the nations of South Asia. Prime Minister expressed Pakistan's determination to continue to play a constructive role in the search for peaceful solutions to regional disputes, so as to promote the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent. President Ford assured the Prime Minister that support for the independence and territorial integrity of Pakistan remains an enduring principle of American foreign policy. The two leaders also discussed their mutual security concerns in the context of the commitment of their Governments to the strengthening of regional and world peace.

President Ford expressed his deep sympathy over the loss of life resulting from the devastating earthquake which recently struck northern Pakistan. The Prime Minister expressed his appreciation for the contributions of the United States Government towards the relief efforts now under way.

The Prime Minister discussed the serious shortfall experienced by Pakistan in food grain production in recent months. He noted his concern with drought conditions which persist throughout the wheat-producing areas, a problem which has been accentuated by the unexpected delay in commissioning the Tarbela Dam. He noted, in this regard, his appreciation for the substantial assistance rendered to Pakistan under the PL-480 programme during the past several years. President Ford told the Prime Minister that the United States Government was pleased to be able to offer 300,000 tons of wheat under PL-480 Title I for immediate delivery, in addition to

the 100,000 tons already made available during this fiscal year. The President assured the Prime Minister that Pakistan's needs would continue to receive priority consideration in determining additional allocations.

The two leaders also reviewed economic cooperation between the two countries. Prime Minister Bhutto described the important economic development programme now under way in Pakistan, including the high priorities placed on agricultural development and population planning areas in which assistance from the United States and other donors have made a valuable contribution. President Ford pledged continued priority attention to Pakistan's development assistance requirements.

Prime Minister Bhutto renewed his invitation to President Ford to visit Pakistan. President Ford expressed his warm appreciation for this invitation and reiterated his hope that the visit would be possible later this year.

**JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AT THE END OF THE VISIT OF  
SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
TO PAKISTAN  
[8-9 August 1976]**

United States Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger paid an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on August 8-9, at the invitation of Prime Minister Bhutto. During his stay, he discussed bilateral affairs and issues of mutual interest with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister briefed Secretary Kissinger on recent developments within the region. The Secretary of State expressed the United States' support strongly for rapprochement in South Asia and congratulated the Prime Minister for his efforts to improve relations with Pakistan's neighbours.

Dr. Kissinger also met with the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Defence, Mr. Aziz Ahmed, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Agha Shahi, during his stay and was guest of honor at a dinner hosted by Prime Minister Bhutto.

During their discussions, the two sides reaffirmed the warm and close relations which have existed traditionally between the two countries. They also reviewed the bilateral economic and technological programs, as well as multilateral developments of relevance to Pakistani-US ties. The US reaffirmed that support for the independence and territorial integrity of Pakistan remains an enduring principle of American foreign policy. At the conclusion of their meetings, Secretary of State Kissinger and Prime Minister Bhutto reiterated their satisfaction with the warm and friendly relations between their two governments and peoples.

**JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE VISIT  
OF A HIGH-POWERED US DELEGATION TO PAKISTAN**  
[February 2-3, 1980]

President Zia-ul-Haq, Foreign Affairs Adviser Agha Shahi and other Pakistan Government officials held talks with Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Mr. Warren Christopher, Deputy Secretary of State, and their advisers on February 2 and 3. There was a full exchange of views on global and strategic matters, on the situation in the region, and on the broad range of issues in the bilateral relations of the two nations.

The two nations agreed that the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan and the aggression against the Muslim people of that country is a flagrant violation of international convention and norms and a serious threat to the peace and security of Pakistan, the region and the world.

The United States reiterated that its commitment to Pakistan's independence and security pursuant to 1959 Agreement is firm and enduring. The Government of Pakistan reiterated its resolve, as stated in the 1959 Agreement, that it is determined to resist aggression.

President Zia-ul-Haq expressed appreciation for the visit of Dr. Brzezinski and Mr. Christopher. The American side expressed warm appreciation for the generous hospitality extended to it by the Government of Pakistan.

Appropriate consultations between the two governments will continue.

**OFFICIAL STATEMENT ISSUED ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE VISIT  
OF US UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE,  
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, JAMES L. BUCKLEY TO PAKISTAN  
FROM JUNE 11 - 15, 1981**

James L. Buckley, Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, and a team of U.S. officials from Washington, concluded their five-day visit to Pakistan today and will fly back to the United States from Karachi early on the morning of June 16. During his visit, Mr. Buckley met for two days of talks with senior Pakistani leaders and officials, including President Zia-ul-Haq, Foreign Minister Agha Shahi, Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the Secretaries General of the Foreign and Defence Ministries, S. Shah Nawaz and Major General (Retd) M. Rahim Khan, Foreign Secretary Riaz Piracha, Lieutenant General K. M. Arif, Chief of Staff to the President, and others. Mr. Buckley also visited Murree and refugee camps in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

Mr. Buckley's visit, at the invitation of the Pakistan Government, was part of the continuing dialogue established between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States during the last four months and aimed at finding ways for the U.S. to assist Pakistan in meeting the unprecedented threats it faces to its independence and sovereignty as a consequence of the developments in the region. The previous round in these talks had taken place in April when Foreign Minister Agha Shahi headed a team of senior Pakistani officials for talks with Secretaries Haig and Weinberger in Washington DC.

Mr. Buckley's official talks in Islamabad, which took place on June 13 and 14, centered on U.S. proposals to provide economic assistance and to facilitate sales of military equipment to Pakistan. Detailed discussion took place on various levels of assistance and the composition of assistance required by Pakistan.

The talks also provided an opportunity, for discussions of urgent Pakistani military requirements which the United States has agreed to look into with a view toward determining which ones of them the United States might be able to satisfy through its Foreign Military Sales Programme.

During the talks, the two sides discussed the serious threat to the region posed by the presence of foreign troops in neighbouring Afghanistan. Both sides agreed that a strong and independent Pakistan is in the mutual interest of the United States and Pakistan as well as of the entire world. Mr. Buckley affirmed American determination to assist Pakistan and to support its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Pakistani side explained Pakistani policies, especially Pakistan's commitment to the principles and purposes of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Both sides agreed that U.S. assistance as proposed is consistent with these principles and with Pakistan's non-aligned status. Mr. Buckley specifically disclaimed any American interest in military bases or in establishing any new alliances.

The United States and Pakistan discussed the dimensions of an overall framework for American efforts to assist Pakistan over the next six years. This includes a programme of cash military sales during this year. It also includes a five year programme of economic supporting funds, development assistance, and loans for foreign military sales, the total value of which is expected to be approximately three billion dollars-subject to annual approval by the United States Congress. The multi-year approach is in response to the seriousness and immediacy of the threat to Pakistan's security.

The United States agreed to the sale of F-16 aircraft to Pakistan to assist Pakistan to improve its air defence capabilities; terms, timing and numbers will be determined in a later meeting, likely to take place in Washington, between Pakistani and American military representatives. ,

The United States agreed also to the early delivery of selected defence equipment urgently needed by the Pakistan defence forces to meet the threats Pakistan faces.

Mr. Buckley invited the Government of Pakistan to send a team of military and defence officials to Washington to discuss military equipment needs and availability in detail. This visit is expected to take place before the end of June.

**OFFICIAL STATEMENT ISSUED ON THE CONCLUSION OF A VISIT OF  
PAKISTAN MILITARY DELEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES**  
[July 17, 1981]

As a sequel to U.S.-Pakistan diplomatic discussions held this year, a Pakistan military delegation, headed by Secretary General, Defence, Mr. M. Rahim Khan, visited the US Department of Defence from 13 to 16 July, 1981.

The purpose of the visit was to review Pakistan's security situation as it has been altered by the presence of foreign military forces in Afghanistan and to examine in greater detail Pakistan's specific near-term and longer-term requests for purchasing U.S. military equipment to strengthen its national defense.

During his stay, the Secretary General met with Deputy Secretary of Defence Carlucci, Under-Secretary of State Buckley and various other Department of Defence and Department of State officials. Additionally, Pakistani Ministry of Defence, Joint Staff, Army, Air Force and Navy joined their U.S. counterparts for working group sessions to consider the defence requirements presented by Pakistan and the ability of the U.S. to help meet these equipment needs.

Convinced that a strong, independent Pakistan is a necessary element in enhancing the stability of this vital South-West Asia area, the U.S. presented for Pakistan's consideration cost estimates and delivery time for a wide range of major defence equipment of interest to Pakistan.

**JOINT US-PAKISTAN STATEMENT**  
[September 15, 1981]

Our dialogue with the United States has taken a positive turn with the recent visits to Pakistan of Mr. Peter McPherson, Administrator of the US Agency in International Development, and Mr. James Buckley, US Under Secretary of State who brought with him a personal letter addressed to President Zia-ul-Haq by President Reagan.

The programme of US economic assistance to Pakistan over the next five years was discussed in detail with Mr. McPherson and his delegation and a mutually satisfactory agreement, subject to congressional approval, was reached.

Similarly, talks with Mr. James Buckley were also concluded on a positive note. As is known, an agreement in principle had been reached during Mr. Buckley's earlier visit in June in regard to the acceptability of the US economic and military sales package which was offered at the time. Soon after Mr. Buckley's visit, a Pakistan military delegation visited Washington to discuss details of the military sales programme to Pakistan. During these talks, certain issues relating to the delivery schedule of some essential defence items, had remained unresolved. During his recent visit, Mr. Buckley clarified these issues to our satisfaction. As a result of our detailed exchange of views with him on this occasion, we were able to convey our formal acceptance of the US package as modified and revised in the consultative process which has now been completed.

Accordingly, these proposals will be put before the Congress as required by the US legal procedure.

We have been greatly reassured by the fact that the US Administration fully understands our essential concerns and that there is a genuine desire to build a new relationship between our two countries on the basis of trust, mutual respect and sovereign equality.

We wish to reiterate that our acceptance of the US package does not affect in anyway our commitments as a member of Islamic Conference and the Non-aligned Movement or our well-known position on major international issues in regard to which our foreign policy has consistently maintained a principled stand.

Similarly, the development of bilateral relations with the United States will not affect our relationship with any third country.....

**JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER THE MEETING BETWEEN PRIME  
MINISTER BENAZIR BHUTTO AND PRESIDENT CLINTON  
WASHINGTON  
(April 11, 1995)**

President Clinton and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto called today for enhanced efforts to strengthen the traditional friendship between the United States and Pakistan, based on their shared commitment to democracy, economic liberalization, human rights, peaceful resolution of regional conflicts, conventional arms control, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and societies free from the evils of narcotics.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that in the post-Cold War era, Pakistan has a key role to play in promoting moderation, peace and stability in South and Central Asia and in the Islamic World. Both leaders welcomed the cooperation between their countries in UN peacekeeping operations, especially in Haiti, Bosnia and Somalia. The large contributions made by the U.S. and Pakistan for UN peacekeeping operations and their determination to strengthen the role of the United Nations in conflict resolution underscored their commitment to international peace and stability.

Recognizing that the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir remains the primary source of tension in the region, the two leaders agreed on the need for India and Pakistan to engage in a substantive dialogue to resolve the Kashmir issue. Taking into account the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, Prime Minister Bhutto reiterated to President Clinton Pakistan's willingness to accept American or other international mediatory efforts to help the parties find a just and lasting solution to the Kashmir dispute.

President Clinton and Prime Minister Bhutto reaffirmed their support for global and regional efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and to forestall production and deployment of ballistic missile delivery systems.

The two leaders agreed on the need for the earliest possible conclusion of a nondiscriminatory and adequately verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons and a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. They also welcomed upcoming talks between the U.S. and Pakistan on South Asia security, arms control and non-proliferation at which nuclear and missile proliferation and its relationship to regional, multilateral and global issues would be discussed.

President Clinton and Prime Minister Bhutto pledged to work together to expand U.S. Pakistani security relations, consistent with the laws and policies of both countries. In this connection, they welcomed the revival of the U.S. Pakistani Consultative Group as a means to strengthen military and security ties between their countries. The two leaders pledged to work to find a mutually acceptable solution to military supply issues. For his part, President Clinton expressed his intention to work with Congress to revise the Pressler Amendment to facilitate both a stronger relationship with Pakistan and nuclear non-proliferation aims in South Asia.

The two leaders strongly welcomed the deepening ties in trade and investment resulting from Pakistan's broad economic reform program. The two leaders noted significant investment commitments and expressions of intent, especially in the energy sector. The two leaders agreed to step up scientific and cultural exchanges consistent with their laws and policies. In this connection, the U.S. and Pakistan signed a letter of intent to expand scientific and technical cooperation.

President Clinton and Prime Minister Bhutto recognized that narcotics addiction and trafficking are a global scourge and pledged to work together closely to reduce domestic demand for illegal narcotic drugs, to eradicate cultivation, production and export of drugs to or from their territories, and to arrest and punish narcotics traffickers around the world. President Clinton welcomed Pakistan's expanded counter narcotics efforts in early 1995, and the two leaders agreed to enhance cooperation in this area.

**MESSAGE OF FELICITATIONS FROM THE US PRESIDENT TO THE  
PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN**  
(12 July 2004)

Following is the text of the message of felicitations from President of the United States Mr. George W. Bush to Prime Minister Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain on his assumption of the Office of the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

**Message begins**

Congratulations on being named Prime Minister of Pakistan. I value highly the close working relationship between the United States and Pakistan, which goes back more than 50 years. The United States greatly appreciates Pakistan's strong support for the war on terror. I look forward to continuing to work with your government on the many issues of common interest to our two countries.

**Message ends**

Islamabad,  
July 12, 2004.

**DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE CALLS ON PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN  
MINISTER**  
(15 July 2004)

United States Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Richard Armitage, called on Foreign Minister Khurshid M. Kasuri at the Foreign Office this morning. They held a comprehensive exchange of views on bilateral relations, security and defence matters, regional and international issues, including Pakistan-India relations, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Foreign Minister Khurshid Kasuri expressed satisfaction at the fact that US was looking for a long term strategic relationship with Pakistan beyond Iraq and Afghanistan. He said this to Secretary Armitage, who assured him of US desire for a long term commitment and strategic relations with Pakistan. Foreign Minister Kasuri recalled similar assurances given to him during his meeting with the top US leaders in May in Washington this year. Secretary Armitage told the Foreign Minister that US Administration would support the implementation of the multi-year economic and defence assistance package concluded during the visit of President Pervez Musharraf. Foreign Minister Kasuri said that Pakistan desired durable peace in the region. Secretary Armitage said that US would-be responsive to Pakistan's genuine security needs so that it could contribute to its defence capability.

Foreign Minister Kasuri emphasized the key role being played by Pakistan as a factor of stability not just as one of the important countries in the Islamic world but also because of its contribution, in promoting regional and global peace and security. While discussing the resumption of the composite dialogue with India, the Foreign Minister stated that Pakistan was genuinely interested in having durable peace with India, but that could only be ensured by resolving the issue of Jammu & Kashmir, which had been a cause of perpetual tension in the region. He said that this could best be achieved by addressing the aspirations of the people of Jammu & Kashmir. Secretary Armitage said that US was keen on seeing progress in the composite dialogue between India and Pakistan and would remain engaged in the process.

Foreign Minister Kasuri spoke to Secretary Armitage about the strong reaction on the recent memo of the US Department of Home Security to officials at major US airports to be extra vigilant regarding Pakistanis or Americans of Pakistani origin. These security instructions, the Foreign Minister said, were discriminatory and would send very negative signals to the people of Pakistan.....

Foreign Minister Kasuri informed Secretary Armitage about the new Export Control Legislation on WMD. This comprehensive national legislation has been approved by the Cabinet and has been presented to the Parliament for approval to further streamline the current export control framework as an expression of Pakistan's commitment to Nuclear Non-proliferation. Secretary Armitage expressed his appreciation over this development.

Islamabad,  
July 15, 2004.

**US DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE CALLS ON THE PRIME  
MINISTER OF PAKISTAN**  
(15 July 2004)

The US Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage called on Prime Minister Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain in Islamabad today. Mr. Armitage congratulated the Prime Minister on assuming his Office. The Prime Minister said Pakistan valued friendship with the United States and looked forward to a broad-based and durable partnership between the two countries.

The Prime Minister exchanged views with Mr. Armitage on the wide-ranging bilateral cooperation between Pakistan and the United States as well as important regional developments including Pakistan-India dialogue process and Afghanistan. The meeting was characterized by complete agreement on pursuing close bilateral ties and joining efforts to promote peace and stability in the region.

Mr. Armitage stated that the US stood for long-term friendship with Pakistan beyond the ongoing war on terrorism. The Prime Minister expressed his satisfaction at the revived US economic and security assistance to Pakistan. He said Pakistan had been a victim of terrorism and the Government was committed to pursuing vigorously the hunt for those indulging in terrorist activities to rid the country of the threat posed by them.

Earlier, Mr. Armitage had meetings with Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz, Foreign Minister Khurshid M. Kasuri and Foreign Secretary Riaz H. Khokhar. The discussions held in these meetings enabled the two sides to review in-depth the present state of cooperation in diverse sectors with emphasis on economic and security assistance.

The talks between Foreign Secretary Riaz Khokhar and Deputy Secretary Armitage also covered important international subjects including the forthcoming elections in Afghanistan and the situation in Iraq. Mr. Armitage said he was encouraged by the commencement of India-Pakistan dialogue. The Foreign Secretary said Pakistan had a positive attitude toward the dialogue process with India and expected discussions on substantive issues including Kashmir in the next round.

Islamabad  
July 15, 2004.

**CONDOLENCE MESSAGE FROM PAKISTAN TO FORMER US FIRST  
LADY MRS. BETTY FORD**  
(27 December 2006)

Excellency,

I am deeply saddened to learn of the passing away of President Gerald Ford. We share your sense of profound loss and sorrow. In this moment of personal grief our thoughts and prayers are with you and members of your family.

President Ford had a long and distinguished career of public service. He will be remembered for his leadership and accomplishments during his presidency. His exemplary devotion and dedicated services to his country will always be a source of admiration for us.

On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan, and on my own behalf, I extend to you our heartfelt condolences and sympathy.

General Pervez Musharraf  
President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

**PRESIDENT BUSH CONGRATULATES PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF**  
(30 November 2007)

The President of the United States of America, George W. Bush telephoned President Pervez Musharraf to congratulate him on the assumption of office as the President of Pakistan for the second term. President Bush also lauded the President's commitment to fight extremism and terrorism.

Islamabad,  
30 November 2007.

**US CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION CALLS ON PRESIDENT OF  
PAKISTAN**  
(30 November 2007)

A U.S. Congressional delegation led by Senator Bob Corker called on President Pervez Musharraf in Rawalpindi today. The discussions during the meeting focused on Pakistan-U.S. relations, counter-terrorism, and the recent political developments.

The President underlined the importance of broad-based and long-term Pakistan-U.S. relationship. He told the Congressional delegation that Pakistan was firmly on the path of democracy. In this regard, the President highlighted the steps taken recently towards the completion of the third phase of transition to full civilian rule. The President reiterated the government's commitment to hold elections on schedule, in a free, fair and transparent manner.

President Musharraf reaffirmed Pakistan 's firm resolve to fight extremism and terrorism and said that a comprehensive strategy was being pursued in dealing with this menace. He stressed that Pakistan would not allow any entity to use its territory for terrorist activity anywhere. The President underlined the need for better understanding in the U.S. of the government's efforts in the areas of counter-terrorism, good governance, and protection of civil liberties. The President said he looked forward to Congressional support for stronger Pakistan-U.S. ties and closer cooperation in diverse fields.

For their part, the members of the Congressional delegation affirmed the strategic importance for the U.S. of its relationship with Pakistan. The delegation lauded the President's commitment to fight extremism and terrorism and recognized Pakistan 's contribution to counter-terrorism efforts. The Members also appreciated the various steps taken in the context of transition to full democracy and underlined the importance of free, fair and transparent elections.

The Congressional delegation includes Senator Bob Corker (Tennessee), Congressman David Dreier (California) , Congressman Darrell Issa ( California ), and Congressman Joe Wilson ( South Carolina ). They serve on various Congressional Committees including Appropriations, Foreign Affairs, and Armed Services.

During the call, U.S. Ambassador Anne W. Patterson was also present.

Islamabad,  
30 November 2007.

**STATEMENT BY PAKISTAN FOREIGN SECRETARY AT THE MIDDLE  
EAST CONFERENCE IN ANNAPOLIS**  
(29 November 2007)

Following are the Remarks by the Foreign Secretary at the Middle East Conference at Annapolis on 27 November 2007.

**Quote**

Secretary of State Dr. Rice,  
Excellencies,

We greatly appreciate your invitation to Pakistan to participate in this important conference. We thank President Bush and especially thank you Madam Secretary of State for your untiring efforts that have helped to launch this new initiative in the establishment of the joint understanding read out by President Bush this morning. The important statements that have been made in support of the initiative also reflect a new resolve by the international community to address the Palestinian issue.

Pakistan has strong and longstanding commitment to the Palestinian cause, restoration of all occupied Arab territories and the establishment of an independent State in their own homeland. Pakistan supports all sincere efforts and initiatives in that direction especially the Beirut Declaration of Arab League. The Annapolis understanding has all the ingredients for an auspicious beginning:

- It proposes to draw upon all other initiatives and promises to address the issue comprehensively. It contemplates Syrian and Lebanese tracks in addition to addressing the Palestinian issue.
- It clearly calls for the establishment of a Palestinian State and promises to address all final status issues. Importantly, it has a time-line for reaching a comprehensive agreement by end-2008. It has a mechanism in the establishment of a steering committee.

It is important that progression in this initiative and the peace process is not allowed to be derailed for any reason or by any incident. We must adhere to the time-line of 2008. The end of the Palestinian tragedy will calm the conflict and turbulent environment in the Middle East and beyond. It will remove the principal impulse for violence in the region. We fully support the initiative launched today. Much will depend on the follow-up. It remains our hope that Annapolis will become a historic turning point in the search for a just solution of Palestine and for bringing enduring peace in the Middle East. I thank you.

Unquote

Islamabad,  
29 November 2007.

**DOCUMENTS ON PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**



**ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN  
CHINA AND PAKISTAN**  
[5 January 1950]

The Government of Pakistan made the following announcement on 5th January, 1950: "The Government of Pakistan announce that they recognise the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China established at Peking as de jure Government of China. They trust that friendly and cordial relations between China and Pakistan will be cemented in all spheres to their mutual advantage."

Mr. Li Kenung, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China replied on 4th February, 1950 to the Pakistan Government: "the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has agreed to establish, as soon as possible, diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty," and welcomed the Government of Pakistan to send a representative to Peking to proceed with negotiations regarding the preliminary procedure for the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan.

Charge d'Affaires Mr. Ahmed Ali, representative of the Pakistan Government arrived in Peking on 24th April, 1951 and started the negotiations. The negotiations concluded successfully on 21st May and both the sides agreed to exchange ambassadors. The Government of Pakistan also agreed that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China send Mr. Han Nianlong as Ambassador of the People's Republic of China in Pakistan.

**PAKISTAN CHINA JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF  
PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA**

[18-29 October 1956]

At the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China, Prime Minister Suhrawardy of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan has come on a visit to the People's Republic of China from October 18 to October 29.

During his stay in Peking, Prime Minister Suhrawardy held several talks with Premier Chou En-lai as well as with Chairman Mao Tse-tung. During these talks there was a frank and informal exchange of views on subjects of mutual interest. The talks which covered a wide range of subjects, were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and have contributed greatly to the strengthening of the friendly relations already existing between the two countries.

The Prime Ministers affirmed their determination to direct their best efforts to the maintenance of peace and to do all in their power to relax international tensions. They are convinced that with goodwill and sincerity there are no international disputes that cannot be settled in a peaceful manner.

The Prime Ministers took cognizance of the contribution made at the Bandung Conference to the lessening of world tension and to the promotion of better relations among nations. They reaffirmed their faith in the Bandung Resolutions and expressed their readiness to continue their efforts to promote friendly cooperation among the Asian and African countries.

As a result of the talks, the two Prime Ministers have reached a further appreciation of their respective problems and are prepared to do their best on the basis of peace and justice to facilitate their settlement.

With a view further to strengthening mutual understanding and friendship between the two countries, the Prime Ministers recognised the need for the development of commercial and cultural relations as well as friendly contacts.

Prime Minister Suhrawardy has invited Premier Chou En-lai to visit Pakistan. Premier Chou En-lai has accepted the invitation with pleasure and will visit Pakistan in the near future.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE CHINESE  
PREMIER TO PAKISTAN**  
[24 December 1956]

At the invitation of the Prime Minister and the Government of Pakistan extended during the Prime Minister's recent visit to China, His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China has visited Pakistan for a period of ten days. His Excellency is accompanied by his distinguished colleagues, His Excellency Marshal Ho Lung, Vice-Premier of the State Council, and a number of high ranking officials. During His Excellency's stay in Karachi, he has had talks with the leaders of Pakistan, namely Major General Iskander Mirza, President of Pakistan, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister respectively of Pakistan.

The Prime Ministers of China and Pakistan have had occasion to meet previously when the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited China two months ago. At these meetings, talks had taken place covering a wide range of subjects. Matters of mutual interest, as well as problems of international concern were discussed. At the conclusion of these talks in Peking, a joint statement was issued which expressed the desire of both the countries to continue to further the friendly relations existing between China and Pakistan and to promote the great cause of world peace.

The Prime Ministers have now had further opportunities, during the visit of the Prime Minister of China to Pakistan, to discuss matters of mutual interest to both the countries and recent international developments. These talks have been held in an atmosphere of cordiality and frankness. The Prime Ministers have noted with much concern that there has been a considerable change in the international situation since they last met. They are agreed that there has been an increase in tension and the situation requires constant vigilance and constructive action on the part of all peace-loving countries. It is absolutely essential that a climate of peace should be created. The Prime Ministers would like to reiterate their desire that every effort should be made to reduce international tensions and to promote the cause of world peace and understanding.

The two Prime Ministers are of the view that the difference between the political systems of Pakistan and China and the divergence of views on many problems should not prevent the strengthening of friendship between their two countries. They reaffirm their earlier conviction that, with a view to promoting further the cordial and friendly relations existing between Pakistan and China, due importance should be given to commercial and cultural relations between the two countries. They are happy to place on record that there is no real conflict of interest between

the two countries. They are confident that the present visit has further consolidated the bonds of friendship existing between China and Pakistan.

The two Prime Ministers reaffirm their intention to continue to do their best to facilitate the settlement, on the basis of peace and justice, of their respective problems.

The Prime Ministers maintain that much good can flow from close contacts between the leaders of different countries. They will endeavour to maintain these contacts and hold consultations whenever possible.

**COMMUNIQUÉ ON BORDER AGREEMENT BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND  
CHINA**  
[28 December 1962]

Talks were started in Peking on October 12, 1962 between the diplomatic representatives of the People's Republic of China and Pakistan in pursuance of the decision of the two Governments on conducting negotiations on boundary of China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is the responsibility of Pakistan.

Upon reaching agreed views on procedural matters concerning the talks, the representatives of the two parties exchanged plain topographical maps which were checked technically by map experts of the two parties and on which an agreed understanding was attained. Following that, the two parties exchanged maps depicting the boundary line and held formal meetings as well as friendly consultations in a spirit of equality, co-operation, mutual understanding and mutual agreement. And now an agreement in principle has been reached on the location and alignment of the boundary actually existing between the two countries.

The two parties are highly satisfied with the speedy attainment of agreement of boundary question left over by history, and mutually agree that boundary agreement between the countries should be signed on this basis as soon as possible.

The boundary agreement fully safeguards the rights and interests of both the countries and demonstrates the efficacy of negotiations as a peaceful method of resolving international disputes on the basis of mutual respect and goodwill.

**JANUARY 1963 TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

The Government of Pakistan and the Government of the People's Republic of China desiring further to enhance the friendship and develop trade relations between the two countries have, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, agreed as follows:-

**ARTICLE –I**

The Government of Pakistan agree to allow, subject to their import and foreign exchange regulations, the import from the People's Republic of China of the commodities/goods mentioned in schedule 'A' to this agreement.

The Government of the People's Republic of China agree to allow the export to Pakistan of the commodities/goods mentioned in schedule 'A' to this agreement, subject to their laws and regulations.

**ARTICLE-II**

The Government of Pakistan agrees to allow the export to the People's Republic of China of the commodities/goods mentioned in schedule 'B' to this agreement, subject to their laws and regulations.

The Government of the People's Republic of China agree to allow, subject to their import and foreign exchange regulations, the import from Pakistan of the commodities/goods mentioned in schedule 'B' to this agreement.

**ARTICLE-III**

The two Governments agree that the schedules 'A' and 'B' are not to be construed as excluding the exchange of other commodities/goods not included in those schedules.

**ARTICLE-IV**

The two Contracting Parties agree that, subject to the prices and quality being competitive, equilibrium in the export and import trade between the two countries would be desirable, by both the parties.

## ARTICLE-V

The Two Governments shall accord to each other most-favoured-nation treatment in all matters with respect to import and export licensing, customs duties and charges of any kind imposed on or in connection with importation or exportation and with respect so the method of levying such duties and charges, with respect to the rules and formalities connected with importation and exportation, and with respect to all internal taxes or internal charges of any kind and with respect to all laws, regulations and requirements affecting internal safe, offering for sale, purchase, distribution or use of imported goods within the territory of each Government.

## ARTICLE-VI

The provisions of article V shall not apply to:

- (a) Any advantage which either Contracting Party has accorded or may accord, at any time during the period of validity of this agreement, to bordering countries in order to facilitate frontier traffic.
- (b) Advantages accorded in connection with the Customs Union or Free Trade Area to which either Contracting Party is or may become a member.
- (c) Preferences or advantages accorded by Pakistan to any country prior to the 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 and existing on the date of signing this agreement or accorded in replacement of such preferences or advantages.
- (d) Measures which either Contracting Party may take to maintain its essential security interests and to protect the health of human beings, animals and plants.

## ARTICLE-VII

Merchants ships belonging to either Contracting Party shall enjoy, in the ports of the other Party in respect of taxes, charges, customs duties, bunkering and other services or facilities the same treatment as accorded to ships of any other third country, except that any concessions/preferences accorded by either Contracting Party to ships engaged in the coastal trade shall not be available to the other Party under the agreement.

## ARTICLE-VIII

During the currency of this agreement, the Schedules to this agreement may be altered or supplemented by mutual agreement.

## ARTICLE-IX

The two Contracting Parties agree that the exchange of commodities and goods between the two countries shall be through normal channels obtaining in either country including trade channels, relevant Government departments or state trading organizations.

## ARTICLE-X

Payments and other charges in connection with import and export of commodities and goods as well as other payments between the two countries shall be made or discharged in Convertible Pound Sterling unless otherwise agreed to by the Governments of the two countries.

## ARTICLE-XI

The two Contracting Parties agree to consult each other whenever necessary in order to recommend measures for expanding mutual trade or to overcome any difficulties that may arise in connection with the fulfillment of this agreement and also to consider any modifications thereof.

## ARTICLE-XII

The two Contracting Parties agree to enter into such arrangements and contracts as may be considered by them to be necessary from time to time during the period of validity of this agreement to facilitate the development of trade between the two countries.

## ARTICLE-XIII

This agreement shall come into force with effect from the date of its signature and shall remain in force for a period of one year. It will be automatically extended for another period of one year unless a notice of termination is given by either Contracting Party three months before the date of its expiry. Further extensions shall be affected in a similar manner.

Done in Karachi on this the 5<sup>th</sup> Day of January 1963, in duplicate each written in the English and Chinese languages both texts being equally authentic.

Wahiduzzaman  
Leader,  
Pakistan Trade Delegation

Lin Hai-Yun  
Leader,  
Chinese Trade  
Delegation

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE MINISTER FOR  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF PAKISTAN TO CHINA**

[26 February - 4 March 1963]

The Government of Pakistan and the People's Republic of China reached an agreement in principle in December 1962, regarding the alignment of the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan. The Government of the People's Republic of China extended an invitation to late Mr. Mohammad Ali, as the Minister of External Affairs of Pakistan, to visit China for signing the formal Boundary Agreement. Due to the tragic demise of Mr. Mohammad Ali his visit could not materialize. The Government of the People's Republic of China renewed the invitation to Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister of External Affairs of Pakistan.

2. Accompanied by the members of his delegation, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto arrived in China on 26th February, 1963. He left China on 4th of March, 1963. During his stay in China Mr. Bhutto visited Canton, Shanghai and Peking. He was warmly welcomed by the Chinese Government and the Chinese people.

3. The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Mr. Mao Tse-tung, and the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Liu Shao-chi, received Mr. Bhutto and his delegation, and held cordial and friendly conversations with them. Talks were held in a friendly and frank atmosphere between the Premier of the State Council of China, Mr. Chou En-lai, and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi, and Mr. Bhutto, Minister of External Affairs of Pakistan.

4. The Boundary Agreement between Pakistan and China was signed by the two Foreign Ministers on the 2nd of March, 1963 at 3.00 P.M. at the Great Hall of the People. The Chairman, Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders were present at the ceremony

5. It was agreed that a Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission charged with the responsibility of implementing the Agreement will be established as soon as possible, in accordance with article four of the above mentioned agreement.

6. In the talks, the representatives of the two Governments reviewed the development of friendly relations between China and Pakistan since the establishment of diplomatic relations between them. They were particularly satisfied at the fact that the Governments of China and Pakistan, in the spirit of equality, cooperation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, have settled the

question of the boundary actually existing between the two countries through friendly consultations and have signed the Boundary Agreement. This demonstrated that friendly consultations, on the basis of mutual respect and goodwill, is the effective way to settle boundary differences and other international issues. They expressed their conviction that the conclusion of the Boundary Agreement has a significant bearing on the consolidation and development of friendly and good neighbourly relations between China and Pakistan, and has contributed to the consolidation of peace in Asia and in the world.

7. The representatives of the two governments reaffirmed their belief in the national sovereignty and equality of countries and in the basic right of all peoples to decide their own destinies in accordance with their free will. They expressed a common desire to promote cooperation between China and Pakistan on the basis of equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

8. With regard to the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, the Pakistan Minister of External Affairs reiterated that Pakistan has consistently worked and will continue to strive for an equitable and honourable settlement of this dispute with India through peaceful negotiations. The Chinese Government expressed its appreciation of the attitude of the Pakistan Government in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute and was of the belief that expeditious settlement of this question would be conducive to peace in Asia and in the world.

9. With regard to the Sino-Indian dispute, the two Governments expressed the hope that a fair and reasonable settlement would be achieved through direct negotiations between China and India. The Chinese Government reiterated that there would be no change in the Chinese Government's determination to strive for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations.

**AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN ON  
THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN CHINA'S SINKIANG AND THE  
CONTIGUOUS AREAS THE DEFENCE OF WHICH IS UNDER THE  
ACTUAL CONTROL OF PAKISTAN**  
[2 March 1963]

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Pakistan,

Having agreed, with a view to ensuring the prevailing peace and tranquility on the border, to formally delimit and demarcate the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan, in a spirit of fairness, reasonableness, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and on the basis of the Ten Principles as enunciated in the Bandung Conference;

Being convinced that this would not only give full expression to the desire of the peoples of China and Pakistan for the development of good-neighbourly and friendly relations, but also help safeguard Asian and world peace;

Have resolved for this purpose to conclude the present Agreement and have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries the following:

For the Government of the People's Republic of China: Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

For the Government of Pakistan: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister of External Affairs;

Who, having mutually examined their full powers and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

**Article One**

In view of the fact that the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan has never been formally delimited, the two Parties agree to delimit it on the basis of the traditional customary boundary line including natural features and in a spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly cooperation.

## Article Two

I. In accordance with the principle expounded in Article One of the present Agreement, the two Parties have fixed, as follows, the alignment of the entire boundary line between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan:

(1) Commencing from its northwestern extremity at Height 5630 metres (a peak, the reference co-ordinates of which are approximately Longitude 74°34'E and Latitude 37°03'N), the boundary line runs generally eastward and then southeastward strictly along the main watershed between the tributaries of the Tashkurgan River of the Tarim River system on the one hand and the tributaries of the Hunza River of the Indus River system on the other hand, passing through the Kilik Daban (Dawan), the Mintaka Daban (Pass), the Kharchanai Daban (named on the Chinese map only), the Mutsjilga Daban (named on the Chinese map only), and the Parpik Pass (named on the Pakistan map only), and reaches the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass).

(2) After passing through the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass), the boundary line runs generally southward along the above-mentioned main watershed up to a mountain-top south of this Daban (Pass), where it leaves the main watershed to follow the crest of a spur lying generally in a southeasterly direction, which is the watershed between the Akjilga River (a nameless corresponding river on the Pakistan map) on the one hand, and the Taghdumbash (Oprang) River and the Keliman Su (Oprang Jilga) on the other hand. According to the map of the Chinese side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, runs along a small section of the middle line of the bed of the Keliman Su to reach its confluence with the Kelechin River. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, reaches the sharp bend of the Shaksgam or Muztagh River.

(3) From the aforesaid point, the boundary line runs up the Kelechin River (Shaksgam or Muztagh River) along the middle line of its bed to its confluence (reference co-ordinates approximately Longitude 76°02'E and Latitude 36°26'N) with the Shorbukh Daria (Shimshal River or Braldu River).

(4) From the confluence of the aforesaid two rivers, the boundary line, according to the map of the Chinese side, ascends the crest of a spur and runs along it to join the Karakoram Range main watershed at a mountain-top (reference co-ordinates approximately Longitude 75°54'E and Latitude 36°15'N), which on this map is shown as belonging to the Shorbukh Mountain. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line from the confluence of the above-mentioned two

rivers ascends the crest of a corresponding spur and runs along it, passing through Height 6520 metres (21,390 feet) till it joins the Karakoram Range main watershed at a peak (reference co-ordinates approximately Longitude 75°57'E and Latitude 36°03'N).

(5) Thence, the boundary line, running generally southward and then eastward, strictly follows the Karakoram Range main watershed which separates the Tarim River drainage system from the Indus River drainage system, passing through the East Mustagh Pass (Muztagh Pass), the top of the Chogri Peak (K2), the top of the Broad Peak, the top of the Gasherbrum Mountain (8068), the Indirakoli Pass (named on the Chinese map only) and the top of the Teram Kangri Peak, and reaches its southeastern extremity at the Karakoram Pass.

II. The alignment of the entire boundary line, as described in Section I of this Article, has been drawn on the 1/one million scale map of the Chinese side in Chinese and the 1/one million scale map of the Pakistan side in English, which are signed and attached to the present Agreement.

III. In view of the fact that the maps of the two sides are not fully identical in their representation of topographical features, the two Parties have agreed that the actual features on the ground shall prevail, so far as the location and alignment of the boundary described in Section I is concerned; and that they will be determined as far as possible by joint survey on the ground.

### **Article Three**

The two Parties have agreed that

I. Wherever the boundary follows a river, the middle line of the river bed shall be the boundary line; and that

II. Wherever the boundary passes through a Daban (Pass), the water-parting line thereof shall be the boundary line.

### **Article Four**

I. The two Parties have agreed to set up, as soon as possible, a Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission. Each side will appoint a Chairman, one or more members and a certain number of advisers and technical staff. The Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission is charged with the responsibility, in accordance with the provisions of the present Agreement, to hold concrete discussions on and carry out the following tasks jointly:

(1) To conduct necessary surveys of the boundary area on the ground, as stated in Article Two of the present Agreement, so as to set up boundary markers at places considered to be appropriate by the two Parties and to delineate the boundary line on the jointly prepared accurate maps.

(2) To draft a Protocol setting forth in detail the alignment of the entire boundary line and the location of all the boundary markers and prepare and get printed detailed maps, to be attached to the Protocol, with the boundary line and the location of the boundary markers shown on them.

II. The aforesaid Protocol, upon being signed by the representatives of the Governments of the two countries, shall become an Annex to the present Agreement, and the detailed maps shall replace the maps attached to the present Agreement.

III. Upon the conclusion of the above-mentioned Protocol, the tasks of the Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission shall be terminated.

### **Article Five**

The two Parties have agreed that any dispute concerning the boundary which may arise after the delimitation of the boundary line actually existing between the two countries shall be settled peacefully by the two Parties through friendly consultations.

### **Article Six**

The two Parties have agreed that after the settlement of the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authority concerned will reopen negotiations with the Government of the People's Republic of China on the boundary, as described in Article Two of the present Agreement, so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace the present Agreement, provided that, in the event of that sovereign authority being Pakistan, the provisions of the present Agreement and of the aforesaid Protocol shall be maintained in the formal Boundary Treaty to be signed between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan.

## Article Seven

The present Agreement shall come into force on the date of its signature.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the second day of March, 1963, in the Chinese and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

[Chen Yi]

Minister of External Affairs,  
Plenipotentiary of the Government  
of the People's Republic of China

[Zulfikar Ali Bhutto]

Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Plenipotentiary of the  
Government of Pakistan

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON CONCLUSION OF SECOND  
SESSION OF CHINA-PAKISTAN JOINT BOUNDARY COMMISSION**  
[22 August -5 September 1963]

The second session of the China-Pakistan Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission was held in Karachi and Murree from August 22 to September 5, 1963.

Participating in the session from the Chinese side were: Chief Delegate Mr. Ting Kuo-yu, Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan; Deputy Chief Delegate Mr. Cheng Chihping; Delegates Mr. Tang Hai Kuang and Colonel Chang Chao-hsun; and Adviser Mr. Tang Pen and Mr. Liu Hal-ming; and from the Pakistan side were: Chief Delegate Major-General N.A.M. Raza, Pakistan Ambassador to China; Deputy Chief Delegate Mr. Kaiser Rasheed; Members: Dr. M. H. Rahman, Mr. A. R. Qureshi, Lt. Col. M. Aslam Khan and Mr. Fasiul Khan; and Advisers Mr. A. Ahad, Mr. G. H. Khan, Mr. S. Q. Hasan and Mr. Daud Shah Syed.

An atmosphere of friendship and cordiality prevailed throughout the session. In a spirit of cooperation and through full consultations, the two sides reached agreement on the tasks of ground survey, the erection of boundary markers and aerial photography. In accordance with the agreement, the joint survey teams would be dispatched to the border to start their work in the first week of September.

The present session also examined and approved the documents on aerial photography, ground survey and mapping as agreed upon by the Experts Group of the China-Pakistan Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission while working in Pakistan.

The delegations of the two sides were greatly satisfied with the success achieved by the present session.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE CHINESE  
PREMIER TO PAKISTAN**  
[23 February 1964]

At the invitation of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, H. E. Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China paid an official visit to Pakistan. He was accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Madame Chen Yi and high officials of the Chinese Government. In the course of this visit, Premier Chou En-lai and his party were accorded a warm reception everywhere.

2. The Prime Minister had a friendly exchange of views with the President of Pakistan. Their discussions covered the general international situation and the need for safeguarding world peace and, in that context, the importance of achieving general disarmament, including the total prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. They also reviewed recent developments in this region and arrived at a fuller understanding of matters of common interest to the two countries.

3. The President and the Prime Minister expressed satisfaction at the fact that the relations between the two countries had developed further since the Prime Minister's last visit to Pakistan in 1956, particularly since the signing of the Pakistan-China Boundary Agreement in March 1963. They agreed that friendly cooperation between them should continue within the framework of the Ten Principles of Peace enunciated at Bandung.

4. The President and the Prime Minister were gratified to note that the movement for national independence had made rapid progress in Asia and Africa and that in recent years many countries had achieved freedom and were now well on the road to independent development. They expressed their firm opposition to colonialism wherever and in whatever form it exists and hoped that it would soon be eradicated.

5. The President and the Prime Minister recalled that the first Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in 1955 had opened new avenues of cooperation among the peoples of Asia and Africa and helped to strengthen the forces of national independence in their struggle against colonialism. Since that historic Conference more than 30 new nations had emerged in Asia and Africa and it was therefore time that a Second Conference of Asian and African countries should be convened. Such a conference could make a valuable contribution to the prevention of aggression, the striving for world peace and the development of friendly cooperation among the Asian African countries.

6. The President and the Prime Minister noted with satisfaction the fact that many newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa had been admitted to the United Nations. They believed however that the United Nations could not be considered to be fully representative of mankind until the rightful place of the People's Republic of China in the Organisation was restored. They agreed that, in any event, as the membership of the United Nations had more than doubled since its foundation, it was necessary to give more adequate representation to the countries of Asia and Africa in the organs of the United Nations and in the specialized agencies.

7. The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the border dispute between India and China should and can be resolved peacefully through negotiations. They expressed the hope that the Kashmir dispute would be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan. It would be of no avail to deny the existence of these disputes and to adopt a big-nation, chauvinistic attitude of imposing one's will on others. Massive military preparations have never been the answer to international differences; they only create new tensions and bring added burdens to the people. An early settlement of these disputes, they considered, was necessary in the interest of world peace and the well-being of the peoples of Asia.

8. On behalf of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and in his own name, Premier Chou En-lai extended an invitation to President Mohammad Ayub Khan to visit the People's Republic of China at a time convenient to him. The President accepted this invitation with pleasure.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN TO CHINA**  
[2-9 March 1965]

At the invitation of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, paid a State Visit to the People's Republic of China from March 2 to 9, 1965. He was accompanied on the visit by Begum Aurangzeb, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Begum Bhutto, high officials and other dignitaries from Pakistan.

The President of Pakistan and his party were accorded a great welcome by the Government and People of China. The magnificent and enthusiastic reception extended to them fully demonstrated the high regard and warm friendship of the people of China for their neighbours, the people of Pakistan.

During the visit, Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met President Ayub Khan and had a friendly and cordial conversation with him.

Frank, sincere and friendly talks were held between President Ayub Khan and Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai on the present international situation, the further development of the relations of friendly co-operation between Pakistan and China and other matters of common interest.

Both parties were highly satisfied with the results of the talks.

The two parties held that the people of all countries are fully entitled to choose independently their own political and social systems free from outside interference and pressure.

They were of the firm conviction that so long as the Asian and African countries adhere in earnest to the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, friendly co-operation can be established and developed between them irrespective of the differences in their social systems. The close neighbourly relations that exist between Pakistan and China conclusively demonstrate the vitality of these principles of State conduct in international relations.

The two parties noted with pleasure the completion of the work of boundary demarcation in accordance with the Boundary Agreement concluded between the

two countries in March 1963. They were pleased that this task had been carried out by the Joint Pakistan-China Boundary Commission in a spirit of unfailing friendship and co-operation and that the Pakistan-China Boundary Protocol is to be signed shortly in Pakistan by the two Foreign Ministers.

The two parties were of the view that the development of the national economies of the Asian and African countries and the well-being of their peoples on the basis of self-reliance, and the carrying out of mutual assistance and co-operation among them in keeping with their respective productive capacities and in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, will help promote a rapid upsurge in their economies and the standard of living of their peoples.

Both parties held that the attainment of economic independence is an important condition for Asian and African countries to maintain and consolidate their political independence.

It was agreed that an agreement on cultural cooperation should be signed between the two countries as soon as possible.

The two parties expressed satisfaction over the growth of friendly relations between Pakistan and China. They reiterated their determination to continue to develop friendly co-operation between the two countries in the spirit of the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, and agreed that this would be in accord with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and conducive to the maintenance of peace and security in Asia. The two parties agreed that colonialism and racial discrimination in all their forms constituted obstacles to national independence and world peace. These obstacles must be completely eradicated in the interest of mankind.

They expressed firm support for the national independence movements and the struggles against imperialism and all forms of colonialism in Asia and Africa. They were convinced that Asian-African solidarity has become a great force for the complete liquidation of imperialism and all forms of colonialism and for the development of international relations on the basis of equality of states, both large and small, the consolidation of world peace and lasting friendship between the peoples of the world.

Both parties considered it necessary to hold a summit conference of all countries to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. They expressed opposition to the schemes to introduce nuclear weapons into the Indian Ocean because this would pose a threat to the independence and security of the

countries concerned aggravate tension in the Indian Ocean area and Southeast Asia, and undermine Asian-African solidarity.

The two parties agreed that the continuation of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute was against the interest of the peoples of China and India. They expressed the hope that this dispute would be settled through peaceful negotiations. They stressed that in handling disputes of this kind between Asian-African countries, to adopt an attitude of big-nation chauvinism, to intimidate neighbouring countries and to embark on a policy of arms expansion and war preparations by exploiting such disputes would, far from being conducive to their settlement, further impair relations between them and the solidarity of Asian and African countries.

The President of Pakistan reaffirmed his support to the immediate restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and all its organs. He reiterated Pakistan's opposition to the schemes for creating "two Chinas". The two parties held that the United Nations should reorganise itself in order to better reflect the balance of forces in the world and present international realities.

The two parties noted with concern that the Kashmir dispute remains unresolved, and considered its continued existence a threat to peace and security in the region. They reaffirmed that this dispute should be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan.

They were convinced that the implementation of all the decisions adopted at the Preparatory Meeting of the Second African-Asian Conference in Djakarta in April, 1964, and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation adopted at the First Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in 1955 and the reaffirmation of the same rule of procedure at the Preparatory Meeting at Djakarta, is of great importance to the success of the Second African-Asian Conference. The two parties expressed their readiness to work for the success of the Conference together with the other Asian and African countries.

The President of Pakistan extended an invitation to Chairman Liu Shao-chi to pay a state visit to Pakistan at a mutually convenient time. The Chairman accepted the invitation with pleasure.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF CHAIRMAN LIU  
SHAO-CHI TO PAKISTAN**  
[31 March 1966]

At the invitation of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, His Excellency Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Madame Liu Shao-chi paid a friendly State Visit to Pakistan. They were accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Madame Chen Yi and other high officials of the Chinese Government.

During the visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his party were accorded a rousing welcome and magnificent reception everywhere by the Pakistan Government and people, which demonstrated the sincere friendship of the Pakistan people for the Chinese people. Chairman Liu Shao-chi expressed his heart-felt thanks to the President and the Pakistan Government and people.

The Chairman and the President had a frank and friendly exchange of views on the present international situation and the further development of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Pakistan. They expressed satisfaction at the results of the talks.

The Chairman and the President stressed that the Kashmiri people's right of self-determination must be respected and the Kashmir dispute should be settled accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people as pledged to them by both Pakistan and India. The President reaffirmed that the Pakistan Government will continue to support the Kashmiri people's struggle for self-determination. The Chairman reaffirmed the firm support of the Chinese Government and people to the righteous stand of the Pakistan Government on this dispute and the just struggle of the Kashmiri people for their right of self-determination.

The President expressed the deep gratitude of the Government and people of Pakistan for the support they received from the Government and people of China in resisting aggression. The Chairman expressed admiration for the heroism and patriotism of the Pakistani people in their struggle against foreign aggression and intervention. The Chairman reaffirmed that the Chinese Government and people adhere to their principled stand of opposing aggression and assisting its victims, and that the Chinese people unswervingly stand on the side of the Pakistani people in their struggle to defend national independence and sovereignty and to oppose aggression.

The President reiterated the firm belief of the Government and people of Pakistan that the People's Republic of China should be restored its lawful rights in the United Nations, and that any scheme to create "Two Chinas" is bound to fail. The Chairman expressed thanks for this stand.

The Chairman and the President expressed satisfaction at the development of friendly relations between their countries. They stressed that the friendship between China and Pakistan is not based on expediency but has a solid foundation. The people of the two countries have given sympathy and support to each other in the struggle against aggression, and a profound friendship has been forged between them. The two parties are determined to further strengthen and develop the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan, and hold that this is in accord with the common desire of the two peoples and conducive to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF  
PAKISTAN TO CHINA**  
[10-14 November 1970]

At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the President of Pakistan, General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan paid a State Visit to the People's Republic of China from 10th to 14th November, 1970.

During the visit, the Chinese People's great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung met the President of Pakistan, General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan and members of his party and had a cordial and friendly conversation with them.

The President of Pakistan and his party were accorded a rousing welcome and a magnificent and enthusiastic reception by the Government and people of China. This fully demonstrated the sincere friendship and high regard of the people of China for the people of Pakistan.

Premier Chou En-lai and President Yahya Khan held talks in a very sincere and friendly atmosphere on important international issues, further development of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Pakistan and other questions of common interest. Both sides were highly satisfied with the results of the talks.

Taking part in the talks from the Chinese side were: Chief of the General Staff Huang Yung-Sheng, Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien, Deputy Chief of General Staff Chiu Hui-tso, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nien-Lung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang, Hsieh Huai-teh, Vice-Minister of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, Yuan Hun-ping, Head of the Equipment Department of the General Logistics, and leading-officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Wang Hai-yung, Chen Chu, Yang Kung-su and Li Tanan

Taking part in the talks from the Pakistan side were: Prof. G. W. Choudhry, Minister for Communications, Lt. General S.G.M.M. Peerzada, Principal Staff Officer to the President, Mr. M. M. Ahmad, Economic Adviser to the President, Mr. Sultan M. Khan, Foreign Secretary, Mr. K. M. Kaiser, Ambassador of Pakistan, Mr. Syed Ahmad, Secretary, Ministry of Information and National Affairs, Major General Malik, Major General M. Khurshid Haider, Mr. Tabarak Husain, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. F. A. Choudhury, Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. M. A. Jafri, Minister, Embassy of Pakistan, Group Captain Shujaat Ullah Khan, Air Attaché, Embassy of Pakistan, and Colonel Iftikhar Ahmad Khan, Army and Naval Attaché, Embassy of Pakistan.

The two sides expressed full satisfaction at the deep, all-round development of the friendly relations between China and Pakistan on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. The two sides expressed the view that the further strengthening and development of the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan were in accord with the common desire and fundamental interests of the two peoples and conducive to the Afro-Asian peoples' cause of unity against, imperialism. The two sides expressed the view that strict adherence by both China and Pakistan to the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence was exemplified in the settlement of the boundary question between the two countries. Such friendly relations between China and Pakistan provided a good example of friendly relations between states practising different social systems.

The Pakistan side expressed deep appreciation of the assistance and cooperation that China had extended to Pakistan and warmly acknowledged the fact that China's generous help in the true spirit of mutuality of benefit had contributed to the economic development of Pakistan. Noting that Pakistan had currently launched her Fourth Five Year Plan, the Chinese Government expressed its willingness to render to Pakistan further assistance within China's means and capacity to help make the economy of Pakistan self-reliant.

Warmly praising the determination and courage that the people of Pakistan had consistently displayed in safeguarding their national integrity, the Chinese side reiterated its firm support to the people of Pakistan in their struggle for the defence of national independence and against all forms of outside aggression or foreign interference and to the Kashmiri people in their just struggle for their right of self-determination. The Chinese side noted with interest the recent offer made by the President of Pakistan on the withdrawal of troops with a view to enabling the people of Jammu and Kashmir to freely exercise their right of self-determination, and considered it worthy of the support of the people of various countries. The Pakistan side expressed thanks for China's support.

The President apprised the Chinese leaders of the dispute over the distribution of the Ganges Waters. The Chinese side appreciated Pakistan's stand for a peaceful solution of this question and hoped for an early settlement of this dispute.

The Pakistan side reiterated that the Government of the People's Republic of China was the sole legal government of the Chinese people and that Taiwan was an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Pakistan side expressed the firm conviction that without the participation of the People's Republic of China the important problems that confront the world today could not be resolved

and reaffirmed that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored forthwith. The Chinese side expressed thanks for the friendly stand of Pakistan.

The two sides held that the present international situation was continuing to develop in favour of the peoples of various countries. The two sides reaffirmed that the people of all countries had the right to settle their problems by themselves without any outside threat and interference. The two sides expressed firm support to the peoples of Asia and Africa in their national independence movements and the struggle against imperialism and all forms of colonialism. They condemned the racist rule practised by the white colonialist authorities in South Africa and Rhodesia. Both sides expressed their determination to work for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons. The Pakistan side noted with positive interest China's proposal for a Summit Conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The Chinese side expressed thanks for this.

The two sides had an exchange of views on the situation in Indo-China. They held that the struggle of the three peoples of Indo-China for national liberation was just and that the Indo-China question must be settled by the peoples of Indo-China themselves.

The two sides expressed deep concern over the situation in the Middle East where Israel, in total disregard of world opinion, continued to enjoy the fruits of its aggression. Both sides held that Israel must vacate all Arab lands that it had seized by aggression. They reaffirmed their resolute support to the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and Israeli Zionism and for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The Pakistan side paid a warm tribute to the all-round progress that the dedicated people of China have achieved in such a short period of time. It expressed admiration at the profound transformation that China had undergone through the Great Cultural Revolution, under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Both sides agreed that the visit of the President of Pakistan, General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, to China and the useful exchange of views between the leaders of the two countries had made an important contribution to the further development, strengthening and consolidation of the friendly relations between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The President of Pakistan took this opportunity to renew his invitation to His Excellency Premier Chou En-Lai to pay a visit to Pakistan at a mutually convenient date. The Premier while thanking the President of Pakistan indicated that he would visit Pakistan at the earliest possible opportunity.

**PAKISTAN-CHINA JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED ON THE VISIT OF  
THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN TO CHINA**

[31 January — 2 February 1972]

At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, accompanied by Begum Bhutto, Members of the National Assembly, other political leaders, and a high-level official delegation, paid a State Visit to the People's Republic of China from January 31 to February 2, 1972.

The President of Pakistan and his party were accorded an enthusiastic reception and they were pleased to witness this demonstration of warmth of sentiments of the people of China for the people of Pakistan.

The President of Pakistan met the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai and conveyed to them sincere appreciation for the support given by China to Pakistan and the admiration of the people of Pakistan for the remarkable progress made by China under Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership.

The President had detailed exchange of views with Prime Minister Chou En-lai on the Indo-Pakistan conflict and its aftermath, major international issues and the further consolidation of friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan. The discussions were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. They were fully satisfied with the results of the discussions.

The President and the Prime Minister strongly condemned the naked aggression committed by India against Pakistan and the occupation of Pakistan's territory by her in blatant defiance of international law, the United Nations Charter and the Bandung Principles. They called upon the international community to take serious note of the grave consequences that must ensue for the world order if a country imposes its will on another neighbouring country by the use of military force involving armed aggression.

II

The President reiterated that future relations between the two parts of Pakistan should be established through negotiations between the elected leaders of the people without foreign intervention or influence and that the Indian forces must withdraw from East Pakistan to enable such negotiations to take place in an atmosphere free from coercion or intimidation. He urged all states to refrain from taking any precipitate action that would not only frustrate the objective but would, in fact,

legitimise Indian aggression. The Prime Minister expressed his understanding of and respect for the above stand of Pakistan.

### III

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the countries in South Asia as elsewhere should co-exist in peace and amity. They expressed their conviction that there can be no tranquility in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent unless India vacates territories under her military occupation in implementation of the Resolutions of the U. N. General Assembly and the Security Council dated 7th and 21st December, 1971 respectively. The United Nations must ensure strict observance of the cease-fire and the withdrawal of forces to their respective territories and to positions which respect the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir. They noted with gratification that the members of the Third World in general and the Islamic countries in particular are supporting the Government and the people of Pakistan in their struggle to preserve their national independence and territorial integrity against foreign aggression and interference in their internal affairs.

### IV

The President and the Prime Minister expressed grave concern over the fate of the Pakistani prisoners of war and civilians in East Pakistan who are in the hands of Indian occupation forces. They called upon India to fulfill her obligations under the Geneva Conventions and repatriate these persons without further delay. The President expressed readiness to repatriate Indian prisoners of war and other civil and military personnel from East Pakistan now in West Pakistan in order to assist in the rehabilitation of East Pakistan. The President and the Prime Minister further expressed their earnest hope that the atrocities being perpetrated against innocent civilians in East Pakistan would cease immediately.

### V

The President and the Prime Minister held that the international situation is developing in a more and more favourable way for the people of the various countries. The President expressed his desire for peace in South Asia and for friendly relations with all neighbouring countries based on the Bandung Principles. They firmly support the peoples of the Indo-Chinese countries in their just struggle for national liberation, the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and for the restoration of their legitimate rights, and the Afro-Asian peoples in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

## VI

The President and the Prime Minister noted with satisfaction the development of economic cooperation between the two countries. The Prime Minister stated that in order to help the development of the national economy of Pakistan, the Chinese Government has decided to change into grants the four loans which have already been provided to Pakistan and are being utilized and the repayment period of the loan provided in 1970 shall be deferred for twenty years. The Prime Minister further expressed the Chinese Government's readiness to provide Pakistan with fresh loans on similar terms when that loan has been utilised.

## VII

The President and the Prime Minister declared that friendship and understanding between their two countries are based on principles that are in accord with the fundamental interests and wishes of their peoples. They reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of respect for territorial integrity, peaceful coexistence, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The Prime Minister warmly praised the determination and courage that the people of Pakistan had constantly displayed in safeguarding their state sovereignty and territorial integrity and reiterated the Chinese Government and people's firm support to the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to preserve their state sovereignty and territorial integrity against outside aggression and interference and their firm support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in the just struggle for the right of self-determination.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED AT THE END OF THE VISIT OF THE  
PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN TO CHINA  
[11-14 May 1974]**

At the invitation of His Excellency Chou En-Lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from May 11 to May 14, 1974.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan and members of his delegation were accorded a warm and cordial reception by the Government and people of China, reflecting the close understanding and the profound traditional friendship that exist between the two Governments and peoples.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan met Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and they had a cordial and friendly conversation. Prime Minister Bhutto conveyed to the great leader of the Chinese people the profound admiration of the people of Pakistan for the progress achieved by the people of China in various fields of national reconstruction under his leadership. Prime Minister Bhutto praised China for consistently upholding in international affairs the principles that States, irrespective of their size or strength, should respect sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence and strictly refrain from interference in internal affairs as well as for the contribution she had made in this connection.

Prime Minister Bhutto also expressed to Chairman Mao Tse-tung the gratitude of the Government and people of Pakistan for China's steadfast and principled support on the questions of withdrawal of forces from the territories occupied in the 1971 India-Pakistan war and the unconditional release and repatriation of the Pakistani prisoners of war as required under the resolutions of the United Nations and the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

Premier Chou En-Lai, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Prime Minister Bhutto held wide-ranging discussions in a sincere and friendly atmosphere on the current international situation and the developments in South Asia as well as on further developing the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. Both sides expressed full satisfaction with the results of the talks.

Both sides agreed that at the present time the international situation was developing in a direction favourable to peoples everywhere and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. The Third World had awakened and was playing an ever more important role in international affairs. The struggle of the peoples of the Third

World for complete political independence and their demand for a change in the present iniquitous world economic order were becoming an irresistible historical trend.

In this context the two sides welcomed in particular the results of the recently concluded Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly as constituting an important milestone in the struggle of the Third World countries for the establishment of a just international economic order in the fields of controlling their own natural resources, reforming international trade, reforming the monetary system and principles of economic assistance to the developing countries, and considered that the Session had made a positive contribution to strengthening the unity of the developing countries and promoting the struggle of the people of all countries against imperialism, and against hegemonism in particular. Both sides expressed their determination to continue their efforts, in cooperation with other states, to bring to an end the exploitation of the Third World and to establish a new world economic order based on equality and mutual benefit.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan informed the Premier of China of the results of the historic Second Islamic Summit Conference, held in Lahore in February, 1974, which was attended by Heads of State or high-ranking officials of thirty-six countries of Asia and Africa, representing a population of more than five hundred million. The main aims of the Conference were to support the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Zionism and following the recent sharp increase in prices of certain commodities to explore the possibilities of enabling the Third World countries to speed up their economic development through greater mutual co-operation on the basis of individual and collective self-reliance. Premier Chou En Lai welcomed the positive results achieved by the Islamic Summit and especially the increasingly important role played by the Islamic countries in the struggle of the Third World against colonialism, imperialism, expansionism and exploitation imposed by a system of unequal economic relations.

The two sides expressed firm support for the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their just struggle to win and defend national independence, safeguard state sovereignty, develop the national economy and protect their national resources. They firmly support the Indo-Chinese peoples in their just struggle against foreign aggression and for national liberation.

They firmly support the just struggle carried on by the Cambodian people under the leadership of the National United Front of Cambodia, with Head of State Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman, and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. They firmly support the Korean people's just cause of independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. They firmly support the Arab peoples in

their struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and for the recovery of the occupied territories and the full restitution of the national rights of the people of Palestine. They firmly support the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against Portuguese colonial rule and against racism in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The two sides noted with pleasure that agreements had been reached among the countries concerned of the South Asian Sub-Continent, which had led to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council and thus created favourable conditions for the normalisation of relations among the countries of the Sub-Continent. The two sides hoped that the countries of the Sub-Continent would live in friendship in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty, and they expressed readiness to develop good-neighbourly relations with the countries of the Sub-Continent on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.

While welcoming the positive development that had taken place on the South Asian Sub-Continent, the two sides emphasized the need for continuing vigilance against tendencies towards hegemonism and expansionism and assertion of claims to positions of dominance or spheres of influence, and reiterated their determination to oppose such tendencies and guard against foreign interference, aggression and subversive and disruptive activities. The Chinese Premier reiterated that the Chinese Government and people would, as always, firmly support the Government and people of Pakistan in their just struggle in defence of national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity, and firmly support the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for the right of self-determination.

The Chinese side warmly acclaimed the fact that, under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the people of Pakistan had achieved outstanding successes both in the internal and external spheres over the past two years by fully safeguarding Pakistan's political independence and state sovereignty, opposing foreign interference, healing the wounds of war, strengthening internal unity and developing the national economy. At the same time, the Pakistan Government had, during this period progressively strengthened its friendship and solidarity with the Islamic countries and other countries of the Third World.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan stated that Pakistan would continue to give full support to the Chinese people in their struggle to liberate the Taiwan Province which is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. He expressed his conviction that this struggle would be crowned with complete victory. The Chinese side thanked the Government and people of Pakistan for the support and help they had given China in many respects over the years.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that the visit of Prime Minister Bhutto to China had made a significant contribution to the further consolidation of the close relations between their two Governments and to deepening the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED AT THE END OF THE VISIT OF PRIME  
MINISTER OF PAKISTAN TO CHINA**

[26-30 May 1976]

At the invitation of His Excellency Hua Kuo-feng, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Begum Nusrat Bhutto paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from May 26 to May 30, 1976. The Prime Minister of Pakistan and members of his delegation were accorded a warm and cordial welcome by the Government and people of China reflecting the feelings of profound friendship and solidarity that have traditionally existed between the two Governments and peoples.

2. Chairman Mao Tse-tung met with the Prime Minister of Pakistan and held discussions in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Prime Minister Bhutto conveyed to the great leader of the Chinese people and through him to the fraternal people of China the greetings of the people of Pakistan and the gratitude of the Government and people of Pakistan for China's unfailing and firm support to the just cause of Pakistan. Prime Minister Bhutto praised China for consistently upholding in international affairs that all states, big or small, must respect the principles of sovereign equality and territorial integrity and political independence and strictly eschew interference in the internal affairs of other states.

3. Prime Minister Bhutto congratulated Premier Hua Kuo-feng on his appointment as the First Vice-Chairman of the Party and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

4. Prime Minister Bhutto and Premier Hua Guofeng held extensive talks on the current international situation, developments in South Asia as well as on bilateral relations and cooperation between the two countries. The two leaders expressed complete satisfaction with the outcome of the talks.

5. Reviewing the international situation, the two sides agreed that at present, the international situation is developing in a direction increasingly favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. They acclaimed the further awakening of the third world which was playing an ever greater role in international affairs. They agreed that the just struggle of the peoples of the Third World against imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism had become an irresistible historical trend. The two sides are opposed to the attempts by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony and spheres of influence in any part of the world.

6. The two sides agreed that a new economic order should be established on the basis of the principles of independence, self-reliance, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefits to replace the old economic order under which the Third World is exploited by a few big powers. They agreed to take all effective measures to strengthen Third World unity so as to change the unjust old economic orders, a legacy of the imperialist and colonist era.

7. The two sides acclaimed the great victory of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and held that it would be a source of inspiration to all peoples of the Third World in their determination to defend their national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity. The two sides firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful re-unification of their fatherland, firmly support the Arab people in their just struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and outside interference and for the recovery of the occupied territories and the complete restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people. The two sides warmly congratulate the African people on the victories they have won in their great struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, highly appreciated the African people's vigilance against outside interference in African affairs, and firmly supported the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in Southern Africa in their just struggle for independence and liberation and against apartheid and White minority rule.

8. The two sides welcomed the positive developments in the situation on the South Asian Sub-continent. The Prime Minister of Pakistan reiterated his commitment to normalising relations in South Asia in accordance with the Simla Agreement. He informed the Chinese Premier that the various steps envisaged in the Simla Agreement for normalising international relations in South Asia had been completed. Only the Jammu and Kashmir dispute now remained to be resolved peacefully in accordance with the right of self-determination recognised in United Nations Resolutions and accepted by both India and Pakistan. The Prime Minister reaffirmed that a just settlement of this dispute was imperative if relations between India and Pakistan are to be fully normalised on the basis of principles of peaceful co-existence. The Pakistan Prime Minister reaffirmed Pakistan's sincere desire to close the chapter of conflict and confrontation in South Asia and stressed the need for durable peace for Pakistan, India and Bangladesh so that they may be able to devote their energies and resources to the material and spiritual advancement of their peoples.

9. The Prime Minister apprised the Chinese Premier of the full rapprochement achieved between Pakistan and Bangladesh and expressed confidence that the historic ties between the peoples of the two countries would constitute a constructive element in promoting harmony and tranquility in the region. The Prime

Minister welcomed the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Bangladesh.

10. The Chinese Government welcomed the positive developments in the relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh and appreciated the contribution that Pakistan had made to the process of normalisation of relations with India. The Prime Minister of Pakistan apprised the Chinese Premier of the present state of relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Chinese Government looked with favour upon the Prime Minister's forthcoming visit to Kabul and hoped that it would lead to positive results.

11. The two sides emphasised that the relations among all countries in South Asia must reflect the principles of sovereign equality of States, large or small, inviolability of territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. They reaffirmed their opposition to expansionism, hegemonism and claims to dominance or spheres of influence. The Chinese Premier reiterated that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan people in safeguarding national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity. They also firmly support the struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for attaining their right to self-determination.

12. The two sides firmly support the just proposition of the Government of Sri Lanka for making the Indian Ocean zone of peace and the proposal of His Majesty the King of Nepal that Nepal be a zone of peace.

13. The Pakistan Prime Minister thanked the Chinese Premier for China's firm support to the proposal of the Pakistan Government for a nuclear-free zone in South Asia and expressed deep gratification at China's willingness to assume appropriate commitments arising there-from.

14. The Prime Minister of Pakistan reaffirmed that Pakistan would continue to give full support to the Chinese people in their struggle to liberate Taiwan which is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

15. The Pakistan side expressed deep admiration for the spectacular achievements made by the Chinese people under the great leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung in consolidating the results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and national reconstruction. The Chinese side warmly acclaimed the fact that under the leadership of Prime Minister Zulfikar Mi Bhutto the people of Pakistan had achieved outstanding successes both in the internal and external affairs, and safeguarded Pakistan's political independence, state sovereignty and

territorial integrity by opposing foreign interference and strengthening internal unity and developing the national economy.

16. The Chinese Premier welcomed the visit of Prime Minister Zulfikar Mi Bhutto which coincided with the 28th anniversary of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan. The two leaders noted that during this period relations between the two countries were characterised by ties of sincere and indestructible friendship and were convinced that the Prime Minister's present visit to China would consolidate further the deep and traditional relations between the two countries.

17. Prime Minister Bhutto extended a cordial invitation to Premier Hua Guofeng to visit Pakistan. The invitation was accepted by the Chinese Premier with pleasure.

**OFFICIAL STATEMENT ON TALKS BETWEEN PRESIDENT GENERAL  
MOHAMMAD ZIA-UL-HAQ AND PRESIDENT LI XIANNIAN**  
[6 March 1984]

President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq and President Li Xiannian held talks at CMLA Secretariat in Rawalpindi. The two-day talks revealed a complete identity of views between the two sides on all major international issues which included Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Middle East and the Iran-Iraq war. The two sides also exchanged views on the regional situation and bilateral relations.

Both sides agreed on the necessity of seeking apolitical solution of Afghanistan problem. They were of the view that the issue is not only a threat to peace but a cause of great suffering to the people of Afghanistan. Exodus of three million refugees was great burden on Pakistan's economy, the two leaders agreed. However, they expressed the conviction that a political solution of the problem should be based on the principles enunciated in the resolutions of the UN and OIC. The same principles, the two sides agreed, also apply to the Kampuchea issue.

The President of Pakistan briefed the Chinese President at length on the efforts particularly made by Pakistan to promote a peaceful solution of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Both sides agreed that efforts are needed to be continued to bring this conflict to an end which is causing tremendous destruction and loss of life as well as involved risk of wider conflict.

The Chinese Head of State expressed his appreciation for the principled and constructive policies followed by Pakistan on various issues to promote peace and stability within the region.

While reviewing bilateral relations both the Presidents expressed satisfaction at the excellent relations that exist between the two countries and were manifested in the increasing co-operation between the two countries in various spheres. The President, Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq expressed appreciation for the Chinese support and assistance for Pakistan's economic progress and development, especially in achieving self-reliance in various fields.

It may be recalled that the establishment of Joint Ministerial Committee during President Zia-ul-Haq's visit to China in 1982 had facilitated the promotion of mutual co-operation. A comprehensive review of progress made so far in this respect would take place at the next meeting of the Committee to be held in Beijing at a mutually convenient date.

The President of China extended an invitation to President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq to visit China. This was accepted with pleasure. The time of the visit would be determined through diplomatic channels.

During the talks, the President was assisted by the Foreign Minister, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, Finance Minister, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Information Minister, Raja Mohammad Zafarul Haq, Defence Minister, Mir Ali Ahmad Khan Talpur, COS to the President, Lt. Gen. K.M. Arif, Secretary General Defence, Maj. Gen. (Retd.) M. Rahim Khan, Foreign Secretary Mr. Niaz A. Naik, Information Secretary, Lt. Gen. Mujibur Rahman Khan, Secretary Commerce, Mr. Izhar-ul-Haq and Pakistan's Ambassador to China, Mr. M. A. Bhatti. The Chinese President had on his side, Mr. Tian Jiyun, Vice Premier Mr. Geng Defei, Vice Foreign Minister, Mr. Zhang Toubin, Vice Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, Mr. Tao Siju, Vice Minister of Public Security, Ambassador Wang Chunabin and senior officials of his delegation.

**STATEMENT ISSUED ON CONCLUSION OF VISIT TO THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA BY CHAIRMAN SENATE OF PAKISTAN**  
[3-9 February 1994]

On the invitation of Mr. Li Ruihuan, Chairman of National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Chairman Senate Mr. Wasim Sajjad led a 15 - member Senators' delegation on a weeklong visit to China from 3-9 February, 1994. The visit was part of a regular exchange of visits between the parliaments of the two countries and was meant to further consolidate the close and friendly relations.

Mr. Wasim Sajjad called on the Chinese President Mr. Jiang Zemin and apprised him on the latest situation in the IHK. On his meeting with the Chairman, CPPCC, Chairman Senate gave details of the continuing brutalities and unprecedented repression being unleashed by the Indian Security Forces on the innocent Kashmiris in the IHK. Pakistan wanted the Kashmir issue to be resolved in accordance with the UN resolutions.

Mr. Li Ruihuan said that China would like the Kashmir issue to be resolved through "joint efforts" and offered his government's assistance in any manner to solve the problem. He reiterated that whatever changes took place in the world situation, there will be no change in the friendly relationship between Pakistan and China. On the bilateral economic relations, Mr. Li said that there was need to step up efforts towards expanding bilateral economic relations.

**VISIT TO PAKISTAN BY CHINA'S VICE PREMIER  
AND FOREIGN MINISTER**  
[22 February 1994]

On February 22, formal talks were held between Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Mr. Qian Qichen and Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sardar Aseff Ahmad Ali at the Foreign Office. Foreign Secretary Mr. Shaharyar M. Khan, was also present during the talks.

The talks covered a wide range of bilateral relations and international, as well as regional issues. The Kashmir dispute came under detailed discussion. Both the sides expressed their concern at the gross human rights violations in Indian held Kashmir and were of the opinion that tension in the region would further escalate if a peaceful solution to the problem was not found.

Foreign Minister Sardar Aseff Ali drew attention of his Chinese counterpart to the persistent violation of human rights in the occupied valley. He said that because of the adamant attitude of India, the Foreign Secretaries' talks could not make any progress. Nevertheless, Pakistan would be willing to hold the talks with India if they were to reduce the level of repression in Kashmir. He also apprised Mr. Qian of the resolution at the current session of the Commission of Human Rights. He said that the resolution was not of a political nature and addressed the human rights issue. It only requested to send a fact finding mission to Indian held Kashmir.

Sardar Aseff Ahmad Ali said that despite certain difficulties and pressures, Pakistan was willing to discuss six non papers presented by India, if India were willing to have discussion on Pakistan's two non-papers which cover the core issue of Kashmir. The Chinese Vice Premier said that Pakistan and China should closely coordinate on this issue and all the non-papers should be discussed during talks between Pakistan and India.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the existing state of bilateral relations and shared the view that the relations should be further strengthened to the mutual benefit.

On the question of trade imbalances, China and Pakistan agreed that efforts should be made to rectify the adverse trade balance against Pakistan. Experts of the two countries would consult each other in this regard.

In-depth discussions were also held on issues concerning security in South Asia & nuclear non-proliferation. China appreciated Pakistan's principled position on the question of nuclear non-proliferation and hoped that a negotiated settlement would be worked out. The Vice Premier underlined the need for close coordination between China and Pakistan on the issues relating to regional security.

Mr. Qian Qichen also called on the President and the Senate Chairman and discussed with them various aspects of bilateral cooperation besides regional and international issues.

**SPEECH BY PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA AT ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN**  
[2 December 1996]

Your Excellency President Leghari,  
Your Excellency Mr. Sajjad, Chairman of the Senate  
Respected Friends,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great joy that I have come to our close neighbor, the friendly Pakistan, for a state visit at the invitation of His Excellency President Leghari. I am exceptionally delighted today by the privilege of meeting all of you here. Please allow me to take this opportunity to convey to you and, through you, to the fraternal people of Pakistan the cordial greetings and best wishes of the Chinese People.

Pakistan is a great country with a time-honored and a splendid culture and its people are industrious, brave and talented. Since independence, the Government and people of Pakistan have worked hard and scored gratifying achievements in the cause of nation-building. Pursuing a foreign policy of peace, independence, and non-alignment, Pakistan plays a constructive and positive role in regional and international affairs. The Chinese Government and people are overjoyed by the accomplishment of our Pakistani brothers and wish them new and greater successes on their path of nation-building and economic rejuvenation.

China and Pakistan enjoy a profound friendship dating back to ancient times, a friendship that has withstood the test of international vicissitudes. Over the past 45 years since the establishment of diplomatic ties, thanks to the loving care of the leaders of the two countries and the joint efforts of the two sides, Sino-Pakistani relations have enjoyed an all-round growth and bilateral cooperation based on mutual benefit has produced fruitful results. Our two peoples have regarded each other as friends in need and brothers bound by common fate, always sympathizing with and supporting each other. The Chinese Government and people cherish profoundly the traditional friendship between our two countries and stand ready to join the Pakistani side in further solidifying and strengthening this friendly and cooperative relationship.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The subcontinent of South Asia is an ancient and fascinating land. When human cultures in many parts of the world remained in their infancy, the people here had already created the resplendent Harappa Culture, adding a glowing page to ancient civilization of mankind. In modern times, when colonialism and imperialism ran amuck in South Asia, the people here fought back with an unyielding struggle that lasted more than a century, writing down a glorious chapter in the history of winning national independence by Asian peoples. Today, the people in South Asia have, with firm steps, embarked on a new journey towards stability and development, determined to end poverty and backwardness and catch up with the trend of the times. We are pleased to see the heartening progress made by the South Asian countries in recent years in improving their relations with one another and strengthening regional cooperation. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has played a meaningful role in promoting peace, stability and economic cooperation in the region. As all South Asian countries are committed to economic development while vigorously exploring for a path of economic reform and development suited to their respective national conditions, a favorable momentum of steady economic growth has begun to emerge across the region.

South Asia has a large population, vast area, rich natural resources and huge potential for development. It is my firm belief that the various South Asian peoples, who won their independence with a display of a dauntless spirit, will surely usher in a new era of prosperity and abundance on their fertile land of millennial civilization through their indomitable endeavor. Asia's booming economies and the unfolding economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region have presented a valuable opportunity for the economic development of South Asia, whereas economic rejuvenation of South Asia will in turn facilitate Asia's rise and a more prosperous Asia-Pacific.

China and South Asia are linked not only by common mountains and rivers, but also by a time-honored history of cultural exchanges and friendly contacts. Since ancient times we have been good neighbors, good friends and good brothers. Looking back, Chinese high monks Fa-Hsien and Hsuan-Tsang, renowned South Asian monks Buddhabhadra and Bodhidharma, were among numerous forerunners who, undeterred by the hardship of journeying through mountains and rivers, helped build bridges of friendly contacts between the two sides.

China and South Asia have had similar historical experience, in that they all suffered from the frenzied plunder and ruthless trampling of colonialism and imperialism. It is our common fate in bad times that makes our friendship all the more endearing. We have all along sympathized with and supported each other, be-

it in our erstwhile fight for national liberation and independence or in our current quest for state sovereignty and faster economic development. We will always engrave on our mind the invaluable support from our friends.

As much as they are cradles of human civilizations, China and South Asia are also the birthplace of the famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in modern times. In mid-1950s, in a display of extraordinary vision, the statesmen of China, South Asia and some other Asian countries jointly initiated the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. This was a groundbreaking event of historic significance, giving expression not only to the common wish of the newly-independent Asian countries for world peace and equal coexistence but also to the universal demand of the people all over the world. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, like an evergreen tree drawing nutrients from both the oriental civilization and the spirit of the times, are displaying an undiminishing vitality after braving 40 years' of vicissitudes as they have norms governing state-to-state relations and the foundation for the new international political and economic order.

China and South Asian countries are all members of the developing world dedicated, as they are now, to developing their economies and improving their peoples' livelihood. They all need a peaceful and stable international environment and, particularly, a favorable surrounding environment. Given this, we are all positive factors making for peace and faster development.

To solidify our friendly and good-neighborly ties with the surrounding countries is our sincere wish and unwavering policy. Thanks to concerted efforts of the two sides in recent years, the multi-dimensional exchanges and cooperation between China and the various South Asian countries in many fields have grown steadily from strength to strength. Blessed with favorable political, economic, cultural and geographical conditions, the development of friendly relations and cooperation between the two sides holds out broad prospects and enjoys a huge potential for progress. We are ready to join hands with the South Asian countries in building a friendly and good-neighborly relationship that is long-term, stable and oriented towards the 21st century. To this end, we wish to propose.

Broadening exchanges and deepening the traditional friendship. We should, through a variety of exchanges, particularly direct contacts and dialogues between top leaders, enhance mutual understanding and trust and build closer ties between each other. We should make joint efforts to carry forward the friendship between China on one hand and various South Asian countries on the other which was cultivated by our older generations of leaders.

Respecting each other and handing down the friendly and good-neighborly relations from generation to generation. China has always held that all countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are all equals. While firmly opposed to such hegemonistic behaviors as infringing on other countries' sovereignty and interfering in other countries' internal affairs, China will never seek hegemony for itself. Always respecting other countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity, China also hopes that its position of achieving reunification and opposing national dismemberment will be understood and respected by others. China stands ready to live harmoniously with the South Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China is forever a trustworthy friend and neighbor to them.

Promoting mutual benefit and common development. Economic and technical cooperation of various forms should be carried out on the basis of equality and mutual benefit with emphasis on practical results so as to supply each other's needs and draw on each other's advantages. New ways of cooperation should be explored with a view to constantly expanding the scope of cooperation, upgrading its level and laying a more solid foundation for closer bilateral relations.

Properly handling existing disputes in the spirit of seeking common ground while setting aside differences. China and the South Asian countries have a great deal of common ground and converging interests just as all neighbors do. However, as neighbors, it is difficult not to have some differences or disputes from time to time. We stand for seeking common ground on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones. We should look at the differences or disputes from a long perspective, seeking a just and reasonable settlement through consultations and negotiations while bearing in mind the larger picture. If certain issues cannot be resolved for the time being, they may be shelved temporarily so that they will not affect the normal state-to-state relations.

Working together towards a better future through unity and cooperation. While the world is undergoing a structural transition, it is necessary for our two sides to step up consultation, cooperate closely and come to each other's support in international affairs with a view to jointly safeguarding the rights and interests of developing countries and facilitating the establishment of a fair and equitable new international political and economic order. In the international relations today, economic factor is gaining an increasingly important role. Past experiences have proved that only through closer unity and cooperation and with a sound economic development can developing countries effectively resist hegemonism and outside interference, safeguard their independence, sovereignty and interests and secure a firm foothold in the community of nations.

As home to one third of Asia's population, South Asia is an important part of Asia. Without its stability and development, there can be no peace and prosperity in Asia as a whole. We sincerely hope that this region will enjoy long-term stability and vigorous economic development; that South Asian countries will treat one another as equals and live harmoniously, thus becoming exemplary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in practice; and that they will settle their differences and disputes peacefully in the spirit of seeking common ground while reserving differences, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. China will, as always, support South Asian regional cooperation, support the proposal and initiative for the establishment of South Asia Nuclear-free Zone and Indian Ocean Zone of Peace, and support all efforts designed to serve peace, stability and development in the South Asian region.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to take this opportunity to say something about my own country. Over the past 47 years since the founding of New China, the Chinese people have worked hard in self-reliance and are now advancing towards the goal of socialist modernization. Since the introduction of reform and opening-up, China's national economy has enjoyed a sustained, rapid and sound development. From 1979 to 1995, our GNP increased by an annual rate of 9.9% and the income for our urban and rural residents by 6.3%. In 1995, our total import and export trade volume reached 280 billion US dollars. In the coming 15 years, according to our development program, China's economy will still be growing by over 7% annually.

During the course of modernization drive, we pay extra attention to properly handling the relations among reform, development and stability. Economic development is central to all our undertakings, with reform being the driving force for development, development being the foundation for social stability and prosperity, and stability being the precondition for economic growth and smooth implementation of reform.

Upholding the principle of ethnic equality, we attach great importance to developing economic and social undertaking in areas inhabited by minority ethnic groups, respecting their customs and lifestyles and protecting their freedom of religious belief. As a result, a sound relationship characterized by equality, mutual assistance, unity, cooperation and common prosperity has emerged among the people of all ethnic groups.

At present, China enjoys political stability, economic prosperity, national unity and social progress. Our endeavors on all fronts are progressing successfully.

It is the sacred duty of every people to maintain its national unification. The Chinese people are resolved to overcome all interferences and settle the questions of Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan in accordance with the principle of “one country, two systems” so as to fulfill the lofty mission of national reunification. China will resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao in 1997 and 1999 respectively. After returning to the motherland, they will maintain prosperity and stability, and continue to play an active role in strengthening the economic and trade links among Asian countries and between Asia and the rest of the world, Hong Kong will retain its status as an international trade, financial and shipping center, and the legitimate rights and interests of foreign enterprises there will be protected by law. A reunified and prosperous China will be a major contribution to peace and development in Asia and the world at large.

We are at a crucial moment where a new century will descend on a world undergoing profound historical changes. The trend of multipolarization featuring the rise of the developing countries is rolling on like an irresistible deluge. The pursuit of peace, stability, cooperation and development has become the main theme of our times. However, hegemonism and power politics linger on, numerous contradictions and disputes continue to plague the world, and peace and development remain severely challenged. The Chinese people stand ready to work with the peoples of South Asia and other countries towards a new century of peace and cooperation and a new world of stability and prosperity.

**PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN MEETS CHIEF EXECUTIVE GENERAL  
PERVEZ MUSHARRAF IN NEW YORK**

[9 September 2000]

On September 9, 2000, President Jiang Zemin met with Pakistani Chief Executive Officer Pervez Musharraf in New York.

Musharraf said that he was honored to meet with President Jiang in New York. He recalled that he had very good talks with visiting Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan in Pakistan only two months ago. He expressed the hope of maintaining and furthering friendly contacts, exchanges and cooperation with China. The Pakistani people are looking forward to the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and China and celebration activities will be held.

President Jiang recalled that he met and had good talks with Musharraf in Beijing early this year. He expressed pleasure of meeting with Musharraf once again. He recalled that he worked in Pakistan for some time in the 70's, which left a deep impression on him. He noted that the relations between the two countries have developed very well since the two countries established diplomatic ties 50 years ago. He went on to say that China and Pakistan are both developing countries, and that the two countries share common views on many international issues and have had good cooperation in all fields. President Jiang also said that he is grateful to Pakistan for its support for China in the international affairs and its adherence to one China policy.

In return, Musharraf thanked Jiang for his friendship with Pakistan, saying that his country will continue to have close contacts and develop still closer cooperation with China. He vowed that Pakistan will continue to support the series of principles and propositions China proposes.

Musharraf invited Jiang to pay an official visit to Pakistan, which Jiang accepted with pleasure.

**PREMIER ZHU RONGJI MEETS PRESIDENT PERVEZ MUSHARRAF  
WHO MAKES A TRANSIT STOP IN CHINA**

[4 January 2001]

On January 3, 2001, Premier Zhu Rongji of the State Council met with Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf who made a transit stop in China on his way to attend the summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), at the Great Hall of the People.

During the meeting, Zhu spoke highly of Musharraf's successful visit to China not long ago, noting that the visit has injected new impetus into the friendly cooperation between China and Pakistan in the new century. He also conveyed President Jiang Zemin's greetings to Musharraf.

On the situation of South Asia, Zhu expressed appreciation for the Pakistani side's adherence to seeking dialogue and peace amid the current tension between Pakistan and India.

Zhu noted that it is in the fundamental interests of both Pakistan and India that the two countries keep maximum restraint and safeguard peace and stability in the South Asian region, adding that it is also the common aspiration of the international community that they handle their ties in such a way. He extended his understanding and appreciation for Pakistan's active participation in international cooperation on combating terrorism and its measures against terrorism.

Zhu voiced the hope that the upcoming SAARC summit will play a positive role in easing the tension in the South-Asian region and strengthening cooperation in the region.

Musharraf expressed appreciation for the friendship cherished by President Jiang Zemin and the Chinese government towards Pakistan, noting the considerate arrangement for his transit by the Chinese side and the warm reception by Premier Zhu that evening fully demonstrate the long-term close ties existing between Pakistan and China.

Musharraf also gave account of the current situation of the relations between Pakistan and India, and stressed that Pakistan hopes for peace and opposes war, and it is willing to ease the tension through dialogue.

Musharraf said that based on the national and ethnic interests of the country, the Pakistani government has already taken and is taking necessary measures to combat terrorism and contain extremism, adding that these measures have won the extensive understanding and support from all walks of life in Pakistan.

**FOREIGN MINISTER TANG JIAXUAN MEETS PRESIDENT PERVEZ  
MUSHARRAF IN NEW YORK**  
[11 November 2001]

On November 11, Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan, who was in New York for the general debate at the 56th UN General Assembly, met with Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf.

Tang first conveyed to Musharraf the cordial greetings from President Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji, and said that President Jiang and other Chinese leaders are looking forward to Musharraf's official friendly visit to China in the coming December.

Tang said that Musharraf's upcoming visit to China will successfully complete the celebration activities of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations and further promote the development of China-Pakistan friendly relations.

Tang said that China and Pakistan are good neighbors and good partners. China-Pakistan friendship has withstood the test of time. The two countries have the same or similar views and proposals on many major international and regional issues. Under the current circumstances, we would like to support, as always, the Pakistani government's stance on the anti-terrorism issue, and continue to make efforts for reducing the pressure and difficulties Pakistan faces.

Musharraf fully agreed with Tang's assessment of bilateral relations. He said he is earnestly looking forward to exchanging views with the Chinese leaders on bilateral relations and major regional and international issues in his upcoming December visit to China. Musharraf asked Tang to convey his cordial greetings and good wishes to President Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji.

Musharraf warmly congratulated China on its entry into the World Trade Organization, and expressed the belief that China's accession will have major influence on the development of world economy.

During the talks, the two sides also exchanged views on the Afghan issue.

## **PREMIER ZHU RONGJI MEETS THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN IN BEIJING**

[21 December 2001]

On December 21, Premier Zhu Rongji met with Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf at Diaoyutai State Guesthouse. Zhu warmly welcomed Musharraf and his wife to China. He expressed the gladness to meet Musharraf again and thanked him for the warm reception during his visit to Pakistan this May.

Zhu said that President Jiang Zemin and Musharraf held successful talks on the previous day and invigorated the partnership of all-round cooperation between China and Pakistan. He congratulated them on that. China and Pakistan are close and friendly neighbors. Regardless of changes in the international situation, China and Pakistan have built up a time-tested friendship of mutual understanding, trust and support since they forged diplomatic ties 50 years ago. The two countries' friendship over the 50 years has been a history of mutual help and a good example of the friendly coexistence between countries with different social systems. He is satisfied with and proud of the development of the Sino-Pakistan relationship, adding that China is ready to work with the Pakistani government and people to further promote the partnership of all-round cooperation in the 21st century.

Zhu said that China has always handled mutually beneficial cooperation with Pakistan proceeding from the overall interests of China-Pakistan friendship and continues to encourage capable Chinese enterprises to invest in Pakistan. He hopes that this type of cooperation will continue to make humble contribution to the development of the Pakistani economy.

As a friendly neighbor of Pakistan, China has closely followed the development of the situation in Pakistan and sincerely wishes to see political stability and economic growth maintained in the country. Pakistan has been at the forefront of the international anti-terrorism campaign since the September 11 attacks in the United States, and has withstood severe tests since. Zhu said he believed under the leadership of Musharraf and the Pakistan government, the country will become more stable, the economy will develop faster and the people's living standard will improve further.

Musharraf spoke highly of the development of bilateral relations between Pakistan and China during the past 50 years. He said that the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples has helped Pakistan's construction, and promoting cooperation with China is a cornerstone of the Pakistan government's foreign policy. The president said he was grateful for China's strong support to the Pakistani people in

all fields during the most difficult times. The current visit again impressed them with the profound feelings of the Chinese people. The Pakistani government and its people would try their best to push forward the all-round cooperative partnership between the two countries in the new century.

Musharraf also briefed Zhu on the domestic situation in Pakistan and emphasized that what he and the Pakistani government have done is for the well-being of the Pakistani people and the fundamental interests of Pakistan. Zhu and Musharraf also exchanged views on the economic and trade cooperation between China and Pakistan, and reached common ground.

## CHINESE VICE PRESIDENT HU JINTAO MEETS THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

[21 December 2001]

On the afternoon of December 21, 2001, Vice President met with visiting Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf at the Great Hall of the People. Extending warm welcome to Musharraf, Hu described the talks between President Jiang Zemin and Musharraf the day before as fruitful. He noted that Musharraf also held friendly talks with other Chinese leaders today, adding that the frequent exchanges of visits between the leaders of the two countries have promoted bilateral ties intensively and extensively.

Hu noted that since China and Pakistan established diplomatic relations 50 years ago, bilateral ties built on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have withstood the tests of time and history adding that the mutually-beneficial cooperation between the two countries in all areas has scored fruitful results and the two countries have always trusted and supported each other in international affairs. He went on to say that China attaches great importance to China-Pakistan relations which can be regarded as a model for friendly relations between countries with different social systems and cultural backgrounds. He said that in the new century, China will, together with Pakistan, further enhance the friendly relations and mutually-beneficial cooperation between the two so as to make the comprehensive cooperative partnership advance on a more healthy and steady track.

On the issues of anti-terrorism and regional situations, Hu expressed appreciation for Pakistan's contribution to international cooperation on anti-terrorism and the resolving of the Afghanistan issue. He said China is willing to make concerted efforts with the international community to continue its constructive role in the political resolution of the Afghanistan issue and in peace, security and development of the southern Asian regions. Musharraf said this has been his fifth visit to China since his first visit 15 years ago, adding that he is impressed by China's changes every time he is here. He noted that during this period China has made admirable achievements, for which he expressed admiration. Musharraf said that developing comprehensive friendly cooperation with China is the basis of Pakistan's external relations, adding that such cooperation has withstood the test of time and will not be shaken, whatever happens. He noted that in the past five decades since the two established diplomatic relations, Pakistan and China have furthered their mutual understanding and have become more resolute and willing to expand such cooperation through exchange of visits, adding that this will give a strong boost to the rapid development of Pakistan-China comprehensive partnership in the new century.

Musharraf shared Hu's views on the international and regional situation, noting that Pakistan is firmly opposed to terrorism of all forms, condemns the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11 and has actively participated in international cooperation on anti-terrorism. He said that Pakistan firmly supports China's fight against "East Turkistan" terrorists, stressing that given the rapid changes in international situations in the wake of the September 11 Incident, Pakistan and China should enhance coordination and cooperation and make positive efforts for the just and rational resolution of the Afghanistan issue and the safeguarding of peace and stability in the region.

Musharraf invited Hu to visit Pakistan, for which the latter expressed his thanks.

## PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN MEETS THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

[5 June 2002]

On the afternoon of June 4, 2002, President Jiang Zemin, who is attending the summit meeting of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) held in Almaty, met with Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf.

Jiang said that he is pleased to meet Musharraf in Almaty. He reiterated that the Chinese side cherishes the friendly relations with Pakistan, and is willing to work for continuous development and consolidation of the all-around cooperation between China and Pakistan.

Musharraf spoke highly of the traditional friendship between the two peoples and the friendly cooperation between the two governments in the trade and economic and other fields. He believes the Pakistan-China relations will make even greater progress in the new century.

On the increasingly tense relations between Pakistan and India, Musharraf briefed Jiang on Pakistan's views and its policy on the current situation in South Asia. He stressed that Pakistan wants peace and opposes war, and will never initiate war. Pakistan hopes to have dialogue and negotiations with India.

Jiang said China appreciates and supports President Musharraf's repeated position that Pakistan will, proceeding from its own national interests, fight against terrorism and its internal extremist religious forces. He pointed out that the disputes between Pakistan and India are issues left over by history. Only through negotiations can a just and right resolution be found for the disputes between Pakistan and India.

Jiang said China supports the Pakistani government's policy of restraint and its efforts to ease tension with India. He stressed that a relaxation of tension between Pakistan and India will serve the interests of both countries and will also be helpful to peace and stability in South Asia.

**PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN MEETS PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF IN  
BEIJING**  
[2 August 2002]

On August 2, 2002, President Jiang Zemin met with his Pakistani counterpart Mr. Musharraf, who stopped over in Beijing early this morning after concluding visits to Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, at Zhongnanhai.

President Jiang said he was glad to meet Mr. Musharraf again. He recalled his meeting with Mr. Musharraf during the summit meeting of the Conference on Interaction And Confidence Building Measures in Asia held in Almaty. At that meeting, they exchanged in-depth opinions on issues of common concern. Jiang said that since the two countries established diplomatic relations half a century ago, China and Pakistan have always respected, understood and supported each other, and bilateral relations have also withstood the test of time. He said that he believes the all-round friendly partnership between China and Pakistan will continue to advance in the new century.

Mr. Musharraf briefed Jiang on the latest domestic situation in Pakistan and gave views on the issues concerning South Asia and Afghanistan. He also said that Pakistan does not want to be involved in a war and will not start a war, pledging that Pakistan will do its best to realize regional peace and stability.

President Jiang said that the Chinese side appreciates the determined and explicit policy adopted after the September 11 incident by President Musharraf and the Pakistani government.

On the Indian-Pakistani situation, Jiang emphasized that China hopes that Pakistan and India will settle their dispute peacefully through dialogue. He said that the Chinese side supports all efforts to alleviate the tension between Pakistan and India and to safeguard peace and stability in South Asia.

On the Afghan issue, Jiang noted that the success of the Emergency Loya Jirga and the scheduled establishment of the Interim government are a vital step to the permanent peace and stability of Afghanistan, which is welcomed by the Chinese side. He also said that for Afghanistan there are many difficulties and challenges on the way to peace, and China, as one of its friendly neighbors, has always been concerned about the development of its domestic situation, attached importance to Sino-Afghan relations and supported its peace and reconstruction process.

**PRESIDENT HU JINTAO MEETS PRIME MINISTER MIR ZAFARULLAH  
KHAN JAMALI**  
[25 March 2003]

On the afternoon of March 25, 2003, Chinese President Hu Jintao met with visiting Pakistan Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali at the Great Hall of the People. They had a friendly conversation.

Hu said that 50-plus years since the establishment of diplomatic relationship between China and Pakistan witnessed the creation and development of the good-neighborly and friendly relations featuring equality, amity, mutual trust and benefit. This relationship stood the test of time and history, and has become an example of friendly cooperation for countries with different social systems and cultural backgrounds. He thanked Pakistan for its firm support on such issues as Taiwan. He said China had always regarded Pakistan as a trustworthy, reliable friend and partner. Hu expressed the belief that the all-round cooperative partnership between China and Pakistan will achieve greater progress in the new century.

Hu said the Chinese government would maintain the continuity and stability of its domestic and foreign policies. China would concentrate on construction and development, continue to pursue an independent foreign policy of peace, be a friend and partner to its neighbors and strengthen and expand cooperative and friendly relations with its neighbors.

On the Iraq issue, Hu said the Chinese government had always insisted on a political solution within the framework of the United Nations and made unremitting efforts to this end. It was regrettable that war had broken out and China was deeply worried about the humanitarian disaster and impact on regional and global peace, stability and development that it would cause. Peace was the common aspiration of people around the world. China called for the countries involved to stop military actions as soon as possible and return to the correct path of solving the Iraq issue by political means. The Chinese government had already sent and would continue to offer humanitarian assistance to the Iraqi people suffering from war.

Jamali conveyed to Chinese leaders the congratulations and greetings from Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf and the Pakistani people. Jamali said the solid friendship between the two countries had withstood the test of history and international turbulence, noting that Pakistan had always cherished sound cooperative relations with China and would always support China's principled stance on the Taiwan issue. He said that the all-round cooperation between the two countries conformed to the interests of the two peoples, noting that he had held

fruitful talks with Premier Wen Jiabao and the two countries signed important agreements on enhancing bilateral economic and cultural relations. He believed that his visit would bring new opportunities of further cooperation between the two countries.

Jamali appreciated China's stance on the Iraq issue, saying the peace-loving Pakistani people called for settlement of international disputes through dialogue.

**PREMIER WEN JIABAO MEETS PRIME MINISTER  
MIR ZAFARULLAH KHAN JAMALI**  
[25 March 2003]

On March 24, 2003, Premier Wen Jiabao met with visiting Pakistani Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali at the Great Hall of the People. The two leaders exchanged views on the Sino-Pakistani relations and the current international situation. Wen had high praise for the development of bilateral relations. The two countries have maintained an "all-weather" friendship in the 52 years since they established bilateral ties. The friendship has been based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, mutual trust and respect, close contact between leaders, steady progress of bilateral co-operation, and mutual understanding and support in handling international affairs. Wen stressed that it is an established policy of the Chinese government to develop all-round co-operative relations with Pakistan.

During the talks, the two sides reached broad consensus on such issues as maintaining high-level contacts, strengthening exchanges at all levels, expanding economic cooperation and trade and conducting closer cooperation in the anti-terrorism field. The two sides agree that consolidating and improving bilateral relations is not only in the interests of the two countries, but is also conducive to promoting regional peace and development and encouraging the development of a fair and reasonable international political and economic order.

Wen said that, although the current global situation is undergoing profound changes, the quest for peace, development and cooperation remains mainstream of the times. He said China is an important force in maintaining global peace, stability and development and will play an active and constructive role in international affairs. He said China welcomes the easing of tensions in South Asia and hopes to see a peaceful, stable and prosperous South Asia.

As to the Iraqi issue, Wen said China is deeply concerned with the current situation in Iraq, adding that China's position has been consistent and clear-cut and China has made unremitting efforts for a political solution to the issue. China has appealed for an early end to the war in Iraq to lessen the humanitarian disasters of the Iraqi people, keep Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity intact, and bring the issue back to the correct path of political settlement within the framework of the United Nations.

Jamali said he was pleased to become the first head of government to be received by the new Chinese leaders. Pakistan's friendship with China has always been a cornerstone of his country's foreign policy and this policy will not be altered by

regional or international issues. He spoke highly of China's constructive role in regional and international affairs, adding that Pakistan will adhere to the One-China policy and expand economic and trade cooperation with China so as to boost bilateral relations in a comprehensive manner in the new century.

Jamali agreed with China's position on the current international situation and the Iraqi issue, and hoped to strengthen coordination and cooperation with China.

After the talks, the two leaders presided over the signing ceremony of four agreements, including one on economic and technical cooperation.

**JOINT DECLARATION BETWEEN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF  
PAKISTAN AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
ON DIRECTIONS OF BILATERAL COOPERATION**  
(3 November 2003)

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the "two parties") have similar historical experience and common aspirations for peace, progress in the region and the world. The two parties have developed an exemplary state-to-state relationship on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two parties on 21 May 1951, Pakistan-China good-neighborly and friendly relations, fostered by the successive generations of leaders of both countries, have been growing from strength to strength and bilateral cooperation remains fruitful. The two parties have already established a future-oriented all-round cooperative partnership.

The good-neighborly and friendly relations between the two parties have been an important and indispensable factor for peace and stability in Asia and have contributed to greater international understanding and amity. The two countries have developed wide-ranging mutually beneficial cooperation with the aim of promoting socio-economic development and ensuring prosperity and better future for their peoples.

The two parties stress that the relationship between Pakistan and China is based on mutual respect of each other's sovereignty, independence, culture and traditions, mutual trust and mutual support. Such a relationship, with its profound popular basis, great vitality and tremendous potential of growth, should remain dynamic forever and be passed on to the future generations. The further consolidation and strengthening of the existing good-neighborly and friendly relations not only serves the fundamental interests of the two countries and the two peoples, but also contributes to regional peace, stability and prosperity.

The two parties have firm belief in the centrality of the United Nations in the promotion of world peace and development and will continue to cooperate in this regard. Both countries share common values in the conduct of their international relations and stand for peaceful settlement of international disputes and upholding of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.

The two parties have maintained close cooperation in the multilateral fora. They have supported each other internationally in pursuit of the common objectives of peace and development. Similarly, the two parties have consistently supported

peace initiatives in Asia and efforts aimed at developing and strengthening economic cooperation and activity that would benefit the peoples of the continent.

Pakistan supports the BOAO Forum for Asia (BFA) and commends its efforts to promote and enhance economic activity and regional economic cooperation in Asia and with other countries.

At the beginning of the new century, the two parties are committed to develop closer bilateral relations and further deepen and broaden their all-weather friendship and all-round cooperative partnership. In the spirit of this commitment, the two parties hereby state as follows:

1. The two parties agree to maintain frequent exchange of high-level visits and contacts and strengthen the exchange of visits and communication between their government departments, Parliaments, political parties, armed forces, non-governmental organizations and local organizations with a view to enhancing mutual understanding and friendship and promoting an all-round, steady and deepened development of the bilateral relations.
2. The two parties stress the important role of annual diplomatic consultations mechanisms in enhancing bilateral political cooperation and agree to strengthen consultations and exchanges between their Ministries of Foreign Affairs at various levels and in various areas to share views on bilateral relations and regional and international issues of mutual interest, and maintain regular exchanges and coordination on various occasions.
3. The two parties agree to build on the current sound basis of cooperation, make full use of their political and geographical advantages and promote cooperation in the realms of economy, trade, investment, agriculture, technology and tourism in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, efficiency, mutual complementarities, diversity of forms and common development. To this end, the two parties will:
  - (1) Continue to strengthen the guidance and coordination on economic and trade cooperation. Both sides will give play to the role of Pakistan-China Joint Committee on Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technological Cooperation (JEC) and explore new approaches and channels for mutually beneficial economic and trade cooperation. To further tap the potential of bilateral economic cooperation, the two parties agree to strengthen the role of Pakistan-China Business Council. The two parties will also improve related laws and regulations, standardize enterprise behavior, and create favorable conditions and offer necessary facilitation for the

economic and trade and investment activities of their companies, enterprises and organizations.

(2) Actively expand bilateral trade and entrust JEC to take appropriate steps in that direction. The two parties agree to encourage and support two-way investment by their enterprises in accordance with the agreements on the promotion and protection of investment between the two governments, domestic laws and their respective international obligations. They agree to expand bilateral trade on the basis of the newly concluded preferential trade arrangement with the ultimate goal of establishing a free trade arrangement. The two parties agree to strengthen cooperation in contract labor services, and take necessary measures to further promote bilateral trade.

(3) Promote and standardize border trade. The two parties will take steps to facilitate existing border trade and further take steps to conclude a new border trade agreement so as to promote their economic development and social stability, especially in the border areas.

(4) Guide and encourage their government departments, scientific research institutes, universities and high-tech enterprises to conduct broad technological cooperation in areas of mutual interest such as telecommunication, water conservancy, electric power, aviation and space technology, computer, automation, metallurgy, IT, medicine and health, petrochemistry; biotechnology and peaceful utilization of nuclear power. The two parties will endeavor to promote transfer of know-how and exchange of information. In this context, the two parties will give full play to the guiding and coordinative role of the intergovernmental Joint Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation. Strengthen cooperation in nonproliferation and export control: The two parties will consider launching at an appropriate time, the negotiation and conclusion of a bilateral agreement on mutually issuing of ultimate consumer and end use certificate.

(5) Promote mutually beneficial cooperation in agriculture, forestry and fishery and make the best of the rich natural resources and strong complementarities of the two countries to encourage and support enhanced exchanges and cooperation between the relevant enterprises and departments in agricultural technology, processing of agricultural and forest products, manufacturing of agricultural machineries, offshore fishing and aquaculture.

(6) Promote close cooperation in the industrial sector, including sharing of professional expertise and joint production with raw materials and technologies of both sides and development of industrial zones, industrial harbors, export free zones and human resources, give play to the leading role of large enterprises and enhance

cooperation among small and medium enterprises. They agree to encourage and facilitate collaboration between the private sectors of the two countries and promote the establishment of joint ventures, particularly in the field of textile manufacturing.

(7) Strengthen exchanges and cooperation in fiscal and financial areas and in macroeconomic control.

(8) Strengthen transport cooperation and promote interflow of personnel and commodities through Karakoram Highway.

(9) Hold more investment and trade fairs and commodity fairs in their major commercial cities to enhance mutual understanding between their enterprises. The key chambers of commerce of both countries (the Federation of All Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade) will establish a regular exchange mechanism.

(10) Expand cooperation in tourism. Pakistan has been designated as a destination for outbound Chinese tourists. The two parties will finalize the concrete measures as early as possible, to increase the number of tourists, expand tourism markets and enhance tourism promotion.

4. The two parties attach great importance to the role of the Pakistan-China Defense and Security Consultation Mechanism in promoting military-to-military exchanges and cooperation. To develop defense cooperation, the two parties should on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, continue to actively conduct exchanges and cooperation at all levels and in all fields, including exchange of visits, personnel training, armed forces training, culture and sports. In this regard, the efforts of Pakistan-China Joint Committee on Cooperation in Defense Technology and Industry shall be supported to enhance defense industrial cooperation.

5. The two parties agree to strengthen the exchanges and cooperation in the fields of culture, education, public health, sports, media and religion. Both agree to strengthen mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples through exchange of students, teachers, delegations, art performance groups, experts and exhibitions. Special importance will be attached to the friendly exchanges and communication between the youth to enhance their awareness of Pakistan-China traditional friendship, and ensure that they will inherit and develop the friendship, mutual trust and cooperation between the two peoples. Noting the serious threat facing the world environment, the two parties agree to cooperate with each other in this field in a joint effort to prevent water and air pollution, soil erosion and unsustainable deforestation. The two parties agree to cooperate on efficient and

economical use of energy and on research and development for sustainable management of natural resources and improvement of the environment.

6. The two parties agree that separatism, extremism and terrorism pose serious threats to regional security and stability. Both sides are resolved to strengthen coordination and cooperation under bilateral and multilateral frameworks. They will actively support and facilitate substantive cooperation between their departments in combating separatism, extremism and terrorism with a view to safeguarding regional peace and stability.

7. The two parties will promote mutual assistance in criminal and legal matters and law enforcement cooperation between the departments concerned and build closer ties in the surrender of fugitive offenders, investigation and taking of evidence, sharing of criminal information, crackdown on organized transnational crimes, economic and other crimes, such as smuggling of drugs, weapons and ammunition, and trafficking in human beings.

8. The Chinese side reaffirms that it respects the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan, and appreciates and supports the efforts of Pakistan for peaceful resolution of all outstanding issues with neighbors and to safeguard its state sovereignty and independence. The Pakistani side reaffirms that it will continue to consistently adhere to the one-China policy, and recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government representing the whole of China and Taiwan as an inalienable and indivisible part of Chinese territory, and fully support China's cause of peaceful reunification.

9. The two parties are satisfied with their close and efficient cooperation over the years in international and regional affairs. Both sides share the view that the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and other universally recognized norms governing international relations must be respected by all countries and that the central role of the UN in international affairs should be maintained and strengthened, especially through faithful implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council. The two parties agree to continue to strengthen their communication and collaboration in international and regional affairs and commit themselves to enhanced solidarity and cooperation among developing countries and maintenance of their legitimate rights and interests in the process of globalization, enhancement of regional and global peace and security, and to the establishment of a new international political and economic order that is fair and rational.

Both sides agree that the visit of President Pervez Musharraf to China has been an outstanding success and a new milestone in the further strengthening of mutual

understanding, trust and the traditionally close friendly cooperation between the two countries. On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan, President Pervez Musharraf extended cordial invitations to President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao to pay visits to Pakistan at their convenience. The invitations have been warmly accepted. President Pervez Musharraf expressed his appreciation to the Government and the people of the People's Republic of China for their warm and friendly hospitality accorded to him and his delegation.

Done in duplicate at Beijing on 3 November 2003 in the Chinese and English languages, both texts being equally valid.

President of the  
Islamic Republic of Pakistan

President of the  
People's Republic of China

**PROTOCOL ON COOPERATION BETWEEN THE MINISTRIES OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF PAKISTAN AND CHINA SIGNED IN BEIJING  
DURING THE VISIT TO CHINA BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF  
PAKISTAN IN APRIL 2004**

The two Ministers of Foreign Affairs agree to maintain frequent contact and exchange views on bilateral relations and major international and regional issues of common concern through mutual visits, meetings, telephone calls or by other means.

**ARTICLE 2**

The two sides fully acknowledge the positive role of the annual diplomatic consultation mechanism at the vice foreign minister's level in promoting mutual understanding and deepening cooperation. They agree to maintain this mechanism and add strategic content to it. The annual consultation will be held alternately at the capital cities of the two countries.

**ARTICLE 3**

The two sides will continue to strengthen counterpart exchanges and consultations. While maintaining the annual consultation mechanism on counter-terrorism and arms control and the exchanges between officials of regional departments, the two sides will establish a mutual visits and consultation mechanism between spokespersons of the two countries, further step up counterpart exchanges between the policy planning, protocol, consular and other departments, and to strengthen frequent working relations with the other's Embassy, with a view to facilitating information sharing and promoting cooperation.

**ARTICLE 4**

The two sides attach importance to the Pakistan - China Friendship Forum initiated in March 2003 by the two Prime Ministers, and agree to give active assistance and cooperation to the annual plenary session of the Forum, so as to give play to its role of a "think tank" on Pakistan - China relations.

**ARTICLE 5**

The two sides agree to establish close exchanges and cooperation between the Foreign Service Academy affiliated to the Pakistani Foreign Ministry and its Chinese counterpart, the Foreign Affairs University, as well as between other academic institutes, to explore ways to facilitate the personnel training for each

other and exchange of visiting scholars.

## **ARTICLE 6**

The two sides will maintain close consultation and strengthen cooperation in international organizations and conferences, and help foster close working ties between the representatives of the two countries to third countries or international organizations.

## **ARTICLE 7**

Modalities, time, venue and other matters related to exchanges and consultation between the two sides will be determined by discussions through diplomatic channels.

## **ARTICLE 8**

This Protocol shall enter into force on the date of signature and remain valid for 10 years.

This Protocol shall be automatically extended for successive periods of one year if neither side notifies the other in writing of its intent to terminate the Protocol 6 months prior to the expiration date.

Done in duplicate in Beijing on April 8<sup>th</sup> 2004, in the English and Chinese languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Signed by the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan and China.

## **VISIT TO CHINA BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN**

(December 2004)

At the invitation of Premier of the State Council H.E. Mr. Wen Jiabao, the Prime Minister of Pakistan H.E. Mr. Shaukat Aziz will pay a state visit to China from 14th to 18th December 2004.

The visit is in the tradition of high-level exchanges, which are the hallmark of close friendship and cooperation between Pakistan and China.

During his stay in Beijing, the Prime Minister will call on the Chinese President, H.E Mr. Hu Jintao, the Premier H.E. Mr. Wen Jiabao, Mr. Jia Qinglin, Chairman, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and Vice Premier, Madam Wu Yi.

The Prime Minister will also meet with CEOs of top Chinese Corporations and address the Tsinghua University in Beijing. The Prime Minister will also visit Shanghai, where he would be addressing a Business Forum.

China is Pakistan's great neighbour and closest friend. The two countries enjoy a longstanding and time-tested friendship, which has grown in strength with every passing year. Pakistan and China enjoy a vibrant, dynamic and multi-faceted partnership and all round cooperation.

Islamabad,  
December 13, 2004.

**CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER LI ZHAOXING SYMPATHISES WITH  
PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER ON LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY  
IN PAKISTAN DUE TO HEAVY RAINS**

[14 February 2005]

On February 14, Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing sent a telegram to his Pakistani counterpart Khursheed Kasuri on the rain and snowfall disaster suffered by some areas of Pakistan, extending deep sympathy and condolence to the people of disaster-stricken areas and grief to the families of the victimized.

In the telegram, Li expressed confidence that with the strong leadership of the Pakistani government the people in the disaster-hit areas will definitely defeat the natural disaster and rebuild their homes as early as possible.

**JOINT STATEMENT BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN ISSUED IN BEIJING  
DURING THE 19-23 FEBRUARY 2006**

**VISIT TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA BY THE PRESIDENT  
OF PAKISTAN, GENERAL PERVEZ MUSHARRAF**

1. At the invitation of President Hu Jintao of the People's Republic of China, President Pervez Musharraf of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan paid a state visit to the People's Republic of China from 19 to 23 February 2006.
2. President Hu Jintao held official talks with President Musharraf. Mr. Wu Bangguo, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Mr. Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council, and Mr. Jia Qinglin, Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, met President Musharraf respectively. In a cordial and friendly atmosphere, leaders of the two countries had in-depth exchange of views and reached broad common ground on strengthening China-Pakistan strategic partnership of cooperation and on international and regional issues of mutual interest.
3. During his visit, President Musharraf addressed leading Chinese scholars at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, met members of the Chinese business community and attended a special commemorative event marking the 55<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan, President Musharraf and his delegation also visited Chengdu, Sichuan Province.
4. The leaders of the two countries reviewed with satisfaction the growth of China-Pakistan relations over the past 55 years. They were glad to see that China-Pakistan friendship featuring sincerity, cooperation, mutual trust and support has struck deep root in the hearts of the two peoples. The all-weather friendship between China and Pakistan has withstood the test of time and prospered notwithstanding changes in the international, regional and domestic environment. Both sides agreed that at a time when major and profound changes are taking place both internationally and regionally, to strengthen good-neighbourliness and friendship, develop cooperation and deepen strategic relations between China and Pakistan serves the fundamental interests of the two countries and peoples and will promote peace and development in the region. Both sides emphasized that the two countries are committed to enhancing China-Pakistan strategic partnership of cooperation featuring good-neighbourliness, friendship and mutual cooperation. The two countries will continue to take steps to deepen and enrich China-Pakistan relations.
5. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the successful implementation of the *Joint Declaration Between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic*

*of Pakistan on the Direction of Bilateral Cooperation* issued by the two Heads of State in November 2003 and the signing and coming into effect of the *Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good-neighborly Relations*. They agreed to maintain exchange of high-level visits and contacts and conduct regular consultation and coordination on major international and regional issues and bilateral relations and to make unremitting efforts to promote stability and prosperity both in China and Pakistan and in the region.

6. On behalf of the Pakistani Government and people, President Musharraf expressed appreciation to the Chinese Government and people for the provision of emergency relief material and humanitarian assistance in the wake of the earthquake in Pakistan. He stated that the selfless assistance of the Chinese side reflected the true friendship between China and Pakistan tested by adversity. President Hu Jintao said that the Chinese side will take an active part in the reconstruction of disaster-hit areas in Pakistan and help the affected people rebuild their homeland.

7. The two sides decided to use the occasion of the 55<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties to lift China-Pakistan relations to a new height. The two sides agreed to hold this year the "Cultural Week" and "Film Week", and to exchange media and academic visits.

8. Both sides expressed their firm resolve to strengthen cooperation in all spheres. They held that to maintain trade and economic links is not only an important part of China-Pakistan cooperation and good-neighborly relations but also a bond of common interests between the two countries. Both sides agreed to explore new ways to expand economic cooperation and trade to promote common development for the two countries and peoples.

9. The two sides expressed satisfaction with the implementation of the Early Harvest Programme, and agreed to expedite negotiations on the Free Trade Agreement. They emphasized that overland trade through the Karakoram Highway should be promoted and were ready to adopt measures to facilitate such trade.

10. Both sides also expressed deep satisfaction with the progress being made on various Chinese-assisted economic projects in Pakistan, including Gwadar Port, Sandhak Gold and Copper and Dudar Zinc and Lead. They agreed to encourage cooperation between Chinese and Pakistani companies, including setting up joint ventures, and supported the early launching of a joint study on expanding economic cooperation and trade. Both sides agreed to set up a China-Pakistan Joint Investment Company between the financial institutions of the two countries.

11. Both sides also reached agreement in principle to upgrade the Karakoram Highway. Special emphasis was placed on cooperation in agriculture, especially agro-based industry, pesticides, drip irrigation and fisheries. A framework agreement on expanding and deepening economic cooperation was signed. Both sides agreed to enhance their cooperation in the energy sector and signed the *Framework Agreement on Energy Cooperation*, a wide-ranging document. Pakistan expressed its interest in construction of oil refineries, gas terminals, oil and gas storage and transit facilities. The Chinese side welcomed these proposals and agreed to assist in the development of oil and gas sector in Pakistan.

12. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the performance of Chashma Nuclear Power Plant-I and the start of the construction of the Chashma Power Plant Unit-II. They agreed to enhance cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

13. Both sides attached considerable importance to broadening cooperation in social sectors, including health, human resources development, educational and vocational training.

14. Both sides agreed to enhance cooperation in high technology, including space technology for peaceful purposes. They agreed to enhance close cooperation between relevant institutions in the earth, marine and space sciences and promote the application of relevant technologies in industry and agriculture. They also agreed to cooperate in seismology, geology and Antarctic sciences.

15. China reaffirmed its respect for Pakistan's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It appreciated and supported Pakistan's efforts to promote peace and stability in South Asia and supported all efforts by Pakistan to safeguard its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. Pakistan reaffirmed its long-standing commitment to the one China policy and recognized that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the whole of China and that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. Pakistan opposed "Taiwan independence" and fully supported China's peaceful reunification.

16. The two sides discussed in depth the international and regional developments. They reaffirmed their firm opposition to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations as well as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. They expressed their commitment to maintaining international peace and stability. Both sides agreed that the United Nations reform should aim at strengthening its authority and unity and give priority to the issue of development. The reform of the Security Council should take into full consideration the interests of all its members, and a formula acceptable to all should be sought through extensive and thorough consultations.

17. Pakistan welcomed China becoming an observer of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). China welcomed Pakistan becoming an observer of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and invited it to participate in the SCO Shanghai Summit in June 2006. Both sides expressed their support for the process of regional cooperation in Asia and the need to promote inter-regional cooperation.

18. The two sides signed the following Agreements/MOUS:-

- Framework Agreement on Expanding and Deepening Bilateral Economic and Trade Cooperation
- Framework Agreement on Cooperation between the Defence Ministries of the two countries
- Framework Agreement on cooperation in the field of energy between the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources & National Development and Reform Commission
- MOU on Vocational Training Institutions between the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, PRC and the Ministry of Labour, Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis.
- Memorandum of Understanding between Ministry of Communications of P.R. China and Ministry of Communications of Pakistan on cooperation in up-gradation of Karakoram Highway.
- Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation on Pesticides Management between Ministry of Agriculture, People's Republic of China and Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
- Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in the Field of Health between the Ministry of Health, PRC and the Ministry of Health of Pakistan.
- MOU on cooperation between the State Family Planning Commission of the Government of PRC and the Ministry of Population Welfare, Government of Pakistan
- Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Agriculture of P.R. China and Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock of Islamic Republic of Pakistan on Cooperation in the field of Fisheries
- Memorandum of Understanding on the Launching of the Joint Programme of the Five-Year Plan for Bilateral Trade and Economic Cooperation
- MOU on Cooperation in the field of Earthquake Research
- MOU on cooperation in the Field of Meteorological Science and Technology between China Meteorological Administration (CMA) and Pakistan Meteorological Department (PMD).

- General Loan Agreement regarding utilization of the Preferential Buyer's Credit from the Government of the People's Republic of China to the Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan between EXIM Bank and EAD.
19. President Musharraf invited President Hu Jintao to visit Pakistan this year and to participate in commemorative events celebrating the 55<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of diplomatic ties between the two countries. President Hu thanked President Musharraf for the invitation.

**TEXT OF THE JOINT STATEMENT BETWEEN THE ISLAMIC  
REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN AND PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**  
(25 November 2006)

At the invitation of H.E. General Pervez Musharraf, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, H.E. Hu Jintao, President of the People's Republic of China, paid a state visit to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on 23-26 November 2006.

2. President Hu Jintao held formal talks with President Musharraf. He also met with Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, Chairman of the Senate Mohammedian Soomro and Speaker of the National Assembly Chaudhry Amir Hussain. Leaders of the two countries had an in-depth exchange of views on further strengthening strategic partnership between China and Pakistan. They also discussed international and regional issues of common interest and reached broad consensus.

3. During his visit, President Hu Jintao had extensive contact with representatives of the Pakistani side. President Hu delivered in Islamabad a speech entitled Carry on the Traditional Friendship and Deepen All-round Cooperation. President Hu also met with representatives of business communities and friendship organizations of Pakistan. President Hu and his delegation also visited Lahore, Punjab, where he attended the traditional civic reception.

4. Leaders of the two countries reviewed with satisfaction the growth of China-Pakistan relations in the past 55 years and agreed that the all-weather friendship and all-dimensional cooperation have become the defining features of China-Pakistan relations. China-Pakistan friendly relations and cooperation have become a fine example of friendly co-existence between developing countries and between neighbouring countries.

5. The two sides shared the view that major and profound changes continue to take place in the world and in different regions. To strengthen good-neighbourliness and friendship, conduct mutually-beneficial cooperation and enhance the strategic partnership between China and Pakistan is in the fundamental interests of the two peoples and conducive to regional peace and development.

6. The Chinese side stressed that Pakistan is an old and time-tested friend, good neighbour, good partner and good brother of China. To further strengthen relations with Pakistan is an important part of China's foreign policy of "friendship and partnership with neighbouring countries". China will continue to view its relations with Pakistan from a strategic and long-term perspective and work together with Pakistan to elevate the China-Pakistan strategic partnership to a new high. China

thanked Pakistan for its valuable support on such issues as Taiwan, Tibet and human rights.

7. The Pakistani side stressed that its relations with China serve as the bedrock of its foreign policy and that pursuing friendship with China is the consensus of the Pakistani Government and people. Pakistan thanked the Chinese Government and people for their strong support and assistance for its economic development endeavours. Pakistan will continue to uphold the policy of friendship with China and expand and deepen mutually beneficial cooperation in all fields.

8. The Chinese side reaffirmed its respect for Pakistan's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and expressed appreciation and support for the efforts made by Pakistan at promoting peace and stability in South Asia and safeguarding its sovereignty and independence. The Pakistani side recognizes that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the whole of China and that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the Chinese territory. The Pakistani side reaffirmed its adherence to the one China policy and its full support for China's peaceful reunification.

9. The two sides reiterated that the Joint Declaration between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on Directions of Bilateral Cooperation, signed by the Heads of State of the two countries in 2003, provides important guidance to the deepening of bilateral relations and expressed satisfaction on its smooth implementation. The two sides applauded the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good-neighbourly Relations Between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan signed in April 2005, believing that the signing and entering into force of this Treaty has laid an important legal foundation for the strategic partnership between China and Pakistan. The two sides will strengthen cooperation, vigorously implement the provisions of the Treaty and develop their bilateral relations in a practical manner.

10. The two sides agreed that exchange of high-level visits and contacts between leaders of the two countries have significantly promoted the growth of bilateral relations. The two sides decided to increase exchanges between government departments, parliaments, political parties, intelligentsia, think tanks and armed forces and have more people to people contacts with a view to enhancing mutual understanding and promoting comprehensive cooperation. The two sides agreed to continue communication and coordination on major international and regional issues and jointly safeguard the fundamental interests of the two countries and other developing countries.

11. The two sides agreed to the need for regular consultations between National Development and Reform Commission of China and Planning Commission of Pakistan.
12. The two sides believed that broad prospects have emerged in the bilateral economic and trade ties in recent years. The two sides expressed their deep satisfaction with the progress in various economic cooperation projects including Gwadar Port and decided to work actively to advance the agreed cooperation projects.
13. The two sides applauded the signing of Free Trade Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan which would serve as an engine for balanced growth of volume of trade between the two countries. Both sides decided to put trade in services on fast track to make FTA on goods and services more comprehensive. The two sides agreed to increase their bilateral trade to over US \$ 15 billion in the next five years.
14. The two sides also hailed the signing of Five-year (2007-2011) Plan for Trade and Economic Cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People's Republic of China and held the view that it would play an important role in forging closer economic and trade ties between the two countries in the areas of Agriculture, Manufacturing, Infrastructure and Public Works, Mineral, Energy, Information and Communication Technology, Service and Education and Technical Cooperation.
15. The two sides decided to instruct their relevant departments to seriously implement the aforementioned agreements so as to ensure that China-Pakistan trade and economic ties will be elevated to a new high.
16. The two sides took note of the achievements of and potential for cooperation in the manufacturing sector and decided to strengthen cooperation in household appliances, automobile and textile industries. The two sides welcomed and supported the construction of "Pakistan Haier - Ruba Economic Zone" in Pakistan jointly invested by Chinese and Pakistani enterprises. In this connection, the two sides expressed the willingness to further explore the feasibility of constructing other industrial and hi-tech parks on the basis of mutual benefit.
17. The two sides reviewed with satisfaction positive progress in energy cooperation since the signing of the Framework Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Energy Between the National Development and Reforms Commission of the People's Republic of China and the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural

Resources of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in February 2006. The Chinese side encouraged competitive and reputable Chinese companies to conduct mutually beneficial cooperation with Pakistan in exploration and development of oil and gas resources and construction of oil refineries and oil and gas storage facilities. Chinese companies would be happy to participate in the development of the Gwadar Energy and Economic Zone on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and win-win cooperation. The two sides also agreed to strengthen cooperation in the energy sector, including fossil fuels, coal, hydro-power, nuclear power, renewable sources of energy as well as in the mining and resources sector in accordance with the above-mentioned framework agreement.

18. The two sides expressed their readiness to further enhance comprehensive cooperation in agriculture, share with each other successful experience in agricultural development, strengthen exchanges and cooperation on agricultural technologies especially agro-based industry, pesticides, drip irrigation and fisheries and encourage more Chinese companies involved with agricultural produce processing and agricultural science and technology to invest in Pakistan.

19. The two sides agreed to strengthen cooperation in information industry. China will share with Pakistan its successful experience in the development of information and communications industry and provide support to Pakistan in technology, equipment and services. The two sides decided to jointly establish a software industrial park in Pakistan and conduct a feasibility study on laying fiber optic cables between China and Pakistan.

20. The two sides agreed to strengthen cooperation in infrastructure development. China is ready to share with Pakistan its successful experience in this area and encourage Chinese enterprises to participate in infrastructure development in Pakistan.

21. Both sides attached great importance to broadening exchanges and cooperation in all fields of humanities including culture, human resources development, education and vocational training. In this context, they agreed to enhance cooperation in higher education. China will support the establishment of University of Science and Technology and a University of Media and Communications that the Pakistani side plans to build by providing instructors, administrative staff and through other measures agreed upon by both sides. China will gradually increase the number of students and visiting scholars in the exchange programmes. China decided to invite 500 young people from Pakistan to exchange programmes in China in the next five years.

22. The two sides recognized the importance of enhanced financial cooperation in promoting China and Pakistan cooperation in all fields and decided to adopt effective measures to advance financial cooperation in various forms. Pakistan side invited Chinese banks to establish operations in Pakistan. Both sides welcomed the establishment of a China-Pakistan Joint Investment Company between the financial institutions of the two countries.
23. The two sides noted that the tourism industry, as one of the rapidly growing major industries in both countries, promises great potential for cooperation and agreed to work more closely together to develop the tourism market.
24. To facilitate people-to-people exchanges and trade and economic cooperation between the western region of China and Pakistan, China agreed to the setting up of a Pakistan Consulate General in Chengdu.
25. Both sides expressed satisfaction on close cooperation between their defence ministries as well as the two militaries at various levels and in various fields in recent years. They applauded the Framework Agreement on Cooperation between the Defence Ministry of the People's Republic of China and the Defence Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan signed in February 2006 as an important step towards promoting cooperation between the two militaries. The two sides decided to continue all-round cooperation including the exchanges of group visits, consultation on national defence and personnel training.
26. The two sides shared the view that terrorism, separatism and extremism pose great threats to regional peace, stability and security and reaffirmed their commitment to substantive cooperation under bilateral and multilateral frameworks to jointly combat the "three forces" and maintain regional peace, stability and security.
27. The two sides held extensive discussions on international and regional developments and reached the conclusion that countries around the world should strictly comply with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and the universally recognized norms of international relations including the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence; it is imperative to fully ensure the right of each country to choose a development path in light of its own national conditions, to participate in international affairs and to pursue development on an equal footing; disagreement and disputes should be resolved peacefully through dialogue and cooperation, rather than through the arbitrary use or threat of force; and the United Nations reform should aim at upholding its authority and unity and give top priority to development issues. The Security Council reform should take into full consideration interests of

member states, and a formula acceptable to all should be sought through extensive and in-depth discussions.

28. The two sides pledged to continue their close communication, coordination and effective cooperation on regional and international issues in a joint effort to consolidate solidarity and cooperation among the developing countries, safeguard their legitimate rights and interests in the process of globalization and promote regional and global peace, security and prosperity.

29. The two sides strongly supported each other's participation in Asia's trans-regional, regional and sub-regional cooperation. China welcomed Pakistan's membership in ASEM and Pakistan welcomed China becoming an observer of SAARC. They expressed their readiness to expand mutually beneficial cooperation and take forward regional cooperation process on such platforms of regional and trans-regional organizations as SAARC, ACD, ARF, SCO and ASEM.

30. During the visit, the two sides signed:

- 1) Exchange of Notes Verbale Authorizing the Establishment of Consulate General of Pakistan in Chengdu between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan;
- 2) Free Trade Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan;
- 3) Five-Year Development Program on Trade and Economic Cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan;
- 4) Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan;
- 5) Exchange of Letters Authorizing the Construction of Pakistan-China Friendship Center in Islamabad between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan;
- 6) Exchange of Letters Authorizing Construction of Schools and Hospitals in Earthquake-hit Areas in Pakistan between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan;
- 7) Transfer of Completion Certification of Gwadar Port (Phase I ) between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan;
- 8) Executive Program of the Cultural Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for the Year 2007-2009;

- 9) Memorandum of Understanding between China Development Bank and Ministry of Finance of Pakistan on the Establishment of China-Pakistan Joint Investment Company;
  - 10) Framework Agreement on Security of Financing for China-Pakistan Bilateral Cooperation between China Export & Credit Insurance Corporation and the Ministry of Finance of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan;
  - 11) Memorandum of Understanding regarding Financial Support for Upgradation/Rehabilitation of Karakoram Highway;
  - 12) Contract Agreement on KKH Improvement Project (Raikot to Khunjerab);
  - 13) Framework Agreement between China North Industries Corporation and Heavy Industry Taxila, Pakistan;
  - 14) Memorandum of Understanding between China Zhenhua Oil Company Limited and Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan;
  - 15) Huawei-PTML GSM Phase V Expansion Project Contract Agreement;
  - 16) Agreement on Exploration and Development of Saindak East Ore Body in Pakistan;
  - 17) Agreement between Qingqi Group and National Bank of Pakistan on Collaboration in President's Rozgar Scheme; and
  - 18) PVC Back Integrated Complex of ENGRO ASAHI Polymer and Chemical Limited, Pakistan.
31. The two sides hailed the fruitful outcome of President Hu Jintao's visit to Pakistan, believing that this visit is of landmark significance to consolidating the traditional friendship and deepening the all-round cooperation between China and Pakistan.
32. President Hu Jintao thanked the Government and people of Pakistan for their warm and gracious hospitality and invited President Musharraf to visit China again at a time of convenience. President Musharraf accepted the invitation with pleasure.

**JOINT STATEMENT BETWEEN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF  
PAKISTAN AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**  
(15 April 2008)

President Pervez Musharraf visited China on 10-15 April 2008 on the invitation of President Hu Jintao. He was accompanied by Begum Sehba Musharraf. During the State visit, President of Pakistan held official talks with President Hu Jintao in Sanya; met Chairman NPC Standing Committee Mr. Wu Bangguo, Premier Wen Jiabao, and Chairman CPPCC Mr. Jia Qinglin in Beijing as well as the leadership of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in Urumqi.

In their warm and friendly discussions, the leaders of Pakistan and China underscored the importance of the special relations that so happily exist between the two countries as well as their determination to take Pakistan-China friendship and strategic partnership to new heights. Both sides expressed complete satisfaction on the development of comprehensive cooperation in all fields and agreed to further enhance their cooperative ties in economy, trade, science & technology, culture, and people to people relations.

China expressed its full support to the efforts of the Government of Pakistan to promote socio-economic development and in this regard expressed its readiness to assist Pakistan for the development of the energy, mineral and mining sectors; enhance financial and banking sector cooperation; and extend support for "projects" under the Pakistan-China Joint Five-Year economic and Trade Cooperation Plan. Both sides agreed to work together to achieve the trade target of \$ 15 billion as early as possible.

Both sides also agreed to optimally utilize the bilateral FTA. It was agreed that FTA on Trade in Services will be completed as early as possible.

Both sides agreed to enhance coordination and cooperation between relevant departments and agencies so as to facilitate overland trade between Pakistan and China .

Both sides also agreed to take steps for upgrading transportation and communication networks overland with a view to enhancing connectivity between the bordering regions for mutual benefit.

Both sides also agreed to cooperate closely in the fields of water management, environmental protection and bio-diversity.

Both sides agreed to further strengthen defence cooperation and enhance collaboration between their respective defence industries.

China expressed its full support for Pakistan's efforts to preserve its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and expressed appreciation for Pakistan's important role in promoting peace, stability and security and its contribution to counter terrorism.

Pakistan reiterated its full support for the One China Policy and the return of Taiwan to motherland as well as its condemnation and rejection of the three evil forces i.e. secessionism, separatism and terrorism. Both sides exchanged views on regional and global issues and reached common understanding. They agreed to work together closely in global and regional forums to promote the cause of peace and development.

Pakistan warmly congratulated the Chinese leaders and people on their great national accomplishments and expressed joy at the celebrations of the three decades of the policy of economic reforms and opening up.

Pakistan also expressed its appreciation for the excellent arrangements made by the Government and people of China for the holding of the Beijing Olympics and expressed its fullest cooperation and support to the Chinese Government.

President Hu Jintao accepted with pleasure the invitation extended by the President of Pakistan to visit Pakistan at his convenience.

Following Agreements/MOU's were signed during the visit:

- Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Water and Power of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Ministry of Water Resources of the People's Republic of China.
- Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Engineering and Technological Sciences between the Ministry of Science and Technology of Islamic republic of Pakistan and the Chinese Academy of Engineering of the People's Republic of China.
- Agreement on Sports Cooperation between the Ministry of Sports of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the General Administration of Sport of the People's Republic of China.
- Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between the Ministry of Finance of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Ministry of Finance of the People's Republic of China.

- Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation on Architectural Design, Research and Construction between Capital Development Authority (CDA), Islamabad, Pakistan and The Consortium of China Architecture Design & Research Group and Institute of Architecture Design and Research, Chinese Academy of Sciences.
- Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation in the field of exchange of news between Pakistan Television Corporation and China Central Television Network of the People's Republic of China.
- Memorandum of Understanding for the establishment of Pakistan Culture and communication centre at Tsinghua University .
- Memorandum of Understanding on Economic and Trade Cooperation between the Ministry of Commerce of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Bureau of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, People's Republic of China.
- Memorandum of Understanding between Board of Investment of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and China Council for International Investment Promotion on Cooperation in Investment.
- Memorandum of Understanding on establishing relations of Friendship and Good Neighbourly Cooperation between the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

Islamabad,  
15 April 2008.

**JOINT STATEMENT BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN ISSUED DURING THE  
VISIT TO ISLAMABAD BY PREMIER WEN JIABAO ON 17-19  
DECEMBER 2010**

1. At the invitation of H.E. Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, H.E. Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, paid an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on 17-19 December, 2010.
2. Premier Wen Jiabao held formal talks with Prime Minister Gilani, and met President Asif Ali Zardari, Chairman Senate Mr. Farooq Hamid Naek, Speaker National Assembly Ms. Fehmida Mirza, leaders of the main political parties, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and the three Services Chiefs. Leaders of the two countries had an in-depth exchange of views on further strengthening and deepening the China-Pakistan all-weather strategic partnership of cooperation, on major international and regional issues of mutual interest in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, and reached broad consensus.
3. During the visit, Premier Wen Jiabao had extensive contacts with people of various sectors of Pakistan. He delivered a speech entitled Shaping the Future Together Through Thick and Thin in Islamabad. The two Prime Ministers were briefed by the National Disaster Management Authority. They also attended the Pakistan-China Business Cooperation Summit, the Inauguration Ceremony of the Pakistan-China Friendship Centre and the Launching Ceremony of the China-Pakistan Friendship Bringing-Light Tour, and met individuals who made great contributions to China-Pakistan friendship.
4. Leaders of the two countries reviewed with satisfaction the growth of China-Pakistan relations in 59 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations. The two sides shared the view that against the backdrop of a complex and ever-changing international and regional situation, it is of high significance to consolidate and deepen the China-Pakistan all-weather strategic partnership of cooperation. China-Pakistan relations have gone beyond bilateral dimensions and acquired broader regional and international ramifications. Friendship and cooperation between China and Pakistan serve the fundamental interests of the two countries and peoples, and contribute to peace, stability and development in the region and beyond. The two sides agreed to enhance strategic coordination, advance pragmatic cooperation and work together to meet challenges in pursuit of common development.

5. The two sides announced that the year 2011 be designated the “Year of China-Pakistan Friendship”, and decided to hold a series of activities in the political, economic, trade, military, cultural, sporting and education fields, to warmly celebrate the 60th anniversary of the establishment of China-Pakistan diplomatic relations.

6. The Chinese side reiterated that the Chinese government always places high on its diplomatic agenda, consolidating and developing relations with Pakistan and is firm on the policy of pursuing friendly ties with Pakistan. The Chinese side is ready to work with Pakistan to further deepen China-Pakistan friendship and pass it on from generation to generation. The Chinese side appreciates Pakistan's longstanding firm support on issues that concern China's core interests.

7. The Pakistani side stressed that pursuing friendship with China is the bedrock of Pakistan's foreign policy and national consensus. Pakistan appreciates the strong support and selfless assistance from the Chinese government and people for its economic and social development. Pakistan will continue to pursue the policy of further strengthening friendly relations with China.

8. The Chinese side reiterated that it respects Pakistan's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, respects the development path chosen by the Pakistani people in the light of Pakistan's own national conditions, and appreciates and supports Pakistan's efforts in safeguarding its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and promoting peace and stability in South Asia. The Pakistani side reiterated that it remains committed to the one-China policy, opposes Taiwan independence, supports the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and China's reunification, and supports the efforts made by the Chinese government in safeguarding its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

9. The two sides shared the view that exchange of high-level visits and contacts between leaders of the two countries have played an irreplaceable role in promoting bilateral relations. The two sides decided to maintain regular mutual visits and contacts at the leadership level, establish the annual meeting mechanism between leaders, set up the Foreign Ministers' dialogue mechanism and reinforce the Foreign Ministries' dialogue mechanism to strengthen China-Pakistan strategic consultation and coordination.

10. The Pakistani side expressed high appreciation and thanks to the Chinese side for its timely assistance in Pakistan's flood relief and rescue efforts as well as in post-disaster reconstruction. It thanked the Chinese side for delivering relief supplies to Gilgit-Baltistan area to help the local people, and stressed that it is a vivid reflection of Pakistan-China fraternal friendship. The Chinese side reiterated

that it will take full part in the post-flood reconstruction and fulfill its existing promises. The Chinese side will support, on a priority basis the national highway network post-flood rehabilitation project in flood-affected areas, the national project for improved rice-processing, the national project for controlled atmosphere and advanced ventilated cold storage and crop monitoring through remote imagery satellite. The Chinese side will allocate 10 million US Dollars for the Citizen Damage Compensation Plan of Pakistan, and provide 100 million US Dollars in preferential loans and 300 million US Dollars in preferential buyer's credit for projects of great importance to Pakistan. The Chinese side stands ready to share with Pakistan relevant information and experience on disaster reduction and relief, and provide related technical support and training. The two sides agreed to explore the feasibility of establishing joint programmes on environmental studies, in particular research and exchange of information on shared eco systems.

11. The two sides agreed to further intensify cooperation in infrastructure development, energy and agriculture on a priority basis. The Chinese side will provide assistance for the upgrading of the Karakorum Highway, resolve the problem of earthquake lakes, and encourage Chinese financial institutions to explore feasible financing schemes with the Pakistani side. The energy cooperation mechanism will be established to push forward bilateral cooperation in conventional energy, renewable energy and civil nuclear energy. The two sides agreed to start the construction of China-Pakistan Agriculture Demonstration Zones as soon as possible. The two sides agreed to enhance mutually beneficial cooperation in the financial sector. The two sides agreed to establish currency swap arrangements. The Industrial and Commercial Bank of China decided to establish branches in Islamabad and Karachi. The Chinese side is also ready to facilitate qualified Pakistani banks to open branches in China. The two sides decided to further implement the Framework Agreement between Pakistan Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO) and China National Space Administration (CNSA) on Deepening Cooperation in Space Science and Technology. In this context, they expressed satisfaction on their joint collaboration in fabrication and launching of satellites. The two sides agreed to further cooperation in human resources development. The Chinese side is ready to help Pakistan enhance its capacities in science, technology and management.

12. The two sides decided to renew the Five Year Development Programme on Trade and Economic Cooperation. The two sides expressed satisfaction with the 14th meeting of the China-Pakistan Joint Economic Commission and the Business Cooperation Summit, and instructed related departments to implement the decisions of the Joint Economic Commission to strengthen China-Pakistan economic and trade cooperation. The two sides encouraged the relevant departments to implement decisions taken by the second session of the Free Trade Commission. The two sides

jointly declared that the second phase negotiations of the China-Pakistan Free Trade Agreement will be launched in the first quarter of Year 2011 to enhance trade liberalization and promote economic and trade growth of the two countries. The two sides pledged to work for continuous and all-round progress in the development of the China-Pakistan Free Trade Area, and decided to establish the China-Pakistan Entrepreneurs Forum to strengthen exchanges between their business communities. Pakistan decided to establish a Special Economic Zone for Chinese Businesses to attract more Chinese investment in Pakistan. The two sides support and encourage border trade to promote common development and prosperity in the border areas. The two sides will explore the possibility of establishing trans-border economic zones and take steps to enhance cooperation in border management.

13. The two sides reiterated that they will continue to enhance mutual trust and cooperation in the military and security field in line with the principles and spirit of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good-neighborly Relations between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan signed in 2005. This is conducive to peace, security and stability of the two countries and the region. The two sides agreed to step up personnel training, joint exercises, training and cooperation for national defense, science and technology, and collaboration in defence production. The two sides also agreed to give further impetus to maritime security cooperation.

14. The two sides agreed to expand cultural, sporting and people-to-people interactions in a comprehensive manner, and engage in broad contacts between universities, think-tanks, academic institutions, mass media, and film and television industries. The two sides decided to establish cultural centers in each other's country, maintain and expand step by step the one hundred youth exchange programme and enhance cooperation in young officials training, exchanges between young entrepreneurs and young volunteer services. China will invite 100 senior middle school/high school students from Pakistan to China for the Summer Camp of Chinese Bridge and continue to provide Confucius Institute scholarships to Pakistani university students. China will provide 500 government scholarships to Pakistan in 3 years starting from 2011. The two sides will also intensify their cooperation in science and technology, applied sciences, learning of Chinese and Urdu languages. The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries will undertake the China-Pakistan Friendship Bringing-Light Tour to Pakistan and provide free surgical treatment for 1000 Pakistani cataract patients within two years. The two sides agreed to open new air routes and increase flights.

15. The two sides shared the view that terrorism, separatism and extremism pose serious threats to regional peace, stability and security. They reaffirmed their resolve to undertake substantive cooperation under bilateral and multilateral

frameworks, and jointly fight the above-mentioned three forces. The Chinese side held the view that Pakistan has made great efforts and endured great sacrifices in fighting terrorism, and reiterated that it respects the counter-terrorism strategy constituted and implemented by Pakistan in light of its own national conditions. The Pakistani side reaffirmed its resolve to fight terrorism.

16. The Chinese side held the view that Pakistan is an important member state of the region and plays a vital role in safeguarding peace, security and stability. The two sides decided to strengthen communication and coordination in regional affairs, on hotspot issues such as the issue of Afghanistan and regional cooperation. The two sides voiced support for the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, the efforts of the Afghan government to advance peace, reconstruction and national reconciliation based on the fundamental interest of its country and people, and expressed hope to see a peaceful, stable and independent Afghanistan that enjoys development and good neighborliness. The two sides stressed their commitment to stronger solidarity and cooperation among developing countries to upholding their rights and interests in the process of globalization, and to making sustained efforts to achieve the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. The two sides reiterated that they will step up coordination and cooperation on major international issues such as climate change, food and energy security and UN reform.

17. The two sides signed 12 Agreements/Memorandums of Understanding on cooperation in the fields of culture, transportation, economic assistance, media, finance, and energy.

18. Premier Wen Jiabao expressed appreciation to Prime Minister Gilani and the government and people of Pakistan for the warm hospitality accorded to him and his delegation. Premier Wen Jiabao invited Prime Minister Gilani to pay an official visit to China at a mutually convenient time. Prime Minister Gilani appreciated the invitation and accepted it with pleasure.

**DOCUMENTS ON US-CHINA RELATIONS;  
AND SINO - INDIA RELATIONS**



**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

[Shanghai, February 28, 1972]

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, extensive, earnest and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides. In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei held talks in the same spirit.

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured Hangchow and Shanghai where, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, they viewed similar places of interest.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues. They reviewed the international situation in which important changes and great upheavals are taking place and expounded their respective positions and attitudes.

The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution-this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind.

The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their

own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries.

The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples. It firmly supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace; just, because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communication between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to reexamine its own attitudes for the common good.

The United States stressed that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Viet Nam and the United States on January 27, 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement, the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indochina. The

United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the Republic of Korea; the United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the United Nations Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favors the continuation of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great power rivalry.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;
- both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;
- neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and
- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the

crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan" "one China two governments", "two Chinas", an "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined".

The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their two countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior U.S. representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown to them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC  
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

[1 January 1979]

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China have agreed to recognize each other and to establish diplomatic relations as of January 1, 1979.

The United States of America recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China. Within this context, the people of the United States will maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan.

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China reaffirm the principles agreed on by the two sides in the Shanghai Communiqué and emphasize once again that:

--Both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict.

--Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region of the world and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

Neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

--The Government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China.

--Both believe that normalization of Sino-American relations is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the cause of peace in Asia and the world.

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China will exchange Ambassadors and establish Embassies on March 1, 1979.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

[August 17, 1982]

(1) In the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations on January 1, 1979, issued by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the United States of America recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China, and it acknowledged the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China. Within that context, the two sides agreed that the people of the United States would continue to maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan. On this basis, relations between the United States and China were normalized.

(2) The question of United States arms sales to Taiwan was not settled in the course of negotiations between the two countries on establishing diplomatic relations. The two sides held differing positions, and the Chinese side stated that it would raise the issue again following normalization. Recognizing that this issue would seriously hamper the development of United States-China relations, they have held further discussions on it, during and since the meetings between President Ronald Reagan and Premier Zhao Ziyang and between Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua in October 1981.

(3) Respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs constitute the fundamental principles guiding United States-China relations. These principles were confirmed in the Shanghai Communiqué of February 28, 1972 and reaffirmed in the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations which came into effect on January 1, 1979. Both sides emphatically state that these principles continue to govern all aspects of their relations.

(4) The Chinese Government reiterates that the question of Taiwan is China's internal affair. The message to Compatriots in Taiwan issued by China on January 1, 1979 promulgated a fundamental policy of striving for peaceful reunification of the motherland. The Nine-Point Proposal put forward by China on September 30, 1981 represented a further major effort under this fundamental policy to strive for a peaceful solution to the Taiwan question.

(5) The United States Government attaches great importance to its relations with China, and reiterates that it has no intention of infringing on Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity, or interfering in China's internal affairs, or pursuing a policy of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." The United States Government understands and appreciates the Chinese policy of striving for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question as indicated in China's Message to Compatriots in Taiwan issued on January 1, 1979 and the Nine-Point Proposal put forward by China on September 30, 1981. The new situation which has emerged with regard to the Taiwan question also provides favorable conditions for the settlement of United States-China differences over United States arms sales to Taiwan.

(6) Having in mind the foregoing statements of both sides, the United States Government states that it does not seek to carry out a long-term policy of arms sales to Taiwan, that its arms sales to Taiwan will not exceed, either in qualitative or in quantitative terms, the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, and that it intends gradually to reduce its sale of arms to Taiwan, leading, over a period of time, to a final resolution. In so stating, the United States acknowledges China's consistent position regarding the thorough settlement of this issue.

(7) In order to bring about, over a period of time, a final settlement of the question of United States arms sales to Taiwan, which is an issue rooted in history, the two Governments will make every effort to adopt measures and create conditions conducive to the thorough settlement of this issue.

(8) The development of United states-China relations is not only in the interests of the two peoples but also conducive to peace and stability in the world. The two sides are determined, on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, to strengthen their ties in the economic, cultural, educational, scientific, technological and other fields and make strong, joint efforts for the continued development of relations between the Governments and peoples of the United States and China.

(9) In order to bring about the healthy development of United States-China relations, maintain world peace and oppose aggression and expansion, the two Governments reaffirm the principles agreed on by the two sides in the Shanghai Communiqué and the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations. The two sides will maintain contact and hold appropriate consultations on bilateral and international issues of common interest.

**PREMIER WEN JIABAO MEETS WITH US VICE PRESIDENT IN  
BEIJING**  
[14 April 2004]

On April 14, 2004, Premier Wen Jiabao of the State Council met with Vice President Dick Cheney of the United States at Zhongnanhai.

Wen Jiabao said that taken as a whole China-US relations have been developing continuously since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries despite the ups and downs over the past two and a half decades. Last December when President Bush met with me, he stated explicitly that he is opposed to "Taiwan independence" and to any words or actions that are crafted to change the status quo of Taiwan. China appreciates that stance.

The position of the Chinese government on the Taiwan issue is consistent and clear, which is "one country, two systems". China will make every effort to resolve the Taiwan issue peacefully but will never tolerate "Taiwan independence". I have reached consensus with President Bush during our meeting on five aspects, which have exerted positive influence on the stabilization and expansion of economic and trade cooperation between the two countries.

China is willing to further enhance political mutual trust as well as economic and trade cooperation with the US. At the same time, China hopes that the US will adhere strictly to its commitments on the Taiwan issue, refrain from sending any erroneous message to Taiwan, accord the status of full market economy to China as early as possible and decrease restrictions on export of high-tech products to China.

Wen noted that China and the US share many common interests and developing China-US relations is compliant with the fundamental interests of both peoples and conducive to world peace and development.

China and the US should view their relations in a long-term and strategic perspective to deepen mutual understanding, expand mutual trust, seek common grounds while putting aside differences and expand cooperation on the basis of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit.

Cheney expressed satisfaction with the overall development of US-China relations. He said China has currently become the third largest trade partner of the US and the importance of their economies to each other has been ever increasing. To further expand the mutually beneficial cooperation conforms to the common interests of both peoples and will surely benefit the whole world. The US is willing to work together with China to resolve problems existing in bilateral economic and trade relations.

## **EXCERPTS FROM GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA (1942)**

February 21, 1942

During my two weeks' stay in India I have had the opportunity of discussing very frankly with the highest civil and military authorities as well as with my Indian friends, questions concerning joint plans against aggression and the objective of our common efforts. I was happy to find that there was full sympathy and general understanding between us.

China and India comprise one-half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends for nearly 2,000 miles. In the 2,000 years' history of their intercourse, which has been of a purely cultural and commercial character, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed, nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighboring countries. This is an irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature. Today they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this they are duty bound to side with the anti-aggression countries, and fight shoulder to shoulder to secure real peace for the whole world.

Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common--namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness; it is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which prompted China to be the first to take up arms against the aggressor countries, not merely for the purpose of securing her own freedom, but also for the purpose of securing justice and freedom for all mankind. I venture to suggest to my brethren, the Indian people, that in this most critical moment in the history of civilization, our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied either to China or to India there could be no real peace in the world.

The present international situation divides the world into two camps, of aggression and anti-aggression. All those who opposed aggression and are striving for the freedom of their country and mankind should join the anti-aggression camp. There is no middle course, and there is no time to wait for developments now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern a dispute with any one man or country, nor does it concern any specific questions now pending between one people and another. Any people, therefore, which joins

the anti-aggression front may be said to cooperate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front.

This leads us to believe that the Pacific war is a turning-point in the history of nationalism. The method, however, whereby the peoples of the world could attain their freedom might be different from what it used to be. The anti-aggression nations now expect that in this new era the people of India will voluntarily bear their full share of responsibility in the present struggle for the survival of that free world in which India must play her part.

The vast majority of the world's opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspirations for freedom. This sympathy, which is so valuable and so difficult to obtain, cannot be appraised in terms of money or material, and should therefore by all means be retained. The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilization of the world would suffer a setback for at least 100 years, and there would be no end to human sufferings.....

In these horrible times of savagery and brute force, the people of China and their brethren the people of India should, for the sake of civilization and human freedom, give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the joint declaration of the 26 nations, and ally themselves with the anti-aggression front. I hope the Indian people will wholeheartedly join the allies-namely, China, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union-and participate shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for survival of a free world until complete victory has been achieved and the duties incumbent upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged.

I sincerely hope, and I confidently believe, that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power, so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for the securing of victory, but also the turning-point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy, which will redound to the credit of the British Empire.

**ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND  
THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA  
(1949-1950)**

**LETTER FROM INDIA**

His Excellency General Chow En-lai,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
People's Republic of China,  
Peking.

30th December 1949

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 2nd October 1949 which was communicated to me by our Ambassador in Nanking. In that communication Your Excellency has conveyed the desire of your Government to establish diplomatic relations with India on basis of the principles of equality, mutual interests and mutual respect for territorial and sovereign rights. Having given full consideration to Your Excellency's communication as well as to the subsequent developments in China, the Government of India have decided that they should accord recognition to the People's Republic of China. I am accordingly happy to convey to Your Excellency the Government of India's recognition of your Government and, at the same time, to express our desire for entering into diplomatic relations with your Government. I am confident that this will further strengthen the immemorial friendship between India and China and will conduce to the stability of Asia and the peace of the world.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed)  
Jawaharlal Nehru,  
Minister for External Affairs,  
INDIA.

LETTER FROM CHINESE LEADERSHIP

His Excellency Jawaharlal Nehru  
Minister for External Affairs India New Delhi

Excellency,

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of December 30, 1949, notifying the desire of the Government of India for entering into diplomatic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China. I hereby inform you that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is willing to establish diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Union of India on the basis of equality, mutual benefits and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty, and hope that your government would send its representatives to Peking to conduct talks on this matter.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

CHOU EN LAI  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of  
the Central People's Government of  
the People's Republic of China.  
January 4, 1950.

## **TEXT OF THE CHINESE STATEMENT DATED 16 OCTOBER 1964 ON NUCLEAR EXPLOSION**

China exploded an atomic bomb at 15:00 hours on October 16, 1964, thereby successfully carrying out its first nuclear test. This is a major achievement of the Chinese people in their struggle to strengthen their national defence and oppose the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats.

To defend oneself is the inalienable right of every sovereign state. To safeguard world peace is the common task of all peace-loving countries. China cannot remain idle in the face of the ever increasing nuclear threats from the United States. China is conducting nuclear tests and developing nuclear weapons under compulsion.

The Chinese Government has consistently advocated the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. If this had been achieved, China need not have developed nuclear weapons. But our proposal has met with stubborn resistance from the U.S. imperialists. The Chinese Government pointed out long ago that the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests signed in Moscow in July 1963 by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union was a big fraud to fool the people of the world, that it was an attempt to consolidate the nuclear monopoly of the three nuclear powers and tie the hands of all peace-loving countries, and that it had increased, and not decreased, the nuclear threat of U.S. imperialism against the people of China and of the whole world.....

The atomic bomb is a paper tiger. This famous statement by Chairman Mao Tse-tung is known to all. This was our view in the past and this is still our view at present. China is developing nuclear weapons not because it believes in their omnipotence nor because it plans to use them. On the contrary, in developing nuclear weapons, China's aim is to break the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers and to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government is loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We believe in the people. It is the people, and not any weapons, that decide the outcome of a war. The destiny of China is decided by the Chinese people, while the destiny of the world is decided by the people of the world, and not by nuclear weapons. China is developing nuclear weapons for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from U.S. threats to launch a nuclear war.

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares that China will never at any time or under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons. . . .

The Chinese Government will, as always, exert every effort to promote, through international consultations, the realization of the lofty aim of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Until that day comes, the Chinese Government and people will firmly and unswervingly follow their own path to strengthen their national defence, defend their motherland and safeguard world peace.

We are convinced that man, who creates nuclear weapons, will certainly be able to eliminate them.

**TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

[15 August 1984]

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of India,

Being desirous of further promoting friendly relations between the two countries and the peoples; and trade and economic relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit:

Have agreed as follows:

**Article 1**

The two contracting parties shall promote the development of trade relations of the two countries within the framework of this agreement and of laws and regulations in force in their respective countries.

**Article 2**

Each party shall accord to the commerce of the other party the Most-Favoured-Nation treatment, in particular with respect to :

- a) Customs duties, taxes, and charges of any kind, including the method of levying such duties, taxes and charges, imposed on or in connection with importation and exportation of goods;
- b) all rules, procedures and formalities in connection with importation and exportation as well as customs declaration and customs clearance;
- c) all internal taxes or other internal charges of any kind imposed on or in connection with imported and exported goods;
- d) Juridical person (including foreign trade organisations) and natural persons of either Contracting Party shall be accorded treatment no less favourable than that accorded to juridical persons (including foreign trade organisations) and natural persons of any third country with respect to payments, remittances, and transfers of funds of financial instruments between the territories of the two Contracting Parties as well as between the territories of the other Contracting Party and a third country.

The provisions of para 1 shall not however, apply to :

- a) advantages accorded by either party to contiguous countries for the purpose of facilitating frontier traffic;
- b) advantages resulting from any customs union or free trade area to which either party is or may become a party, or any advantage or preference, continuing under Commonwealth Preferences, or accorded under multilateral agreements for expansion of trade among developing countries to which either of the governments is or may become a party .

### Article 3

Merchant ships of either country with cargoes and crews , or without cargoes on board, will, while entering, staying in or leaving the ports of the other country, enjoy the Most –Favoured –Nation treatment granted by their respective laws , rules and regulations to ships under third country flag. This principle shall not however, apply to ships engaged in coastal navigation of either party.

### Article 4

Each party shall give full consideration to suggestions that may be made from time to time by the other party for facilitating the import into one country of commodities which are available for export from the other and for the development and expansion of commerce, and diversification of trade between the two countries.

### Article 5

The import and export of goods /commodities will be carried out in accordance with the effective laws and rules on import, export and foreign exchange control in either country on the basis of agreements concluded between import and export traders or trading organisations of the two countries.

### Article 6

All payments for trade between the two countries shall be made in freely convertible currencies, acceptable to both countries, subject to regulations of foreign exchange control in force in either country .

## Article 7

The contracting parties shall encourage the parties involved in a dispute arising from or relating to a trade contract between trade organisations or import and export traders of the two countries ,to settle their disputes through friendly negotiations , If the dispute cannot be settled through negotiation, the parties concerned may present the dispute to the permanent arbitration organisation of the defendant's country for conciliation or arbitration, in accordance with its procedures and regulations. The parties may also submit it for arbitration on the basis of the arbitration clause which is stipulated by the parties in their contract. The contracting parties shall provide necessary facilities for the endorsement of arbitral awards made in either of the countries, in their respective countries,

## Article 8

The two contracting parties shall facilitate each other 's participation in trade fairs to be held in either country and shall subject to its internal laws and regulations and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed exempt goods meant for any fair /exhibition, demonstration, seminar, congress or conference in the territory of either contracting party and not intended for sale, from customs duties and other similar charges leviable thereon in its territory .

## Article 9

The contracting parties agree to provide facility to the import and export of goods listed in schedules "A" and "B" attached to this Agreement. The said schedules may by mutual consent be amended or modified.

The above provision shall not preclude commercial transactions in goods not listed in the said schedules.

## Article 10

The provisions of this Agreement shall continue to be applied, after its expiry, to all contracts for trade transactions concluded but not fully executed before the termination of this Agreement.

## Article 11

In order to facilitate the implementation of this Agreement the contracting parties shall consult each other, as and when necessary, and meet alternately in Beijing and New Dehli.

## Article 12

This Agreement shall come into force on the date of its signature and shall remain valid for a period of three years. Thereafter, it shall be automatically extended for subsequent period of three years unless a written notice given by either side for the termination of this Agreement six months before the date of its expiry.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned being duly authorised by their respective Governments have signed the present Agreement.

Done in Beijing on 15th August, 1984 in two original copies each, in Chinese, Hindi and English languages. The three texts shall be equally authentic, but in case of any divergence of interpretation, the English text shall prevail.

**CULTURAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

[28 May 1988]

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of India (hereinafter referred to as the two Contracting Parties), inspired by a common desire to establish and develop closer relations, and desirous of promoting and developing in every possible manner the relations and understanding between China and India in the realms of culture and art, education, social sciences, sports, public health, press and publishing, broadcasting, film and television, have agreed to conclude the present Agreement.

**Article 1**

The two Contracting Parties have agreed, in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, to promote and encourage exchanges as well as cooperation between the two countries in the fields of culture and art, education, sports, public health, press and publication, broadcasting, film and television in order to contribute towards a better understanding of each other in these fields.

**Article 2**

The two Contracting Parties shall encourage and promote exchanges and cooperation in the field of art, culture and classical studies through:

- a) exchange visits of writers, artists, specialists and scholars;
- b) exchange visits of performing art troupes;
- c) reciprocal exhibitions on culture and art; and
- d) exchange of official and cultural delegations.

**Article 3**

The two Contracting Parties have agreed to undertake the following programme of exchanges and cooperation in the field of education:

- a) grant scholarships and facilities to students of the other country to study and research in its institutions of higher education in accordance with needs and possibilities;
- b) exchange visits of professors and specialists for delivering lectures, carrying out study tours and conducting special courses;
- c) encourage and facilitate the attendance by scholars or specialists of the other country at international academic meetings held in this country;
- d) exchange books, materials and other publications in the field of education;

- e) exchange education delegations for study tours in accordance with needs and possibilities; and
- f) examine the conditions of each other's country under which the diplomas, certificates and university degrees are awarded by the educational and other institutions.

#### Article 4

The two Contracting Parties have agreed to translate and publish outstanding works of literature and art of each other's country, and exchange books, periodicals and other materials on culture, literature and art.

#### Article 5

The two Contracting Parties shall endeavour to present different facets of the culture of each other's country through the media of radio, television and the press. With this end in view, the two Parties shall exchange suitable materials and programmes, as well as experts in the field of cinematography and participate in each other's international film festivals.

#### Article 6

The two Contracting Parties have agreed to strengthen contacts and cooperation between the sports organizations of the two countries. They shall send, in accordance with needs and possibilities, athletes, coaches and sports teams to each other's country for friendly visits, competitions and exchange of techniques. Concrete items shall be discussed and decided by the sports organizations of the two countries.

#### Article 7

The two Contracting Parties have agreed to exchange experience in the fields of medicine and public health.

#### Article 8

The two Contracting Parties have agreed to conduct exchanges and cooperation in the field of social sciences.

#### Article 9

The two Contracting Parties shall encourage and facilitate exchange visits of archaeologists with a view to promote sharing of experience in excavation, preservation and display of archaeological finds, training and such other areas as may be mutually agreed upon.

**Article 10**

With a view to implementing the present Agreement, the two Contracting Parties will periodically formulate mutually agreed Cultural Exchange Programmes, which shall ordinarily be for a period of two years.

**Article 11**

The two Contracting Parties may modify or amend their Agreement by mutual consent.

**Article 12**

The present Agreement shall enter into force on the date on which the two Contracting Parties notify each other of the completion of their respective legal procedures.

The present Agreement shall remain in force for a period of five (5) years, and shall be renewed automatically, thereafter for further period of five (5) years each until either Contracting Party gives to the other a six (6) months prior notice in writing of its intention to terminate it.

Done in duplicate in Beijing on May 28, 1988 in Chinese, Hindi and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic.

**JOINT PRESS COMMUNIQUÉ ON THE VISIT TO CHINA BY THE  
PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA**  
[Beijing, 23 December 1988]

At the invitation of Premier Li Peng of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of the Republic of India made an official goodwill visit to the People's Republic of China from 19 to 23 December 1988. Accompanying Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on his visit to China were Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, Mr. Narasimha Rao, Minister of External Affairs of India, Mr. Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce, Dr. B. Shankaranand, Minister of Law and Justice and Water Resources, Mr. K. Natwar Singh, Minister of State for External Affairs, and other Indian officials.

Premier Li Peng and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi held talks in an atmosphere of friendship, candidness and mutual understanding. President Yang Shangkun of the People's Republic of China, General secretary Zhao Ziyang of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and Chairman Deng Xiaoping of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee had separate meetings with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. During his visit, the two Governments signed the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Science and Technology, the agreement Relating to Civil Air Transport, and the Executive Programme for the Years 1988, 1988 and 1990 under the Agreement for Cultural Cooperation. Both the Premier and the Prime Minister were present at the signing ceremony. The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi and their party also toured historical sites and scenic spots in Beijing, Xi'an and Shanghai.

During their talks and meetings, the leaders of the two countries had a wide exchange of views and ideas on bilateral relations and international issues of mutual interest. Both sides found such talks and meetings useful as they enhanced mutual understanding in the interest of further improvement and development of bilateral relations. The two sides made a positive appraisal of the cooperation and exchanges in recent years in trade, culture, science and technology, civil aviation and other fields, and expressed satisfaction with the relevant agreements reached between the two countries. They emphasized the vast scope that existed for learning from each other.

They emphasized that the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, which were jointly initiated by China and India and which have proved full of vitality through the test of history, constitute the basic guiding principles for good relations between states.

These principles also constitute the basic guidelines for the establishment of a new international political order and the new international economic order. Both sides agreed that their common desire was to restore, improve and develop Sino-Indian good-neighborly and friendly relations on the basis of these principles. This not only conforms to the fundamental interests of the two peoples, but will actively contribute to peace and stability in Asia and the world as a whole. The two sides reaffirmed that they would make efforts to further their friendly relation.

The leaders of the two countries held earnest, in-depth discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question and agreed to settle this question through peaceful and friendly consultations. They also agreed to develop their relations actively in other fields and work hard to create a favourable climate and conditions for a fair and reasonable settlement of the boundary question while seeking a mutually acceptable solution to this question. In this context, concrete steps will be taken, such as establishing a joint working group on the boundary question and a joint group on economic relations and trade and science and technology.

The Chinese side expressed concern over anti-China activities by some Tibetan elements in India. The Indian side reiterated the long-standing and consistent policy of the Government of India that Tibet is an autonomous region of China and that anti-China political activities by Tibetan elements are not permitted on Indian soil.

With regard to the international situation, the two sides held that in the present-day world, confrontation was giving way to dialogue and tension to relaxation. This is a trend resulting from long years of unswerving struggle by the peace-loving countries and people of the world against power politics. It is conducive to world peace and to the settlement of regional problems. It also facilitates the efforts of all countries, the developing countries in particular, to develop their national economies. China and India will make their own contributions to the maintenance of world peace, promotion of complete disarmament and attainment of common progress.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi and their party expressed heartfelt thanks to the Government and people of the People's Republic of China for the warm and friendly hospitality accorded them.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has invited Premier Li Peng to visit the Republic of India at his convenience. Premier Li Peng has accepted the invitation with pleasure. And the date of the visit will be decided upon through diplomatic channels.

**AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF INDIA ON THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND TRANQUILITY  
ALONG THE LINE OF ACTUAL CONTROL IN THE CHINA-INDIA  
BORDER AREAS**  
[7 September 1993]

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of India, (hereinafter referred to as the two sides), have entered into the present Agreement in accordance with the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence and with a view to maintaining peace and tranquility in areas along the line of actual control in the China-India border areas.

### **Article One**

The two sides are of the view that the China-India boundary question shall be resolved through peaceful and friendly consultations. Neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other by any means. Pending an ultimate solution to the boundary question between the countries, the two sides shall strictly respect and observe the line of actual control between the two sides. No activities of either side shall overstep the line of actual control. In case personnel of one side cross the line of actual control, upon being cautioned by the other side, they shall immediately pull back to their own side of the line of actual control. When necessary, the two sides shall jointly check and determine the segments of the line of actual control where they have different views as to its alignment.

### **Article Two**

Each side will keep its military forces in the areas along the line of actual control to a minimum level compatible with the friendly and good neighbourly relations between the two countries. The two sides agree to reduce their military forces along the line of actual control in conformity with the requirements of the principle of mutual and equal security to ceilings to mutually agreed. The extent, depth, timing and nature of reduction of military forces along the line of actual control shall be determined through mutual consultations between the two countries. The reduction of military forces shall be carried out by stages in mutually agreed geographical locations sector wise within the areas along the line of actual control.

## **Article Three**

Both sides shall work out through consultations effective confidence building measures in the areas along the line of actual control. Neither side will undertake specified levels of military exercises in mutually identified zones. Each side shall give the other prior notification of military exercises of specified levels near the line of actual control permitted under this Agreement.

## **Article Four**

In case of contingencies or other problems arising in the areas along the line of actual control, the two sides shall deal with them through meetings and friendly consultations between border personnel of the two countries. The form of such meetings and channels of communications between the border personnel shall be mutually agreed upon by the two sides.

## **Article Five**

The two sides agree to take adequate measures to ensure that air intrusions across the line of actual control do not take place and shall undertake mutual consultations should intrusions occur. Both sides shall also consult on possible restrictions on air exercises in areas mutually agreed near the line of actual control.

## **Article Six**

The two sides are agreed that references to the line of actual control in this Agreement do not prejudice their respective positions on the boundary question.

## **Article Seven**

The two sides shall agree through consultations on the form, method, scale and content of effective verification measures and supervision required for the reduction of military forces and the maintenance of peace and tranquility in the areas along the line of actual control under this Agreement.

## **Article Eight**

Each side of the China-India Joint Working Group on the boundary question shall appoint diplomatic and military experts to formulate, through mutual consultations, the implementation measures for the present Agreement. The experts shall advise the Joint Working Group on the resolution of differences between the two sides on the alignment of the line of actual control and address issues relating to

redeployment with a view to reduction of military forces in the areas along the line of actual control. The experts shall also assist the Joint Working Group in supervision of the implementation of the Agreement, and settlement of differences that may arise in that process, based on the principle of good faith and mutual confidence.

### **Article Nine**

The present Agreement shall come into effect as of the date of signature and is subject to amendment and addition by agreement of the two sides.

Signed in duplicate at Beijing on September 7, 1993 in the Chinese, Hindi and English languages, all three texts having equal validity.

**AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF INDIA ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES IN THE MILITARY  
FIELD ALONG THE LINE OF ACTUAL CONTROL IN THE CHINA-  
INDIA BORDER AREAS**  
[29 November 1996]

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Republic of India (hereinafter referred to as the two sides),

Believing that it serves the fundamental interests of the peoples of China and India to foster a long-term good-neighbourly relationship in accordance with the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence,

Convinced that the maintenance of peace and tranquility along the line of actual control in the China-India border areas accords with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and will also contribute to the ultimate resolution of the boundary question,

Reaffirming that neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other by any means or seek unilateral military superiority,

Pursuant to the Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Republic of India on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility Along the Line of Actual Control in the China-India Border Areas, signed on 7 September 1993,

Recognizing the need for effective confidence building measures in the military field along the line of actual control in the border areas between the two sides,

Noting the utility of confidence building measures already in place along the line of actual control in the China-India border areas,

Committed to enhancing mutual confidence and transparency in the military field,

Have agreed as follows:

## ARTICLE I

Neither side shall use its military capability against the other side. No armed forces deployed by either side in the border areas along the line of actual control as part of their respective military strength shall be used to attack the other side, or engage in military activities that threaten the other side or undermine peace, tranquility and stability in the China-India border areas.

## ARTICLE II

The two sides reiterate their determination to seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable settlement of the boundary question. Pending an ultimate resolution of the boundary question, the two sides reaffirm their commitment to strictly respect and observe the line of actual control in the China-India border areas. No activities of either side shall overstep the line of actual control.

## ARTICLE III

The two sides agree to take the following measures to reduce or limit their respective military forces within mutually agreed geographical zones along the line of actual control in the China-India border areas:

1. The two sides reaffirm that they shall reduce or limit their respective military forces within mutually agreed geographical zones along the line of actual control in the China-India border areas to minimum levels compatible with friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and consistent with the principle of mutual and equal security.
2. The two sides shall reduce or limit the number of field army, border defence forces, para-military forces and any other mutually agreed category of armed force deployed in mutually agreed geographical zones along the line of actual control to ceilings to be mutually agreed upon. The major categories of armaments to be reduced or limited are as follows: combat tanks, infantry combat vehicles, guns (including howitzers) with 75 mm or bigger calibre, mortars with 120 mm or bigger calibre, surface-to-surface missiles, surface-to-air missiles and any other weapon system mutually agreed upon.
3. The two sides shall exchange data on the military forces and armaments to be reduced or limited and decide on ceilings on military forces and armaments to be kept by each side within mutually agreed geographical zones along the line of actual control in the China-India border areas. The ceilings shall be determined in conformity with the requirement of the principle of mutual and equal security, with

due consideration being given to parameters such as the nature of terrain, road communication and other infrastructure and time taken to induct/de-induct troops and armaments.

## ARTICLE IV

In order to maintain peace and tranquility along the line of actual control in the China-India border areas and to prevent any tension in the border areas due to misreading by either side of the other side's intentions:

1. Both sides shall avoid holding large scale military exercises involving more than one Division (approximately 15,000 troops) in close proximity of the line of actual control in the China-India border areas. However, if such exercises are to be conducted, the strategic direction of the main force involved shall not be towards the other side.
2. If either side conducts a major military exercise involving more than one Brigade Group (approximately 5,000 troops) in close proximity of the line of actual control in the China-India border areas, it shall give the other side prior notification with regard to type, level, planned duration and area of exercise as well as the number and type of units or formations participating in the exercise.
3. The date of completion of the exercise and de-induction of troops from the area of exercise shall be intimated to the other side within five days of completion or de-induction.
4. Each side shall be entitled to obtain timely clarification from the side undertaking the exercise in respect of data specified in Paragraph 2 of the present Article.

## ARTICLE V

With a view to preventing air intrusions across the line of actual control in the China-India border areas and facilitating over flights and landings by military aircraft:

1. Both sides shall take adequate measures to ensure that air intrusions across the line of actual control do not take place. However, if an intrusion does take place, it should cease as soon as detected and the incident shall be promptly investigated by the side operating the aircraft. The results of the investigation shall be immediately communicated, through diplomatic channels or at border personnel meetings, to the other side.

2. Subject to Paragraphs 3 and 5 of this Article, combat aircraft (to include fighter, bomber, reconnaissance, military trainer, armed helicopter and other armed aircraft) shall not fly within ten kilometers of the line of actual control.

3. If either side is required to undertake flights of combat aircraft within ten kilometers from the line of actual control, it shall give the following information in advance to the other side, through diplomatic channels:

- (a) Type and number of combat aircraft;
- (b) Height of the proposed flight (in meters);
- (c) Proposed duration of flights (normally not to exceed ten days);
- (d) Proposed timing of flights; and
- (e) Area of operations, defined in latitude and longitude.

4. Unarmed transport aircraft, survey aircraft and helicopters shall be permitted to fly up to the line of actual control.

5. No military aircraft of either side shall fly across the line of actual control, except by prior permission. Military aircraft of either side may fly across the line of actual control or over fly the other side's airspace or land on the other side only after obtaining the latter's prior permission after providing the latter with detailed information on the flight in accordance with the international practice in this regard. Notwithstanding the above stipulation, each side has the sovereign right to specify additional conditions, including at short notice, for flights or landings of military aircraft of the other side on its side of the line of actual control or through its airspace.

6. In order to ensure flight safety in emergency situations, the authorities designated by the two sides may contact each other by the quickest means of communications available.

## ARTICLE VI

With a view to preventing dangerous military activities along the line of actual control in the China-India border areas, the two sides agree as follows:

1. Neither side shall open fire, cause bio-degradation, use hazardous chemicals, conduct blast operations or hunt with guns or explosives within two kilometers from the line of actual control. This prohibition shall not apply to routine firing activities in small arms firing ranges.

2. If there is a need to conduct blast operations within two kilometers of the line of actual control as part of developmental activities, the other side shall be informed through diplomatic channels or by convening a border personnel meeting, preferably five days in advance.
3. While conducting exercises with live ammunition in areas close to the line of actual control, precaution shall be taken to ensure that a bullet or a missile does not accidentally fall on the other side across the line of actual control and causes harm to the personnel or property of the other side.
4. If the border personnel of the two sides come in a face-to-face situation due to differences on the alignment of the line of actual control or any other reason, they shall exercise self-restraint and take all necessary steps to avoid an escalation of the situation. Both sides shall also enter into immediate consultations through diplomatic and/or other available channels to review the situation and prevent any escalation of tension.

## ARTICLE VII

In order to strengthen exchanges and cooperation between their military personnel and establishments in the border areas along the line of actual control, the two sides agree:

1. To maintain and expand the regime of scheduled and flag meetings between their border representatives at designated places along the line of actual control;
2. To maintain and expand telecommunication links between their border meeting points at designated places along the line of actual control;
3. To establish step-by-step medium and high-level contacts between the border authorities of the two sides.

## ARTICLE VIII

1. Should the personnel of one side cross the line of actual control and enter the other side because of unavoidable circumstances like natural disasters, the other side shall extend all possible assistance to them and inform their side, as soon as possible, regarding the forced or inadvertent entry across the line of actual control. The modalities of return of the concerned personnel to their own side shall be settled through mutual consultations.

2. The two sides shall provide each other, at the earliest possible, with information pertaining to natural disasters and epidemic diseases in contiguous border areas which might affect the other side. The exchange of information shall take place either through diplomatic channels or at border personnel meetings.

## ARTICLE IX

In case a doubtful situation develops in the border region, or in case one of the sides has some questions or doubts regarding the manner in which the other side is observing this Agreement, either side has the right to seek a clarification from the other side. The clarifications sought and replies to them shall be conveyed through diplomatic channels.

## ARTICLE X

1. Recognizing that the full implementation of some of the provisions of the present Agreement will depend on the two sides arriving at a common understanding of the alignment of the line of actual control in the China-India border areas, the two sides agree to speed up the process of clarification and confirmation of the line of actual control. As an initial step in this process, they are clarifying the alignment of the line of actual control in those segments where they have different perceptions. They also agree to exchange maps indicating their respective perceptions of the entire alignment of the line of actual control as soon as possible.

2. Pending the completion of the process of clarification and confirmation of the line of actual control, the two sides shall work out modalities for implementing confidence building measures envisaged under this Agreement on an interim basis, without prejudice to their respective positions on the alignment of the line of actual control as well as on the boundary question,

## ARTICLE XI

Detailed implementation measures required under Article I to Article X of this Agreement shall be decided through mutual consultations in the China-India Joint Working Group on the Boundary Question. The China-India Diplomatic and Military Expert Group shall assist the China-India Joint Working Group in devising implementation measures under the Agreement.

## ARTICLE XII

This Agreement is subject to ratification and shall enter into force on the date of exchange of instruments of ratification. It shall remain in effect until either side decides to terminate it after giving six months' notice in writing. It shall become invalid six months after the notification.

This Agreement is subject to amendment and addition by mutual agreement in writing between the two sides.

Signed in duplicate in New Delhi on 29 November 1996 in the Chinese, Hindi and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic. In case of divergence, the English text shall prevail.

**SECOND MEETING OF SINO-INDIAN DIALOGUE ON COUNTER-TERRORISM**  
(13 June 2003)

The second meeting of Sino-Indian dialogue mechanism on counter-terrorism was held in Beijing on 13 June 2003. The Indian delegation was led by Mr. Ashok K. Kantha, Joint Secretary (East Asia), Ministry of External Affairs. The Chinese delegation was led by Mr. Zhang Jun, Acting Director General of the Department of International Organizations and Conferences, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The delegates of two sides included representatives from the concerned ministries. The two delegations recalled that the regular counter-terrorism dialogue mechanism was established in January 2002 and the first meeting was held in India in April 2002.

The two sides exchanged views on the international and regional counter-terrorism situation, Sino-Indian cooperation on counter-terrorism, role of the United Nations in combating global terrorism, and enhancing counter-terrorism capabilities. Both sides stressed the important role of the United Nations in the international counter-terrorism cooperation and expressed their willingness and readiness to strengthen cooperation bilaterally and multilaterally. Both sides agreed to hold the third meeting in India in the first half of 2004.

H.E. Mr. Shen Guofang, Assistant Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also received the Indian delegation. Mr. Shen underlined the importance of enhancing bilateral relations and made a positive appraisal of bilateral counter-terrorism dialogue, which would contribute to further development of cooperation between the two countries. He concluded that the dialogue would also help prepare for the forthcoming official visit to China by H.E. Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India.

**DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES FOR RELATIONS AND  
COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF  
INDIA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

[Beijing; 23 June 2003]

At the invitation of Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China H.E. Wen Jiabao, Prime Minister of the Republic of India H.E. Atal Bihari Vajpayee paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from 22 to 27 June 2003.

During this visit, Premier Wen Jiabao held talks with Prime Minister Vajpayee. Their Excellencies President Hu Jintao of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Jiang Zemin of the Central Military Commission, Chairman Wu Bangguo of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice President Zeng Qinghong of the People's Republic of China held separate meetings with Prime Minister Vajpayee. The talks and meetings were held in a sincere and friendly atmosphere.

Leaders from both countries noted with satisfaction the progress made over recent years in bilateral relations. This is conducive not only to their respective development, but also to regional stability and prosperity. The two sides recalled the historical depth of their friendly contacts. India and China are the two largest developing countries of the world with centuries-old civilization, unique history and similar objectives. Both noted that the sustained economic and social development in the two countries, representing one third of humanity is vital for ensuring peace, stability and prosperity not only in Asia but also in the whole world.

The two sides agreed that India and China have a mutual desire for good neighborly relations and have broad common interests. They agreed to fully utilize the substantial potential and opportunities for deepening mutually beneficial cooperation.

Friendship and cooperation between the two countries meets the need to:

- promote the socio-economic development and prosperity of both India and China;
- maintain peace and stability regionally and globally;
- strengthen multipolarity at the international level; and
- enhance the positive factors of globalization.

Both sides affirmed that they would abide by the following principles, promote a long-term constructive and cooperative partnership and, on this basis, build a qualitatively new relationship:

- Both sides are committed to developing their long-term constructive and cooperative partnership on the basis of the principles of Panchsheel, mutual respect and sensitivity for each other's concerns and equality;
- As two major developing countries, India and China have a broad mutual interest in the maintenance of peace, stability and prosperity in Asia and the world, and a mutual desire in developing wider and closer cooperation and understanding in regional and international affairs;
- The common interests of the two sides outweigh their differences. The two countries are not a threat to each other. Neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other; and
- Both sides agree to qualitatively enhancing the bilateral relationship at all levels and in all areas while addressing differences through peaceful means in a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable manner. The differences should not be allowed to affect the overall development of bilateral relations.

Both sides agreed to hold regular high-level exchanges between the two countries. This will greatly enhance mutual understanding and expand bilateral relations. With a view to deepening their coordination and dialogues on bilateral, regional and international issues, both sides agreed on the need for annual meetings between Foreign Ministers of the two countries. They also agreed that personnel exchanges and friendly contacts between ministries, parliaments and political parties of the two countries should be further enhanced.

The two sides welcomed the positive momentum of bilateral trade and economic cooperation in recent years and shared the belief that continued expansion and intensification of India-China economic cooperation is essential for strengthening bilateral relations.

Both sides shared the view that existing complementarities between their two economies provide an important foundation and offer broad prospects for further enhancing their economic relations. In order to promote trade and economic cooperation, both sides will take necessary measures consistent with their national laws and rules and international obligations to remove impediments to bilateral trade and investment. They reaffirmed the importance of the ministerial meeting of the Joint Economic Group (JEG) and agreed to hold the next (seventh) JEG meeting within the year.

The two sides will set up a compact Joint Study Group (JSG) composed of officials and economists to examine the potential complementarities between the two countries in expanded trade and economic cooperation. The JSG would also draw up a programme for the development of India-China trade and economic cooperation for the next five years, aimed at encouraging greater cooperation between the business communities of both sides. The Group should present a study report and recommendations to the two Governments on measures for comprehensive trade and economic cooperation by the end of June 2004.

The two countries will launch a financial dialogue and cooperation mechanism to strengthen their dialogue and coordination in this sector. The two sides agreed to enhance cooperation at the World Trade Organization, which is not only to mutual benefit but also in the broader interest of developing countries. The two sides will hold dialogues on a regular basis in this regard.

Historical and cultural links between India and China will be strengthened, inter-alia, through the promotion of exchanges in culture, education, science and technology, media, youth and people-to-people relations. They agreed to set up Cultural Centers in each other's capitals and facilitate their establishment.

Both sides will work towards the enhancement of direct air and shipping links, tourism, exchange hydrological data in flood season on common rivers as agreed, cooperation in agriculture, dairy, food processing, health and other sectors.

They agreed on the need to broaden and deepen defence exchanges between the two countries, which will help enhance and deepen the mutual understanding and trust between the two armed forces. They confirmed that the exchange of visits by their Defence Ministers and of military officials at various levels should be strengthened.

The two sides exchanged views on the India-China boundary question and expounded their respective positions. They reiterated their readiness to seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution through consultations on an equal footing. The two sides agreed that pending an ultimate solution, they should work together to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas, and reiterated their commitment to continue implementation of the agreements signed for this purpose, including the clarification of the Line of Actual Control.

The two sides agreed to each appoint a Special Representative to explore from the political perspective of the overall bilateral relationship the framework of a boundary settlement.

The Indian side recognizes that the Tibet Autonomous Region is part of the territory of the People's Republic of China and reiterates that it does not allow Tibetans to engage in anti-China political activities in India. The Chinese side expresses its appreciation for the Indian position and reiterates that it is firmly opposed to any attempt and action aimed at splitting China and bringing about "independence of Tibet".

The Indian side recalled that India was among the first countries to recognize that there is one China and its one China policy remains unaltered. The Chinese side expressed its appreciation of the Indian position.

India and China recognized the primacy of maintaining international peace. This is a prerequisite for the socio-economic development of all developing countries, including India and China. The world is marked by diversity. Every country has the right to choose its own political system and path to development. As two major developing countries, India and China acknowledged the importance of their respective roles in the shaping of a new international political and economic order. The international community must help the developing countries to eliminate poverty and narrow the gap between the North and the South through dialogue and cooperation so as to achieve common prosperity.

The two sides acknowledged the vital importance of the role of the United Nations in world peace, stability and development. They are determined to continue their efforts in strengthening the UN system. They reaffirmed their readiness to work together to promote reform of the UN. In reform of the UN Security Council, priority should be given to enhancing representation of the developing countries.

Both sides stood for continued multilateral arms control and disarmament process, undiminished and equal security for all at progressively lower levels of armament and for multilateral negotiations aimed at nuclear disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons. They are firmly opposed to introduction of weapons in outer space, use or threat of force against space-based objects and support cooperation in development of space technology for peaceful purposes.

The two sides recognised the threat posed by terrorism to them and to global peace and security. They resolutely condemned terrorism in any form. The struggle between the international community and global terrorism is a comprehensive and sustained one, with the ultimate objective of eradication of terrorism in all regions. This requires strengthening the global legal framework against terrorism. Both sides shall also promote cooperation on counter-terrorism through their bilateral dialogue mechanism.

India and China face special and similar challenges in their efforts to protect the environment while simultaneously forging ahead with rapid social and economic development of their countries. In this context, the two sides agreed to work together in a practical manner to cooperate on preserving the environment and ensuring sustainable development and to coordinate positions on climate change, biodiversity and other issues in relevant multilateral fora.

The two sides supported multilateral cooperation in Asia, believing that such cooperation promotes mutually beneficial exchanges, economic growth as well as greater cohesion among Asian countries. The two sides viewed positively each other's participation in regional and sub-regional multilateral cooperation processes in Asia.

The two sides stated that the improvement and development of India-China relations is not targeted at any third country and does not affect either country's existing friendly relations and cooperation with other countries.

The two sides agreed that the official visit of the Prime Minister of India to the People's Republic of China has been a success, has contributed to enhancing mutual understanding and trust between the Governments, leaders and peoples of the two countries, and marks a new step forward in strengthening the all-round cooperation between India and China in the new century.

Prime Minister Vajpayee invited Premier Wen Jiabao to visit India at a mutually convenient time and conveyed to President Hu Jintao an invitation from President Abdul Kalam to visit India. The Chinese side accepted the invitations with appreciation. The dates of the visits will be settled through diplomatic channels.

On behalf of the Government and the people of India, H.E Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee thanked the Government and the people of China for the warm welcome received by him and his delegation.

Signed in Beijing on 23 June 2003 in the Hindi, Chinese and English languages.

(Atal Bihari Vajpayee)  
Prime Minister  
The Republic of India

(Wen Jiabao)  
Premier of the State Council  
The People's Republic of China

**MEMORANDUM BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA ON EXPANDING BORDER TRADE**

[23 June 2003]

The Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the two sides),

With a view to promoting the development of friendly relations between the two countries and two peoples,

Pursuant to the Memorandum between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Resumption of Border Trade signed on 13 December 1991, and Protocol on Entry and Exit Procedures for Border Trade signed on 1 July 1992,

Desirous of opening another pass on the India-China border and setting up an additional point on each side for border trade,

Have agreed as follows:

**Article I**

The Indian side agrees to designate Changgu of Sikkim state as the venue for border trade market; the Chinese side agrees to designate Renqinggang of the Tibet Autonomous Region as the venue for border trade market.

**Article II**

The two sides agree to use Nathula as the pass for entry and exit of persons, means of transport and commodities engaged in border trade. Each side shall establish checkpoints at appropriate locations to monitor and manage their entry and exit through the Nathula Pass.

**Article III**

All the provisions of the Memorandum on the Resumption of Border Trade signed between the two Governments on 13 December 1991 and the Protocol on Entry and Exit Procedures for Border Trade signed between the two Governments on 1 July 1992 under the Memorandum shall also be applicable to the border trade through the Nathula Pass.

#### Article IV

This Memorandum may be amended or supplemented by agreement in writing between the two sides.

#### Article V

This Memorandum shall come into force as from the date of its signature and shall be valid during the validity of the Memorandum on Resumption of Border Trade signed between the two Governments in New Delhi on 13 December 1991.

Done in Beijing on 23 June 2003 in two originals each in the Hindi, Chinese and English languages, the three texts being equally authentic.

## **SINO-INDIAN JOINT STATEMENT ON THE VISIT TO INDIA BY**

### **PREMIER WEN JIABAO**

[11 April 2005]

H.E. Mr. Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, is currently paying a state visit to the Republic of India from 9 to 12 April 2005 at the invitation of H.E. Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of the Republic of India.

During the visit, Premier Wen Jiabao held talks with Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, called on President Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam and Vice President Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, and met with Chairperson, United Progressive Alliance Smt. Sonia Gandhi. External Affairs Minister Shri K. Natwar Singh and Leader of Opposition, Lok Sabha Shri L.K. Advani will call on him. Premier Wen paid a visit to Bangalore and will deliver a speech at the Indian Institute of Technology in New Delhi.

Leaders of the two countries had an in-depth exchange of views in a sincere, friendly and constructive atmosphere and reached broad consensus on bilateral relations and international and regional issues of common concern.

II. The two sides reviewed the friendly contacts and progress in their bilateral relations in recent years and agreed that India-China relations have entered a new stage of comprehensive development. Both sides noted with satisfaction that with the frequent exchange of visits between leaders of the two countries, the process of building trust and understanding has gained momentum. Rapid growth of trade and economic cooperation has been coupled with the expansion of exchanges and cooperation in other fields. The two sides have made incremental progress in addressing outstanding issues. The two sides have also maintained good communication and collaboration in international and regional affairs. Both sides agreed that India and China have made satisfying progress in developing their long-term constructive and cooperative partnership.

The two sides recalled the Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation between the two Prime Ministers on 23 June 2003 and reiterated that the Declaration provided a shared vision of bilateral relations and an agreed framework for cooperation.

III. In the light of the development of their bilateral relations, in order to promote good neighbourliness, friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation and taking into account the profound changes in the regional and international situation, the

two sides agreed that India-China relations have now acquired a global and strategic character. The leaders of the two countries have, therefore, agreed to establish an India-China Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity.

Such a partnership is based on the principles of Panchsheel, mutual respect and sensitivity for each other's concerns and aspirations, and equality; provides a sound framework for an all-round and comprehensive development of bilateral relations based on mutual and equal security, development and prosperity of the two peoples; and contributes to jointly addressing global challenges and threats. It reflects the readiness of the two sides to resolve outstanding differences in a proactive manner without letting them come in the way of the continued development of bilateral relations.

IV. The two sides agreed that high-level exchanges between the governments, parliaments and political parties of the two countries play an important role in expanding overall bilateral cooperation. They conveyed their determination to maintain and strengthen the momentum of such exchanges in future and agreed to hold regular meetings between the leaders of the two countries. In this context, the two sides also reiterated their intention to promote regular ministerial-level exchanges and make full use of the India-China strategic dialogue and other bilateral dialogue mechanisms.

V. The year of 2005 marks the 55th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and China. To mark the occasion, the two countries will organize a series of commemorative activities. It was noted that "Cultural Festival of China" was currently underway in India and that a corresponding "Cultural Festival of India" would be organized in China later in the year. The two sides would also organize other cultural activities to further promote mutual awareness and deepen the friendship between the two peoples. The two sides declared 2006 as the "year of India-China friendship".

Both sides expressed satisfaction with strengthened exchanges in the area of culture, and affirmed that mutual understanding and cultural exchanges would facilitate development of cooperation in other areas as well. In order to reinforce traditional cultural links, an agreement was concluded for the construction of an Indian-style Buddhist temple at Luoyang in Henan Province of China.

VI. The two sides stressed that an all-round expansion of India-China economic cooperation, including trade and investment, constitutes an important dimension of a stronger India-China relationship. The two countries agreed to make joint efforts to increase the bilateral trade volume to US\$ 20 billion or higher by 2008. The two sides welcomed the report of the Joint Study Group (JSG) that was set up to

examine the potential complementarities between the two countries in expanded trade and economic cooperation. The JSG in its Report has identified a series of measures related to trade in goods, trade in services, investments and other areas of economic cooperation, and recommended their expeditious implementation to remove impediments and facilitate enhanced economic engagement between India and China. The two Prime Ministers tasked the Ministerial-level India-China Joint Economic Group (JEG) to consider these recommendations and coordinate their implementation. For this purpose, the two sides will make their best endeavour to hold the next meeting of the JEG within the next six months. The JSG has also recommended an India-China Regional Trading Arrangement, comprising of trade in goods and services, investments, identified understandings for trade and investment promotion and facilitation, and measures for promotion of economic cooperation in identified sectors. The Prime Ministers agreed to appoint a Joint Task Force to study in detail the feasibility of, and the benefits that may derive from, the India-China Regional Trading Arrangement and give recommendations regarding its content.

Both sides noted that the Agreement on the Establishment of a Financial Dialogue Mechanism would further facilitate the dynamic and diversifying economic cooperation between the two sides. They will continue consultations on concluding the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that the two countries have signed the SPS Protocols for the export of grapes and bitter gourd from India to China. The two sides also agreed to constitute a Joint Working Group to implement expeditiously the MOU on Application of SPS between the Chinese General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine and the Indian Ministry of Agriculture.

China positively evaluates market access for Indian rice to the Chinese market and will launch as early as possible the risk analysis procedure of the Indian rice in accordance with relevant Chinese laws and regulations.

VII. The two sides agreed to further promote the cooperation in the spheres of education, science and technology, healthcare, information, tourism, youth exchange, agriculture, dairy development, sports and other fields on the basis of mutual benefit and reciprocity. The two sides decided to establish an India-China Steering Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation chaired by their Ministers for Science and Technology, and start consultations on an agreement on mutual recognition of academic certificates and degrees between India and China. The two sides announced the launching of regular youth exchange activities. China

will invite 100 Indian youth to China within the year of 2005 and hold an exhibition this year on advanced and applicable technologies in India.

VIII. The two sides recognized the importance of strengthening mutual connectivity and agreed to jointly work towards further enhancement of direct air and shipping links, tourism and people-to-people contacts. It was noted with satisfaction that an MOU on major liberalisation of civil aviation links between India and China was concluded during the visit.

IX. The two sides will continue to cooperate in exchanging flood-season hydrological data of the trans-border rivers as agreed between them.

In response to concerns expressed by the Indian side, the Chinese side agreed to take measures for controlled release of accumulated water of the landslide dam on the river Parechu, as soon as conditions permit. It was noted with satisfaction that an agreement concerning the provision of hydrological data on Sutlej/Langqen Zangbo was concluded during the visit and that the two sides had also agreed to continue bilateral discussions to finalize at an early date similar arrangements for the Parlung Zangbo and Lohit/Zayu Qu Rivers.

The two sides agreed to cooperate in the field of energy security and conservation, including, among others, encouraging relevant departments and units of the two countries to engage in the survey and exploration of petroleum and natural gas resources in third countries.

X. The two sides noted the useful exchanges and interaction in the military field and decided to further promote such exchanges and interaction. They agreed that broadening and deepening of defense exchanges between the two countries was of vital importance in enhancing mutual trust and understanding between the two armed forces, and to ensuring a peaceful environment in which they could pursue their respective national development objectives. The two sides decided to further strengthen effective contacts and exchanges in this field.

XI. During the visit, the two sides exchanged views on the India-China boundary question and reiterated their readiness to seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution, through equal and friendly consultations and proceeding from the overall interests of bilateral relations. They expressed satisfaction over the progress made in the discussions between the Special Representatives of the two countries and welcomed the conclusion of the Agreement on the Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the Boundary Question. Both sides are convinced that an early settlement of the boundary question will advance the basic interests of the two countries and should therefore be pursued as a

strategic objective. They expressed their commitment to the mechanism of Special Representatives for seeking a political settlement of the boundary question in the context of their long-term interests and the overall bilateral relationship.

Pending a final resolution, the two sides will continue to make joint efforts to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas in accordance with the Agreements of 1993 and 1996. Both sides agreed that while continuing the discussions between the Special Representatives, it is also important that the Joint Working Group (JWG) continues its work to seek an early clarification and confirmation of the Line of Actual Control (LAC). Progress made so far on the clarification of the LAC in the India-China border areas was noted. It was agreed to complete the process of exchanging maps indicating their respective perceptions of the entire alignment of the LAC on the basis of already agreed parameters, with the objective of arriving at a common understanding of the alignment, as soon as possible.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved in the implementation of the Agreements of 1993 and 1996 and agreed to fully implement them expeditiously. Towards that end, they concluded a Protocol on Modalities for the Implementation of Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas.

XII. The Indian side reiterated that it recognized the Tibet Autonomous Region as part of the territory of the People's Republic of China and that it did not allow Tibetans to engage in anti-China political activities in India.

The Indian side recalled that India was among the first countries to recognize that there is one China and its one China policy remains unaltered. The Indian side stated it would continue to abide by its one China policy.

The Chinese side expressed its appreciation for the Indian positions.

XIII. Both sides reviewed with satisfaction the implementation of the memorandum on the border trade through the Nathula Pass between the Tibet Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China and the Sikkim State of the Republic of India.

XIV. The two sides noted with satisfaction that through friendly consultations an agreement in principle had been reached between the two countries to solve the long-pending issue of property originally belonging to Indian Consulate General in Shanghai with the Chinese side agreeing to provide a plot of land in lieu of the premises of the original Consulate General of India.

XV. As two large developing countries, both India and China were aware of each other's important role in the process of promoting the establishment of a new international political and economic order. Both sides share common interests in the maintenance of peace, stability and prosperity in Asia and the world at large, and share the desire to develop closer and more extensive understanding and cooperation in regional and international affairs.

The two sides are supportive of democratization of international relations and multilateralism, stand for the establishment of a new international political and economic order that is fair, rational, equal and mutually beneficial, and promote North-South Dialogue and South-South Cooperation. The two sides believe that the international community should eliminate poverty, narrow the gap between North and South, and achieve common prosperity through dialogue and cooperation.

XVI. The two sides reiterated the importance of the United Nations in global peace, stability and common development and expressed their determination to continue their efforts, together with the international community, in strengthening the UN system to develop a sound multilateral basis to address global issues. Both India and China agree that reform of the United Nations should be comprehensive and multi-faceted and should put emphasis on an increase in the representation of developing countries. The Indian side reiterated its aspirations for permanent membership of the UN Security Council. The Chinese side also reiterated that India is an important developing country and is having an increasingly important influence in the international arena. China attaches great importance to the status of India in international affairs. It understands and supports India's aspirations to play an active role in the UN and international affairs. The two sides reaffirmed their readiness to conduct close consultations and cooperation in the process of UN reforms.

XVII. The two sides, aware of the threats posed by terrorism to the peace and security of the two countries and the whole world, resolutely condemn terrorism in any form. The struggle between the international community and global terrorism is a comprehensive and sustained one, with the ultimate objective of eradication of terrorism in all regions. This requires strengthening the global legal framework against terrorism. Both sides noted the positive outcome of the meetings held so far of their bilateral dialogue mechanism on counter-terrorism and agreed to further strengthen and consolidate their discussions and cooperation. It was agreed to hold the next meeting of the dialogue mechanism on counter-terrorism later this year.

XVIII. Both sides agreed to conduct regular exchange of views on major international and regional issues, strengthen cooperation in the WTO and other international multilateral organizations, and to continue the consultations on other issues of common concern. They agreed to work together to preserve stability and

growth in the global economy and reduce disparities between developed and developing countries. They supported an open, fair, equitable and transparent rule-based multilateral trade system and resolved to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the developing countries.

XIX. Aware of their linked destinies as neighbours and the two largest countries of Asia, both sides agreed that they would, together, contribute to the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual understanding, trust and cooperation in Asia and the world at large, and facilitate efforts to strengthen multilateral coordination mechanisms on security and cooperation.

XX. During the visit, the two sides signed and/or released the following documents.

- i. Agreement on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the India-China Boundary Question.
- ii. Report of India-China Joint Study Group on Comprehensive Trade and Economic Cooperation.
- iii. Protocol on Modalities for the Implementation of CBMs in the Military Field Along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas.
- iv. Agreement on Mutual Administrative Assistance and Cooperation in Customs Matters.
- v. MOU on the Launch of the India-China Financial Dialogue.
- vi. MOU on Civil Aviation.
- vii. Protocol of Phytosanitary Requirement for Exporting Grapes from India to China.
- viii. Protocol of Phytosanitary Requirement for Exporting Bitter Gourds from India to China.
- ix. MOU on Provision of Hydrological Information of the Sutlej /Langqen Zangbo River in Flood Season by China to India.
- x. Protocol on India-China Film Cooperation Commission.
- xi. MOU on Cooperation between the Indian Council of World Affairs and the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

- xii. Memorandum on the Construction of an Indian-style Buddhist Temple on the Western side of the White Horse Temple in Luoyang, China.
- xiii. The two sides believed that Premier Wen Jiabao's highly successful State visit to the Republic of India marked a new level of India-China relationship and opened a new chapter in the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

Premier Wen Jiabao, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, expressed his appreciation to the Government and the people of India for their warm hospitality, and invited Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to visit China at a mutually convenient time. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh appreciated the invitation and accepted it with pleasure. The Indian side also reiterated the invitation to President Hu Jintao to visit India. The exact time of the visit will be decided through diplomatic channels.

Prime Minister of the Republic of India

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

**SINO INDIA AGREEMENT ON POLITICAL PARAMETERS AND  
GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR SETTLEMENT OF THE INDIA-CHINA  
BOUNDARY QUESTION**  
(11 April 2005)

The Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the two sides),

Believing that it serves the fundamental interests of the peoples of India and China to foster a long-term constructive and cooperative partnership on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, mutual respect and sensitivity for each other's concerns and aspirations, and equality,

Desirous of qualitatively upgrading the bilateral relationship at all levels and in all areas while addressing differences through peaceful means in a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable manner,

Reiterating their commitment to abide by and implement the Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas, signed on 7 September 1993, and the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas, signed on 29 November 1996,

Reaffirming the Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation between India and China, signed on 23 June 2003,

Recalling that the two sides have appointed Special Representatives to explore the framework of settlement of the India-China boundary question and the two Special Representatives have been engaged in consultations in a friendly, cooperative and constructive atmosphere,

Noting that the two sides are seeking a political settlement of the boundary question in the context of their overall and long-term interests,

Convinced that an early settlement of the boundary question will advance the basic interests of the two countries and should therefore be pursued as a strategic objective,

Have agreed on the following political parameters and guiding principles for a boundary settlement:

**Article I**

The differences on the boundary question should not be allowed to affect the overall development of bilateral relations. The two sides will resolve the boundary question through peaceful and friendly consultations. Neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other by any means. The final solution of the boundary question will significantly promote good neighbourly and friendly relations between India and China.

**Article II**

The two sides should, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution to the boundary question through consultations on an equal footing, proceeding from the political perspective of overall bilateral relations.

**Article III**

Both sides should, in the spirit of mutual respect and mutual understanding, make meaningful and mutually acceptable adjustments to their respective positions on the boundary question, so as to arrive at a package settlement to the boundary question. The boundary settlement must be final, covering all sectors of the India-China boundary.

**Article IV**

The two sides will give due consideration to each other's strategic and reasonable interests, and the principle of mutual and equal security.

**Article V**

The two sides will take into account, inter alia, historical evidence, national sentiments, practical difficulties and reasonable concerns and sensitivities of both sides, and the actual state of border areas.

**Article VI**

The boundary should be along well-defined and easily identifiable natural geographical features to be mutually agreed upon between the two sides.

**Article VII**

In reaching a boundary settlement, the two sides shall safeguard due interests of their settled populations in the border areas.

**Article VIII**

Within the agreed framework of the final boundary settlement, the delineation of the boundary will be carried out utilising means such as modern cartographic and surveying practices and joint surveys.

## **Article IX**

Pending an ultimate settlement of the boundary question, the two sides should strictly respect and observe the line of actual control and work together to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas. The India-China Joint Working Group and the India-China Diplomatic and Military Expert Group shall continue their work under the Agreements of 7 September 1993 and 29 November 1996, including the clarification of the line of actual control and the implementation of confidence building measures.

## **Article X**

The Special Representatives on the boundary question shall continue their consultations in an earnest manner with the objective of arriving at an agreed framework for a boundary settlement, which will provide the basis for the delineation and demarcation of the India-China boundary to be subsequently undertaken by civil and military officials and surveyors of the two sides.

## **Article XI**

This Agreement shall come into force as of the date of signature and is subject to amendment and addition by mutual agreement in writing between the two sides.

Signed in duplicate in New Delhi on 11 April, 2005, in the Hindi, Chinese and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic. In case of divergence, the English text shall prevail.

**SINO INDIA PROTOCOL ON MODALITIES FOR IMPLEMENTATION  
OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES IN THE MILITARY FIELD  
ALONG THE LINE OF ACTUAL CONTROL IN THE INDIA-CHINA  
BORDER AREAS**  
(11 April 2005)

The Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the two sides),

Recalling that both sides are committed to developing their long-term constructive and cooperative partnership on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, mutual respect and sensitivity for each other's concerns and aspirations, and equality,

Reaffirming that the two sides seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable settlement of the boundary question,

Reaffirming their commitment that, pending an ultimate solution to the boundary question, both sides shall strictly respect and observe the Line of Actual Control in the India-China border areas,

Noting the utility of confidence building measures already in place along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China border areas,

Recognising that the maintenance of peace and tranquility along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China border areas accords with the fundamental interests of the two sides, and will facilitate the process of early clarification and confirmation of the alignment of the Line of Actual Control,

Convinced of the need for agreed modalities for the implementation of confidence building measures between the two sides in the military field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China border areas, and

Recalling further the relevant provisions of the Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas signed in September 1993 and Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas signed between the two sides in November 1996,

Have agreed on the modalities as follows:

### **Article I**

In accordance with Article II of the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas signed between the two sides in November 1996, the two sides should strictly respect and observe the Line of Actual Control and work together to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas.

### **Article II**

In accordance with Article IV of the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas signed between the two sides in November 1996,

- (a) Both sides shall avoid holding large-scale military exercises involving more than one Division (approximately 15,000 troops) in close proximity to the Line of Actual Control. However, if such exercises are to be conducted, the strategic direction of the main force involved shall not be towards the other side.
- (b) If either side conducts a military exercise involving more than one Brigade Group (approximately 5,000 troops) in close proximity to the Line of Actual Control, it shall not be targeted against the other side. The side undertaking the exercise shall give, through Flag Meetings, the other side prior intimation 15 days in advance of the exercise with regard to type, level, planned duration and area of exercise as well as the number and type of units or formations participating in the exercise.
- (c) Each side shall be entitled to obtain timely clarification within 15 days from the side undertaking the exercise in respect of data specified in paragraph (b) above of the present article, through Flag Meetings. (d) Each side shall give prior intimation of changes in the timing of any scheduled exercise 15 days in advance, through Flag Meetings.

### **Article III**

In accordance with Article V of the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas signed between the two sides in November 1996,

- (a) In the event of an alleged air intrusion of its controlled airspace by the military aircraft of the other side, either side may seek a Flag Meeting within 48 hours of the alleged air intrusion in order to seek a clarification. The investigation shall be

completed by the other side and its results communicated through a Flag Meeting within a period of four weeks.

(b) If a military aircraft of either side is required to fly across the Line of Actual Control or to overfly the airspace of the other side, prior permission shall be sought from the other side according to procedures and formats to be mutually agreed upon.

(c) If a military or civilian aircraft of either side is required to fly across the Line of Actual Control or to land on the other side of the Line of Actual Control in an emergency situation, the two sides will ensure flight safety in such situations by adhering to procedures to be mutually agreed upon.

#### **Article IV**

In accordance with Article VI of the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas signed between the two sides in November 1996, if the border personnel of the two sides come to a face-to-face situation due to differences on the alignment of the Line of Actual Control or any other reason, they shall exercise self-restraint and take all necessary steps to avoid an escalation of the situation. To this end, they shall follow the procedures as given below:

(a) Both sides shall cease their activities in the area, not advance any further, and simultaneously return to their bases.

(b) Both sides shall then inform their respective Headquarters and, if necessary, enter into immediate consultations through border meetings or diplomatic channels so as to prevent an escalation of the situation.

(c) Throughout the face-to-face situation, neither side shall use force or threaten to use force against the other.

(d) Both sides shall treat each other with courtesy and refrain from any provocative actions. Neither side shall put up marks or signs on the spots.

#### **Article V**

In accordance with Article VII of the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in India-China Border Areas signed between the two sides in November 1996,

(a) Both sides shall hold two additional border meetings each year at Spanggur Gap in the Western Sector, Nathu La Pass in the Sikkim Sector and Bum La in the

Eastern Sector respectively in celebration of the National Day or Army Day of either side. Specific arrangements shall be decided through consultation between the border forces of the two sides.

(b) Both sides agree in principle to expand the mechanism of border meeting points to include Kibithu-Damai in the Eastern Sector and Lipulekh Pass/Qiang La in the Middle Sector. The precise locations of these border meeting points will be decided through mutual consultations.

(c) Both sides shall conduct exchanges between the relevant Military Regions of China and Army Commands of India. Specific arrangements shall be decided upon through mutual consultations between the relevant agencies under the Ministries of Defence of the two sides.

(d) Both sides shall strengthen exchanges between institutions of training of the two armed forces, and conduct exchanges between institutions of sports and culture of the two armed forces. Specific arrangements shall be decided upon through mutual consultations between the relevant agencies under the Ministries of Defence of the two sides.

## **Article VI**

In accordance with Article VIII of the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas signed between the two sides in November 1996,

(a) In case the personnel of one side in the border areas cross over to the other side due to force majeure such as natural disasters:

- i. The side having discovered it should promptly contact and notify the other side;
- ii. The personnel crossing over to the other side should, in the light of the prevailing circumstances, take measures to return to their own side or proceed to places designated by the other side on route to return to their own side;
- iii. The receiving side will provide all possible assistance to the personnel from the other side and ensure their earliest possible return; and
- iv. At the request of the side affected by the natural disaster, the other side may consider all possible measures to help alleviate the situation.

(b) In order to prevent infectious diseases in specific areas on either side in the border areas from spreading to the other side:

- i. Both sides should share relevant information promptly through border meetings or diplomatic channels;
- ii. Each side should take measures to prevent the spread of diseases from spilling onto the other side; and
- iii. At the request of the side suffering from spread of infectious diseases, the other side may consider all possible measures to help alleviate the situation.

### **Article-VII**

The Protocol shall enter into force on the date of signature of this Protocol and will automatically be rendered invalid if the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas signed between the two sides in November 1996 ceases to be in force. Subject to agreement after mutual consultations between the two sides, the Protocol may be amended and supplemented at any time.

Done in duplicate in New Delhi on April 11, 2005 in the Hindi, Chinese and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic. In case of any divergence, the English text shall prevail.

New Delhi,  
April 11, 2005.

**JOINT DECLARATION BY THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**  
(21 November 2006)

H.E. Mr. Hu Jintao, President of the People's Republic of China, is currently paying a State visit to the Republic of India from 20 to 23 November 2006 at the invitation of H.E. Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, President of the Republic of India.

2. President Hu Jintao held talks with Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, earlier today. He will call on President Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam later in the day. Vice President Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Speaker, Lok Sabha Shri Somnath Chatterjee, and Leader of the Opposition in Lok Sabha Shri L. K. Advani will pay courtesy calls on President Hu Jintao. Smt. Sonia Gandhi, Chairperson, United Progressive Alliance, will meet him. Earlier today, Minister of External Affairs Shri Pranab Mukherjee called on the visiting Chinese President. President Hu Jintao will deliver a policy address at the Vigyan Bhawan and attend the India-China Friendship Year commemorative function. He will also visit Agra and address a business summit in Mumbai, among other engagements.

3. The leaders of the two countries have noted with satisfaction the all-round progress made over recent years in India-China relations and their regional and multilateral cooperation. They reiterate the shared vision and fundamental principles for the future development of India-China relations, as embodied in the Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation of 23 June 2003 and the Joint Statement of 11 April 2005 signed between the Prime Ministers of the two countries.

4. Both sides agree that the relationship between India and China, the two biggest developing countries in the world, is of global and strategic significance. Both countries are seeking to avail themselves of historic opportunities for development. Each side welcomes and takes a positive view of the development of the other, and considers the development of either side as a positive contribution to peace, stability and prosperity of Asia and the world. Both sides hold the view that there exist bright prospects for their common development, that they are not rivals or competitors but are partners for mutual benefit. They agree that there is enough space for them to grow together, achieve a higher scale of development, and play their respective roles in the region and beyond, while remaining sensitive to each other's concerns and aspirations. Strategic partnership between the two countries with a similar worldview is consistent with their roles as two major developing countries. With the growing participation and role of the two countries in all key issues in today's globalising world, their partnership is vital for international efforts

to deal with global challenges and threats. As two major countries in the emerging multi-polar global order, the simultaneous development of India and China will have a positive influence on the future international system.

5. In order to promote the sustainable socio-economic development of India and China, to fully realise the substantial potential for their cooperation in a wide range of areas, to upgrade India-China relations to a qualitatively new level, and to further substantiate and reinforce their Strategic and Cooperative Partnership, the leaders of the two countries have committed themselves to pursuing the following “ten-pronged strategy”:

### **I. Ensuring Comprehensive Development of Bilateral Relations:**

6. Both sides are committed to making the positive development and diversification of India-China relations in recent years an irreversible trend.

7. The two sides agree to hold regular Summit-level meetings, in each other’s country and in multilateral forums. They agree that high-level exchanges between Governments, Parliaments and political parties play an important role in expanding overall bilateral cooperation.

8. In order to sustain, facilitate and promote greater engagement between the two countries, an additional Consulate General shall be opened in each other’s country. The Indian side shall open a new Consulate General in Guangzhou, while the Chinese side shall open a new Consulate General in Kolkata. In this context, the mutually satisfactory resolution of the long-pending issue of the property of the Consulate General of India in Shanghai is a positive development.

### **II. Strengthening Institutional Linkages and Dialogue Mechanisms:**

9. The two sides shall strengthen institutional linkages between their Governments in different areas and levels with a view to foster synergy and cooperation and promote greater understanding of each other’s policies and positions on important national, regional and international issues. The concerned ministries and organisations of the two countries shall intensify exchanges under the existing dialogue mechanisms and revitalise those that have not been regularly used. The signing of the Protocol of Cooperation between the Ministry of External Affairs of India and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China during the visit is an important step in this direction.

### **III. Consolidating Commercial and Economic Exchanges:**

10. Both sides believe that comprehensive economic and commercial engagement between India and China is a core component of their Strategic and Cooperative Partnership. They will endeavour to raise the volume of their bilateral trade to US\$ 40 billion by 2010. They shall make joint efforts to diversify their trade basket, remove existing impediments, and optimally utilise the present and potential complementarities in their economies, in order to sustain and further strengthen bilateral commercial and economic cooperation. Towards this end, both sides will attach utmost priority to an early implementation of the decisions taken in March 2006 by the Ministerial-level Joint Economic Group, including the recommendations of the Joint Study Group, through mechanisms already created for this purpose. The Joint Task Force set up to study the feasibility and benefits of an India-China Regional Trading Arrangement shall complete its work by October 2007.

11. The conclusion of the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement during the visit is a welcome development that will provide the institutional and legal basis to encourage and promote greater investment flows between the two countries.

12. The Chinese side has invited India to participate in the World Exposition Shanghai 2010. The Indian side expressed its appreciation and stated that it will actively support and participate in the event.

### **IV. Expanding All-Round Mutually Beneficial Cooperation:**

13. The two sides agree to further strengthen positive trends in the all-round development of relations and fully realize the substantial potential of cooperation, including in trade, industry, finance, agriculture, water resources, energy, environment, transportation, infrastructure, information technology, health, education, media, culture, tourism, youth affairs and other fields.

14. Both sides agree to fully implement the provisions of the Memorandum on Cooperation in the field of Oil and Natural Gas signed in January 2006 and encourage collaboration between their enterprises, including through joint exploration and development of hydrocarbon resources in third countries.

15. Given the complementarities that India and China enjoy in the area of information and communication technology, the two sides agreed to strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation in this sector, through closer policy dialogue and enhanced collaboration among their enterprises, including in third countries.

16. The two sides shall fully implement the Memorandum of Understanding on Agricultural Cooperation, step up the exchange of experience in the field of agriculture and rural development, including food security, and hold discussions and consultations on the standards for agricultural goods at an early date in order to facilitate trade in such goods.

17. The two sides will set up an expert-level mechanism to discuss interaction and cooperation on the provision of flood season hydrological data, emergency management and other issues regarding trans-border rivers as agreed between them. The on-going provision of hydrological data for the Brahmaputra/Yarlung Zangbo and the Sutlej/Langqen Zangbo Rivers by the Chinese side to the Indian side has proved valuable in flood forecasting and mitigation. The two sides agree to continue bilateral discussions to finalise at an early date similar arrangements for the Parlung Zangbo and Lohit/Zayu Qu Rivers.

18. Both sides shall intensify their consultations, bilaterally and in multilateral fora, on sustainable development, bio-diversity, climate change and other related environmental issues of common concern. The cooperation in wildlife conservation, particularly in tiger conservation, shall be stepped up.

#### **V. Instilling Mutual Trust and Confidence through Defence Cooperation:**

19. The exchange of visits in the field of defence has resulted in building of mutual trust and enhancement of mutual understanding between the defence establishments of the two countries. Both sides shall fully implement the provisions of the Memorandum of Understanding for Exchanges and Cooperation in the field of Defence signed on 29 May 2006, which provides a sound foundation and institutional framework for further development of defence cooperation.

#### **VI. Seeking Early Settlement of Outstanding Issues:**

20. Both sides are committed to resolving outstanding differences, including on the boundary question, through peaceful means and in a fair, reasonable, mutually acceptable and proactive manner, while ensuring that such differences are not allowed to affect the positive development of bilateral relations.

21. The Special Representatives of India and China on the boundary question have taken steps and shall continue to strive to arrive at a boundary settlement on the basis of the Agreement on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of India-China Boundary Question signed on 11 April 2005. An early settlement of the boundary question will advance the basic interests of the two countries and shall, therefore, be pursued as a strategic objective. The Special

Representatives shall complete at an early date the task of finalising an appropriate framework for a final package settlement covering all sectors of the India-China boundary. Pending the resolution of the boundary question, both sides shall maintain peace and tranquillity in the border areas in accordance with the agreements of 1993, 1996 and 2005.

22. Along with the talks between the Special Representatives, the Joint Working Group on the India-China Boundary Question shall expedite their work, including on the clarification and confirmation of the line of actual control and the implementation of confidence building measures. It was agreed to complete the process of exchanging maps indicating their respective perceptions of the entire alignment of the LAC on the basis of already agreed parameters as soon as possible.

## **VII. Promoting Trans-border Connectivity and Cooperation:**

23. Both sides shall promote greater trans-border cooperation at mutually agreed sites in India-China border areas with the objective of transforming their border from being a dividing line into a bridge that unites them in cooperative pursuits. In this context, border trade between India and China, including the recent resumption of border trade through the Nathula La Pass, is of significant importance. The two sides shall strengthen border trade through the existing locations, while continuing to explore the possibility of opening additional trading routes in India-China border areas.

24. The two sides welcome the organisation of a car rally, recommended by the BCIM Forum, between Kolkata and Kunming via Bangladesh and Myanmar.

25. The Chinese side shall provide greater facilitation to Indian pilgrims for the Kailash Mansarovar Yatra. Both sides shall explore the possibility of opening an additional route for the Yatra.

## **VIII. Boosting Cooperation in Science and Technology:**

26. Bearing in mind the priority attached by India and China to scientific and technological development and innovation as a cornerstone of their efforts towards sustainable socio-economic development, the two sides shall establish an India-China Partnership in Science and Technology. The two sides welcome the establishment of the Ministerial-level Committee on Science and Technology Cooperation as a positive step in guiding, coordinating and facilitating cooperative activities. They agree to launch joint projects in the areas of (i) earthquake engineering, (ii) climate change and weather forecasting, (iii) nano-technology with focus on advanced materials, and (iv) biotechnology and medicines with focus on

bio-nano. The cooperation framework shall include entrepreneurs on both sides, besides the two Governments and their respective institutions.

27. Considering that for both India and China, expansion of civilian nuclear energy programme is an essential and important component of their national energy plans to ensure energy security, the two sides agree to promote cooperation in the field of nuclear energy, consistent with their respective international commitments. As two countries with advanced scientific capabilities, they stress the importance of further deepening cooperation bilaterally as well as through multilateral projects such as ITER, and enhance exchanges in the related academic fields.

28. As countries, which have made advances in space technologies, both sides reiterate their commitment to the use of outer space for peaceful purposes. They agree to strengthen their cooperation in the use of space-based technologies for peaceful and developmental applications, including through satellite remote sensing, satellite communications, satellite meteorology and satellite launch services. Cooperation in practical applications of space technology, such as those related to disaster management and distance education, shall also be actively explored. Towards this end, both sides shall fully implement the provisions of the Memoranda of Understanding on the peaceful use of outer space signed between India and China in December 1991 and January 2002.

#### **IX. Revitalising Cultural Ties and Nurturing People-to-People Exchanges:**

29. The centuries-old cultural contacts between the two peoples provide a strong foundation for enduring friendship between India and China. The initiatives to rediscover these historical linkages and revitalise them in the present day context, including through an early completion of the Xuanzang Memorial in Nalanda and the Indian-style Buddhist Shrine in Luoyang, will further strengthen these bonds. The two sides agree to strengthen cooperation in the area of spiritual and civilizational heritage, discuss collaboration in the digitisation of Buddhist manuscripts available in China as well as the re-development of Nalanda as a major centre of learning with the establishment of an international university on the basis of regional cooperation. In order to promote greater awareness of each other's culture, the two sides shall organise a "Festival of India" in China and a "Festival of China" in India, with a joint logo. Detailed modalities in this regard will be decided by the concerned authorities through mutual consultations.

30. In order to promote greater academic exchanges between India and China, the two sides agree to work towards the establishment of an "India-China Exchange Foundation". Detailed modalities of the Foundation will be worked out through mutual consultations.

31. India-China relations in the field of education will be further strengthened through a new Educational Exchange Programme concluded during the visit.
32. The two sides also agree to launch a five-year programme for mutual exchange of youth delegations. In this context, the Chinese side invites five hundred youth from India over the next five years.
33. With a view to vigorously promoting tourism between India and China, the two sides shall organise the “India-China Year of Friendship Through Tourism” in 2007 with a joint logo and take other initiatives, such as opening of the office of the China National Tourism Administration in India and an Indian Tourism Office in China, improved air connectivity, and continued liberalisation of the visa regime.
34. The two sides welcome cooperation linkages between the Indian States and the Chinese provinces in order to promote greater people-to-people exchanges.

#### **X. Expanding Cooperation on Regional and International Stage:**

35. The two sides shall hold regular exchange of views on the emerging security environment in the Asia-Pacific and in the world, and undertake proactive consultations on issues of immediate and emerging concern, so as to coordinate their positions and to make positive contribution towards peaceful resolution of such issues. They shall also have regular consultations on issues pertaining to regional peace, security and stability, such as regional maritime security, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and related materials and their means of delivery, pandemics, natural disasters, illegal trafficking in arms, narcotics and people, and environmental degradation.
36. The two sides positively assess the trilateral dialogue mechanism among India, China and Russia and agree that exchanges and cooperation under it should be further substantiated.
37. Recognising that terrorism constitutes a crime against humanity that cannot be justified on any ground and condemning it in all forms and manifestations, the two sides agree to revitalise and broaden the India-China Dialogue Mechanism on Counter-Terrorism. They shall strengthen their efforts, bilaterally as also in the international fora, to fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism, and the linkages between terrorism and organized crime and illicit arms and drugs trafficking.
38. Recognising the central role of the United Nations in promoting international peace, security and development, both sides reiterate their determination to

strengthen the UN system. The reform of the UN should be comprehensive, ensure balanced representation of developing and developed countries in the UN Security Council, and add to the efficiency and efficacy of the UN and its Security Council. The two sides shall conduct consultations on the question of UN reform, including the reform of the UN Security Council. The Indian side reiterates its aspirations for permanent membership of the UN Security Council. China attaches great importance to the status of India in international affairs. It understands and supports India's aspirations to play a greater role in the United Nations.

39. Energy security constitutes a vital and strategic issue for producing and consuming countries alike. It is consistent with the common interest of the two sides to establish an international energy order, which is fair, equitable, secure and stable, and to the benefit of the entire international community. Both sides shall also make joint efforts, bilaterally as well as in multilateral fora, to diversify the global energy mix and to increase the share in it of renewable energy sources. Global energy systems should take into account and meet the energy needs of both countries, as part and parcel of a stable, predictable, secure and clean energy future. In this context, international civilian nuclear cooperation should be advanced through innovative and forward-looking approaches, while safeguarding the effectiveness of international non-proliferation principles.

40. Both countries are committed to non-proliferation objectives and agree to expand their dialogue on the related issues, in bilateral and international fora.

41. As two large developing countries with relatively successful developmental experiences, India and China share unique responsibilities to protect and promote the interests of the developing world in the emerging international order and to help them benefit from the positive forces of globalisation. In this context, the two sides shall hold a two-part international seminar in Beijing and New Delhi, co-hosted by their Ministries of Finance, to share their developmental experience with other developing countries and the international community at large.

42. The two sides agree to strengthen their cooperation in the World Trade Organisation. They support the establishment of an open, fair, equitable, transparent and rule-based multilateral trading system, early resumption of Doha negotiations, and are determined to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the developing countries. As founder Members of the G-20 and the G-33, they are determined to strengthen their cooperation and to coordinate with other members of the WTO, especially the developing countries, in order to secure an early resumption of the negotiations on the Doha Work Programme, placing the development dimension at its heart.

43. Recognising that regional integration is an important feature of the emerging international economic order, the two sides agree to expand their coordination within regional organisations and explore a new architecture for closer regional cooperation in Asia. They positively view each other's participation in Asian inter-regional, regional and sub-regional cooperation process, including in the progress towards the East Asian Community. In this context, the two sides agree to cooperate closely in the East Asia Summit. The Indian side welcomes China's attainment of observer status in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. The Chinese side welcomes India's membership of the Asia-Europe Meeting. The two sides agree to expand their cooperation on issues on common interest under the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation.

44. The Indian side recalls that India was among the first countries to recognize that there is one China and that its one China policy has remained unaltered. The Indian side states that it would continue to abide by its one China policy. The Chinese side expresses its appreciation for the Indian position.

45. The Indian side reiterates that it has recognized the Tibet Autonomous Region as part of the territory of the People's Republic of China, and that it does not allow Tibetans to engage in anti-China political activities in India. The Chinese side expresses its appreciation for the Indian position.

46. The following agreements were signed during the visit:

- i) Protocol on the Establishment of Consulates-General at Guangzhou and Kolkata;
- ii) Protocol on Cooperation between the Ministry of External Affairs of India and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China;
- iii) Agreement on the Issue of Property of the Consulate General of India in Shanghai;
- iv) Agreement on Bilateral Investment Protection and Promotion;
- v) Memorandum of Understanding on Inspection of Export Cargo (Iron Ore);
- vi) Protocol on Phytosanitary Requirements for Exporting Rice from India to China;

- vii) Memorandum of Understanding between Forward Markets Commission of India and China Securities Regulatory Commission regarding Commodity Futures Regulatory Cooperation;
- viii) Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the Central Party School of the Communist Party of China;
- ix) Agreement on Forestry Cooperation;
- x) Memorandum of Understanding between the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences;
- xi) Exchange Programme on Cooperation in the Field of Education;
- xii) Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage; and
- xiii) Agreement on Preventing Theft, Clandestine Excavation and Illicit Import and Export of Cultural Property.

47. The two sides believe that the highly successful visit of President Hu Jintao to India marks the high point of the India-China Friendship Year in 2006, promotes mutual understanding and trust, helps in substantiating the Strategic and Cooperative Partnership between the two countries and leads to a qualitative and quantum improvement in bilateral relations. They also agree that this Joint Statement provides a valuable blueprint for enduring development and diversification of the relations between India and China and sustained enrichment of their strategic partnership.

48. President Hu Jintao extended invitations to President Dr. A.P.J Abdul Kalam and Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh to visit China. The invitations were accepted with appreciation. The timing of the visits will be decided through diplomatic channels.

New Delhi,  
21 November 2006.

**SHARED VISION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY OF THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA**  
(14 January 2008)

 H.E. Mr. Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and H.E. Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, meeting in Beijing on 14 January 2008, resolve to promote the building of a harmonious world of durable peace and common prosperity through developing the Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity between the two countries.

China and India (hereinafter referred to as the "two sides") are the two largest developing nations on earth representing more than one-third of humanity. The two sides recognize that both China and India bear a significant historical responsibility to ensure comprehensive, balanced and sustainable economic and social development of the two countries and to promote peace and development in Asia and the world as a whole.

The two sides are convinced that it is time to look to the future in building a relationship of friendship and trust, based on equality, in which each is sensitive to the concerns and aspirations of the other. The two sides reiterate that China-India friendship and common development will have a positive influence on the future of the international system. China-India relations are not targeted at any country, nor will it affect their friendship with other countries.

The two sides believe that in the new century, Panchsheel, the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, should continue to constitute the basic guiding principles for good relations between all countries and for creating the conditions for realizing peace and progress of humankind. An international system founded on these principles will be fair, rational, equal and mutually beneficial, will promote durable peace and common prosperity, create equal opportunities and eliminate poverty and discrimination.

The two sides hold that the right of each country to choose its own path of social, economic and political development in which fundamental human rights and the rule of law are given their due place, should be respected. An international system founded in tolerance and respect for diversity will promote the cause of peace and reduce the use, or threat of use, of force. The two sides favour an open and inclusive international system and believe that drawing lines on the ground of ideologies and values, or on geographical criteria, is not conducive to peaceful and harmonious coexistence.

The two sides believe that the continuous democratization of international relations and multilateralism are an important objective in the new century. The central role of the United Nations in promoting international peace, security and development should be recognized and promoted. The two sides support comprehensive reform of the United Nations, including giving priority to increasing the representation of developing countries in the Security Council. The Indian side reiterates its aspirations for permanent membership of the UN Security Council. The Chinese side attaches great importance to India's position as a major developing country in international affairs. The Chinese side understands and supports India's aspirations to play a greater role in the United Nations, including in the Security Council.

The two sides support and encourage the processes of regional integration that provide mutually beneficial opportunities for growth, as an important feature of the emerging international economic system. The two sides positively view each other's participation in regional processes and agree to strengthen their coordination and consultation within regional cooperation mechanisms including the East Asia Summit, to explore together and with other countries a new architecture for closer regional cooperation in Asia, and to make joint efforts for further regional integration of Asia. The two sides will strengthen their coordination under the framework of Asia-Europe Meeting, and are committed to strengthening and deepening Asia-Europe comprehensive partnership.

The two sides take a positive view on each other's participation in sub-regional multilateral cooperation processes between like-minded countries, including South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation and Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The two sides hold that this does not affect either country's existing friendly relations or cooperation with other countries.

The two sides welcome the positive facets of economic globalization, and are ready to face and meet its challenges, and will work with other countries towards balanced and mutually beneficial economic globalization. The two sides believe that the establishment of an open, fair, equitable, transparent and rule-based multilateral trading system is the common aspiration of all countries. The two sides favour the early conclusion of the Doha Development Round, placing the issues that affect the poorest of the poor at its core. The two sides are determined to strengthen their coordination with other developing countries in order to secure their shared objectives.

The two sides are convinced that it is in the common interest of the international community to establish an international energy order that is fair, equitable, secure and stable, and to the benefit of the entire international community. The two sides

are committed to making joint efforts to diversify the global energy mix and enhance the share of clean and renewable energy, so as to meet the energy requirements of all countries.

The two sides welcome the opportunity for their outstanding scientists to work together in the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (ITER) project, which is of great potential significance in meeting the global energy challenge in an environmentally sustainable manner. As two countries with advanced scientific capabilities, the two sides pledge to promote bilateral cooperation in civil nuclear energy, consistent with their respective international commitments, which will contribute to energy security and to dealing with risks associated with climate change.

The two sides recognize the challenge that humankind faces from climate change. The two sides take the issue of climate change seriously and reiterate their readiness to join the international community in the efforts to address climate change. The two sides also stand ready to enhance technological cooperation between the two countries. The two sides welcome the outcome of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) meeting in Bali in December 2007 and agree to work closely during the negotiation process laid out in the Bali Road Map for long term cooperative action under the Convention. The two sides emphasise the importance of addressing climate change in accordance with principles and provisions of the UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol, in particular the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities.

The two sides appeal to the international community to move forward the processes of multilateral arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation. Outer space is the common heritage of humankind. It is the responsibility of all space-faring nations to commit to the peaceful uses of outer space. The two sides express their categorical opposition to the weaponisation and arms race in outer space.

The two sides strongly condemn the scourge of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, and in all regions of the world. The two sides pledge to work together and with the international community to strengthen the global framework against terrorism in a long-term, sustained and comprehensive manner.

The two sides believe that cultural and religious tolerance and dialogue between civilizations and peoples will contribute to overall peace and stability of our world. The two sides endorse all efforts to promote inter-civilizational and inter-faith dialogues.

The two sides believe that their bilateral relationship in this century will be of significant regional and global influence. The two sides will therefore continue to build their Strategic and Cooperative Partnership in a positive way. As major economies in their region, the two sides believe that the strong growth in their trade and economic relations is mutually beneficial, and welcome the conclusion of a Feasibility Study on a Regional Trading Arrangement (RTA) between the two countries. According to the report of the Feasibility Study, a China-India RTA will be mutually advantageous. Against the backdrop of accelerating regional economic integration in Asia, the two sides agree to explore the possibility of commencing discussions on a mutually beneficial and high-quality RTA that meets the common aspirations of both countries, and will also benefit the region.

The two sides will continuously promote confidence building measures through steadily enhanced contacts in the field of defence. The two sides therefore welcome the commencement of the China-India Defence Dialogue and express their satisfaction at the successful conclusion of the first joint anti-terrorism training between their armed forces in December 2007. The two sides also welcome their efforts to set an example on trans-border rivers by commencing cooperation since 2002. The Indian side highly appreciates the assistance extended by China on the provision of flood season hydrological data which has assisted India in ensuring the safety and security of its population in the regions along these rivers. The two sides agree that this has contributed positively to building mutual understanding and trust.

The two sides remain firmly committed to resolving outstanding differences, including on the boundary question, through peaceful negotiations, while ensuring that such differences are not allowed to affect the positive development of bilateral relations. The two sides reiterate their determination to seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution to the boundary question and to build a boundary of peace and friendship on the basis of the Agreement on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the China-India Boundary Question concluded in April 2005. The Special Representatives shall complete at an early date the task of arriving at an agreed framework of settlement on the basis of this Agreement.

The Indian side recalls that India was among the first countries to recognize that there is one China and that its one China policy has remained unaltered. The Indian side states that it would continue to abide by its one China policy, and oppose any activity that is against the one China principle. The Chinese side expresses its appreciation for the Indian position.

The two sides recognize the responsibilities and obligations of the two countries to the international community. The two sides are determined to enhance mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of China and India, for the betterment of both countries and to bring about a brighter future for humanity.

Wen Jiabao  
Premier of the State Council of the  
People's Republic of China

Dr. Manmohan Singh  
Prime Minister of the  
Republic of India

Beijing, January 14, 2008.

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ISSUED DURING THE VISIT TO  
INDIA BY PREMIER WEN JIABAO IN DECEMBER 2010**

1. At the invitation of H.E. Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, H.E. Mr. Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, is on a State visit to the Republic of India from 15 to 17 December 2010. Premier Wen Jiabao held talks with Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and will call on Smt. Pratibha Patil, President of India. Leaders of the two countries had an in-depth exchange of views on bilateral relations and regional and international issues of mutual interest in a sincere and friendly atmosphere and reached broad consensus.
2. The two sides agreed that as the two largest developing countries in the world, India and China shoulder important and historical responsibilities of ensuring their comprehensive and sustainable economic and social development. They also make a vital contribution to advancing peace and development in Asia and in the world at large. India-China relations go beyond their bilateral scope and have acquired global and strategic significance.
3. The two sides welcome each other's peaceful development and regard it as a mutually reinforcing process. They believe that their growing relationship offers increasing opportunities to advance their cooperation. There is enough space in the world for the development of both India and China and indeed, enough areas for India and China to cooperate.
4. The two sides reviewed with satisfaction the comprehensive and rapid progress of India-China relations in the last ten years, and reaffirmed their commitment to abiding by the basic principles and consensus concerning the development of India-China relations set out in the Declaration of Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation between India and China in 2003, the Joint Statement of India and China in 2005, the India-China Joint Declaration of 2006 and A Shared Vision for the 21st Century of India and China of 2008. The two sides decided to enhance strategic communication, advance functional cooperation, broaden cultural exchanges, and deepen and enrich the India-China Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, mutual respect and sensitivity for each other's concerns and aspirations.

5. Reflecting this partnership, the two sides decided to establish the mechanism of regular exchange of visits between Heads of State/Government. They welcomed the opening of the telephone hotline between the Prime Minister of India and Chinese Premier and agreed on regular consultations between the two leaders on issues of importance to both countries. They also agreed to establish the mechanism of annual exchange of visits between the two Foreign Ministers.

6. While expressing satisfaction at the growing quantum of bilateral trade and investment ties, the two sides agreed to further broad base and balance trade and economic cooperation, and identify new opportunities to realize the vast potential for future growth. Towards this objective, the two sides:

- a) Positively viewed the growing opportunities in the economic relationship and agreed to establish a Strategic Economic Dialogue to enhance macro-economic policy coordination, to promote exchanges and interactions and join hands to address issues and challenges appearing in the economic development and enhance economic cooperation.
- b) Set a new bilateral trade target of USD 100 billion by 2015. The two sides agreed to take measures to promote greater Indian exports to China with a view to reduce India's trade deficit. This includes support for Indian participation in China's national and regional trade fairs, advancing of trade facilitation, enhancing exchange and cooperation of pharmaceutical supervision, stronger relationships between Chinese enterprises and Indian IT industry and speedier completion of phyto-sanitary negotiations on agro products.
- c) Agreed to expand cooperation in infrastructure, environmental protection, information technology, tele-communications, investment and finance on a priority basis to draw on each other's strengths and pursue mutual benefit and win-win results. India welcomed Chinese enterprises to invest and participate in India's infrastructure development such as in roads, railways and in the manufacturing sector. The two sides agreed to encourage greater mutual investment and project contracting cooperation between businesses of the two countries, appropriately handle economic and trade frictions and differences and jointly oppose protectionism in all forms. They constituted an India-China CEO's Forum to deliberate on business issues and make recommendations on expansion of trade and investment cooperation.
- d) Concluded a Memorandum of Understanding between the Reserve Bank of India and China Banking Regulatory Commission to increase

banking and financial cooperation. India and China also agreed to grant permission to the banks of the other country to open branches and representative offices. Modalities will be worked out by the concerned authorities.

7. Both sides reviewed with satisfaction the celebration activities of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China in 2010. The two sides declared 2011 as the "Year of India-China Exchange". The two sides further decided to encourage greater exchanges between the civil society organizations, youth, media, scholars, think-tanks, artists and cultural personalities. The two sides agreed to continue youth exchange activities in the next five years. China will invite 500 Indian youth from various fields to visit China within the year 2011. Memorandum of Understanding on Media Exchanges as well as the Programme of Cultural Exchanges between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of India for the year 2010-2012 were signed. Both sides agreed to discuss compiling an encyclopedia on India-China cultural contacts.

8. Both sides recognized the importance of educational exchanges, including promoting wider knowledge of each other's languages. In this context, the Chinese side welcomed the decision by the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) of India to introduce Chinese as a foreign language in the curriculum of schools in India from the next academic session (April 2011). China will offer support for training Chinese language teachers and providing Chinese language training materials. The two sides declared the establishment of the India-China Outstanding College Students Exchange Programme and would work out the modalities of the Programme through consultations. To facilitate and strengthen intercollegiate and student exchanges, the two countries agreed to consider the finalization of an agreement on mutual recognition of degrees and diplomas.

9. The two sides noted the good cooperation between China and India in the field of trans-border rivers. The Indian side appreciated the flood-season hydrological data and the assistance in emergency management provided by the Chinese side. The two sides reiterated that they will promote and enhance cooperation in this field.

10. The two sides reiterated their firm commitment to resolving outstanding differences including the boundary question at an early date through peaceful negotiations. They reiterated that resolution of the boundary question is one of the ten-pronged strategies agreed by leaders of the two countries. The two sides reaffirmed their commitment to the Agreement on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for Settlement of the Boundary Question agreed in 2005 and the process

of negotiations being undertaken by the Special Representatives and resolved to actively seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution from the political and strategic perspective. Pending the resolution of the boundary question, the two sides shall work together to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas in line with the previous agreements.

11. Both countries called for continued international adherence to the principles of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and its Kyoto Protocol including that of "common but differentiated responsibilities". Both sides also appreciated the joint efforts of India and China in the international negotiations towards arriving at fair and balanced climate agreements with the aim of further enabling the full, effective and sustained implementation of the UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol according to the mandate of Bali Roadmap. Both sides appreciated bilateral cooperation in the area of mitigating and adapting to climate change and agreed to strengthen such cooperation. They welcomed the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the two countries on Cooperation in Green Technologies. China appreciated India's hosting the 11th meeting of the Conference of the Parties of the Bio-diversity Convention in 2012.

12. Both sides underlined their unequivocal opposition to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and stressed that there is no justification for any act of terrorism anywhere. They committed themselves to countering terrorism through joint efforts that include disrupting the financing of terrorism. They also recognized the need to implement all relevant UN resolutions, in particular UNSC resolution 1267, 1373, 1540 and 1624.

13. India and China, being each other's neighbour, have a shared interest in the stability, prosperity and security of the wider region. They agreed to intensify their dialogue on various aspects pertaining to this region and work together on realizing their common goals. The two sides believed that as members of the Asian family, stronger neighbourly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between India and China help foster a peaceful and stable regional environment that promotes equality, mutual trust and mutual respect. India and China expressed their commitment to assisting Afghanistan to become a peaceful, stable, prosperous nation. They emphasized the importance of a coherent and united international commitment to Afghan-led initiatives.

14. The two sides reaffirmed their support for the multilateral cooperation mechanisms in Asia and their positive view on each other's participation in the cross-regional, regional and sub-regional cooperation processes in Asia. The two sides agreed to broaden cooperation within the framework of the East Asia Summit, the Asia-Europe Meeting, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Russia-

India-China trilateral cooperation mechanism and the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Both sides agreed that EAS is making a meaningful contribution to building an open, inclusive and transparent architecture in the Asia-Pacific region. Both sides agreed to work together on projects which strengthen bonds between the peoples of East Asia. In this context, China welcomed India's efforts to revive the Nalanda University. Both sides appreciated the work of the Nalanda Mentor Group and the progress made so far. India welcomed China's contribution of US\$ 1 million for the Nalanda University.

15. The two sides expressed their commitment to promoting the multilateral arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation processes. They supported the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons, and called on the international community to move forward together to achieve the goal of global nuclear disarmament. The two sides reaffirmed their firm opposition to the weaponization of and an arms race in outer space.

16. The two sides reaffirmed the importance of maritime security, unhindered commerce and freedom of navigation in accordance with relevant universally agreed principles of international law. In this context, they agreed to work together in tackling piracy in the Gulf of Aden.

17. Recognizing common interests and similar concerns on major regional and international issues, the two sides decided to enhance their coordination and cooperation in multilateral forums. China attaches great importance to India's status in international affairs as a large developing country, understands and supports India's aspiration to play a greater role in the United Nations, including in the Security Council. China welcomed India's election to non-permanent membership of UN Security Council during 2011-2012 and both countries agreed to deepen consultation within the Council. Multilateral issues such as climate change, the Doha Development Round of WTO, energy and food security, international financial and economic reform are a particular focus for closer cooperation. The two sides recognized that as the global economy stabilizes and recovers, China and India would strengthen communication and consultation within the G20 framework, jointly facilitate the improvement of global economic governance and advance economic globalization towards balanced development and shared benefits. They agreed to enhance cooperation within the BRIC framework.

18. Premier Wen Jiabao invited Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh to visit China during 2011 and Prime Minister Singh accepted the invitation with pleasure. The dates of the visit will be decided through diplomatic channels.



**DOCUMENTS ON US-INDIA RELATIONS**



**EXCHANGE OF NOTES CONSTITUTING AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND INDIA RELATING TO  
FLIGHTS OF MILITARY AIRCRAFT**

[New Delhi, July 1, 1947]

The Honorable Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations  
Government of India New Delhi

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to discussions which have taken place during the past several months between officers of the Department of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Government of India, and representatives of the Embassy of the United States of America in New Delhi, as well as to various communications which have been exchanged on the subject, with respect to flights across India by military aircraft of the United States of America and the facilities to be accorded such aircraft while within Indian territory.

It is my Government's understanding that the Government of India agrees to the continuance of the United States Army Air Forces operations to and across India on a special mission basis, subject to the following stipulations.

1. The Government of India has no objection to the temporary stationing of American ground crews at specified military airfields on special occasions for the purpose of servicing American military aircraft transiting India in group or unit, provided such crews depart as soon as their task is completed. The stationing of such personnel is expected not to exceed one to two weeks.
2. Facilities for these flights transiting India are to be available at Maripur (Karachi), Agra, Barrackpore and/or Kharagpur. The aircraft are to enter from the west at Maripur and from the east at Barrackpore or Kharagpur. Agra can be used for intermediate landings, and any airdrome can be used in an emergency.
3. Night stops are to be confined to one airfield to be designated. Palam airfield at New Delhi will have this designation until it is taken over by the civil authorities after which another suitable airport will be designated.
4. Forty-eight hours' notice is to be given to Air Headquarters (India) of any projected arrivals.

5. Facilities which are available to the Air Forces of India pertaining to servicing, accommodation, messing and transport are also to be available to American military aircraft, subject to conditions stated in this paragraph. The United States Army Air Forces are to provide all specialist equipment and specialist personnel required for the maintenance of their aircraft, whereas non-specialized equipment held by the Royal Air Force for servicing Royal Air Force aircraft is to be available to the United States Army Air Forces on loan where such loan does not conflict with Royal Air Force commitments. Refueling at Palam airfield is to be in accordance with the "Jupiter scheme" (under which refueling is done by a commercial petroleum company instead of by military personnel), and arrangements for refueling American military aircraft at Palam are to be made with the "Jupiter" refueling contractor. The Government of India does not propose to charge landing or housing fees with respect to American military aircraft, and all normal facilities relating to radio, meteorology and flying aids will be provided free of charge; but the United States Government agrees to pay for supplies of fuel, lubricants and spares received from the Government of India, as well as for any repairs to or maintenance of American military aircraft which might be performed by the Government of India. American air crews also will be charged for accommodation and messing. Accounts in the foregoing connection are to be rendered to the United States Military Air Attaché stationed in New Delhi, who will also be designated to work out other detailed arrangements.

6. The regulations of the Government of India relating to customs health and passport examination which are applicable to the Royal Air Force aircraft and personnel will likewise be applied to American military aircraft and personnel.

7. The facilities accorded to the United States Government under the present agreement are confined to United States military aircraft bearing appropriate service markings and manned by service crews in uniform and on duty. Permission for such aircraft to carry fare paying passengers is granted in cases where no American civil air service is available; such permission to be valid until October 24, 1947, at which time it will be subject to further consideration.

8. The permission and arrangements as described above are to extend for a period of two years in the first instance, subject to six months' termination notice by either the Government of India or the Government of the United States of America.

I shall be glad to have you inform me whether it is the understanding of your Government that the terms of agreement governing the transit of India by American military aircraft are as set forth above. If so, it is suggested that July 5, 1947 become the effective date. If your Government concurs in this suggestion, the Government

of the United States of America will regard the agreement as becoming effective at such time.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

HENRY F. GRADY

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To His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America New Delhi

New Delhi 3, the 6th July 1947

No. D. 5005-FEA/47

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have the honour to acknowledge your note of July 1st, 1947, which reads as follows:

I am pleased to inform you that the Government of India accept the terms of the agreement as communicated in your note quoted above and agree with your suggestion that the agreement become effective on July 5, 1947. I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration.

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations

**CONSTITUTING AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA AND INDIA RELATING TO MUTUAL DEFENCE  
ASSISTANCE  
(March 1951)**

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON DC,  
March 7, 1951.

Excellency:

I have the honor to address your Excellency concerning the request of the Government of India for the transfer of certain items of military supplies and equipment by the Government of the United States of America.

There are certain assurances and undertakings by; the Government of India which the Government of the United States of America must obtain before completing any transaction under Section 408 (e) of the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, (Public Law 329, 81st Congress) as amended by Public Law 621, 81st Congress.

The Government of the United States of America understands the Government of India is prepared to agree to use such items as may be provided to foster international peace and security within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations through measures which will further the ability of nations dedicated to the principles and purposes of the Charter to participate effectively in arrangements for individual and collective self-defence in support of those purposes and principles; and, moreover, that the items to be provided by the Government of the United States of America are required by the Government of India to maintain its internal security, its legitimate self-defence or permit it to participate in the defense of the area of which it is a part, and that it will not undertake any act of aggression against any other state.

The Government of the United States of America understands also that the Government of India will obtain the consent of the Government of the United States of America prior to the transfer of title to or possession of any equipment, materials, information, or services furnished, will take appropriate measures to protect the security of any article, service, or information furnished, and agrees to the Government of the United States of America's retaining the privilege of diverting items of equipment or of not completing services undertaken if such action is dictated by considerations of United States national interest. Finally, the Government of the United States of America understands that the Government of

India is prepared to accept terms and conditions of payment for the items transferred, to be agreed upon between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of India, which accord with the terms of Section 408 (e) of the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, as amended.

A reply to the effect that these understandings are correct will be considered as constituting an agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of India, which shall come into force on the date of the note in reply from the Government of India.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

JAMES E. WEBB II

Her Excellency VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT  
Ambassador of India (Sd./-)

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EMBASSY OF INDIA  
WASHINGTON, D. C  
16th March, 1951

Mr. Secretary,

I have the honour to refer to your letter dated 7th March regarding the transfer of certain items of military supplies and equipment by the Government of the United States of America to the Government of India under the terms, assurances and undertakings which are to the effect as follows:

[See note I] The terms, conditions and assurances affecting such a transfer as quoted above have been carefully considered and I have the honour to inform you that the Government of India are in agreement with the terms, conditions and assurances proposed.

I avail myself of the opportunity to convey to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my highest consideration.

The Honourable Secretary of State, Washington 25, D. C.  
(Sd.) VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT, Ambassador of India.

**EXCHANGE OF NOTES CONSTITUTING AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN  
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA RELATING TO PEACE CORPS**  
(November 1962)

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF INDIA

No. 287

New Delhi, November 13, 1962.

Excellency,

I have the honor to refer to the recent conversations between the representatives of our two Governments relating to the conclusion of appropriate arrangements with respect to the men and women of the United States of America who volunteer to serve in the Peace Corps, and who, at the request of your Government, would live and work in India for such technical projects and programs and for such periods of time as may be mutually agreed upon between the two Governments and to propose the following understandings.

(1) The Government of India will accord equitable treatment to Peace Corps Volunteers, both as to their person and their property, and afford them, in case of need, adequate aid and protection. The Government of India agrees that the payments received by Volunteers to defray their living expenses and the separation allotment payable to the Peace Corps Volunteers, paid directly or indirectly by the Government of the United States, shall be exempt from Indian income tax. Also exempt from Indian income tax will be any other income of Peace Corps Volunteers in respect of which such individuals are required to pay any income or social security tax to the Government of the United States. In addition, the Government of India will grant to the Peace Corps Volunteers exemption from import regulations and from customs duties, taxes and related charges other than charges for storage, cartage and similar services, in respect of personal baggage, used personal and household effects and Rs. 1,500 of new items of personal and household effects.

(2) The Government of India will accept a Peace Corps Representative a Deputy and such other personnel as may be deemed necessary by the Government of the United States and the Government of India to discharge the functions for the Government of the United States with respect to Peace Corps programs and projects. The Government of India shall extend to the Peace Corps Representative, Deputy and to other personnel if such are employees of the United States Government, the same treatment with respect to payment of income tax and

customs duties or charges as are accorded to personnel of comparable rank or grade of the Embassy.

(3) The Government of India will exempt funds, equipment, materials and supplies, furnished or financed by the Government of the United States of America and used in connection with Peace Corps programs and projects from taxes, investment or deposit requirements, currency controls, customs duties or other charges. The disposal of equipment's, materials and supplies thus imported will be governed by rules as may be prescribed by the Government of India.

(4) Appropriate representatives of the Government of the United States of America and of the Government of India may make from time to time such arrangements with respect to Peace Corps programs in India as appear necessary or desirable for purposes of implementing this agreement.

Finally, I have the honor to propose that if these understandings are acceptable to the Government of India, this note and Your Excellency's reply note concurring therein shall constitute an agreement between our two Governments which shall be deemed to have become effective on December 20, 1961, that being the date of arrival of the first group of Volunteers in India, and which shall remain in force until 90 days after the date of written notification from either Government to the other of intention to terminate it.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Sd/-  
JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

His Excellency  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Minister of External Affairs, New Delhi.

The Commonwealth Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs of India, to the American Ambassador

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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI  
COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY  
No. F. 118 (38) WII/62  
Dated 21st November, 1962  
Your Excellency,

I have the honour to refer to your Note No. 287 of the 13th November, 1962, addressed to the Prime Minister, which reads as follows

"I have the honor to refer to the recent conversations between the representatives of our two Governments relating to the conclusion of appropriate arrangements, with respect to the men and women of the United States of America who volunteer to serve in the Peace Corps, and who, at the request of your Government, would live and work in India for such technical projects and programs and for such periods of time as may be mutually agreed upon between the two Governments and to propose the following understandings

- (1) The Government of India will accord equitable treatment to Peace Corps Volunteers, both as to their person and their property, and afford them, in case of need, adequate aid and protection. The Government of India agrees that the payments received by Volunteers to defray their living expenses and the separation allotment payable to the Peace Corps Volunteers, paid directly or indirectly by the Government of the United States, shall be exempt from Indian income tax. Also exempt from Indian income tax will be any other income of Peace Corps Volunteers in respect of which such individuals are required to pay any income or social security tax to the Government of the United States. In addition, the Government of India will grant to the Peace Corps Volunteers exemption from import regulations and from customs duties, taxes and related charges other than charges for storage, cartage and similar services, in respect of personal baggage, used personal and household, effects and Rs. 1,500 of new items of personal and household effects.
- (2) The Government of India will accept a Peace Corps Representative, a Deputy and such other personnel as may be deemed necessary by the Government of the United States and the Government of India to discharge the functions for the Government of the United States with respect to Peace Corps Programs and Projects. The Government of India shall extend to the Peace Corps Representative, Deputy and to other personnel if such are employees of the United States Government, the same treatment with respect to payment of income tax and customs duties or charges as are accorded to personnel of comparable rank or grade of the Embassy.
- (3) The Government of India will exempt funds, equipment, materials and supplies, furnished or financed by the Government of the United States of America and used in connection with Peace Crops programs and projects from taxes, investment or deposit requirements, currency controls, customs duties or other charges. The disposal of equipment's, materials and supplies thus imported will be governed by rules as may be prescribed by the Government of India.

(4) Appropriate representatives of the Government of the United States of America and of the Government of India may make from time to time such arrangements with respect to Peace Corps programs in India as appear necessary or desirable for purposes of implementing this agreement.

Finally, I have the honor to propose that if these understandings are acceptable to the Government of India, this note and Your Excellency's reply note concurring therein shall constitute an agreement between our two Governments which shall be deemed to have become effective on December 20, 1961, that being the date of arrival of the first group of Volunteers in India, and which shall remain in force until 90 days after the date of written notification from either Government to the other of intention to terminate it.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration."

On behalf of the Government of India, I have the honour to inform you that the Government of India concurs in the proposals contained in your Note No. 287. Further, I confirm that your note under reference and this reply shall constitute an Agreement between our two Governments which shall be deemed to have become effective on December 20, 1961 and which shall remain in force until 90 days after the date of written notification from either Government to the other of intention to terminate it.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Sd-

Y. D. GUNDEVIA

**INDO - US AGREEMENT ON ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT  
COMMISSION ON ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, SCIENTIFIC,  
TECHNOLOGICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL COOPERATION**  
(October 1974)

New Delhi,  
28 October 1974.

The Government of the Republic of INDIA  
AND  
The Government of the United States of AMERICA,

GUIDED by a common desire to strengthen further the friendly relations between their two countries,  
DETERMINED to explore the possibilities of fostering mutually advantageous cooperation between them in the economic, commercial, scientific, technological, educational and cultural fields,  
HAVE AGREED as follows :

**Article 1**

The Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the United States of America hereby constitute a Joint Commission on Economic, Commercial, Scientific, Technological, Educational and Cultural Cooperation.

**Article 2**

**THE TASKS OF THE COMMISSION MAY INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING**

1. In the field of economic and commercial cooperation :
  - (a) to review matters concerning economic and commercial relations between the two countries;
  - (b) to identify and investigate areas for closer cooperation, to make joint studies in areas of common interest and to recommend programs concerning economic growth and development through mutual cooperation;
  - (c) to recommend measures and activities to stimulate two-way trade between the two countries consistent with their international obligations, which may include inter alia the sending of trade promotion missions and trade delegations;
  - (d) to promote possibilities of increased investment consistent with the investment policies of the two countries; and

(e) to explore possibilities for enhanced cooperation between financial, industrial and commercial institutions and organisations.

2. In the field of scientific and technological cooperation:

(a) to review and recommend plans for cooperation between the two countries and measures for their implementation and coordination, which may include inter alia the exchange of specialists and information and the organisation of bilateral seminars on problems of common interest;

(b) to identify common scientific and technological problems and to formulate and recommend joint research programs which might lead to application of results in industry, agriculture, health and other fields; and

(c) to explore possibilities of enhanced scientific and technical cooperation between the two Governments, their agencies and other institutions in the two countries.

3. In the field of education and cultural cooperation :

(a) to review and recommend programs, plans and priorities for cooperative efforts to facilitate the interchange of people, materials and ideas in the broad fields of education, scholarship, and such areas of cultural endeavour as performing arts, fine arts, libraries and museums, sports and mass communications; and

(b) to review periodically the progress and functioning of existing programmes and arrangements, making recommendations as may be appropriate.

4. The Commission may also consider matters arising in the course of the implementation of the agreements between the two countries in force from time to time in the fields of economic, commercial, scientific, technological, educational and cultural cooperation including those which may be signed hereafter and make recommendations for the successful fulfilment of those agreements.

5. The Commission shall also be competent to review other problems that might arise in the implementation of this Agreement and other related matters that might be brought up by either Party.

### Article 3

The Commission shall consist of representatives of the two Governments with the representation of each government headed by an official of ministerial or cabinet rank.

The Commission may appoint Sub-commissions and other bodies as may be necessary to deal with specific issues of fields of cooperation and to make appropriate progress reports.

## Article 4

The Commission shall hold its meetings not less than once a year. Meetings of the Commission shall be held in each country alternately. The Commission may invite to such meetings, as may be mutually agreed, the required number of experts and advisers. Special meetings of the Commission may be convened by mutual agreement.

## Article 5

Within its areas of competence, the Commission may submit mutually agreed findings or proposals to the respective Governments.

## Article 6

Administrative expenses incidental to the meetings of the Commission and its Sub-commission shall be borne by the country in which the meeting is held. Each Government shall bear the expenses of its own representation at the meetings of the Commission and its Sub-commission, including the expenses of travel to such meetings as well as board and lodging and other personal expenses of its representatives. All procedural and administrative matters not provided for herein shall be determined by the Commission or its Sub-commissions upon the mutual consent of the two sides.

## Article 7

This Agreement shall remain in force, subject to the right of either Government to terminate it upon notification to the other Government in writing of its intention to do so, such notification being made not later than six months prior to the proposed date of termination of the Agreement. Unless otherwise agreed, the termination of this Agreement or of the activities of the Commission shall not affect the validity or duration of any other agreements entered into by the two Governments in the fields of economic, commercial, scientific, technological, educational or cultural cooperation.

## Article 8

This Agreement shall come into force from the date of signature hereof.

DONE in New Delhi on October 28, 1974 in two original copies each in Hindi and English, both texts equally authentic.

- Sd /-

S.B.CHAVAN

Minister of External Affairs Government of India

HENRY A. KISSINGER

Secretary of State Government of the United States of America

**INDIAN PRIME MINISTER VAJPAYEE'S LETTER DATED 13 MAY 1998  
TO PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON ON INDIA'S NUCLEAR TESTS**

Dear Mr. President,

You would already be aware of the underground nuclear tests carried out in India. In this letter, I would like to explain the rationale for the tests.

I have been deeply concerned at the deteriorating security environment, specially the nuclear environment, faced by India for some years past. We have an overt nuclear weapon state on our borders, a state which committed armed aggression against India in 1962. Although our relations with that country have improved in the last decade or so, an atmosphere of distress persists mainly due to the unresolved border problem.

To add to the distress that country has materially helped another neighbour of ours to become a covert nuclear weapons state. At the hands of this bitter neighbour we have suffered three aggressions in the last fifty years.

And for the last ten years we have been the victim of unremitting terrorism and militancy sponsored by it in several parts of our country, specially Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. Fortunately, the faith of the people in our democratic system as also their patriotism has enabled India to counter the activities of the terrorists and militants aided and abetted from abroad.

The deteriorating security environment, specially the nuclear environment faced by India for some years past has forced us to undertake limited number of tests which pose no danger to any country which has no inimical intention towards India.

I urge you, Mr. President, to show understanding towards India's security concerns. India's commitment to participate in non-discriminatory and verifiable global disarmament measures is amply demonstrated by our adherence to the two conventions on biological and chemical weapons. In particular we are ready to participate in the negotiations to be held in Geneva in the Conference on Disarmament for the conclusion of a fissile material cut-off treaty.

May 13, 1998,  
New Delhi.

## **INDIA - US RELATIONS: A VISION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY SIGNED DURING PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT TO INDIA IN MARCH 2000**

At the dawn of a new century, Prime Minister Vajpayee and President Clinton resolve to create a closer and qualitatively new relationship between India and the United States.

We are two of the world's largest democracies. We are nations forged from many traditions and faiths, proving year after year that diversity is our strength. From vastly different origins and experiences, we have come to the same conclusions: that freedom and democracy are the strongest bases for both peace and prosperity, and that they are universal aspirations, constrained neither by culture nor levels of economic development.

There have been times in the past when our relationship drifted without a steady course. As we now look towards the future, we are convinced that it is time to chart a new and purposeful direction in our relationship.

Globalisation is erasing boundaries and building networks between nations and peoples, economies and cultures. The world is increasingly coming together around the democratic ideals India and the United States have long championed and lived by.

Together, we represent a fifth of the world's people, more than a quarter of the world's economy. We have built creative, entrepreneurial societies. We are leaders in the information age. The currents of commerce and culture that link our societies run strong and deep. In many ways, the character of the 21st century world will depend on the success of our co-operation for peace, prosperity, democracy and freedom.

That presents us with an opportunity, but also a profound responsibility to work together. Our partnership of shared ideals leads us to seek a natural partnership of shared endeavours.

In the new century, India and the United States will be partners in peace, with a common interest in and complementary responsibility for ensuring regional and international security. We will engage in regular consultations on, and work together and with others for, strategic stability in Asia and beyond. We will bolster joint efforts to counter terrorism and meet other challenges to regional peace. We will strengthen the international security system, including in the United Nations and support the United Nations in its peacekeeping efforts. We acknowledge that

tensions in South Asia can only be resolved by the nations of South Asia. India is committed to enhancing cooperation, peace and stability in the region.

India and the United States share a commitment to reducing and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons, but we have not always agreed on how to reach this common goal. The United States believes India should forgo nuclear weapons. India believes that it needs to maintain a credible minimum nuclear deterrent in keeping with its own assessment of its security needs. Nonetheless, India and the US are prepared to work together to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery. To this end, we will persist with and build upon the productive bilateral dialogue already underway.

We reaffirm our respective voluntary commitment to forgo further nuclear explosive tests. We will work together and with others for an early commencement of negotiations on a treaty to end the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons. We have both shown strong commitment to export controls, and will continue to strengthen them. We will work together to prevent the spread of dangerous technologies. We are committed to build confidence and reduce the chances of miscalculation. We will pursue our security needs in a restrained and responsible manner and will not engage in nuclear and missile arms races. We will seek to narrow our differences and increase mutual understanding on non-proliferation and security issues. This will help us to realise the full potential of Indo-US relations and contribute significantly to regional and global security.

The true measure of our strength lies in the ability of our people to shape their destiny and to realise their aspirations for a better life. That is why the United States and India are and will be allies in the cause of democracy. We will share our experience in nurturing and strengthening democratic institutions the world over and fighting the challenge to democratic order from forces such as terrorism. We will co-operate with others to launch an international Community of Democracies this year.

The United States applauds India's success in opening its economy, its achievements in science and technology, its commitment to a new wave of economic expansion and reform, and its determination to bring the benefits of economic growth to all its people. Our nations pledge to reduce impediments to bilateral trade and investment and to expand commerce between us, especially in the emerging knowledge-based industries and high-technology areas.

We will work together to preserve stability and growth in the global economy as well. And we will join in an unrelenting battle against poverty in the world, so that the promise of a new economy is felt everywhere and no nation is left behind. That

is among the fundamental challenges of our time. Opening trade and resisting protectionism are the best means for meeting it. We support an open, equitable and transparent rule-based multilateral trading system, and we will work together to strengthen it. We agree that developed countries should embrace policies that offer developing countries the opportunities to grow, because growth is the key to rising incomes and rising standards. At the same time, we share the conviction that human development also requires empowerment of people and availability of basic freedoms.

As leaders in the forefront of the new high-technology economy, we recognise that countries can achieve robust economic growth while protecting the environment and taking action to combat climate change. We will do our part to meet the global environmental challenges, including climate change and the impacts of air and water pollution on human health.

We also pledge a common effort to battle the infectious diseases that kill people and retard progress in so many countries. India is at the forefront of the global effort that has brought us to the threshold of the eradication of polio. With leadership, joint research and application of modern science, we can and will do the same for the leading killers of our time, including AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis.

We are proud of the cooperation between Indians and Americans in advancing frontiers of knowledge. But even as we unravel the mysteries of time and space, we must continue to apply our knowledge to older challenges: eradicating human suffering, disease and poverty. In the past, our co-operation helped ease mass hunger in the world. In the future, it will focus as well on the development of clean energy, health and education.

Our partnership is not an end in itself, but a means to all these ends. And it is reinforced by the ties of scholarship, commerce, and increasingly of kinship among our people. The industry, enterprise and cultural contributions of Americans of Indian heritage have enriched and enlivened both our societies.

Today, we pledge to deepen the Indian-American partnership in tangible ways, always seeking to reconcile our differences through dialogue and engagement, always seizing opportunities to advance the countless interests we have in common. As a first step, President Clinton has invited Prime Minister Vajpayee to visit Washington at a mutually convenient opportunity, and the Prime Minister has accepted that invitation. Henceforth, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of India should meet regularly to institutionalise our dialogue. We have also agreed on and separately outlined an architecture of additional high-level consultations, and of joint working groups, across the broad spectrum of areas in

which we are determined to institutionalise our enhanced cooperation. And we will encourage even stronger people-to-people ties.

For India and the United States, this is a day of new beginnings. We have before us for the first time in 50 years the possibility to realise the full potential of our relationship. We will work to seize that chance, for our benefit and for all those with whom we share this increasingly interdependent world.

## PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT IN MARCH 2000

I am privileged to speak to you and, through you, to the people of India. I am honored to be joined today by members of my Cabinet and staff at the White House, and a very large representation of members of our United States Congress from both political parties. We're all honored to be here and we thank you for your warm welcome. I would also like to thank the people of India for their kindness to my daughter and my mother-in-law and, on their previous trip, to my wife and my daughter. I have looked forward to this day with great anticipation.

This whole trip has meant a great deal to me, especially to this point, the opportunity I had to visit the Gandhi memorial, to express on behalf of all the people of the United States our gratitude for the life, the work, the thought of Gandhi, without which the great civil rights revolution in the United States would never had succeeded on a peaceful plane. As Prime Minister Vajpayee has said, India and America are natural allies, two nations conceived in liberty, each finding strength in its diversity, each seeing in the other a reflection of its own aspiration for a more humane and just world. A poet once said the world's inhabitants can be divided into "those that have seen the Taj Mahal and those that have not." Well, in a few hours I will have a chance to cross over to the happier side of that divide.

But I hope, in a larger sense, that my visit will help the American people to see the new India and to understand you better. And I hope that the visit will help India to understand America better. And that by listening to each other we can build a true partnership of mutual respect and common endeavor. From a distance, India often appears as a kaleidoscope of competing, perhaps superficial, images. Is it atomic weapons, or ahimsa? A land struggling against poverty and inequality, or the world's largest middle-class society? Is it still simmering with communal tensions, or history's most successful melting pot? Is it Bollywood or Satyajit Ray? Swetta Chetty or Alla Rakha? Is it the handloom or the hyperlink? The truth is, no single image can possibly do justice to your great nation.

But beyond the complexities and the apparent contradictions, I believe India teaches us some very basic lessons.

The first is about democracy. There are still those who deny that democracy is a universal aspiration; who say it works only for people of a certain culture, or a certain degree of economic development. India has been proving them wrong for 52 years now. Here is a country where more than 2 million people hold elected office in local government;..... Far from washing away the uniqueness of your culture,

your democracy has brought out the richness of its tapestry, and given you the knot that holds it together.

A second lesson India teaches is about diversity. You have already heard remarks about that this morning. But around the world there is a chorus of voices who say ethnic and religious diversity is a threat; who argue that the only way to keep different people from killing one another is to keep them as far apart as possible. But India has shown us a better way. For all the troubles you have seen, surely the subcontinent has seen more innocence hurt in the efforts to divide people by ethnicity and faith than by the efforts to bring them together in peace and harmony. Under trying circumstances, you have shown the world how to live with difference. You have shown that tolerance and mutual respect are in many ways the keys to our common survival. That is something the whole world needs to learn.

A third lesson India teaches is about globalization and what may be the central debate of our time. Many people believe the forces of globalization are inherently divisive; that they can only widen the gap between rich and poor. That is a valid fear, but I believe wrong. As the distance between producers large and small, and customers near and far becomes less relevant, developing countries will have opportunities not only to succeed, but to lead in lifting more people out of poverty more quickly than at any time in human history. In the old economy, location was everything. In the new economy, information, education and motivation are everything -- and India is proving it.

You liberated your markets and now you have one of the 10 fastest growing economies in the world. At the rate of growth within your grasp, India's standard of living could rise by 500 percent in just 20 years. You embraced information technology and now, when Americans and other big software companies call for consumer and customer support, they're just as likely to find themselves talking to an expert in Bangalore as one in Seattle. You decentralized authority, giving more individuals and communities the freedom to succeed. In that way, you affirmed what every successful country is finding in its own way: globalization does not favor nations with a licensing raj, it does favor nations with a panchayat raj. And the world has been beating a path to your door. In the new millennium, every great country must answer one overarching question: how shall we define our greatness?

Every country -- America included -- is tempted to cling to yesterday's definition of economic and military might. But true leadership for the United States and India derives more from the power of our example and the potential of our people. I believe that the greatest of India's many gifts to the world is the example its people have set "from Midnight to Millennium." Think of it: virtually every challenge humanity knows can be found here in India. And every solution to every challenge

can be found here as well: confidence in democracy; tolerance for diversity; a willingness to embrace social change. That is why Americans admire India; why we welcome India's leadership in the region and the world; and why we want to take our partnership to a new level, to advance our common values and interests, and to resolve the differences that still remain. There were long periods when that would not have been possible.

Though our democratic ideals gave us a starting point in common, and our dreams of peace and prosperity gave us a common destination, there was for too long too little common ground between East and West, North and South. Now, thankfully, the old barriers between nations and people, economies and cultures, are being replaced by vast networks of cooperation and commerce. With our open, entrepreneurial societies, India and America are at the center of those networks. We must expand them, and defeat the forces that threaten them. To succeed, I believe there are four large challenges India and the United States must meet together -- challenges that should define our partnership in the years ahead.

The first of these challenges is to get our own economic relationship right. Americans have applauded your efforts to open your economy, your commitment to a new wave of economic reform; your determination to bring the fruits of growth to all your people. We are proud to support India's growth as your largest partner in trade and investment. And we want to see more Indians and more Americans benefit from our economic ties, especially in the cutting edge fields of information technology, biotechnology and clean energy. The private sector will drive this progress, but our job as governments is to create the conditions that will allow them to succeed in doing so, and to reduce the remaining impediments to trade and investment between us.

Our second challenge is to sustain global economic growth in a way that lifts the lives of rich and poor alike, both across and within national borders. Part of the world today lives at the cutting edge of change, while a big part still exists at the bare edge of survival. Part of the world lives in the information age. Part of the world does not even reach the clean water age. And often the two live side by side. It is unacceptable, it is intolerable; thankfully, it is unnecessary and it is far more than a regional crisis. Whether around the corner or around the world, abject poverty in this new economy is an affront to our common humanity and a threat to our common prosperity. The problem is truly immense, as you know far better than I. But perhaps for the first time in all history, few would dispute that we know the solutions. We know we need to invest in education and literacy, so that children can have soaring dreams and the tools to realize them.

We know we need to make a special commitment in developing nations to the education of young girls, as well as young boys. Everything we have learned about development tells us that when women have access to knowledge, to health, to economic opportunity and to civil rights, children thrive, families succeed and countries prosper. Here again, we see how a problem and its answers can be found side by side in India. For every economist who preaches the virtues of women's empowerment points at first to the achievements of India's state of Kerala -- I knew there would be somebody here from Kerala. To promote development, we know we must conquer the diseases that kill people and progress. Last December, India immunized 140 million children against polio, the biggest public health effort in human history. I congratulate you on that. I have launched an initiative in the United States to speed the development of vaccines for malaria, tuberculosis and AIDS -- the biggest infectious killers of our time. This July, when our partners in the G-8 meet in Japan, I will urge them to join us.

But that is not enough, for at best, effective vaccines are years away. Especially for AIDS, we need a commitment today to prevention, and that means straight talk and an end to stigmatizing. As Prime Minister Vajpayee said, no one should ever speak of AIDS as someone else's problem. This has long been a big problem for the United States. It is now a big problem for you. I promise you America's partnership in the continued struggle. To promote development, we know we must also stand with those struggling for human rights and freedom around the world and in the region. For as the economist Amartya Sen has said, no system of government has done a better job in easing human want, in averting human catastrophes, than democracy. I am proud America and India will stand together on the right side of history when we launch the Community of Democracies in Warsaw this summer.

All of these steps are essential to lifting people's lives. But there is yet another. With greater trade and the growth it brings, we can multiply the gains of education, better health and democratic empowerment. That is why I hope we will work together to launch a new global trade round that will promote economic development for all. One of the benefits of the World Trade Organization is that it has given developing countries a bigger voice in global trade policy. Developing countries have used that voice to urge richer nations to open their markets further so that all can have a chance to grow.

That is something the opponents of the WTO don't fully appreciate yet. We need to remind them that when Indians and Brazilians and Indonesians speak up for open trade, they are not speaking for some narrow corporate interest, but for a huge part of humanity that has no interest in being saved from development. Of course, trade should not be a race to the bottom in environmental and labor standards, but neither should fears about trade keep part of our global community forever at the bottom.

Yet we must also remember that those who are concerned about the impact of globalization in terms of inequality, in environmental degradation do speak for a large part of humanity. Those who believe that trade should contribute not just to the wealth, but also to the fairness of societies; those who share Nehru's dream of a structure for living that fulfills our material needs, and at the same time sustains our mind and spirit. We can advance these values without engaging in rich-country protectionism. Indeed, to sustain a consensus for open trade, we must find a way to advance these values as well.

That is my motivation, and my only motivation, in seeking a dialogue about the connections between labor, the environment, and trade and development. I would remind you -- and I want to emphasize this -- the United States has the most open markets of any wealthy country in the world. We have the largest trade deficit. We also have had a strong economy, because we have welcomed the products and the services from the labor of people throughout the world. I am for an open global trading system. But we must do it in a way that advances the cause of social justice around the world. The third challenge we face is to see that the prosperity and growth of the information age require us to abandon some of the outdated truths of the Industrial Age.

As the economy grows faster today, for example, when children are kept in school, not put to work. Think about the industries that are driving our growth today in India and in America. Just as oil enriched the nations who had it in the 20th century, clearly knowledge is doing the same for the nations who have it in the 21st century. The difference is, knowledge can be tapped by all people everywhere, and it will never run out. We must also find ways to achieve robust growth while protecting the environment and reversing climate change. I'm convinced we can do that as well.

We will see in the next few years, for example, automobiles that are three, four, perhaps five times as efficient as those being driven today. Soon scientists will make alternative sources of energy more widely available and more affordable. Just for example, before long chemists almost certainly will unlock the block that will allow us to produce eight or nine gallons of fuel from bio-fuels, farm fuels, using only one gallon of gasoline. Indian scientists are at the forefront of this kind of research -- pioneering the use of solar energy to power rural communities; developing electric cars for use in crowded cities; converting agricultural waste into electricity.

If we can deepen our cooperation for clean energy, we will strengthen our economies, improve our people's health and fight global warming. This should be a vital element of our new partnership. A fourth challenge we face is to protect the

gains of democracy and development from the forces, which threaten to undermine them. There is the danger of organized crime and drugs. There is the evil of trafficking in human beings, a modern form of slavery. And of course, there is the threat of terrorism. Both our nations know it all too well. Americans understood the pain and agony you went through during the Indian Airlines hijacking.

And I saw that pain firsthand when I met with the parents and the widow of the young man who was killed on that airplane. We grieve with you for the Sikhs who were killed in Kashmir -- and our heart goes out to their families. We will work with you to build a system of justice, to strengthen our cooperation against terror. We must never relax our vigilance or allow the perpetrators to intimidate us into retreating from our democratic ideals. Another danger we face is the spread of weapons of mass destruction to those who might have no reservations about using them. I still believe this is the greatest potential threat to the security we all face in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is why we must be vigilant in fighting the spread of chemical and biological weapons. And it is why we must both keep working closely to resolve our remaining differences on nuclear proliferation.

I am aware that I speak to you on behalf of a nation that has possessed nuclear weapons for 55 years and more. But since 1988, the United States has dismantled more than 13,000 nuclear weapons. We have helped Russia to dismantle their nuclear weapons and to safeguard the material that remains. We have agreed to an outline of a treaty with Russia that will reduce our remaining nuclear arsenal by more than half. We are producing no more fissile material, developing no new land- or submarine-based missiles, engaging in no new nuclear testing. From South America to South Africa, nations are foreswearing these weapons, realizing that a nuclear future is not a more secure future. Most of the world is moving toward the elimination of nuclear weapons. That goal is not advanced if any country, in any region, moves in the other direction. I say this with great respect. Only India can determine its own interests. Only India -- only India can know if it truly is safer today than before the tests. Only India can determine if it will benefit from expanding its nuclear and missile capabilities, if its neighbors respond by doing the same thing. Only India knows if it can afford a sustained investment in both conventional and nuclear forces while meeting its goals for human development.

These are questions others may ask, but only you can answer. I can only speak to you as a friend about America's own experience during the Cold War. We were geographically distant from the Soviet Union. We were not engaged in direct armed combat. Through years of direct dialogue with our adversary, we each had a very good idea of the other's capabilities, doctrines, and intentions. We each spent billions of dollars on elaborate command and control systems, for nuclear weapons are not cheap. And yet, in spite of all of this -- and as I sometimes say jokingly, in

spite of the fact that both sides had very good spies, and that was a good thing -- in spite of all of this, we came far too close to nuclear war. We learned that deterrence alone cannot be relied on to prevent accident or miscalculation. And in a nuclear standoff, there is nothing more dangerous than believing there is no danger. I can also repeat what I said at the outset. India is a leader, a great nation, which by virtue of its size, its achievements, and its example, has the ability to shape the character of our time.

For any of us, to claim that mantle and assert that status is to accept first and foremost that our actions have consequences for others beyond our borders. Great nations with broad horizons must consider whether actions advance or hinder what Nehru called the larger cause of humanity. So India's nuclear policies, inevitably, have consequences beyond your borders: eroding the barriers against the spread of nuclear weapons, discouraging nations that have chosen to foreswear these weapons, encouraging others to keep their options open. But if India's nuclear test shook the world, India's leadership for nonproliferation can certainly move the world. India and the United States have reaffirmed our commitment to forego nuclear testing. And for that I thank the Prime Minister, the government and the people of India. But in our own self-interest -- and I say this again -- in our own self-interest we can do more. I believe both nations should join the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; work to launch negotiations on a treaty to end the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons; strengthen export controls.

And India can pursue defense policies in keeping with its commitment not to seek a nuclear or missile arms race, which the Prime Minister has forcefully reaffirmed just in these last couple of days. Again, I do not presume to speak for you or to tell you what to decide. It is not my place. You are a great nation and you must decide. But I ask you to continue our dialogue on these issues. And let us turn our dialogue into a genuine partnership against proliferation. If we make progress in narrowing our differences, we will be both more secure, and our relationship can reach its full potential. I hope progress can also be made in overcoming a source of tension in this region, including the tensions between India and Pakistan. I share many of your government's concerns about the course Pakistan is taking; your disappointment that past overtures have not always met with success; your outrage over recent violence.

I know it is difficult to be a democracy bordered by nations whose governments reject democracy. But I also believe -- I also believe India has a special opportunity, as a democracy, to show its neighbors that democracy is about dialogue. It does not have to be about friendship, but it is about building working relationships among people who differ. One of the wisest things anyone ever said to me is that you don't make peace with your friends. That is what the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told me before he signed the Oslo Accords with the Palestinians, with whom

he had been fighting for decades. It is well to remember -- I remind myself of it all the time, even when I have arguments with members of the other party in my Congress -- (laughter) -- you don't make peace with your friends.

Engagement with adversaries is not the same thing as endorsement. It does not require setting aside legitimate grievances. Indeed, I strongly believe that what has happened since your Prime Minister made his courageous journey to Lahore only reinforces the need for dialogue. (Applause.) I can think of no enduring solution to this problem that can be achieved in any other way. In the end, for the sake of the innocents who always suffer the most, someone must end the contest of inflicting and absorbing pain.

Let me also make clear, as I have repeatedly, I have certainly not come to South Asia to mediate the dispute over Kashmir. Only India and Pakistan can work out the problems between them. And I will say the same thing to General Musharraf in Islamabad. But if outsiders cannot resolve this problem, I hope you will create the opportunity to do it yourselves, calling on the support of others who can help where possible, as American diplomacy did in urging the Pakistanis to go back behind the line of control in the Kargil crisis. In the meantime, I will continue to stress that this should be a time for restraint, for respect for the line of control, for renewed lines of communication. Addressing this challenge and all the others I mentioned will require us to be closer partners and better friends, and to remember that good friends, out of respect, are honest with one another. And even when they do not agree, they always try to find common ground. I have read that one of the unique qualities of Indian classical music is its elasticity. The composer lays down a foundation, a structure of melodic and rhythmic arrangements, but the player has to improvise within that structure to bring the raga\* to life. Our relationship is like that. The composers of our past have given us a foundation of shared democratic ideals. It is up to us to give life to those ideals in this time.

The melodies do not have to be the same to be beautiful to both of us. But if we listen to each other, and we strive to realize our vision together, we will write a symphony far greater than the sum of our individual notes. The key is to genuinely and respectfully listen to each other. If we do, Americans will better understand the scope of India's achievements, and the dangers India still faces in this troubled part of the world. We will understand that India will not choose a particular course simply because others wish it to do so. It will choose only what it believes its interests clearly demand and what its people democratically embrace. If we listen to each other, I also believe Indians will understand better that America very much wants you to succeed.

Time and again in my time as President, America has found that it is the weakness of great nations, not their strength, that threatens our vision for tomorrow. So we want India to be strong; to be secure; to be united; to be a force for a safer, more prosperous, more democratic world. Whatever we ask of you, we ask in that spirit alone. After too long a period of estrangement, India and the United States have learned that being natural allies is a wonderful thing, but it is not enough. Our task is to turn a common vision into common achievements so that partners in spirit can be partners in fact.

We have already come a long way to this day of new beginnings, but we still have promises to keep, challenges to meet and hopes to redeem. So let us seize this moment with humility in the fragile and fleeting nature of this life, but absolute confidence in the power of the human spirit. Let us seize it for India, for America, for all those with whom we share this small planet, and for all the children that together we can give such bright tomorrows.

## **INDIA AND UNITED STATES SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETE NEXT STEPS IN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP**

Washington, DC

(July 18, 2005)

India and United States have reached a milestone in their strategic relationship by completing the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP). The successful completion of this initiative clears the way for even greater engagement in a number of key areas in which cooperation has previously been limited or non-existent.

The Next Steps in Strategic Partnership, announced in January 2004, was designed to increase cooperation in civilian nuclear activities, civilian space programs, high-technology trade, and missile defense.

Since January 2004, cooperation under the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership progressed through a series of reciprocal steps that built on each other. These steps included expanded engagement on nuclear regulatory and safety issues, enhanced cooperation in missile defense, peaceful uses of space technology, and steps to create the appropriate environment for increased high-technology commerce.

To combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, relevant laws, regulations, and export-related procedures have been strengthened, and measures to increase bilateral and international cooperation in this area were instituted. These cooperative efforts were undertaken in accordance with our respective national laws and international obligations.

The successful completion of the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership is an important milestone in the transformation of the relationship between the United States and India. In particular, completion of the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership will enable the United States to expand the scope of bilateral commercial satellite cooperation, remove U.S. export license requirements for unilaterally controlled nuclear items to most end users, and revise export license requirements for certain items going to safeguarded civil nuclear power facilities.

Completion of the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership demonstrates that President Bush's and Prime Minister Singh's vision of a U.S.-India strategic partnership is becoming a reality, and paves the way for greater cooperation on strategic, energy security, and economic matters. Our two nations are committed to building upon the progress made since January 2004 and working to identify new ways to expand the growing cooperative relationship.

## **INDIA - US JOINT STATEMENT OF 2 MARCH 2006 ON THE VISIT TO INDIA BY PRESIDENT BUSH**

President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh today expressed satisfaction with the great progress the United States and India have made in advancing our strategic partnership to meet the global challenges of the 21st century. Both our countries are linked by a deep commitment to freedom and democracy; a celebration of national diversity, human creativity and innovation; a quest to expand prosperity and economic opportunity worldwide; and a desire to increase mutual security against the common threats posed by intolerance, terrorism, and the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The successful transformation of the U.S.-India relationship will have a decisive and positive influence on the future international system as it evolves in this new century.

Reviewing the progress made in deepening the global partnership between the United States and India since their Joint Statement of July 18, 2005, the President and the Prime Minister reaffirm their commitment to expand even further the growing ties between their two countries. Consistent with this objective, the two leaders wish to highlight efforts the United States and India are making together in the following areas, where they have:

### **FOR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND TRADE**

(1) Agreed to intensify efforts to develop a bilateral business climate supportive of trade and investment by:

1. Welcoming the report of the U.S.-India CEO Forum, agreeing to consider its recommendations aimed at substantially broadening our bilateral economic relations, and directing the Chairs of the Indo-U.S. Economic Dialogue to follow up expeditiously with the CEO Forum;
2. Endorsing the efforts of the U.S.-India Trade Policy Forum to reduce barriers to trade and investment with the goal of doubling bilateral trade in three years;
3. Agreeing to advance mutually beneficial bilateral trade and investment flows by holding a high-level public-private investment summit in 2006, continuing efforts to facilitate and promote foreign direct investment and eliminate impediments to it, and enhancing bilateral consultations on various issues including tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade in goods and services, and preventing the illicit use of the financial system.

(2) Sought to expand cooperation in agriculture by:

1. Launching the Knowledge Initiative on Agriculture with a three-year financial commitment to link our universities, technical institutions, and businesses to support agriculture education, joint research, and capacity building projects including in the area of biotechnology.
2. Endorsing an agreed workplan to promote bilateral trade in agriculture through agreements that: lay out a path to open the U.S. market to Indian mangoes, recognize India as having the authority to certify that shipments of Indian products to the United States meet USDA organic standards, and provide for discussions on current regulations affecting trade in fresh fruits and vegetables, poultry and dairy, and almonds.

(3) Reaffirmed their shared commitment to completing the WTO Doha Development Agenda (DDA) before the end of 2006, and agreed to work together to help achieve this outcome.

## FOR ENERGY SECURITY AND A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT

(1) Welcomed the successful completion of discussions on India's separation plan and looked forward to the full implementation of the commitments in the July 18, 2005 Joint Statement on nuclear cooperation. This historic accomplishment will permit our countries to move forward towards our common objective of full civil nuclear energy cooperation between India and the United States and between India and the international community as a whole.

(2) Welcomed the participation of India in the ITER initiative on fusion energy as an important further step towards the common goal of full nuclear energy cooperation.

(3) Agreed on India's participation in FutureGen, an international public-private partnership to develop new, commercially viable technology for a clean coal near-zero emission power project. India will contribute funding to the project and participate in the Government Steering Committee of this initiative.

(4) Welcomed the creation of the Asia Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, which will enable India and the U.S. to work together with other countries in the region to pursue sustainable development and meet increased energy needs while addressing concerns of energy security and climate change. The Partnership will collaborate to promote the development, diffusion, deployment and transfer of cleaner, cost-effective and more efficient technologies and practices.

(5) Welcomed India's interest in the Integrated Ocean Drilling Program, an international marine research endeavor that will contribute to long-term energy solutions such as gas hydrates.

(6) Noting the positive cooperation under the Indo-U.S. Energy Dialogue, highlighted plans to hold joint conferences on topics such as energy efficiency and natural gas.....

#### FOR INNOVATION AND THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

(1) Emphasizing the importance of knowledge partnerships, announced the establishment of a Bi-National Science and Technology Commission which the U.S. and India will co-fund. It will generate collaborative partnerships in science and technology and promote industrial research and development.

(2) Agreed that the United States and India would work together to promote innovation, creativity and technological advancement by providing a vibrant intellectual property rights regime, and to cooperate in the field of intellectual property rights to include capacity building activities, human resource development and public awareness programs.

(3) Agreed to continue exploring further cooperation in civil space, including areas such as space exploration, satellite navigation, and earth science. The United States and India committed to move forward with agreements that will permit the launch of U.S. satellites and satellites containing U.S. components by Indian space launch vehicles, opening up new opportunities for commercial space cooperation between the two countries.

(4) Welcomed the inclusion of two U.S. instruments in the Indian lunar mission Chandrayaan-1. They noted that memoranda of understanding to be signed by ISRO and NASA would be significant steps forward in this area.

(5) Welcomed the U.S. Department of Commerce's plan to create a license exception for items that would otherwise require an export license to end-users in India engaged solely in civilian activities.

#### FOR GLOBAL SAFETY AND SECURITY

(1) Noted the enhanced counter-terrorism cooperation between the two countries and stressed that terrorism is a global scourge that must be fought and rooted out in every part of the world.

(2) Welcomed the increased cooperation between the United States and India in the defense area, since the New Framework for the U.S.-India Defence Relationship was signed on June 28, 2005, as evidenced by successful joint exercises, expanded defence cooperation and information sharing, and greater opportunities to jointly develop technologies and address security and humanitarian issues.

(3) Reaffirmed their commitment to the protection of the free flow of commerce and to the safety of navigation, and agreed to the conclusion of a Maritime Cooperation Framework to enhance security in the maritime domain, to prevent piracy and other transnational crimes at sea, carry out search and rescue operations, combat marine pollution, respond to natural disasters, address emergent threats and enhance cooperative capabilities, including through logistics support. Both sides are working to finalize a Logistics Support Agreement at the earliest.

(4) Welcomed India's intention to join the Container Security Initiative aimed at making global maritime trade and infrastructure more secure and reducing the risk of shipping containers being used to conceal weapons of mass destruction.

(5) Reiterated their commitment to international efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

(6) Building on the July 2005 Disaster Relief Initiative, noted the important disaster management cooperation and their improved capabilities to respond to disaster situations.

(7) Recognized the importance of capacity building in cyber security and greater cooperation to secure their growing electronic interdependencies, including to protect electronic transactions and critical infrastructure from cybercrime, terrorism and other malicious threats.

#### DEEPENING DEMOCRACY AND MEETING INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES

(1) Recalled their joint launch of the UN Democracy Fund in September 2005 and offered the experience and expertise of both Governments for capacity building, training and exchanges to third countries that request such assistance to strengthen democratic institutions.

(2) Welcomed the decision of India and the United States to designate a representative to the Government Advisory Board of the International Centre for Democratic Transition (ICDT) located in Budapest to facilitate cooperative activities with ICDT.

- (3) Agreed that the Virtual Coordination and Information Centres set up in September 2005 should be further strengthened and a bilateral meeting aimed at developing a practical programme for utilization of its services be held soon.
- (4) Expressed satisfaction at the expedited USFDA drug approval processes that strengthen the combat against HIV/AIDS at the global level and encourage greater corporate participation to meet this challenge, including the establishment of the Indo-U.S. Corporate Fund for HIV/AIDS.
- (5) Agreed to expand bilateral efforts and continue cooperation in the area of medical research and strengthen technical capacity in food and drug regulation in India as well as address the concern on avian influenza, including agreement to reach out to the private sector, develop regional communications strategies, and plan an in-region containment and response exercise. The President welcomed India's offer to host the International Partnership on Avian and Pandemic Influenza meeting in 2007.
- (6) Welcomed India's membership in the Coalition Against Wildlife Trafficking, a partnership through which we will collaborate in the fight against illegal trade in wildlife and wildlife parts; we also welcome the opportunity to strengthen longstanding work together on the conservation of wildlife through cooperation on park management and ecotourism.

President Bush thanked Prime Minister Singh and the people of India for the warmth of their reception and the generosity of their hospitality.

## **US-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT OF 24 NOVEMBER 2009 AFTER THE MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and President Barack Obama today reaffirmed the global strategic partnership between India and the United States, and launched a new phase in this partnership. Commending the deepening bilateral cooperation between the world's two largest democracies across a broad spectrum of human endeavors, the two leaders recognized that the common ideals and complementary strengths of India and the United States today provide a foundation for addressing the global challenges of the 21st century.

The two leaders noted that the shared values cherished by their peoples and espoused by their founders – democracy, pluralism, tolerance, openness, and respect for fundamental freedoms and human rights – are acquiring an increasingly greater prominence in building a more peaceful, prosperous, inclusive, secure and sustainable world. These values are exemplified by the vibrant linkages between their peoples, which are a unique asset for both countries, and are reflected in the role played by the Indian-American community. The two leaders resolved to harness these shared strengths and to expand the U.S.-India global partnership for the benefit of their countries, for peace, stability and prosperity in Asia, and for the betterment of the world. To this end, they committed to build upon the India-U.S. Strategic Dialogue announced in July 2009. President Obama stated that the United States looks forward to a stable and prosperous India playing an increasingly important role in world affairs.

### **ADVANCING GLOBAL SECURITY AND COUNTERING TERRORISM**

Prime Minister Singh and President Obama recognized that the India-U.S. partnership is indispensable for global peace and security. In this context, the interests of both countries are best advanced through the values mirrored in their societies. They acknowledged the common threat that international terrorism poses to regional and global security. They condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and declared that there could be no justification for terrorism anywhere.

On the eve of its first anniversary, President Obama reiterated the United States' condemnation of the terrorist attack in Mumbai in November 2008. The two leaders underscored the absolute imperative to bring to justice the perpetrators of this terrorist attack. They expressed their grave concern about the threat posed by terrorism and violent extremists emanating from India's neighborhood, whose

impact is felt beyond the region. The two leaders agreed that resolute and credible steps must be taken to eliminate safe havens and sanctuaries that provide shelter to terrorists and their activities. These undermine security and stability in the region and around the world.

They vowed to redouble their efforts to deal effectively with terrorism, while protecting their countries' common ideals and shared values and committed themselves to strengthening global consensus and legal regimes against terrorism. They decided on a Counterterrorism Cooperation Initiative to expand collaboration on counterterrorism, information sharing, and capacity building. The two leaders reiterated their shared interest in the stability, development and independence of Afghanistan and in the defeat of terrorist safe havens in Pakistan and Afghanistan. President Obama appreciated India's role in reconstruction and rebuilding efforts in Afghanistan. The two leaders agreed to enhance their respective efforts in this direction. The two leaders committed to continue pursuing mutually beneficial defense cooperation through the existing security dialogue, service-level exchanges, defense exercises and trade and technology transfer and collaboration. They recognized the scope for cooperation in the areas of non-traditional threats to security, peacekeeping, humanitarian and disaster relief, and maritime security and protecting sea lanes of communication. They agreed to expedite necessary arrangements to facilitate these activities.

The two leaders agreed that strengthening high technology trade between their countries is in the spirit of their strategic dialogue and partnership. They reiterated their shared commitment to technology security and that it is in their mutual interest to invigorate this area of their partnership.

Prime Minister Singh and President Obama reaffirmed their shared vision of a world free of nuclear weapons and pledged to work together, as leaders of responsible states with advanced nuclear technology, for global non-proliferation, and universal, non-discriminatory and complete nuclear disarmament. Part of that vision is working together to ensure that all nations live up to their international obligations. India reaffirmed its unilateral and voluntary moratorium on nuclear explosive testing. The United States reaffirmed its testing moratorium and its commitment to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and bring it into force at an early date. Both leaders agreed to consult each other regularly and seek the early start of negotiations on a multilateral, non-discriminatory and internationally verifiable Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty at the Conference on Disarmament. They noted that nuclear terrorism, and clandestine networks are a matter of grave concern. Prime Minister Singh and President Obama look forward to the April 2010 Nuclear Security Summit and working together with all participating states for the success of the Summit.

## ENSURING SUSTAINABLE GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AND A CLEAN ENERGY FUTURE

Recognizing that energy security, food security, climate change are interlinked, and that eliminating poverty and ensuring sustainable development and a clean energy future are among the foremost global objectives, the two leaders agreed to enter into a Green Partnership to address these global challenges. The two Leaders reaffirmed their intention to promote the full, effective and sustained implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in accordance with the Bali Action Plan. Recognizing their special role in promoting a successful and substantive outcome at the UNFCCC 15th Conference of Parties at Copenhagen in December, 2009, they reaffirmed their intention to work together bilaterally and with all other countries for an agreed outcome at that meeting.

The two leaders also affirmed that the Copenhagen outcome must be comprehensive and cover mitigation, adaptation, finance and technology, and in accordance with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, it should reflect emission reduction targets of developed countries and nationally appropriate mitigation actions of developing countries. There should be full transparency through appropriate processes as to the implementation of aforesaid mitigation actions. The outcome should further reflect the need for substantially scaled-up financial resources to support mitigation and adaptation in developing countries, in particular, for the poorest and most vulnerable. It should also include measures for promoting technology development, dissemination and transfer and capacity building, including consideration of a center or a network of centers to support and stimulate climate innovation. India and the United States, consistent with their national circumstances, resolved to take significant national mitigation actions that will strengthen the world's ability to combat climate change. They resolved to stand by these commitments.

Recognizing the need to create the clean energy economy of the 21st century, Prime Minister Singh and President Obama agreed to launch a Clean Energy and Climate Change Initiative. The goal of the Initiative would be to improve the lives of the people of both countries by developing and improving access to technologies that make our energy cleaner, affordable and more efficient. The Initiative will include cooperation in wind and solar energy, second generation bio-fuels, unconventional gas, energy efficiency, and clean coal technologies including carbon capture and storage. The success of this Initiative is expected to enhance the ability of India and the United States to provide new economic opportunities for their people and create new clean energy jobs.

The two leaders intend to take practical steps to promote global food security, including by advancing the L'Aquila Food Security Initiative. They looked forward to increasing India-U.S. agricultural cooperation with the purpose of promoting agricultural research, human resources capacity building, natural resource management, agri-business and food processing, and collaborative research for increasing food productivity. This cooperation would contribute to joint development of technology that would improve weather forecasting, including predicting monsoons, and technology that would contribute to food productivity and food security efforts in India. They agreed to collaborate in the application of their space technology and related scientific capabilities in outer space and for development purposes, including in the field of agriculture. The two leaders reiterated their intention to realize the full potential of the India-U.S. Agreement for Cooperation concerning the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy through the implementation of its provisions. They agreed to expedite U.S. firms' participation in the implementation of this agreement.

## STIMULATING GLOBAL ECONOMIC REVIVAL

Prime Minister Singh and President Obama noted the new opportunities offered by their economies and their respective strengths, and their potential for future growth to catalyze global economic growth, and pledged to create conditions that would facilitate their continued expansion.

The leaders also noted that the United States is currently the largest trading partner of India in goods and services. The leaders reiterated their pledge to bolster and deepen cooperation on economic, trade and agricultural issues, including working bilaterally and with multilateral trade organizations to foster increased trade. Both leaders welcomed the potential for further expanding trade and investment between their countries, including in sectors such as infrastructure, information and communication technologies, healthcare services, education services, energy and environmentally friendly technologies. As members of the G 20, they agreed to advance the G 20 understandings including with regard to energy security and resisting protectionism in all its forms. The two leaders agreed to facilitate greater movement of professionals, investors and business travelers, students, and exchange visitors between our two countries to enhance their economic and technological partnership.

They committed to strengthen and reform the global economic and financial architecture in the G-20, World Bank and the IMF. They resolved to seek an ambitious and balanced outcome of the Doha Round, consistent with its mandate and reaffirmed their commitment to an open, fair, equitable, transparent and rule-based multilateral trading system. The two leaders announced their intention to

develop a Framework for Cooperation on Trade and Investment. This Framework is expected to foster an environment conducive to technological innovation and collaboration, promote inclusive growth and job creation, and support opportunities for increased trade and investment - including for small and medium-sized enterprises. They agreed to launch the U.S.-India Financial and Economic Partnership to strengthen engagement on economic, financial, and investment-related issues. The two leaders welcomed the progress achieved in the discussions on a Bilateral Investment Treaty and pledged to take further initiatives that would contribute to creating a more conducive environment for investment flows.

They recognized the contribution of the business and industrial sectors of both countries in this regard and called upon the India-U.S. CEOs Forum to identify new directions in the India-U.S. economic relationship.

## EDUCATING AND EMPOWERING FUTURE GENERATIONS

Recognizing the cultural emphasis on education in both countries, Prime Minister Singh and President Obama emphasized that education holds the key to the advancement of their societies, and to a more prosperous and stable world. They agreed that access to and development of technology was a cross-cutting requirement to meet the challenges that their two countries face. They acknowledged the fruitful collaboration between the two countries in the fields of education, research and science and technology, which has contributed to their emergence as knowledge societies.

Taking advantage of that strength, President Obama and Prime Minister Singh launched the Obama-Singh 21st Century Knowledge Initiative with funding from both sides to increase university linkages and junior faculty development exchanges between U.S. and Indian universities, including greater emphasis on community colleges. They agreed to substantially expand the Fulbright-Nehru program to provide more student and scholar exchange grants in priority fields such as science, technology and agriculture. The two leaders reaffirmed the importance of expanding cooperation in higher education and research, and according priority to cooperation in the area of skill development. They also expressed their support for the India-U.S. Binational Science and Technology Commission and the Endowment, which is expected to give a fresh impetus to collaboration in the cutting edge areas of scientific research, technology and development.

The leaders affirmed the importance of women's empowerment to advancing global prosperity and stability, and welcomed the establishment of a Women's Empowerment Dialogue to promote women's participation and equality in all

spheres. They emphasized that women's empowerment is a cross-cutting goal that should be pursued across the full scope of U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue initiatives.

## PROTECTING THE HEALTH OF OUR PEOPLE

Prime Minister Singh and President Obama welcomed the strong collaboration between India and the United States in the area of public health. They agreed to build on existing strong ties across academia and scientific communities by advancing public health and biomedical research collaborations between the United States and India. The two countries plan to establish a Regional Global Disease Detection Center in India and to build a partnership with the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The leaders also pledged to enhance collaboration in controlling diseases such as polio, and discovering new and affordable technologies and treatments for the benefit of their peoples and for those of other countries who seek their assistance.

## TOWARDS MORE EFFECTIVE GLOBAL COOPERATION

Prime Minister Singh and President Obama recognized that the India-U.S. relationship is important for managing the challenges the world will face in the 21st century.

The two leaders underscored the compelling need to put in place global institutions which are both inclusive and effective to meet present and future challenges. They welcomed the emergence of the G-20 as a premier forum to deal with international economic issues. The two leaders recognized the scope for their countries to increase cooperation in peacekeeping, development and the promotion of essential human freedoms. They committed themselves to achieving genuine reform of the United Nations including in its Security Council in a manner that reflects the contemporary realities of the 21st century and thereby enhances its ability to carry out its mandate as a representative, credible and effective forum for meeting the challenges of the new century.

Prime Minister Singh thanked President Obama and the people of the United States of America for their generous hospitality and warm welcome. President Obama looks forward to visiting India with his family in the near future.

**JOINT STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER MANMOHAN SINGH AND  
PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA**

(November 8, 2010)

Reaffirming their nations' shared values and increasing convergence of interests, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Barack Obama resolved today in New Delhi to expand and strengthen the India-U.S. global strategic partnership.

The two leaders welcomed the deepening relationship between the world's two largest democracies. They commended the growing cooperation between their governments, citizens, businesses, universities and scientific institutions, which have thrived on a shared culture of pluralism, education, enterprise, and innovation, and have benefited the people of both countries.

Building on the transformation in India-U.S. relations over the past decade, the two leaders resolved to intensify cooperation between their nations to promote a secure and stable world; advance technology and innovation; expand mutual prosperity and global economic growth; support sustainable development; and exercise global leadership in support of economic development, open government and democratic values.

The two leaders reaffirmed that India-U.S. strategic partnership is indispensable not only for their two countries but also for global stability and prosperity in the 21st century. To that end, President Obama welcomed India's emergence as a major regional and global power and affirmed his country's interest in India's rise, its economic prosperity, and its security.

**A global strategic partnership for the 21st century**

Prime Minister Singh and President Obama called for an efficient, effective, credible and legitimate United Nations to ensure a just and sustainable international order. Prime Minister Singh welcomed President Obama's affirmation that, in the years ahead, the United States looks forward to a reformed UN Security Council that includes India as a permanent member. The two leaders reaffirmed that all nations, especially those that seek to lead in the 21st century, bear responsibility to ensure that the United Nations fulfills its founding ideals of preserving peace and security, promoting global cooperation, and advancing human rights.

Prime Minister Singh and President Obama reiterated that India and the United States, as global leaders, will partner for global security, especially as India serves on the Security Council over the next two years. The leaders agreed that their

delegations in New York will intensify their engagement and work together to ensure that the Council continues to effectively play the role envisioned for it in the United Nations Charter. Both leaders underscored that all states have an obligation to comply with and implement UN Security Council Resolutions, including UN sanctions regimes. They also agreed to hold regular consultations on UN matters, including on the long-term sustainability of UN peacekeeping operations. As the two largest democracies, both countries also reaffirmed their strong commitment to the UN Democracy Fund.

The two leaders have a shared vision for peace, stability and prosperity in Asia, the Indian Ocean region and the Pacific region and committed to work together, and with others in the region, for the evolution of an open, balanced and inclusive architecture in the region. In this context, the leaders reaffirmed their support for the East Asia Summit and committed to regular consultations in this regard. The United States welcomes, in particular, India's leadership in expanding prosperity and security across the region. The two leaders agreed to deepen existing regular strategic consultations on developments in East Asia, and decided to expand and intensify their strategic consultations to cover regional and global issues of mutual interest, including Central and West Asia.

The two sides committed to intensify consultation, cooperation and coordination to promote a stable, democratic, prosperous, and independent Afghanistan. President Obama appreciated India's enormous contribution to Afghanistan's development and welcomed enhanced Indian assistance that will help Afghanistan achieve self-sufficiency. In addition to their own independent assistance programs in Afghanistan, the two sides resolved to pursue joint development projects with the Afghan Government in capacity building, agriculture and women's empowerment.

They reiterated that success in Afghanistan and regional and global security require elimination of safe havens and infrastructure for terrorism and violent extremism in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Condemning terrorism in all its forms, the two sides agreed that all terrorist networks, including Lashkar e-Taiba, must be defeated and called for Pakistan to bring to justice the perpetrators of the November 2008 Mumbai attacks. Building upon the Counter Terrorism Initiative signed in July 2010, the two leaders announced a new Homeland Security Dialogue between the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Department of Homeland Security and agreed to further deepen operational cooperation, counter-terrorism technology transfers and capacity building. The two leaders also emphasized the importance of close cooperation in combating terrorist financing and in protecting the international financial system.

In an increasingly inter-dependent world, the stability of, and access to, the air, sea, space, and cyberspace domains is vital for the security and economic prosperity of nations. Acknowledging their commitment to openness and responsible international conduct, and on the basis of their shared values, India and the United States have launched a dialogue to explore ways to work together, as well as with other countries, to develop a shared vision for these critical domains to promote peace, security and development. The leaders reaffirmed the importance of maritime security, unimpeded commerce, and freedom of navigation, in accordance with relevant universally agreed principles of international law, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, and peaceful settlement of maritime disputes.

The transformation in India-U.S. defense cooperation in recent years has strengthened mutual understanding on regional peace and stability, enhanced both countries' respective capacities to meet humanitarian and other challenges such as terrorism and piracy, and contributed to the development of the strategic partnership between India and the United States. The two Governments resolved to further strengthen defense cooperation, including through security dialogue, exercises, and promoting trade and collaboration in defense equipment and technology. President Obama welcomed India's decision to purchase U.S. high-technology defense items, which reflects our strengthening bilateral defence relations and will contribute to creating jobs in the United States.

The two leaders affirmed that their countries' common ideals, complementary strengths and a shared commitment to a world without nuclear weapons give them a responsibility to forge a strong partnership to lead global efforts for non-proliferation and universal and non-discriminatory global nuclear disarmament in the 21st century. They affirmed the need for a meaningful dialogue among all states possessing nuclear weapons to build trust and confidence and for reducing the salience of nuclear weapons in international affairs and security doctrines. They support strengthening the six decade-old international norm of non-use of nuclear weapons. They expressed a commitment to strengthen international cooperative activities that will reduce the risk of terrorists acquiring nuclear weapons or material without reducing the rights of nations that play by the rules to harness the power of nuclear energy to advance their energy security. The leaders reaffirmed their shared dedication to work together to realize the commitments outlined at the April 2010 Nuclear Security Summit to achieve the goal of securing vulnerable nuclear materials in the next four years. Both sides expressed deep concern regarding illicit nuclear trafficking and smuggling and resolved to strengthen international cooperative efforts to address these threats through the IAEA, Interpol and in the context of the Nuclear Security Summit Communiqué and Action Plan. The two

sides welcomed the Memorandum of Understanding for cooperation in the Global Centre for Nuclear Energy Partnership being established by India.

Both sides expressed deep concern about the threat of biological terrorism and pledged to promote international efforts to ensure the safety and security of biological agents and toxins. They stressed the need to achieve full implementation of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and expressed the hope for a successful BWC Review Conference in 2011. The United States welcomed India's destruction of its chemical weapons stockpile in accordance with the provisions of the Chemical Weapons Convention. Both countries affirmed their shared commitment to promoting the full and effective implementation of the CWC.

The two leaders expressed regret at the delay in starting negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament for a multilateral, non-discriminatory and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the future production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

India reaffirmed its unilateral and voluntary moratorium on nuclear explosive testing. The United States reaffirmed its testing moratorium and its commitment to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and bring it into force at an early date.

The leaders reaffirmed their commitment to diplomacy to resolve the Iranian nuclear issue, and discussed the need for Iran to take constructive and immediate steps to meet its obligations to the IAEA and the UN Security Council.

### **Technology, innovation, and energy**

Recognizing that India and the United States should play a leadership role in promoting global nonproliferation objectives and their desire to expand high technology cooperation and trade, Prime Minister Singh and President Obama committed to work together to strengthen the global export control framework and further transform bilateral export control regulations and policies to realise the full potential of the strategic partnership between the two countries.

Accordingly, the two leaders decided to take mutual steps to expand U.S.-India cooperation in civil space, defense, and other high-technology sectors. Commensurate with India's nonproliferation record and commitment to abide by multilateral export control standards, these steps include the United States removing Indian entities from the U.S. Department of Commerce's "Entity List" and realignment of India in U.S. export control regulations.

In addition, the United States intends to support India's full membership in the four multilateral export control regimes (Nuclear Suppliers Group, Missile Technology Control Regime, Australia Group, and Wassenaar Arrangement) in a phased manner, and to consult with regime members to encourage the evolution of regime membership criteria, consistent with maintaining the core principles of these regimes, as the Government of India takes steps towards the full adoption of the regimes' export control requirements to reflect its prospective membership, with both processes moving forward together. In the view of the United States, India should qualify for membership in the Australia Group and the Wassenaar Arrangement according to existing requirements once it imposes export controls over all items on these regimes' control lists.

Both leaders reaffirmed the assurances provided in the letters exchanged in September 2004 and the End-Use Visit Arrangement, and determined that the two governments had reached an understanding to implement these initiatives consistent with their respective national export control laws and policies. The Prime Minister and President committed to a strengthened and expanded dialogue on export control issues, through fora such as the U.S.-India High Technology Cooperation Group, on aspects of capacity building, sharing of best practices, and outreach with industry.

The possibility of cooperation between the two nations in space, to advance scientific knowledge and human welfare, are without boundaries and limits. They commended their space scientists for launching new initiatives in climate and weather forecasting for agriculture, navigation, resource mapping, research and development, and capacity building. They agreed to continuing discussions on and seek ways to collaborate on future lunar missions, international space station, human space flight and data sharing, and to reconvene the Civil Space Joint Working Group in early 2011. They highlighted the just concluded Implementing Arrangement for enhanced monsoon forecasting that will begin to transmit detailed forecasts to farmers beginning with the 2011 monsoon rainy season as an important example of bilateral scientific cooperation advancing economic development, agriculture and food security.

The two leaders welcomed the completion of steps by the two governments for implementation of the India-U.S. civil nuclear agreement. They reiterated their commitment to build strong India-U.S. civil nuclear energy cooperation through the participation of the U.S. nuclear energy firms in India on the basis of mutually acceptable technical and commercial terms and conditions that enable a viable tariff regime for electricity generated. They noted that both countries had enacted domestic legislations and were also signatories to the Convention on Supplementary Compensation. They further noted that India intends to ratify the Convention on Supplementary Compensation within the coming year and is committed to ensuring

a level playing field for U.S. companies seeking to enter the Indian nuclear energy sector, consistent with India's national and international legal obligations.

India will continue to work with the companies. In this context, they welcomed the commencement of negotiations and dialogue between the Indian operator and U.S. nuclear energy companies, and expressed hope for early commencement of commercial cooperation in the civil nuclear energy sector in India, which will stimulate economic growth and sustainable development and generate employment in both countries.

Just as they have helped develop the knowledge economy, India and the United States resolved to strengthen their partnership in creating the green economy of the future. To this end, both countries have undertaken joint research and deployment of clean energy resources, such as solar, advanced biofuels, shale gas, and smart grids. The two leaders also welcomed the promotion of clean and energy efficient technologies through the bilateral Partnership to Advance Clean Energy (PACE) and expanded cooperation with the private sector. They welcomed the conclusion of a new MoU on assessment and exploration of shale gas and an agreement to establish a Joint Clean Energy Research Center in India as important milestones in their rapidly growing clean energy cooperation.

The leaders discussed the importance of working bilaterally, through the Major Economies Forum (MEF), and in the context of the international climate change negotiations within the framework of the UNFCCC to meet the challenge of climate change. Prime Minister Singh and President Obama reiterated the importance of a positive result for the current climate change negotiations at the forthcoming conference of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Mexico and affirmed their support for the Copenhagen Accord, which should contribute positively to a successful outcome in Cancun. To that end, the leaders welcomed enhanced cooperation in the area of climate adaptation and sustainable land use, and welcomed the new partnership between the United States and India on forestry programs and in weather forecasting.

### **Inclusive growth, mutual prosperity, and economic cooperation**

The two leaders stressed that India and the United States, anchored in democracy and diversity, blessed with enormous enterprise and skill, and endowed with synergies drawn from India's rapid growth and U.S. global economic leadership, have a natural partnership for enhancing mutual prosperity and stimulating global economic recovery and growth. They emphasize innovation not only as a tool for economic growth and global competitiveness, but also for social transformation and empowerment of people.

Prime Minister Singh and President Obama celebrated the recent growth in bilateral trade and investment, characterized by balanced and rapidly growing trade in goods and services. They noted positively that the United States is India's largest trading partner in goods and services, and India is now among the fastest growing sources of foreign direct investment entering the United States. The two leaders agreed on steps to reduce trade barriers and protectionist measures and encourage research and innovation to create jobs and improve livelihoods in their countries.

They also welcomed expanding investment flow in both directions. They noted growing ties between U.S. and Indian firms and called for enhanced investment flows, including in India's infrastructure sector, clean energy, energy efficiency, aviation and transportation, healthcare, food processing sector and education. They welcomed the work of the U.S.-India CEO Forum to expand cooperation between the two countries, including in the areas of clean energy and infrastructure development. They also encouraged enhanced engagement by Indian and American small and medium-sized enterprises as a critical driver of our economic relationship. They looked forward to building on these developments to realize fully the enormous potential for trade and investment between the two countries.

Recognizing the people-to-people dynamic behind trade and investment growth, they called for intensified consultations on social security issues at an appropriate time. The two leaders agreed to facilitate greater movement of professionals, investors and business travelers, students, and exchange visitors between their countries to enhance their economic and technological partnership.

To enhance growth globally, the Prime Minister and President highlighted both nations' interests in an ambitious and balanced conclusion to the WTO's Doha Development Agenda negotiations, and in having their negotiators accelerate and expand the scope of their substantive negotiations bilaterally and with other WTO members to accomplish this as soon as possible. They agreed to work together in the G-20 to make progress on the broad range of issues on its agenda, including by encouraging actions consistent with achieving strong, balanced, and sustainable growth, strengthening financial system regulation, reforming the international financial institutions, enhancing energy security, resisting protectionism in all its forms, reducing barriers to trade and investment, and implementing the development action plans.

Building on the historic legacy of cooperation between the India and the United States during the Green Revolution, the leaders also decided to work together to develop, test, and replicate transformative technologies to extend food security as part of an Evergreen Revolution. Efforts will focus on providing farmers the means

to improve agricultural productivity. Collaboration also will enhance agricultural value chain and strengthen market institutions to reduce post-harvest crop losses.

Affirming the importance of India-U.S. health cooperation, Prime Minister and the President celebrated the signing of an MOU creating a new Global Disease Detection Regional Center in New Delhi, which will facilitate preparedness against threats to health such as pandemic influenza and other dangerous diseases.

Embracing the principles of democracy and opportunity, the leaders recognized that the full future potential of the partnership lies in the hands of the next generation in both countries. To help ensure that all members of that generation enjoy the benefits of higher education, the Prime Minister and the President agreed to convene an India-U.S. Higher Education Summit, chaired by senior officials from both countries in 2011, as part of a continued effort to strengthen educational opportunities. They welcomed the progress made in implementing the Singh-Obama 21st Century Knowledge Initiative that is expanding links between faculties and institutions of the two countries and the expansion in the Nehru-Fulbright Programme for Scholars.

Noting that the ties of kinship and culture are an increasingly important dimension of India-U.S. relations, President Obama welcomed India's decision to hold a Festival of India in Washington DC in 2011. Recognizing the importance of preserving cultural heritage, both governments resolved to initiate discussions on how India and the United States could partner to prevent the illicit trafficking of both countries' rich and unique cultural heritage.

### **A shared international partnership for democracy and development**

Consistent with their commitments to open and responsive government, and harnessing the expertise and experience that the two countries have developed, the leaders launched a U.S.-India Open Government Dialogue that will, through public-private partnerships and use of new technologies and innovations, promote their shared goal of democratizing access to information and energizing civic engagement, support global initiatives in this area and share their expertise with other interested countries. This will build on India's impressive achievements in this area in recent years and the commitments that the President made to advance an open government agenda at the United Nations General Assembly. The President and Prime Minister also pledged to explore cooperation in support of efforts to strengthen elections organization and management in other interested countries, including through sharing their expertise in this area.

Taking advantage of the global nature of their relationship, and recognizing India's vast development experience and historical research strengths, the two leaders pledged to work together, in addition to their independent programmes, to adapt shared innovations and technologies and use their expertise in capacity building to extend food security to interested countries, including in Africa, in consultation with host governments.

Prime Minister Singh and President Obama concluded that their meeting is a historic milestone as they seek to elevate the India-U.S. strategic partnership to a new level for the benefit of their nations and the entire mankind. President Obama thanked President Patil, Prime Minister Singh, and the people of India for their extraordinary warmth and hospitality during his visit. The two leaders looked forward to the next session of the U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue in 2011.

New Delhi,  
November 8, 2010.

**QUOTES FROM HISTORY**



## CONFUCIUS

If your plan is for one year, plant rice. If your plan is for 10 years, plant trees. If your plan is for 100 years, educate children.

He who knows all the answers, has not been asked all the questions.

Life is simple, we complicate it.

It is easy to hate; it is difficult to love.

Better light one candle, than to curse the darkness.

Everything has its beauty; not everyone is able to see it.

One who cannot describe a problem, may not find the solution.

To know and not to do, is not to know.

The man who asks a question is a fool for a minute; one who does not, is a fool for life.

If you make a mistake and do not correct it, this is a mistake.

A gem cannot be polished without friction.

Humility is the foundation of virtues.

Only the wisest and the most stupid, never change.

Act towards others, as if you are receiving a great honoured guest.

The more a man meditates positively, the better will be his world.

A great man is hard on himself; a small man is hard on others.

Choose a job, you like.

It does not matter how slow you go, as long as you do not stop.

When angry, think of the consequences.

To put the world in order, put the nation in order; to put the nation in order, put the family in order; to put the family in order, put your life in order.

## CHANAKYA

There is no friendship without self-interest.

The enemy's enemy, is a friend.

Learn from the mistakes of others.

No one can defeat a powerful mind.

An educated person is respected everywhere.

If you were to choose between an evil person and a snake, choose the snake.

A person should not be too honest; straight trees are cut first.

There two ways to deal with an evil person and thorns. Crush them or stay away from them.

Never share your secret.

Even if a snake is not poisonous, it should pretend to be poisonous.

The fragrance of flowers spreads only in the direction of the wind.

The biggest power is the beauty of a woman.

Even if a gem is placed on the shoe, it will not lose its value.

Never settle for anything less than what you deserve.

Do not inhabit a place where you are not respected.

Money earned by unjust means will perish.

Whoever helps you in illness and misfortune, is your true brother.

Too much of anything is bad.

## MACHIAVELLI

Men never do good, unless necessity drives them to it.

To understand the nature of the people, one must be a prince; to understand the nature of the prince, one must be of the people.

Politics has no relation to morals.

The end justifies the means.

The promise given was a necessity of the past: the word broken is a necessity of the present.

One must be a lion to frighten the wolves.

Never attempt to win by force, what can be won by deception.

It is not titles that honour men but men that honour titles.

Everyone sees what you appear to be, few experience what you really are.

Whosoever desires success, must change with the times.

A prince never lacks legitimate reasons to break his promise.

I am not interested in preserving the status quo; I want to overthrow it.

He who wishes to be obeyed, must know how to command.

A sign of intelligence is an awareness of one's own ignorance.

It is more secure to be feared than to be loved.

A wise man does at once, what the fool does finally.

There is no honey without the bees.

No enterprise is more likely to succeed, than one concealed from the enemy.

**OTHER IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS/SPEECHES**



## THE TREATY OF GRANADA OF 1492

(Signed by Ferdinand and Isabella on 19 November 1492)

The capitulation by the Moors in 1492 contained sixty-seven articles, including the following:

*That both great and small should be perfectly secure in their persons, families, and properties.*

*That they should be allowed to continue in their dwellings and residences, whether in the city, the suburbs, or any other part of the country.*

*That their laws should be preserved as they were before, and that no-one should judge them except by those same laws.*

*That their mosques, and the religious endowments appertaining to them, should remain as they were in the times of Islam.*

*That no Christian should enter the house of a Muslim, or insult him in any way.*

*That all Muslim captives taken during the siege of Granada, from whatever part of the country they might have come, but especially the nobles and chiefs mentioned in the agreement, should be liberated.*

*That such Muslim captives as might have escaped from their Christian masters, and taken refuge in Granada, should not be surrendered; but that the Sultan should be bound to pay the price of such captives to their owners.*

*That all those who might choose to cross over to Africa should be allowed to take their departure within a certain time, and be conveyed thither in the king's ships, and without any pecuniary tax being imposed on them, beyond the mere charge for passage...*

*That after the expiration of that time no Muslim should be hindered from departing, provided he paid, in addition to the price of his passage, the tithe of whatever property he might carry along with him.*

*That no-one should be prosecuted and punished for the crime of another man.*

*That the Christians who had embraced the Mohammadan religion should not be compelled to relinquish it and adopt their former creed.*

*That any Muslim wishing to become a Christian should be allowed some days to consider the step he was about to take; after which he is to be questioned by both a Mohammadan and a Christian judge concerning his intended change, and if, after this examination, he still refused to return to Islam, he should be permitted to follow his own inclination.*

*That no Muslim should be prosecuted for the death of a Christian slain during the siege; and that no restitution of property taken during this war should be enforced.*

*That no Muslim should be subject to have Christian soldiers billeted upon him, or be transported to provinces of this kingdom against his will.*

*That no increase should be made to the usual imposts, but that, on the contrary, all the oppressive taxes lately imposed should be immediately suppressed.*

*That no Christian should be allowed to peep over the wall, or into the house of a Muslim or enter a mosque.*

*That any Muslim choosing to travel or reside among the Christians should be perfectly secure in his person and property.*

*That no badge or distinctive mark be put upon them, as was done with the Jews and Mudejares.*

*That no muezzin should be interrupted in the act of calling the people to prayer, and no Muslim molested either in the performance of his daily devotions or in the observance of his fast, or in any other religious ceremony; but that if a Christian should be found laughing at them he should be punished for it.*

*That the Muslims should be exempted from all taxation for a certain number of years.*

*That the Lord of Rome, the Pope, should be requested to give his assent to the above conditions, and sign the treaty himself.*

(Muslims were no longer the rulers of the country but it was hoped that they would at least be permitted to worship their Lord (Allah) in the manner indicated by their Prophet. These hopes were strengthened when the treaty was ratified by Ferdinand and Isabella. Unfortunately, most of the promises made in the treaty were revoked by Spanish authorities, and the clergy began the management of the Inquisition.)

## AMERICA'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (4 July 1776)

**The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America,** When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, --That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.-- Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the

Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

### **Georgia**

Button Gwinnett  
Lyman Hall  
George Walton

### **North Carolina**

William Hooper  
Joseph Hewes  
John Penn

### **South Carolina**

Edward Rutledge  
Thomas Heyward, Jr.  
Thomas Lynch, Jr.  
Arthur Middleton

### **Massachusetts**

John Hancock

**Maryland**

Samuel Chase  
William Paca  
Thomas Stone  
Charles Carroll of Carrollton

**Virginia**

George Wythe  
Richard Henry Lee  
Thomas Jefferson  
Benjamin Harrison  
Thomas Nelson, Jr.  
Francis Lightfoot Lee  
Carter Braxton

**Pennsylvania**

Robert Morris  
Benjamin Rush  
Benjamin Franklin  
John Morton  
George Clymer  
James Smith  
George Taylor  
James Wilson  
George Ross

**Delaware**

Caesar Rodney  
George Read  
Thomas McKean

**New York**

William Floyd  
Philip Livingston  
Francis Lewis  
Lewis Morris

**New Jersey**

Richard Stockton  
John Witherspoon  
Francis Hopkinson  
John Hart  
Abraham Clark

**New Hampshire**

Josiah Bartlett  
William Whipple

**Massachusetts**

Samuel Adams  
John Adams  
Robert Treat Paine  
Elbridge Gerry

**Rhode Island**

Stephen Hopkins  
William Ellery

**Connecticut**

Roger Sherman  
Samuel Huntington  
William Williams  
Oliver Wolcott

**New Hampshire**

Matthew Thornton

## **MONROE DOCTRINE**

(December 1823)

In his December 2, 1823 address to the Congress, President James Monroe articulated United States' policy on the new political order developing in the rest of the Americas and the role of Europe in the Western Hemisphere. The statement, known as the Monroe Doctrine, was little noted by the Great Powers of Europe, but eventually became a longstanding tenet of U.S. foreign policy. Monroe and his Secretary of State John Quincy Adams drew upon a foundation of American diplomatic ideals such as disentanglement from European affairs and defense of neutral rights as expressed in Washington's Farewell Address and Madison's stated rationale for waging the War of 1812.

The three main concepts of the doctrine—separate spheres of influence for the Americas and Europe, non-colonization, and non-intervention—were designed to signify a clear break between the New World and the autocratic realm of Europe. Monroe's administration forewarned the imperial European powers against interfering in the affairs of the newly independent Latin American states or potential United States territories. While Americans generally objected to European colonies in the New World, they also desired to increase United States influence and trading ties throughout the region to their south. European mercantilism posed the greatest obstacle to economic expansion. In particular, Americans feared that Spain and France might reassert colonialism over the Latin American peoples who had just overthrown European rule. Signs that Russia was expanding its presence southward from Alaska toward the Oregon Territory were also disconcerting.

For their part, the British also had a strong interest in ensuring the demise of Spanish colonialism, with all the trade restrictions mercantilism imposed. Earlier in 1823, British Foreign Minister George Canning suggested to Americans that two nations issue a joint declaration to deter any other power from intervening in Central and South America. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, however, vigorously opposed cooperation with Great Britain, contending that a statement of bilateral nature could limit United States expansion in the future. He also argued that the British were not committed to recognizing the Latin American republics and must have had imperial motivations themselves.

The bilateral statement proposed by the British thereby became a unilateral declaration by the United States. As Monroe stated: "The American continents ... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." Monroe outlined two separate spheres of influence: the Americas and Europe. The independent lands of the Western Hemisphere would be

solely the United States' domain. In exchange, the United States pledged to avoid involvement in the political affairs of Europe, such as the ongoing Greek struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire, and not to interfere in the existing European colonies already in the Americas.

By the mid-1800s, Monroe's declaration, combined with ideas of Manifest Destiny, provided precedent and support for U.S. expansion on the American continent. In the late 1800s, U.S. economic and military power enabled it to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. The doctrine's greatest extension came with Theodore Roosevelt's Corollary, which inverted the original meaning of the doctrine and came to justify unilateral U.S. intervention in Latin America.

## **GETTYSBURG ADDRESS BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

(November 1863)

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.

We are met on a great battlefield of that war.

We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate - we cannot consecrate - we cannot hallow - this ground.

The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract.

The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced.

It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us - that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion - that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain - that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom - and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln - November 19, 1863.

## **WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS**

(1918)

The immediate cause of the United States' entry into World War I in April 1917 was the German announcement of unrestricted submarine warfare and the subsequent sinking of ships with U.S. citizens on board. But President Woodrow Wilson's war aims went beyond the defense of U.S. maritime interests. In his War Message to Congress, President Wilson declared that the U.S. objective was "to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world."

In several speeches earlier in the year, President Wilson sketched out his vision of an end to the war that would bring a "just and secure peace," not merely "a new balance of power." He then appointed a committee of experts known as The Inquiry to help him refine his ideas for peace. In December 1917, he asked The Inquiry to draw up specific recommendations for a comprehensive peace settlement.

Using these recommendations, Wilson presented a program of fourteen points to a joint session of Congress on January 8, 1918. Eight of the fourteen points treated specific territorial issues among the combatant nations. Five of the other six concerned general principles for a peaceful world: open covenants (i.e. treaties or agreements) openly arrived at; freedom of the seas; free trade; reduction of armaments; and adjustment of colonial claims based on the principles of self-determination. The fourteenth point proposed what was to become the League of Nations to guarantee the "political independence and territorial integrity [of] great and small states alike."

## **RECOGNITION OF SOVIET UNION BY THE UNITED STATES**

(1933)

On November 16, 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt ended almost 16 years of American non-recognition of the Soviet Union following a series of negotiations in Washington, D.C. with the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinov.

On December 6, 1917, the U.S. Government broke off diplomatic relations with Russia, shortly after the Bolshevik Party seized power from the Tsarist regime after the “October Revolution.” President Woodrow Wilson decided to withhold recognition at that time because the new Bolshevik government had refused to honor prior debts to the United States incurred by the Tsarist government, ignored pre-existing treaty agreements with other nations, and seized American property in Russia following the October Revolution. The Bolsheviks had also concluded a separate peace with Germany at Brest-Litovsk in March 1918, ending Russian involvement in World War I. Despite extensive commercial links between the United States and the Soviet Union throughout the 1920s, Wilson’s successors upheld his policy of not recognizing the Soviet Union.

Almost immediately upon taking office, however, President Roosevelt moved to establish formal diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. His reasons for doing so were complex, but the decision was based on several primary factors. Roosevelt hoped that recognition of the Soviet Union would serve U.S. strategic interests by limiting Japanese expansionism in Asia, and he believed that full diplomatic recognition would serve American commercial interests in the Soviet Union, a matter of some concern to an Administration grappling with the effects of the Great Depression. Finally, the United States was the only major power that continued to withhold official diplomatic recognition from the Soviet Union.

President Roosevelt decided to approach the Soviets in October 1933 through two personal intermediaries: Henry Morgenthau (then head of the Farm Credit Administration and Acting Secretary of the Treasury) and William C. Bullitt (a former diplomat who, as a Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, was informally serving as one of Roosevelt’s chief foreign policy advisers). The two approached Boris Shvirskey, the Soviet Union’s unofficial representative in Washington, with an unsigned letter from Roosevelt to the Soviet Union’s official head of state, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, Mikhail Kalinin. The letter intimated that the U.S. Government would be willing to negotiate the terms for recognizing the Soviet Union, and requested that Kalinin dispatch an emissary to

Washington. In response, Commissar for Foreign Affairs Litvinov journeyed to Washington in November 1933 in order to begin talks.

Following a series of one-on-one negotiations known as the “Roosevelt-Litvinov Conversations,” Litvinov and the President worked out a “gentleman’s agreement” on November 15, 1933, that overcame the major obstacles blocking recognition. According to the terms of the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreements, the Soviets pledged to participate in future talks to settle their outstanding financial debt to the United States. Four days earlier, after another private meeting with Litvinov, Roosevelt also managed to secure guarantees that the Soviet Government would refrain from interfering in American domestic affairs (i.e. aiding the American Communist Party), and would grant certain religious and legal rights for U.S. citizens living in the Soviet Union. Following the conclusion of these agreements, President Roosevelt appointed William C. Bullitt as the first U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
AFTER ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOUR**  
(December 8, 1941)

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, members of the Senate and the House of Representatives:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941 - a date which will live in infamy - the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation, and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American island of Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And, while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition, American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

And this morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has therefore undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of

the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense, that always will our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people, in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory.

I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph. So help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

Franklin D. Roosevelt  
December 8, 1941.

**ADDRESS BY QUAID-I-AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, FOUNDER  
OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN, AT THE FIRST SESSION  
OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN**

(Karachi, 11 August 1947)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me -- the greatest honour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer -- by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and [thank them for] their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world.

The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future Constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent.

As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regard to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasize is this: remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body and you have got all the powers. It therefore places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions.

You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State. The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering -- I do not say that other countries are free from

it, but I think our condition is much worse -- is bribery and corruption. We must put this down with an iron hand....

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. You must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other in minority. The question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done.

A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it; but in my judgement there was no other solution, and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more, it will be proved by actual experience as we go on; that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a united India could never have worked, and in my judgement it would have led us to a terrible disaster. Maybe that view is correct; maybe it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other....Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor.

If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste, or creed, is first, second, and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit, and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community -- because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khatris, also Bengalees, Madrasis and so on -- will vanish. Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence, and but for this we would have been free people long long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls, in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it

had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time, but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this.

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed -- that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class.....I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State....

My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.

I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads: "I have the honour to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States:

*'On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to the members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake. '*"

## PRIME MINISTER NEHRU'S SPEECH OF 14 AUGUST 1947

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her success and her failures.....Freedom and power bring responsibility. The responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfill the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make an appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.....It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materializes. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed! We rejoice in

that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people.

On this day our first thoughts go to the architect of this freedom, the Father of our Nation [Gandhi], who, embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted up the darkness that surrounded us. We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message, but not only we but succeeding generations will remember this message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humility. We shall never allow that torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest. Our next thoughts must be of the unknown volunteers and soldiers of freedom who, without praise or reward, have served India even unto death.....The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India; to fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease; to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

We have hard work ahead. There is no resting for any one of us till we redeem our pledge in full, till we make all the people of India what destiny intended them to be. We are citizens of a great country on the verge of bold advance, and we have to live up to that high standard. All of us, to whatever religion we may belong, are equally the children of India with equal rights, privileges and obligations. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action.....

## **MAO ZEDONG DECLARES A NEW NATION (1949)**

The people throughout China have been plunged into bitter suffering and tribulations since the Jiang Jieshi Kuomintang reactionary government betrayed the fatherland, colluded with imperialists and launched the counter-revolutionary war.

Fortunately our People's Liberation Army, backed by the whole nation, has been fighting heroically and selflessly to defend the territorial sovereignty of our homeland, to protect the people's lives and property, to relieve the people of their sufferings, and to struggle for their rights, and it eventually wiped out the reactionary troops and overthrew the reactionary rule of the Nationalist government.

Now, the People's War of Liberation has been basically won and the majority of the people in the country have been liberated. On this foundation, the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference , composed of delegates of all the democratic parties and people's organisations of China, the People's Liberation Army, the various regions and nationalities of the country, and the overseas Chinese and other patriotic elements, has been convened.

Representing the will of the whole nation [this session of the conference] has enacted the organic law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, elected Mao Zedong as chairman of the Central People's Government; and Zhu De, Lui Shaoqi, Song Qingling, Li Jishen, Zhang Lan, and Gao Gang as vice chairmen [of the Central People's Government]... It has proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China and decided on Beijing as the capital of the People's Republic of China.

The Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China took office today in the capital and unanimously made the following decisions:

1. To proclaim the establishment of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.
2. To adopt the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as the policy of the government
3. To elect Lin Boqu from among the council members as secretary general of the Central People's Government Council.
4. To appoint Zhou Enlai as premier of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government and concurrently minister of Foreign Affairs, Mao

Zedong as chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central People's Government, Zhu De as commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Army... and to charge them with the task of the speedy formation of the various organs of the government to carry out the work of the government.

At the same time, the Central People's Government Council decided to declare to the governments of all other countries that this government is the sole legal government representing all the people of the People's Republic of China. This government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with any foreign government that is willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty.

**SPEECH BY PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO AT THE PAKISTAN ISLAMIC COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, KARACHI**  
(13 June 1965)

An essential feature of the foreign policy of Pakistan is its marked emphasis on the extensive civilization of Islam as a force of emancipation and progress. The nature of this emphasis has passed through its own variations from the earlier days of Islam in this subcontinent. The quality of belief and the intensity of intellectual and spiritual pre-occupation with its objectives, however, have not been impaired by the passage of time.

At the centre of the Islamic world, stability and security had given rise to an attitude of mind akin to unconcern. On the contrary, the frontier regions which had to struggle against hostile forces never ceased to manifest an intense loyalty to the unity of Islam.

The Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent which formed part of the zone of confrontation were always dedicated to the concept of a central Islamic authority. Even though the Caliphate had, since the middle of the tenth century, lost all effective power, it was remarkable that there remained a solitary corner of the Islamic world which still looked towards the centre, passionately striving to restore its pristine image and authority. To further this end and to preserve the unity of the Ummat, mighty rulers of Hindustan like Mahmud of Ghazni, Iltutmash and Balban sought, with utmost humility, the approval of the Caliphate of their rule over kingdoms which they had carved out by themselves.

Even though the Mughals who came to power in 1526 refused to acknowledge the Turkish Sultan as Caliph, it did not prevent them from taking an active interest in all Islamic and pan-Islamic affairs.

With the decline of Mughal power in the eighteenth century began the era of British ascendancy in India. Politically independent Muslim states on the peripheries of the Islamic world fell one by one before the onslaught of Western powers. The Empire of the Mughals was finally liquidated in 1857. By 1886, Russia had conquered the Caucasus and extended her empire to the frontiers of Iran and Afghanistan, who were themselves the victims of the Anglo-Russian scramble for empires. Malaya, long subjected to European intrigues and infiltration, came within British occupation towards the close of the century.

The Muslims enlisted in the Hijrat Movement with such fervour and such readiness, to undergo the suffering involved in being uprooted from their homes and migrating to other Muslim lands, that the whole of India was amazed at the heroic effort and sacrifice. The force and the momentum behind the Khilafat Movement and the determination of the Muslims to keep it going regardless of the sacrifices involved was such that it influenced to an appreciable degree the British decision to reappraise their plans for breaking up whatever remained of the Turkish Empire. However, it was at this stage, after 1922, that the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his companions, finding a resuscitated Caliphate incompatible with their political ideas, first equated the Caliphate with 'spiritual', as opposed to 'temporal', power and then finally abolished the institution altogether.

With the abolition of the Caliphate, pan-Islamism changed from an active to a dormant force. Although it was revived from time to time, in essence it lost its compelling appeal to the leaders of Islamic political thought.

While Turkey was in the grip of a radical upsurge under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk, the Muslims of the sub-continent had already embarked on a painful process of self-analysis and introspection to restate and redefine the political philosophy and values of Islam in the face of the Western challenge. The lingering feeling of pride in their past achievements was given a coherent expression by the leaders of Muslim thought in the sub-continent.

Among the first to reinterpret Islamic doctrine was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1812-98). His thesis was that Islam and modern thought, in the ultimate analysis, were not mutually exclusive. He founded at Aligarh in 1875 a college in which religious education was combined with the study of modern science. He was the first in the Muslim world to establish a modernist institution in Islam. Among the several writers who popularised new liberal thought and ethics, the leading figure was Sir Amir Ali, a distinguished jurist. His book, the "Spirit of Islam", published in 1891, furnished the awakening political consciousness of Muslims with a reasoned basis for their self-esteem which they needed in order to confront the Western world. The most eminent service performed by Syed Amir Ali in the cause of Islam was the subtle reformulation of Islamic doctrine in terms of Western thought. He presented the teachings of Islam in the light of contemporary social ideals.

### Philosophy of Iqbal

The argument that in taking over modern western learning and science Muslims were only reverting to the heritage of their own civilization was persuasively stated by Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938), an exponent of the most sweeping reformulation of Islamic doctrine in many centuries. His activist philosophy exerted

a powerful influence on the younger generation of Muslims and contributed to the rise of Pakistan as a Muslim State in 1947.

Iqbal's ideas were seized upon by several militant movements to propel themselves onto the road of power—the Ikhwan in the Arab world, the Khaksars in the sub-continent,.... and Darul Islam in Indonesia. In fact, the ideas of Iqbal have exerted a great deal of influence on modern Islam, whose renaissance has been more ebullient than thoughtful; and indeed, it has been aimed more at recapturing the vitality than at redefining the content of the faith.

The post-Caliphate era of Islam, therefore, saw the resurgence of a new movement for activation of the Islamic spirit on the one hand, while, on the other, significant steps were taken to come to terms with the social, political and scientific requirements of the contemporary world. It was in this period of time that Pakistan was conceived and won to provide the Muslims of the sub-continent with a separate homeland in which they might pursue their own destiny. Conceived as a political expression of an ideological dedication of a hundred million Muslims, Pakistan came to manifest a deep interest and real concern in the welfare of all Muslims and in their struggle for freedom and emancipation.

### Zionism

It was as early as the time of the Khilafat Movement that the Muslims of the sub-continent became deeply concerned about Zionist ambitions with regard to the Holy Land. Meetings and demonstrations were held throughout undivided India, denouncing Zionist intrigues and the British policy of turning Palestine, an Arab territory and a land holy to Muslims, into a home for the Jews from all over the world. The support unstintedly extended to the cause of the Palestine Arabs was not entirely lost on the British Government.

When the flow of Jewish immigrants into Palestine became a flood after Hitler's rise to power in Germany, a revolt broke out in Palestine. In the sub-continent, the Muslim League under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam denounced expropriation of the indigenous population of Palestine by Alien immigrants and called upon the British Government to stop further Jewish immigration and to permit the Arabs to exercise their full political rights. The British Government appointed a Royal Commission to study the tangled situation and to recommend possible solutions for the Palestine problem. The recommendations of the Royal Commission were shelved because of the outbreak of the Second World War.

When Pakistan emerged as an independent State in August 1947, the Palestine situation was nearing the explosion point. Illegal and organised immigration had

swelled the Jewish population of Palestine to one-third of the total. The Jewish settlers, heavily armed with modern weapons, were ready for war. Powerful political pressures were being exercised by the Zionist Movement in the United States and other Western countries and in the U. N. to open Palestine to unlimited Jewish immigration and for the immediate establishment of a sovereign Jewish state.

### Pakistan and the Palestine Question

The Palestine problem thus became the first to engage the deep concern of the newly independent State of Pakistan. The position taken by the Muslim League under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam was that the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate of the League of Nations with regard to Palestine, against the declared wishes of the people of Palestine and in violation of the pre-existing legal obligations of the British Government which had pledged independence to the Arabs, were null and void and that the proposal to partition Palestine and to create in it a state for aliens, in the teeth of opposition from the majority of the indigenous population, was a violation of International Law and contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

One of the first acts of the Founder of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam, in his capacity as Governor-General, was to address a forceful letter to President Truman to desist from the “monstrous” attempt to deprive the Arabs of their country which had been their homeland for two thousand years. When the Palestine question was referred to the General Assembly of the U. N., Sir Zafrullah Khan declared that the Pakistan Delegation was utterly and uncompromisingly opposed to the partition. Explaining that the scheme of partition as proposed was unfair and impractical and if implemented would lead to strife within Palestine. Pakistan urged that the juridical questions involved should be referred to the International Court of Justice. Sir Zafrullah Khan said that Pakistan deeply sympathized with the Jews in the misfortunes they had suffered in Europe, but the right solution of the problem was that the Jewish refugees should be re-integrated in the countries to which they belonged. Should this not be possible, Zafrullah Khan pleaded that they should be offered facilities for settlement in the larger, newer countries which had more space and greater resources than tiny Palestine.

The supporters of the partition scheme, however, were determined to carry it through, at all costs. Great Powers resorted to tactics of naked coercion and duress against the smaller Member States of the United Nations to procure the necessary two-thirds majority for the adoption of a resolution of the General Assembly in November 1947, recommending the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state.

Pakistan has remained unswervingly and resolutely opposed to "Israel" which was proclaimed in May, 1948. It has refused to recognize this state or to have any relations with it. Pakistan continued to take an active interest in all subsequent developments resulting from the United Nations' scheme of partition and to sponsor resolutions on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine year after year since 1948. Invariably, Pakistan has remained in the forefront of those defending the principles of justice and international law so cynically violated by the majority of United Nations members in planting an alien state in the heart of the Arab world.

Only recently when the veil of secrecy which had shrouded the German-Israel agreement of 1960 for the supply of war materials to Israel was removed, the strong reaction of the Arab countries, whose security had thereby been jeopardized, was fully appreciated in Pakistan. Despite its friendship with West Germany, Pakistan's sympathy was with the Arabs.

Pakistan's stand on the Palestine question is an excellent example of its dedication to the struggle against Colonial and Imperialist domination.

The consistency with which Pakistan has maintained its support for the cause of the Muslims of Palestine points to an underlying conviction that its destiny is closely linked with the establishment of a world community on the basis of equality, justice and fraternity, in consonance with the Islamic concept of a world order. Its complete unconcern for racial or geographical factors in relation to the people of Palestine highlights the tradition of Islamic brotherhood. The intensity with which Pakistan continues to voice its opposition to alien domination over the homeland of Palestinian Arabs exemplifies the Islamic spirit which enjoins perpetual struggle against injustice. There are other important characteristics of Islam whose relevance to our contemporary times has been confirmed by no less an authority than Arnold Toynbee, and I quote from his "Civilization on Trial":

The forces of racial toleration, which at present seem to be fighting a losing battle in a spiritual struggle of immense importance to mankind, might still regain the upper hand if any strong influence militating against race consciousness that has hitherto been held in reserve were now to be thrown into the scales. It is conceivable that the spirit of Islam might be the timely reinforcement which would decide this issue in favour of tolerance and peace.

Historians have unanimously acclaimed the spirit of equality and brotherhood practised in the civilization of Islam. The manifestation of this historic virtue of Islam is a vital need in the world of today, divided as it is by differences of race, colour and diversity of political, economic and social institutions.

It is not only the doctrine of Islam nor only its historic association with the struggle of mankind against tyranny and oppression that inspires the leadership of Islamic countries today to identify itself with the movement for the liquidation of all types of foreign domination. It must also be remembered that Islam itself has suffered most from the onslaught of alien domination. Right from the Middle Ages starting with the Crusades, the lands of Islam have faced successive invasions from the citadels of imperialism and colonialism. From Morocco to Indonesia, the heart and soul of Islam has suffered from the colonial domination of every colonial power in Europe. The British, the French, the Germans, the Dutch and the Portuguese have held sway over one or the other part of the Islamic world.

In the case of Islam, its experience of colonialism in all its manifestations has been an enduring phenomenon with all its attendant humiliations, indignities and sufferings. It was a case of a live and dynamic civilization stifled by oppression and systematically dismembered limb by limb. Its anguish was not even relieved by any opiate of unconsciousness. Compared to the endless humiliation, subjugation and exploitation suffered by the world of Islam, even the awareness of a Washington or a Lenin of the inequities and dangers of imperialism and colonialism appear somewhat academic.

Islam as a force was concerned in the struggle for equality and justice. It is only in the fitness of things that having suffered extensively under the combined hegemonies of Imperialism and Colonialism, it should now reflect in the hour of its emancipation an even greater dedication to the cause of human liberty, justice and equality.

The opposition to imperialism and colonialism of other forces is at best founded on a doctrinaire conviction and an apprehension; but to Islam, this is not only a creed—a part of the religion itself—but is its natural role as a force, perhaps the only force which has managed to survive the combined onslaught of extensive imperialist and colonialist domination of such protraction. Thus, Islam is committed historically, morally and politically to be in the vanguard of the struggle against the forces of domination and exploitation.

### Other Anti-Colonial Causes

Pakistan has viewed the emancipation of Muslim peoples as an essential prerequisite for the revival of Islamic values. I have described Pakistan's support for the just cause of Palestinian Muslims. Permit me to make brief mention of some of the other instances in which Pakistan has extended its unflinching support for the struggle of Muslim peoples to regain their freedom and to restore their dignity so that they may play their rightful role in the quest of mankind for a better world.

The question of the future of former Italian Colonies of Libya, Italian Somaliland and Eritrea was considered by the General Assembly of the United Nations during its Third Session,' in 1949. The First Committee of the General Assembly recommended a solution identical with that previously agreed upon between the three occupying powers—Britain, France and Italy—in the Bevin-Sforza Agreement. This solution envisaged a united independent Libya after ten years; in the interim, the territory was to be divided in Trusteeship between the three Powers.

Pakistan unreservedly espoused the cause of the people of these former colonies. Our then Foreign Minister, Choudhry Zafrulla Khan, vehemently opposed the trusteeship sought to be given to former colonial powers and urged that independence be given to a united Libya, comprising Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and the Fezzan. If it was considered that immediate independence was not feasible, we argued, Libya should be placed under the direct administration of the Trusteeship Council itself to prepare her for independence in the shortest possible time.

This stand of Pakistan in opposition to the Western Powers was vindicated when the General Assembly decided in November, 1949, that a united Libya should become independent by January, 1952. The General Assembly appointed a U. N. Commission to assist in the transition to independence. Pakistan was elected a member of this Commission and it played an active part in bringing the country into the family of free nations. Libya was admitted to membership of the United Nations on December 14, 1955.

As regards Italian Somaliland, Pakistan put forward a radical solution, suggesting the amalgamation of all Somali areas—namely those formerly under Italian or British rule and those still under French rule—to form an independent greater Somalia. The stand taken by Pakistan resulted in the supersession of the original Western proposal.

The General Assembly decided that Italian Somaliland consisting of the former British and Italian areas be placed under U. N. Trusteeship for a period of ten years, after which they were to become united and independent. Somalia was admitted to the United Nations on September 20, 1960.

### Tunisia and Morocco

The freedom movements of the three countries of the Maghreb evoked a deep sense of sympathy in Pakistan. Maghreb leaders—Habib Bourguiba, Allal-Fassi, Mohammad Yazid and others—visited Pakistan and were enthusiastically received. For its part, the Government of Pakistan gave all possible support to the aspirations of the people of North Africa for the restoration of their full sovereignty and

independence. On all the three questions, namely of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, Pakistan played a leading role, and was therefore frequently chosen by the Asian-African nations as their spokesman in the United Nations.

Pakistan was a member of the Security Council (and its representative, Ahmed Shah Bokhari, was its President for that month) when in April 1953, the Tunisian Government complained to the United Nations and requested the Security Council to consider the grave situation that had arisen as a result of French suppression. While the Tunisian question had been placed on the provisional agenda of the Council, its formal adoption was strongly opposed by France on the ground that as Tunisia was a French protectorate, Franco-Tunisian relations were a matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a member State and was as such outside the competence of the United Nations by virtue of Article 2, paragraph (7) of its Charter. After the unfortunate decision Prof. Bokhari told the Council meeting:

Today, 10 April, 1953, will go down in the history of the United Nations as the day on which the foundations were laid for the suppression of free discussion in the United Nations. This would be the first instance in the history of the United Nations in which the mere adoption of an agenda item was opposed so stoutly in the Council, and to the death. This will also go down in the history of the United Nations as the day of very great and lamentable reversals of policy.

Frustrated in the Security Council, the Asian-African nations brought the matter before the General Assembly in 1953. A resolution introduced by Pakistan called for the restoration of civil liberties in Tunisia and for negotiations with a view to enabling the Tunisian people to exercise their right of self-determination. The resolution was supported by most of the African-Asian States, but in spite of their determined effort, a combination of forces opposed to the resolution, prevented its adoption.

Pakistan continued to take a deep interest in the restoration of full sovereign rights of the Tunisian people until this goal was achieved in 1956.

The question of Morocco was analogous to that of Tunisia. Under the Treaty of Fez of 1912, the Sultan of Morocco had been coerced into ceding to France its sovereign right to conduct the foreign relations of Morocco. Invoking the provisions of this Treaty, France maintained that the United Nations was debarred under Article 2(7) of the Charter relating to domestic jurisdiction, from considering the Moroccan question which had been inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly in 1952, at the instance of certain African-Asian States, Pakistan being one of them.

In 1953, the African-Asian States at the United Nations requested the President of the Security Council to call an urgent meeting to consider the Moroccan situation when Sultan Mohammed V was deposed and imprisoned by the French Government. Despite every effort by Pakistan and Lebanon, which were members of the Council at that time, the item was not inscribed on the Council's agenda.

In the General Assembly Session, later that year, Choudhry Zafrullah Khan again pleaded the cause of Morocco and denounced the imposition by imperialist powers on smaller and weaker states of unequal treaties such as the Treaty of Fez. Thirteen African-Asian nations sponsored a draft resolution recommending that martial law be terminated and civil liberties resorted in Morocco and that steps be taken to make the independence of Morocco possible within five years. This proposal could not secure the necessary majority in the face of a strong opposition.

Pakistan was again one of the fourteen African-Asian States which requested the inclusion of the Moroccan question on the agenda of the ninth session of the General Assembly in 1954. The consideration of the item was, however, postponed in view of the impending negotiations between France and Morocco.

Morocco attained independence in 1956. The realization of Moroccan aspirations was in no small measure due to the strong public opinion generated by the espousal of the Moroccan cause by the Asian-African members of the United Nations.

### Algeria

Towards the end of 1954, the Algerian people rose in armed insurrection against French colonial rule. The following year, Pakistan, along with some of the African-Asian States, decided in the Bandung Conference to support the Algerian struggle for independence and demanded the consideration of the Algerian question by the General Assembly, at its tenth Session in 1955. France again challenged the competence of the United Nations to discuss the question, invoking paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter—the argument of domestic jurisdiction. The leader of the Pakistan Delegation, the late Mr. Mohammad Ali Bogra, in refuting this contention, said:

For over a hundred years the rulers of Algeria have pursued a policy of assimilation to make the native population French in feeling, living and thinking, to fit them into the procrustean bed of French civilization and way of life for the greater glory and power of France. But the people of Algeria have stubbornly resisted this Policy of assimilation and integration and remained adamantly Algerian, apart in language, religion, culture and way of life from their self-constituted benefactors. Why? Although Algeria is claimed to be as much a part and parcel of France as Brittany or

Savoy, yet there is no equality of status between the Algerian and the other departments of France.

There is no equality in the rights of franchise, to political representation, or to participation in the Government of the French Republic. The constitutional and judicial situation in Algeria, in law as well as in fact, rests on the principle of national and racial discrimination applied to all fields of life. Therefore, though France claims that Algerians are French citizens under her law, they remain French subjects in practice.

In the following year, Pakistan co-sponsored a draft resolution recognizing the right of the people of Algeria to self-determination and inviting France and the Algerian people to enter into immediate negotiations for a cessation of hostilities and bringing about a peaceful settlement in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

The resolution of the Asian-African countries was not adopted.

When I led the Pakistan Delegation to the General Assembly in 1959, Pakistan extended not only its fullest support, but it also took initiative in sponsoring draft resolutions acceptable to the representatives of the Algerian National Liberation Front. That year, Pakistan was unanimously requested by the Asian-African group to be the sole sponsor and mover of a draft resolution on behalf of the Group calling for recognition of Algeria's right of self-determination and independence and negotiations between the Government of France and the representatives of the FLN for a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question in accordance with the purpose and principles of the Charter.

Speaking before the U. N. General Assembly again in 1960, I pointed out that Algeria was a "strife-torn land where the blood of patriots still flows in their tight for freedom." I went on to declare that, and I quote:

The sympathies of the people of Pakistan are with the valiant sons of Algeria; fighting heroically for their freedom. At a time when so many countries on the continent of Africa are taking their place in this Assembly, it is with great sorrow that we note the absence of Algeria. In August, 1961, Pakistan took the bold step of acceding formal recognition to the provisional Government of Algeria. This action was hailed not only by Algeria but by all African people. We took this step despite the risk of alienating French support in the Security Council for the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

I must here pay rich tribute to President de Gaulle. As a great Statesman, he understood that our action was prompted by our respect for the principle of self-determination and not by any towards France. a country with which Pakistan has maintained warm and cordial relations.

Later, in December 1961, Pakistan moved on behalf of 34 other states, a resolution in the General Assembly of the United Nations, urging the French Government to bring about an immediate termination of hunger strikes by Algerian prisoners in France and to redress their grievances. This resolution was adopted by the General Assembly. The hunger strikes ended and an atmosphere more conducive to a Franco-Algerian settlement was created. Finally, President de Gaulle conceded independence to Algeria and also set in motion a gigantic process of decolonization in Africa as a result- of which all her African territories emerged as sovereign independent states and were admitted as members of the United Nations. This was a magnificent manifestation of the highest traditions of French liberalism.

### Pakistan-The UAR

Let me now turn to our relations with the Arab countries of the Middle East.

Among them the United Arab Republic occupies a position of pivotal importance not only by reasons of its size strategic position and cultural leadership, but also because of the radical changes in its international status as well as in its internal life brought by the Nasser revolution. The UAR plays a pre-eminent role in the affairs of the Arab world. For this reason and also because of its Islamic orientation, Pakistan has always placed the highest emphasis on the promotion of fraternal relations with that country.

It is a matter of profound regret to us that from time to time. Pakistan-UAR relations have been subject to certain stresses and strains.

Pakistan had extended its support to the Egyptian struggle against imperialism. It had backed the Egyptian demand for the evacuation of British occupation forces from the Suez Canal Zone and for the negotiation of a new settlement over the problem of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Pakistan was instrumental in promoting the resumption of negotiations between Egypt and the United Kingdom which had reached a deadlock.

President Nasser chose non-alignment between the two power blocks as the basis of his foreign policy. Pakistan on the other hand, concluded an agreement with the United States for military aid in 1954 and joined SEATO later that year in the quest for security from the threat of Indian aggression. A year later, Iraq under the regime

of Nuri-as-Said, concluded the Baghdad Pact with Turkey for co-operation in defence, to which Iran and Pakistan acceded a few months later.

This development gave umbrage to Egypt which regarded the Baghdad Pact as a move to sow disunity and division in the Arab world and portending a renewed threat from imperialism because of British membership of and American support to that Pact. Fears were expressed in the Arab world that Pakistan's policy of support for the Arabs of Palestine in particular, and Arab liberation movements in general, would no longer be sustained.

Pakistan soon demonstrated that these fears were unfounded. Membership of the Baghdad Pact and SEATO did not inhibit Pakistan in pursuing its traditional policy of lending support to Arab aspirations for full sovereignty, dignity and unity, and to the struggle of the people of Asia and Africa against imperialism and colonialism. In fact, Pakistan used the forum provided by these Pacts to promote the causes of fraternal countries.

In July, the Suez crisis was precipitated by the reversal of the United States offer to finance construction of the Aswan Dam. President Nasser reacted by nationalizing the Suez Canal Company. Pakistan upheld the right of Egypt as a sovereign state to nationalize any undertaking within its territorial jurisdiction.

Pakistan's interest in maintaining freedom of navigation through the canal was direct and immediate. At the time of nationalization, 56% of Pakistan's exports and 49 % of its imports passed through that international waterway. Nevertheless, Pakistan publicly stated that nationalization was a justifiable act and directs its diplomacy to dissuading the British Government from resorting to armed action to re-impose international control, or to attempt to overthrow international control, or to attempt to overthrow the Nasser regime.

In the London Conference, which was convened on the initiative of Mr. Dulles to consider the grave situation, Pakistan reaffirmed its position that nationalization of the Suez Canal was in consonance with the sovereign prerogatives of Egypt and that a peaceful solution of the Anglo-French dispute with Egypt should be found through negotiation. The Pakistan Delegation also successfully pressed amendments to substantially modify the Western proposals.

Pakistan was motivated by the need to avert an imminent threat of Anglo-French invasion by keeping open the door to a negotiated settlement with President Nasser and thereby to frustrate the aims of those powers which were determined to serve an ultimatum on him. Pakistan warned against the violation of the Charter of the United Nations or any attempt to dictate terms to President Nasser. It opposed the

proposal to set up a Suez Canal Users Association and suggested that the users might negotiate directly with Egypt. This stand of Pakistan and some other countries eventually prevented the establishment of the Users' Association.

When the Australian Prime Minister Mr. Menzies' negotiations with President Nasser failed, and the tripartite armed aggression took place, the people of Pakistan rose as one man in condemnation of the action of Britain, France and Israel. For weeks, cities and towns in all parts of Pakistan resounded with the denunciation of the three powers, and with expression of sympathy and support for the people of Egypt. In the United Nations, Pakistan was actively associated with every move to bring about a ceasefire, withdrawal of the invading forces, and dispatch of a United Nations Emergency Force.

President Nasser was not entirely satisfied with the role of Pakistan in the first and second London Conference. At the actual moment of Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt, President Nasser believed that Pakistan's support could have been more positive and forthright. This feeling led him to decline to let the Prime Minister of Pakistan visit Egypt or to agree to the inclusion of a Pakistani contingent in the United Nations Emergency Force. Attacks against Pakistan as a Baghdad Pact country were intensified.

With the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq in July, 1958 and the withdrawal of that country from membership of the Baghdad Pact, there was a noticeable improvement in the attitude of the UAR towards Pakistan. With the advent of the revolution in Pakistan in October 1958, and the removal from power of politicians against some, of whom President Nasser nurtured a sense of grievance, the improvement of relations was further accelerated.

The UAR President visited Pakistan in 1960 and had useful discussions with President Ayub Khan. This led to a much better mutual appreciation of the interests and policies of the two countries. The President of Pakistan paid a return visit to the UAR where he was given a warm and enthusiastic reception. His penetrating analysis of the ills of Muslim societies and his call for a progressive outlook and modernistic approach to the problems confronting them, made a deep impression throughout the Middle East.

In 1962 and 1963 there was some retrogression in the relations between the two countries. The UAR objected to the sale of rifles and ammunition by Pakistan to Saudi Arabia under an agreement made in December 1961, on the ground that these arms were being passed on to the royalist forces in Yemen who were fighting against the republican regime and the UAR forces. The sale of arms to Saudi Arabia was a normal government-to-government transaction and the Saudi Government

denied that it was supplying the royalists with Pakistani weapons. Nevertheless, Pakistan stopped the sale of weapons in deference to UAR's sentiments, particularly as it had never been Pakistan's policy to take sides in inter-Arab disputes. In addition to this, Pakistan recognised the new republican regime in Yemen.

It was because of the fund of goodwill that existed in Pakistan towards the UAR that deep regret was felt here over the role of the UAR delegation in the Security Council when the Kashmir dispute was discussed in the first half of 1962. More recently the Indo-UAR Agreement in 1964 for collaboration in the production of supersonic planes has aroused Pakistan's concern, since it would facilitate acquisition by India of greater air offensive capability. Nevertheless, Pakistan continues to seek closer understanding with the United Arab Republic.

The visit by the Pakistan Military delegation led by the Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army, in December, 1954 has achieved success in removing differences between the two countries and in promoting mutual good-will. I have no doubt that the relationship between Pakistan and UAR will become even closer with the forthcoming visit of President Ayub Khan to Cairo (The President visited Cairo from July 14 to 16, 1965). A meeting between two eminent statesmen is always an occasion of great significance. It is our sincere hope that when our President meets President Nasser in Cairo tomorrow, it will herald the beginning of a new era of friendship and understanding between our two countries.

### Other Middle East States

Our cordial relations with Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Yemen and Lebanon have reflected the fraternal warmth that characterizes the sentiments of the peoples of these countries and Pakistan towards one another. Neither changes in government nor vicissitudes of policy have marred the fraternal character of this relationship. While Pakistan has recognised that a non-aligned policy may suit these countries, they have also displayed an understanding of the special problems which had led Pakistan to join the alliances.

Even the most virulent critics have admitted that Pakistan's membership of CENTO has not been aimed against any of the countries of the Middle East, or for that matter any other region, but that it has on the contrary enabled Pakistan to project the Arab view-point from an additional international forum. Iraq's decision to withdraw from the Baghdad Pact in July, 1958 had little effect on the continuance of friendly relations between Pakistan and Iraq, which once again proved that Pakistan's friendship towards the Muslim world transcends transitory considerations.

President Abdus Salam Aref visited Pakistan in April. 1964. He held constructive talks with the President of Pakistan. The joint communiqué issued at the end of this meeting reaffirmed Iraq's support for an early settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity and in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. The wide measure of accord between Iraq and Pakistan was again demonstrated by the support and understanding which President Aref showed towards Pakistan in its current crisis with India.

Saudi Arabia is the guardian of the two Holy Cities of Islam which radiate the deepest spiritual and emotional influence on Muslims throughout the world. So profound was the attachment of the Muslims of this sub-continent to the sacred cities of Mecca and Madina, that the safeguarding of the future of these holy places of Islam during and after the First World War became a passion with them. The famous Khilafat Movement was aimed both at the preservation of the holy places and the Hedjaz from the threat of alien rule as well as at preserving the territorial integrity of the Turkish homelands.

Viewed against this background, it should be obvious that the bonds between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are unbreakable. It is a matter of special satisfaction to Pakistan that it has been able to extend advice and technical assistance to Saudi Arabia in defence and other fields, and that Pakistani doctors, engineers, consultants and workers in the oil industry are making their contribution to the progress of that country.

Jordan, as the custodian of the Masjid-i-Aqsa, has always occupied a place of great affection in the hearts of Muslims of Pakistan and has attracted Pakistani pilgrims by the thousand. Pakistan's relations with Jordan have always been very cordial and a large measure of political co-operation has existed between the two countries. The suggestion of Choudhry Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, while he was Pakistan's Foreign Minister, to convene a conference of Muslim countries at Jerusalem to evolve some positive policy for united action for countering the menace of the State of Israel is a manifestation of the keen interest of Pakistan in the welfare and security of Jordan.

King Hussein paid a State visit to Pakistan in 1955. His second visit to Pakistan together with his consort is eagerly awaited. In the joint Pakistan-Jordan communiqué issued after the Pakistan Prime Minister's visit to Jordan in August 1957, the two countries pledged themselves to cooperate with each other in pursuance of their common policies and interests. In April 1964, the people-to-people delegation led by Mir Waiz Mohammad Yusuf of Kashmir visited Jordan where he was accorded a warm welcome. During their stay in Jordan, the delegation received full support of the Jordanian Government to the right of self-determination

of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. In August, 1964, Pakistan sent a delegation to the celebration marking the completion of repairs to the Masjid-j-Aqsa.

Damascus has been one of the great power centers of the Muslim world. It is a matter of satisfaction to Pakistan that its relations with Syria have always been cordial. When Syria joined the United Arab Republic, Pakistan, consistent with its policy of good-will and sympathy towards the movement for Arab unity, extended its welcome to the Union. Later, when Syria decided to separate, Pakistan took a non-partisan stand but noted with satisfaction that Arab unity remained an important goal of Syrian policy.

Historically, Lebanon has been a meeting place of the empires and civilizations of Asia and Europe. The Lebanese have been a great sea-faring and mercantile people: Their ancestors, the Phoenicians who founded Carthage and are credited with the invention of the alphabet have through the ages demonstrated a remarkable genius for trade and commerce. Contacts between Pakistan and Lebanon have greatly expanded in recent years with the introduction of direct air service. Now the exchange of visits between scholars, businessmen and others will prove mutually beneficial.

Pakistan did not immediately recognize the Revolutionary Government in Yemen in 1963 because of its policy of non-interference in intra-Arab controversies. But since then not only have Pakistan's diplomatic representatives paid visits to that country but also Pakistan has been associated with the U. N. Observation Mission in Yemen. Pakistan has expressed the hope (Since come true. An agreement has been reached where UAR and Saudi Arabia, and the monarchy restored in the Yemen) that peaceful conditions will soon be restored in Yemen and a political settlement acceptable to the people of Yemen and also to Saudi Arabia and the UAR will be reached which will heal the wound of fratricidal strife, promote reforms in Yemen and remove a cause of division within the Arab world.

With the Shaikhdom of Kuwait, Pakistan has established cordial and friendly relations. Pakistan opened a Consulate General which has since been raised to the level of Embassy. A number of visits have been exchanged by Ministers of the two countries and there is no doubt that fruitful and mutually advantageous co-operation between the two countries will continue to increase.

Pakistan's policy towards the Arab world is characterized by its support of all measures unanimously adopted by the Arab States. We welcome all manifestations of Arab unity and solidarity and acclaim their economic and social achievements. We regret some of the transient differences between Arab States, and maintain a policy of strict non-interference and non-involvement in intra-Arab disputes.

Pakistan will continue to extend its complete and unqualified support for the Arab movement for greater political, economic and cultural co-operation in the interest of their own collective security and welfare which contributes to solidarity among Muslim States and to greater Afro-Asian unity. This is not merely a matter of state policy where Pakistan is concerned, but it is enshrined in the hearts and minds of every single citizen of this land.

### Africa

The emergence of independent nations in the continent of Africa opened a new vista of co-operation between the peoples of this great continent and those of others. Pakistan has reason for special gratification as Africa occupies a very important place in the Islamic world. A large number of the inhabitants of this continent are followers of Islam. Twenty-two out of thirty-five independent African countries have a majority of Muslim populations. But the importance of Africa in the Muslim world derives not only from the large number of Muslims inhabiting this continent, but also from the noble contribution it has made to the concept of Islamic universalism.

Africa has now broken the shackles of alien bondage, and Muslims from this vigorous continent are taking active interest in the revival of the dynamic forces of Islam within the general framework of Afro-Asian unity. Sir Ahmad Bello, the Sarduna of Sokoto and the Prime Minister of Northern Nigeria has carried the torch of Islamic renaissance into countries far and wide. Somali was the scene of the 6th conference of the World Muslim Congress. Interest of Mr. Aden Abdulfait Osman, the President of Somalia, in the Congress has been of long standing.

African delegations are also playing a prominent role in Islamic conference outside their continent, such as the African-Asian Islamic Conference held in Bandung in March 1955. Pakistan looks forward to forging new ties of friendship and cordiality with these countries of Africa. The contribution and vigour and of Afro-Asian solidarity has already received recognition and acclaim.

Africa is a continent in revolt. The forces of enlightenment and progress are engaged in securing their full emancipation from colonial domination. The movement for independence from colonial rule has already achieved impressive results. Apart from South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and other areas, where the liberation struggle continues to intensify, there is the task of consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of newly independent nations.

Islam is at the forefront of the revolution in Africa. The manifestation of human dignity, equality and social justice, which is such an urgent need, has found ready

response from the proselytizing forces of Islam who have merged and identified themselves with the revolution. Alien missionaries are fighting a losing battle against the revolutionary forces of Islam which derives strength from its indigenous character and from its impressive record as the greatest moral force against racial discrimination.

It is the universality of the spirit of Islam, its emphasis on the brotherhood and equality between man and man, its inherent vitality and vigour which have led to its fusion with the progressive revolution in Africa. The African revolution, and Islam's contribution to the emancipation and progress of the African people, will play a role of great significance, of significance not only to the continent of Africa but to the whole world.

The future of mankind is inseparably linked with its ability to cultivate and nurture bonds of fraternity between peoples in different parts of the world with different racial and cultural backgrounds. To Pakistan the important role of Islam in Africa is of immediate concern both for its own sake and also because the success of the African struggle for progress, emancipation and solidarity is of such vital importance to the future of humanity.

### China

From the vibrant scene of resurgent Africa, we come to the ancient civilization of China. Relations between the territories which today constitute Pakistan and China were established at a very early stage of their known history. Pre-Muslim relations of the sub-continent with the general region of China remained strictly confined to the spiritual field. Such cultural intercourse as took place was a corollary to the visits of prominent Chinese Buddhist leaders to their places of pilgrimage in the sub-continent.

With the spread of Islam into the Central Asian region and the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and with the travels of several Muslim geographers, explorers and historians, definite over-land routes were established between Central Asia and some regions of China. Similarly, Muslim mariners, whose mercantile activities extended to the Malayan Archipelago, came into direct contact with Chinese merchants and a sea-route was thus established all the way from China to the Mediterranean.

With Halaku (Hulagu) Khan's invasion, the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate and the resulting anarchy in Iran, the established over-land trade routes were closed. This led to the discovery of a transverse route from Kashgar to Gilgit and down the Indus

Valley to Debal (Thatta), on the Arabian Sea, from where merchandise was trans-shipped to western cities.

The establishment of a new alternate route brought the sub-continent, especially its Western part, into intimate political, cultural, commercial and diplomatic contact with both China and the Central Asian territories. One of the most famous embassies to be exchanged between the Chinese Emperors and the Tughlaq Sultans of the sub-continent was led by the famous traveler Ibne Batuta. This embassy was in response to one sent to Muhammad Tughlaq by the Chinese Emperor, Hyan Ti, and is important because it set the pattern of trade between China and the sub-continent under Muslim rule. The exchange of commercial products brought in its wake the exchange of craftsmanship, technological skills and fine arts.

There is a large Muslim population in north-west China and its Sinkiang province. Good neighborly ties of Pakistan with the People's Republic of China once again enable the resumption of its historical and cultural relations with this important segment of the Chinese population after a virtual rupture of contact during the period of colonial rule in the sub-continent.

### The USSR

The Central Asian Republic of the Soviet Union contains a sizeable Muslim population. With them, the relations of our people are even more intimate. It is among the people of this region that the great Taimur and Babar were born who were among the progenitors of Muslim India. The names of Samarkand and Bukhara invoke feelings of romance and kinship among our people even to this day. In the wake of independence, a growing awareness of our cultural and historical affinities has made an important contribution to our quest for friendship and good neighborliness with the Soviet Union.

### Iran and Turkey

With Iran and Turkey, the Foreign Policy of Pakistan reflects a continuity of the traditional sense of fraternity felt by the Muslims of the sub-continent towards them. Since independence, Pakistan's friendly relations with the two countries have been further developed and consolidated. Common membership of CENTO was one of the consequences of these relations. Pakistan's sympathy and support for the two countries on questions involving their rights and interests has been unequivocal.

I have already dealt with Pakistan's sentiments towards Turkey in connection with my reference to the Khilafat Movement launched by the Muslims of the sub-continent. I might add that our relations with modern Turkey now are based on the

same spirit of kinship and fellow-feelings which inspired our previous generation to treat the cause of Turkey as their own and to make such monumental sacrifices in demonstrating their solidarity with the Turkish people. The memory of Kemal Ataturk, founder of modern Turkey, is venerated in Pakistan as much as it is in the land of his birth.

With Iran, our people are bound by innumerable historical, cultural and ethnic links that go back to the dim past of ancient history. Notwithstanding two centuries of colonial domination, the people of Pakistan have retained their rich heritage from their intimate past association with Iran. The feeling of fraternity and oneness that the people of Pakistan have for the people of Iran, who are in more than one sense the progenitors of the Muslims in the sub-continent, is a living reality even to this day. The people of Pakistan hold the Shahinshah of Iran in great esteem and value his personal contribution to the continued development of friendship and fraternity between the two countries. The brotherly equation between the Shahinshah and the President of Pakistan is a symbol of the essential unity of our peoples.

When, in the early fifties, the Government of Iran nationalized the oil industry and terminated the concession of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Pakistan upheld the sovereign right of Iran to take this action. The boundary between the two countries had remained unsettled during the entire period of British rule. Agreement as to its alignment was reached without any difficulty and the boundary was demarcated by the experts of the two countries working in close collaboration.

At a historic meeting between the Heads of States of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey held in Istanbul in July 1964, agreement was reached as a result of which the three countries established the Regional Co-operation for Development. The initiative taken by the President of Pakistan was indeed symbolic of the true nature of Muslim renaissance. Notwithstanding the many problems facing each of the three countries separately, they decided to launch a supranational joint venture which has been acclaimed as an event of the greatest significance in the future.

### Cyprus

I now turn to the Mediterranean region to deal briefly with Pakistan's stand on the question of Cyprus.

When this question was referred to the United Nations General Assembly in 1954 and discussed that year and in the following year, the Pakistan Delegation defended the historical and legal claims of Turkey to the island. In 1957, speaking on the Greek Delegation's resolution that Cyprus be granted the right of self-determination, the Pakistan Delegation pointed out that the resolution had been so

drafted as to imperil the human rights and legitimate aspirations of the Turkish Cypriots. Cyprus achieved independence in 1960 under the Treaty of Zurich, guaranteed by Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom. The right of Turkey to intervene in the event of a violation of the Constitution of Cyprus which formed an integral part of the treaty was expressly recognised.

Expressing the concern of the Government and people of Pakistan on this serious situation on 27th December 1963, I stated, and I quote: The Agreements which brought about the settlement of the problem of Cyprus have to be respected as they are solemn international commitments . . .

We are with Turkey in her moment of crisis and whatever co-operation may be needed from Pakistan will be extended in the fullest measures.

### Afghanistan

With Afghanistan, we have ethnic, historic and linguistic ties. Our mutual association goes back to the dawn of history, to the influx of Aryans more than three thousand years ago.

It was to be expected that upon emergence from alien domination. Pakistan and Afghanistan would develop their relationship in consonance with their abiding and close fraternal ties. Their ties had been interrupted by barriers of isolation during the era of colonial rule. In the early stages after independence, relations between the two countries showed signs of reserve and mutual suspicion. Pakistan, on its part, has since maintained an attitude of understanding and reason, in the firm belief that the two countries have too much in common to permit any problem to permanently detract from the natural development of close and good neighborly relations. In fact, objectively speaking, no two countries have so much in common as Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Recent developments evince an encouraging trend. The cordial meeting between King Zahir Shah and President Ayub Khan in June 1964 set the tone for further improvement of relations between the two countries, of which the Transit Trade Agreement successfully concluded in February 1965 is a clear manifestation. It may be mentioned that the Transit Trade Agreement between Pakistan and Afghanistan provides for Afghanistan facilities and terms as are among the best and most liberal in the world. It certainly contrasts with the Transit Trade Agreement between India and Nepal, in which after placing every conceivable difficulty in the way of land-locked Nepal, India finally agreed to provide only limited facilities.

## Indonesia

Pakistan's policy of good neighborliness and friendship has extended eastwards to the islands of Indonesia. The history of Pakistan's relations with Indonesia is also based on the unfailing support of the Muslims of this sub-continent for their brethren in other countries. The people of Indonesia in their struggle for freedom had all the sympathy and support of the people of Pakistan. Pakistan residents in Indonesia fought side by side with their Indonesian brethren in their war of liberation.

The infant State of Pakistan in those days extended its whole-hearted support to their cause both within and outside the United Nations and rejoiced when their struggle came to a successful end with the establishment of the independent Republic of Indonesia. In their subsequent struggle over West Iran, Indonesia had the full sympathy of Pakistan which sent a sizeable contingent of troops to assist the United Nations in its supervisory functions.

There has been significant economic cooperation between the two countries with the largest Muslim populations in the world. In the development of even closer relations between Indonesia and Pakistan, a historic event took place when at a conference held in Karachi in March, 1965 "IPECC" (Indonesia-Pakistan Economic and Cultural Co-operation) was established. This provided for RCD-type Cooperation between the two countries in order to maximize trade and promote joint ventures in industry and co-operation in communications for their mutual benefit. It also provided for development of cultural contacts to cement existing ties between peoples of the two countries. Cooperation between Pakistan and Indonesia has extended to various fields, particularly in international affairs. Pakistan and Indonesia were both co-sponsors of the first African-Asian Conference that adopted the historic Bandung principles which have now been recognised as a universal norm of conduct between states. Pakistan and Indonesia are at present collaborating with each other to ensure the resounding success of the 2nd African-Asian Conference to be held in Algiers in June. (Since postponed to November)

I would also refer to our unflinching support to the President of Indonesia for the establishment of Ganefo. Pakistan was a member of the Committee which organized the first Ganefo games. ("Games of the New Emerging Forces"—an Olympics of new nations insisted by President Soekarno). It is also on the organising Committee for the Second Ganefo Games. We also supported Indonesia's case in the international Olympic Committee meetings.

The exchange of state visits between the President of Pakistan and the President of Indonesia were occasions of great significance in which important discussions

between the two leaders resulted in an even closer mutual understanding. It was in the context of our mutual support for just causes and the dedication of the two countries to the implementation of the right of self-determination of all peoples that Indonesia extended its unequivocal support to Pakistan with regard to the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

### Malaysia

The feeling of identity that the people of Pakistan have with their co-religionists has been an important factor in its relations with South-East Asia in general. Even before the independence of Malaya there was considerable contact between the leaders of Pakistan and Malaya. In 1955 Tunku Abdur Rahman on his way to the independence talks in London broke journey in Karachi for consultations with the Pakistan Prime Minister. Needless to say that, Pakistan extended its whole-hearted support to the demand for Malaya's independence. Pakistan also made an important contribution to the Reid Commission of 1957 which drew up the Constitution of Malaya. There have been exchange of numerous visits—the most notable of which were the visits to Pakistan of the Paramount Ruler of Malaya in December, 1961, and Prime Minister Tunku Abdur Rahman's visit in October, 1962. These visits have helped to maintain close political, commercial and cultural relations between the two countries.

With the formation of Malaysia, difficulties arose in that region which have yet to be resolved. In September, 1963, President Ayub Khan wrote to the Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, expressing his concern. Again, in April 1964, the President offered to the three parties facilities for holding a Conference in Pakistan should they so desire. The President also placed his good offices at their disposal. In July, 1964, the President gave a statement in London expressing the hope that Indonesia and Malaysia would continue to explore possibilities of an amicable settlement. He said that the important thing was that the dialogue should not be interrupted. Pakistan is undoubtedly concerned over the persistence of this dispute between countries with both of whom it has cordial and friendly relations. It shall continue to advocate an amicable settlement through peaceful means. Our efforts will be directed towards that end.

I have recounted some of the contributions that Pakistan has made to the cause of Muslims in other parts of the world and attempted to illustrate the consistent good-will, support and identification which have characterized our relations with Muslim countries. In doing so, I had no intention of claiming credit for Pakistan. Our policy towards Muslim countries is not based on desire for gain or for gratitude. It is based on much more fundamental considerations and compulsions. Even before the inception of the Pakistan movement, the leaders of Muslim renaissance in the sub-

continent had identified themselves with the greater cause of an awakening of the Islamic world as a whole.

The ideology of Pakistan was not only confined to the need for the emancipation of the Muslims of the sub-continent. It was vitally concerned with the manifestation in the twentieth century of Islamic values of social Justice and universal brotherhood. Pakistan was thus conceived with a very pronounced external purpose and it has consistently sought to discharge its obligation in the field of international affairs—an obligation which it had inherited with the very birth of Pakistan as an independent State. The promotion of amity, peace and justice in international affairs has, therefore, been an important principle with Pakistan in the conduct of its foreign policy. Its ideological basis, its dedication to the cause of emancipation, solidarity and progress of Islam in the twentieth century, and its zealous quest for peace with justice and equity and for the fulfilment of its purpose in the scheme of things in the Muslim world were decisive factors.

### Muslims in India

While Pakistan will always be ready to share with Muslim peoples all over the world their joys and their sorrows, it is the welfare of the Muslims of India that is closest to its concern. This is only natural because the Muslims of Pakistan and India have the same heritage and history and were but a single community until the independence of the two countries divided them. It is for this reason that Pakistan has always shown concern over the problems of the 50 million Muslims of India.

The creation of a separate state comprising the Muslim majority of the sub-continent was designed to enable the two nations to live in peace and amity. It was designed specifically to remove the cause of friction and strife between the two major communities. With the partition of the sub-continent on the basis of the two-nation theory, the minorities in both these nations were to be enabled to lead a life free from fear and intimidation which had become their lot in the persistent conflict between the two communities.

Notwithstanding the high purpose and the noble objectives formulated by the architects of independence, the holocaust let loose at the very time of Partition in 1947, was a clear indication that the fate of Muslims in India was uncertain. Although, under the Liaquat-Nehru Agreement of 1950 the Governments of India and Pakistan pledged themselves to ensure to their respective minorities complete equality of citizenship and full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, the position of Muslims in India has gone from bad to worse. There have been more than 550 anti-Muslim riots in India since 1950. Hardly any Muslim festival has passed without the Muslim community being subjected to

attacks of communal frenzy in one part of India or the other. The existence of the Muslims as a distinct cultural group is in peril despite India's protestations of secularism. The new written accounts of Indian history go so far as completely to ignore the great contributions which Islam has made towards the culture and civilization of India. The aims of the majority community can be judged from the statement of the President of Hindu Mahasabha who said that:

Methods should have to be devised whereby these elements, that are Muslims, can be merged with the flow of national life in the country which is nothing other than Hindu.

A number of other Hindu leaders have voiced such sinister intentions against the Muslim population of India. As if political, economic and cultural disintegration of Muslim was not enough, certain elements of the majority community in India have launched an organised campaign of genocide of Muslims. Treating the Muslims as hostages in the political vendetta against Pakistan, the Indian authorities have done little to protect the lives of thousands of innocent Muslims who have been massacred in the oft-recurring communal riots. Mr. Selig Harrison, a keen observer of the contemporary Indian scene, writing in the American quarterly "Foreign Affairs" of January, 1965 said that in India, secularism was dead. He added:

The traditional tone in social patterns has a political parallel in the slow stirrings of a coarse-grain nationalism which is frankly, even belligerently, Hindu in its inspiration.....It is not enough that a unified state with a Hindu majority—clearly dominant over a Muslim minority now reduced to 11 per cent—has been established at long last in the Indian sub-continent in one form or another.

On our Eastern frontiers, India has launched a most callous drive against their own Muslims forcing them to leave their home and hearth to seek shelter in East Pakistan. Half a million helpless Muslims from India have taken refuge in East Pakistan. This is a cynical demonstration of India's 'secular' methods. By using Indian Muslims as human pawns in this ruthless and diabolic fashion, India hopes to score against Pakistan.

Such utter lack of concern for human standards is a blot on the conscience of mankind. India thinks that by continuing forcible evictions, she will gain on two fronts: it will eliminate the 50 million Muslims of India, and, at the same time, bring unbearable pressure to bear on Pakistan. She does not stop to think that long before she reaches either of her objectives, she would have succeeded in bringing about her own down-fall. Callousness only begets callousness. To pursue this path is to court disaster at the hands of human indignation. It is my firm conviction that the present leadership in India, which meets out such injustice to one section of its people, can

neither retain the loyalty nor the support of the other sections of its population for length of time.

### Human Problem

The Muslim minority in India is faced with an ordeal which should evoke the concern of all peoples who are pledged to the respect of human rights. The minority problem in India is not a political but a human problem. All that Pakistan is anxious to do is to secure for the Muslims of India an existence in which they are delivered from the threat to their lives, their honour and their possessions, and to secure for them the equality of citizenship promised in the Indian Constitution, on the secular character of which India prides herself so much.

Pakistan has appealed to India to stop the persecution of Muslims and to take steps to protect their elementary human rights. Pakistan has also brought the plight of Indian Muslims to the attention of the United Nations with a view to stirring the conscience of the world.

If world opinion, particularly public opinion in the Muslim countries, were also to express their deep concern over the situation in which the Muslim minority in India finds itself, the Indian authorities might be quickened into a realization of their duties and responsibilities. The interest of the Governments of Muslim countries in the welfare of the Indian Muslims would be a most potent factor in persuading the Government of India to ensure that the principles of secularism proclaimed in the Indian Constitution is also applied to its Muslim minority.

Under international law and the Charter of the United Nations, the universal observance of respect for human rights, regardless of birth, race and religion, is a subject of legitimate concern to every individual State and also to any collectively organised community of States. Needless to say that, it is in India's own larger interest that 50 million Indians should be allowed to live in decency and safety instead of being scarified on the altar of prejudice merely because they are Muslims.

The Muslims of India have given much and scarified greatly for the cause of Muslims beyond their own frontiers. Is it too much to hope that they in their turn will not be abandoned by the Muslim world in their hour of peril?

The poignant position of the 50 million Muslim minority in India and the discrimination and deprivations Muslims continue to suffer calls for united action on the part of Muslim peoples who have the ability and power to join together in defence of freedom, justice and fundamental human rights.

## Kashmir

For the purpose of this discourse, I do not wish to dwell at length on the liberation struggle of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir. Let it suffice to say that the enduring injustice which the State of Jammu and Kashmir has had to suffer at the hands of India presents to the world of Islam its greatest challenge. If Islam is to operate in the 20th century as a force of liberation, as a force dedicated to the liquidation of oppression, injustice and tyranny, as a force sworn to uphold the rights and dignities and just causes of suffering humanity, a beginning will have to be made in Kashmir. It is here that contemporary Islam faces its greatest trial.

India continues its illegal occupation of Jammu and Kashmir in flagrant violation of its international commitments. The people of Jammu and Kashmir continue to be denied their right of self-determination due to Indian intransigence. The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir continue to suffer under the heels of Indian colonial domination. They continue to be deprived of their fundamental human right to choose their own destiny. A reign of terror has been let loose in the Valley. Their valiant fighters for freedom fall by the wayside as Indian forces impose their tyranny on unarmed and helpless Muslims. Their leaders rot in jails and yet the struggle continues and will continue, if necessary till the seas run dry.

## Islam and the Muslims

There is gratifying evidence to show that the reawakening Muslim peoples are not unmindful of their obligation. After two centuries of stagnation and apathy, they are beginning to feel a flow of life in their veins. The resurgent Muslim world is a force in world affairs.

The most recent demonstration of their solidarity was at the African-Asian Muslim Peoples' conference held at Jakarta in March, 1965. Representatives from 33 countries took part in this Conference which was the first of its type. The Conference stressed the need for collaboration amongst Muslim countries and peoples for protecting the common interests of Muslims, promoting their welfare and safeguarding their security.

The Conference has served to deepen the consciousness of Islam and its great potential as an instrument of freedom in the struggle of the peoples of the New Emerging Forces against imperialism and colonialism. At this Conference, President Soekarno made an inspiring exhortation to the Muslim world to safeguard their freedom through progress, and to rebuild a prosperous and better world for themselves.

In the past, Islamic political philosophers and jurists looked upon the Caliphate as the ideal practical expression of the unity and solidarity of Islam. The unity of the Islamic community was predicted and indeed actualized on the universal rule of the Caliphs. The gradual disintegration and the final dissolution of this institution is a matter of history. Taken collectively, the confines of the Muslim world of today extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They differ in their forms of government, political organization, and in their economic and social systems. Their national interests, as dictated by geopolitical and historical factors, need to be harmonized.

Let us examine the concept of nationalism in Islam and see if it is at variance with universal brotherhood of mankind which it preaches. In the early days of Islam when it overflowed the confines of Arabia and with irresistible force reached the far corners of the civilized world of those days, it was only the spirit and the force of its ideology and its mission which remained unitary. In its application, it assumed distinct federal characteristics. At no time in the history of Islam did the central authority dominate its far-flung provinces. On the contrary, it was more often that the kingdoms on its peripheries sought to identify themselves with the centre. I referred to a classic instance of this phenomenon at the very beginning when discussing the unity of the Ummat.

I mentioned how mighty rulers of Hindustan like Mahmud Ghazni, Iltutmish and Balban sought, with utmost humility, the approval of the Caliphate to their rule over Kingdoms which they had carved out by themselves. Thus, we see Islam acting as a positive unifying force, and bringing about a complete harmonization of an outward-looking nationalism with a progressive international unity. This exposes the myth of the oft-repeated contention that nationalism is invariably in conflict with internationalism. Islam has abundantly illustrated the complete reconciliation of nationalism with internationalism.

The questions then arise: Can the consciousness of the universal policy of Islam be given a concrete political expression in our times? Is the Quranic concept of the unity of the universal community of Islam, transcending national barriers, still valid? Does this sense of an international fraternity of peoples permeate the consciousness of our Muslim brethren from Morocco to Indonesia, across the breadth of two continents, as it continues to animate the Muslims of Pakistan?

It is true that a lasting association cannot be based on doctrine alone as this would inevitably lead to dissensions and strife, on account of different interpretations. Nor can we hope to build on nostalgia or sentiment, because with the passage of time the world and its events have left those memories behind. It is not also feasible to think in terms of an association of Muslim countries to the exclusion of all others. This would be a negation of the universal spirit of Islam. Apart from the fact that it

would be both negative and self-defeating, such a trend would invariably create more problems than it would solve.

The answer is to be found in a unity based on the principles of peace, justice and brotherhood, and dedication to the struggle against tyranny. There are essential ingredients of Islam. A unity based on enlightenment; reform and reconstruction acting as an impetus to international co-operation. A unity which will act in collaboration and as partisans in the common struggle against domination, and indeed as a spearhead of progressive and revolutionary forces.

The future of Islam is beginning to take shape. The Arab States come together periodically at the Summit level. So, do the Maghreb States and the RCD and IPECC countries. In their totality, the growing contacts between Muslim nations constitute a force of immediate significance. What needs to be done is to vastly enlarge the existing scale of such contacts to multilateral meetings between the Heads of States and governments. Directed towards the achievement of a unity of purpose, towards the achievement of social and economic progress and the promotion of universal brotherhood, this is capable of giving a powerful impetus to the renaissance of Islam in the 20th century.

I have dwelt at some length on the nature of support which the Muslims of the subcontinent have extended to the struggle for revival of the civilization of Islam in our contemporary times. From the Pan-Islamic attitudes of the concluding phases of the Caliphate there has been a rapid evolution—through Modern revivalists such as Sir Syed and Sir Amir Ali, the activities led by Allama Iqbal up to the present phase in which the civilization of Islam is engaged in the most crucial task of providing a sheet anchor for the elimination of the last vestiges of domination and exploitation.

The contemporary role of Islam is consistent with the role it played in the struggle of mankind against tyranny until it was itself weakened by internal strife and schisms to fall into decay in the face of the Imperialist onslaught. The new spirit of Islam is finding its natural expression through its association with the most urgent need for the establishment of a new world order based on equality, justice and fraternity. It is only the success with which the struggle against exploitation and domination can be carried to a satisfactory conclusion that will determine whether or not we can see the dawn of a new era in the affairs of man.

With the revolutionary discoveries of science and technology, new vistas and indeed new dimensions are being added to human experience with terrifying speed. The present only provides a glimpse of the dynamism which would be the hallmark of our world of tomorrow. Citizens of the future will need an atmosphere of

unparalleled social justice and equality if they are to succeed in facing the unprecedented challenge which will be theirs to face.

To achieve these conditions, we would need in our generation to make monumental efforts and prepare for physical and intellectual discipline of the highest order. In a broad sense our endeavor has already begun. Beginnings are being made, but they would need to be supported and given direction and content. The egalitarian principles of Islam would need to be practised and manifested. The role is of leadership. The intelligentsia of the Muslim world would do well to establish their own clearing house of new ideas and fresh interpretation of known values. National leaders will need to maintain a high degree of awareness of the movements not only within the polity of Islam, but in the world as a whole. National policies will need to be harmonized with regional needs which, in their turn, will have to take into account the realities of the international situation as a whole.

Without setting our sights too high, we can hope to see the gradual evolution of regional institutions such as RCD and IPECC, a greater measure of cohesion among the Arab States, closer institutional links between the countries of the Maghreb, and the reinforcement of the African personality. These and other developments would inevitably bring us to the next phase of co-operation which would include the development of inter-institutional relations between these various regional organizations for co-operation.

### The Role of Pakistan

Pakistan has a role of the utmost importance to play in this evolutionary phase. Its situation on the peripheries of the Middle East on the one hand and the Far East on the other is in itself a compelling factor. Its ideological basis provides the motive power. It is the particular heritage of Pakistan, however, which remains the most potent factor in the determination of both the nature and scope of its role. The Muslims of Pakistan have inherited, along with their Islamic fervour, an admixture of all the other great civilizations that have helped to shape human destiny.

From the Buddhists and the Hindus among whom they have lived for almost a thousand years, from their extensive contacts through Central Asia with the ancient civilization of China, and from their association with the West which has left its own legacy, the followers of Islam in Pakistan have developed a rich and unique cosmopolitan outlook. The totality of its circumstances is such that in the world of tomorrow Pakistan cannot but play a vital role.

Conceived as an ideological State, Pakistan is dedicated to the manifestation of the most comprehensive code of social, economic and political conduct, to the

realization of the highest concepts of an egalitarian society and to the liquidation of disparity, discrimination and exploitation—in fact it is dedicated to the achievement of true equality and brotherhood in human relations. This total embodiment of the values of Islam with its internal and external dimensions finds itself in complete harmony with the most progressive, economic, and political and social forces of the contemporary world.

If mankind is to avoid the many pitfalls which lie in its path, many a bridge will have to be established in the world of the future. A mere glance at the human, political and physical geography of the world will show the importance of the situation of Pakistan. Situated as it is, one cannot conclude otherwise than to say that the bridges across Pakistan will carry for the world the lifeblood of its future generations with all the promise of peace, brotherhood, progress and enlightenment—in fact, the true ingredients of a better world..... It was not so long ago when the idea of Pakistan was mooted, there was no dearth of sceptics who pointed out that such a proposition was nothing short of an absurdity. But, as Victor Hugo said, nothing is more powerful in the world than the force of an idea whose time has come.

**SPEECH BY ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO OF PAKISTAN AT THE UN  
SECURITY COUNCIL, NEW YORK, ON 15 DECEMBER 1971**  
(Unofficial text)

We have met here today at a very serious and important moment in the history of my country. I would request the Council kindly to bear hear the truth, the bitter truth. I know the United Nations; I know the Security Council I have attended their sessions before. The time has come when, as far as Pakistan is concerned, we shall have to speak the truth whether members of the Council like it or not. We were hoping that the Security Council, mindful of its responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace and justice, would act according to principles and bring an end to a naked, brutal aggression against my people.

I came here for this reason. I was needed by the people of Pakistan, and when I was leaving Pakistan I was in two minds whether: to go to the Security Council to represent the cause of my country, to represent the cause of a people that had been subjected to aggression, or to remain with my people, by their side, while they were being subjected to attack and violence. However, I felt that it was imperative for me to come here and seek justice from the Security Council. But I must say, whether the members like it or not, that the Security Council has denied my country that justice. From the moment I arrived, we have been subjected to dilatory tactics.....

The representative of Somalia referred to the population of East Pakistan as 56 million, but later on he corrected himself to say that the population of Bengal—of Muslim Bengal—was 76 million. If he had waited for a few more days he need not have corrected himself because millions are dying, and it would have come to 56 million if the Council had kept on filibustering and discussing whether it should meet today or tomorrow or the day after tomorrow—whether the lines of communication between New York and Moscow and Peking and other capitals would permit the members to obtain new instructions.....Perhaps this will be my last speech in the Security Council. So please bear with me because -I have some home truths to tell the Security Council. The world must know. My people must know. I have not come here to accept abject surrender. If the Security Council wants me to be a party to the legalisation of abject surrender, then I say that under no circumstances shall it be so. Yesterday, my eleven-year-old son telephoned me from Karachi and said, "Do not come back with a document of surrender. We do not want to see you back in Pakistan if you do that." I will not take back a document of surrender from the Security Council. I will not be a party to the legalisation of aggression.

The Security Council has failed miserably, shamefully. "The Charter of the United Nations," "the San Francisco Conference," "international peace and justice"—these are the words we heard in our youth, and we were inspired by the concept of the United Nations maintaining international peace and justice and security. President Woodrow Wilson said that he fought the First World War to end wars for all time. The League of Nations came into being, and then the United Nations after it.

What has the United Nations done? I know of the farce and the fraud of the United Nations. They come here and say, "Excellence, Excellence, comment allez-vous?" and all that. "A very good speech—you have spoken very well, tres bien." We have heard all these things. The United Nations resembles those fashion houses which hide ugly realities by draping ungainly figures in alluring apparel. The concealment of realities is common to both but the ugly realities cannot remain hidden. You do not need a Secretary-General. You need a chief executioner.

Let us face the stark truth. I have got no stakes left for the moment. That is why I am speaking the truth from my heart. For four days, we have been deliberating here. For four days, the Security Council has procrastinated. Why? Because the object was for Dacca to fall. That was the object. It was quite clear to me from the beginning. All right, so what if Dacca falls? Cities and countries have fallen before. They have come under foreign occupation. China was under foreign occupation for years. Other countries have been under foreign occupation. France was under foreign occupation. Western Europe was under foreign occupation. So what if Dacca falls! So what if the whole of East Pakistan falls! So what if the whole of West Pakistan falls! So what if our state is obliterated! We will build a new Pakistan. We will build a better Pakistan. We will build a greater Pakistan.

The Security Council has acted shortsightedly by acquiescing in these dilatory tactics. You have reached a point when we shall say, "Do what you like." If this point had not been reached, we could have made a commitment. We could have said, "All right, we are prepared to do some things." Now, why should we? You want us to be silenced by guns. Why should we say that we shall agree to anything? Now you decide what you like. Your decision will not be binding on us. You can decide what you like. If you had left us a margin of hope, we might have been a party to some settlement.

But the Indians are so short-sighted. Mr. President, you referred to the "distinguished" Foreign Minister of India. What may I ask is so "distinguished" about a policy of aggression he is trying to justify. How is he distinguished when his hands are full of blood, when his heart is full of venom? But you know they do not have vision.

The partition of India in 1947 took place because they did not have vision. Now also they are lacking in vision. They talk about their ancient civilisation and the mystique of India and all that. But they do not have vision at all. If I had been in his place, I would have acted differently. I extended a hand of friendship to him the other day. He should have seen what I meant. I am not talking as a puppet.

I am talking as the authentic leader of the people of West Pakistan who elected me at the polls in a more impressive victory than the victory that Mujibur Rahman received in East Pakistan, and he should have taken cognizance of that. But he did not take cognizance of it. We could have opened a new page, a new chapter in our relations.

As I said, if the French and the Germans can come to terms, why cannot India and Pakistan come to terms? If the Turks and the Greeks can still talk sensibly as civilised people over Cyprus, why cannot India and Pakistan do likewise? If the Soviet Union and the United States can open a new page in their history, if China and the United States can open a new page in their history, why can we not usher a new era in our relations? We could have done so. But as it was said about the 1967 Arab-Israel war, the military victory of Israel made it more difficult for Israel and the Arabs to reach a settlement. If you want to subjugate Pakistan militarily, you will find it more difficult to bring peace. I say that the choice for us is either to accept living in the same subcontinent and co-operating for peace and progress, or to be implacable enemies of each other forever.

The Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union does not like my reference to the Roman Empire. I do not know what objection he has to it unless he sees some similarity between his empire and the Roman Empire. I do not really see why he had any objection to that. But I shall again refer to the Roman Empire, and I hope that the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union will have no objection to it because we want to have good relations with the Soviet Union and we want to open a new chapter with the Soviet Union because we are neighbours. I go back to the Roman Empire and I say what Cato said to the Romans, "Carthage must be destroyed." If India thinks that it is going to subjugate Pakistan, Eastern Pakistan as well as Western Pakistan—because we are one people, we are one state—then we shall say, "Carthage must be destroyed." We shall tell our children and they will tell their children that Carthage must be destroyed.

So please, Mr. President and members of the Security Council, realise the implications. The Pakistani nation is a brave nation. One of the greatest British generals said that the best infantry fighters in the world are the Pakistanis. We will fight. We will fight for a thousand years if it comes to that. So, do not go by momentary military victories. Stalingrad was overwhelmed. Leningrad was

besieged for a thousand days. People who want to be free and who want to maintain their personality will fight and will continue to fight for principles.

We were told about the realities; to accept the realities. What are the realities? Realities keep changing, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union knows that once the reality was that the Nazis were outside the gates of Moscow, but you fought valiantly, bravely, and the world saluted the Soviet Union for having resisted the realities that were sought to be imposed on it. The reality was that China was under the occupation of Japan, that Manchuria was taken—half of China. That was the reality. Since the Opium War, China has seen reality. The reality for France was that it was under occupation. But there were great men like President de Gaulle who left France and fought from across the seas. Ethiopia was under Fascist domination. But the Ethiopians fought. The Emperor of Ethiopia left his country and sought asylum in Britain. Ethiopia is free today.

The realities that matter are those which are not temporary phenomena which are rooted in historic principles. The principle is that Pakistan is an independent, sovereign state which came into being because of the volition of its people. That is the basic reality which has existed for 24 years. Pakistan would not have faced dismemberment like this if it had not been attacked by another country. This is not an internal movement. We have been subjected to attack by a militarily powerful neighbour. Who says that the new reality arose out of free will? Had there been the exercise of free will, India would not have attacked Pakistan. If India talks about the will of the people of East Pakistan and claims that it had to attack Pakistan in order to impose the will of the people of East Pakistan, then what has it done about Kashmir? East Pakistan is an integral part of Pakistan. Kashmir is a disputed territory. Why does India then not permit it to exercise its will?

But yesterday I saw how the Security Council was pandering to India. Even the great powers are pandering to India, saying to us, "Do not misunderstand," "Would you please let us know" and "Would you please answer the following questions; I am not insisting on those questions, but if you do not mind." India is intoxicated today with its military successes. I told the Indian Permanent Representative in 1967 that we wanted good relations between the two countries—but based on principles, based on justice, based on equity, not based on exploitation and domination, because such relations cannot be lasting.

What we want is a lasting, a permanent solution. I do not say this just today; I said that in 1967 to their Permanent Representative who was then the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan. I said that to the Foreign Minister of India when we were negotiating on Kashmir, "Let us settle this problem on the basis of equity and justice, so that we can live as good neighbours." And I add today: we can still

live as good neighbours, as friends. Do not wipe out that possibility by military conquest and military power.

This has been the worst form of aggression, of naked aggression. Even Poland was not invaded by Germany in this fashion. Even in that case there were some pretences, some excuses that were made. Here the excuse was, "We have refugees, so we must invade another country." We said, "We are prepared to take those refugees back." If we had said, "We are not prepared to take them back," then you could have said, "Well, you will be sunk." India's population rises by 13 million a year. The number of refugees was alleged to be 9 million, 10 million.

According to our estimate, they were 5 million. But that is not important; figures are not important. The point is that we were prepared to take them back. If India's population can grow by 13 million a year, then with all the aid and assistance that India was getting for the refugees, it could have held on for a short period till Pakistan had a civilian government to negotiate the return of the refugees. I told the United States Ambassador in Pakistan that once a civilian government came into power in Pakistan, was prepared to go to the refugee camps myself to talk to them. But India pre-empted it all because the refugee problem was used as a pretext to dismember my country. The refugee problem was used as a pretext, an ugly, crude pretext, a shameful pretext to invade my country, to invade East Pakistan.

The great powers will forgive me. I have addressed them in this moment of anguish, and they should understand. The great powers or the superpowers—the super-duper-powers, the razzling-dazzling powers—the superpowers have imposed their super will for the moment. But I am thankful to the people and the Government of the United States among the superpowers, for the position it has taken. The people of the United States, to some extent have been misled by massive Indian propaganda. Because we had no paraphernalia of popular administration and government in Pakistan, there was a political vacuum.

The Indians took advantage of that political vacuum and they spread out fast to project their point of view. As a result, American public opinion and public opinion in Great Britain and France and other countries was influenced. Unfortunately, nothing was said of the massacres that took place between 1 March and 25 March. No doubt there were mistakes on our side. I said yesterday that mistakes were made, and the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union said that I had admitted mistakes. Well, that is not a sign of weakness, is it? Do we not all make mistakes? Are India and the Soviet Union the only two countries that have never made mistakes? I have made mistakes personally.

But mistakes do not mean that my country must be destroyed, that my country must be dismembered. That is not the consequence of mistakes of government. Which government does not make mistakes? But if some government has made a mistake, does it follow that the country itself must be dismembered, obliterated? Is that going to be the conclusion of the Security Council if it legalises Indian aggression on the soil of Pakistan?

So, you will see now: this is not the end of the road, this is the beginning of the road; this is not the end of the chapter, a new chapter has begun a new page has been written in international relations. This is gunboat diplomacy in its worst form. In a sense, it makes the Hitlerite aggression pale into insignificance because Hitlerite aggression was not accepted by the world. If the world is going to endorse this aggression, it will mean a new and most unfortunate chapter in international relations. A new chapter may have begun in India and Pakistan, but please do not start a new dreadful chapter in international relations.

For us, it is a hand-to-hand, day-to-day, minute-to-minute fight. But do not do that to the rest of the world. Please do not permit this kind of naked, shameful barbaric aggression to hold sway. In the old days, great warriors swept over the world—Changiz Khan, Subutai Khan, Alexander, Caesar, coming down to the great Napoleon. But this is worse, this is much worse than all that was done by the great conquerors of the world in the past. If the United Nations becomes a party to this kind of conquest, it will be much worse than all that has been done in the past. You will be turning the medium-sized and the small countries into the harlots of the world. You cannot do that. It is against civilised concepts: it is against all the rules of civilisation and of international morality and justice.

The United States Government was criticised for supporting the position of Pakistan. What crime has the United States Government committed? It has taken a position identical to that of the whole world on the India-Pakistan conflict. That position was supported by 105 countries—it was 104 officially, but it was really 105 because one representative did not press the right button. That was the voice of the world.

It was an international referendum. You talk about the election of 1970. Well, I am proud of the election of 1970 because my party emerged as the strongest party in West Pakistan. But here was an international poll and India flouted it. With such an attitude towards international opinion, how can India pretend to be sensitive to a national election in another country? The same India that refuses to hold a referendum in Kashmir!

The Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union talked about realities. Mr. Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union look at this reality. I know that you are the representative of a great country. You behave like one. The way you throw out your chest, the way you thump the table. you do not talk like Comrade Malik; you talk like Czar Malik. I see you are smiling. Well, I am not because my heart is bleeding. We want to be friends, but this is not the way to be friends when my country is decimated, sought to be destroyed, wiped out. Why should China and the United States be criticised when the whole world is for Pakistan? You know that we have won a great political victory.

We might have suffered a military defeat, but a political victory is more important than a military defeat because political victory is permanent while military defeat is temporary. The United States Government has acted according to its great traditions by supporting Pakistan, and I will go to the people of the United States before I return home and tell them the truth.

The United States has stood by the traditions of Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, right down to Roosevelt and Wilson by supporting Pakistan as an independent state, its national integrity and its national unity. What wrong and crime has the United States committed? Why is the Indian delegation so annoyed with the United States? The Indian delegation is annoyed with U.S.—can you imagine that? If it had not been for the massive food assistance that the United States gave to India, India would have had starvation; its millions would have died. What hope will India give to the people of East Pakistan?

What picture of hope is it going to give when its own people in Western Bengal sleep in the streets, where there is terrible poverty, where there is terrible injustice and exploitation, when the parliamentary rule in West Bengal has been superseded by presidential rule? Is India going to do better for East Pakistan, for Muslim Bengal, than it has done for West Bengal? Thousands of West Bengali people sleep in the streets of Calcutta. The people of West Bengal are the poorest. India goes hat in hand to the United States for six million tons of food. If they are going to impose Presidential-rule in West Bengal, in their Bengal, how can they do any better in our Bengal?

So, the United States has taken a correct and moral position. Thomas Jefferson once said, "I have sworn eternal hostility against any form of tyranny practised over the mind of man". This is a vast form of tyranny practised over the mind of man and over the body of man. So, the United States has adhered to its tradition. And if some misguided Senators were here, some young, misguided Senators who have been overtaken by Indian propaganda—and if the Permanent Representative of the United States were not from Texas—I would have told those young Senators that I

was setting up the headquarters for a republic of Texas and making the former President-of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, the chief of that republic, in order to spread the cult of Bangladesh everywhere.

Why can Texas not be free? Let there be a republic of Texas. We did not buy Bengal as Alaska was bought by the United States. We did not pay money to get our territory. We did not pay dollars to acquire territory. The people of the United States should appreciate the position taken by their Government.

Muslim Bengal was a part of Pakistan of its free will, not through money. We did not buy it as Alaska was purchased. Why do the people of the United States not see that? And we are beholden and thankful to the great People's Republic of China. We shall always remain thankful for the position it has taken. It has taken a position based on principles of justice. And I thank the Third World for having supported a just cause, a right cause.

And now in the Security Council we have been frustrated by a veto. Let us build a monument to the veto, a big monument to the veto. Let us build a monument to the impotence and incapacity of the Security Council and the General Assembly. As you sow, so shall you reap. Remember that Biblical saying. Today, it is Pakistan. We are your guinea pigs today. But there will be other guinea pigs and you will see what happens. You will see how the chain of events unfolds itself. You want us to lick the dust. We are not going to lick the dust.

Britain and France have abstained from voting, in order to play a role. I said the other day, with all due respect to those two great powers, that they have really exhausted their position in trying to play a role because now the only role they can play is to accept a shameless fait accompli. Britain and France abstained, and that abstention has cost us dearly. Gallic logic and Anglo-Saxon experience, whatever it is, have cost us dearly. If Britain and France had put their powerful weight behind the international community rather than sitting on the fence, the issue might have been different. There is no such animal as a neutral animal.

You take positions. In that respect, we admire the Soviet Union; it took a position, a wrong position, but it took a position. You have to take a position on these matters. You have to be either on the side of justice or on the side of injustice; you are either on the side of justice or on the side of injustice; you have to be either on the side of the aggressor or of the victim. There is no third road. It is a black and white situation in these matters; there is no grey involved. You are either for right or you are for wrong; you are either for justice or for injustice; you are either for aggression or for the victim.

If the United Kingdom and France had earlier put their full weight behind the verdict of the international community, I think that we would not have reached this position. But Great Britain and France want to come back into the subcontinent as Clive and Dupleix, in a different role, the role of peacemakers. They want a foot here and they want a foot there. I know that British interests in East Pakistan required this kind of opportunistic role because in East Pakistan they have their tea estates. They want the jute of East Pakistan. So, that is why they sat on the fence. And I am sorry at France's position because with France we had developed very good relations, extremely good relations. But they took this position. And now, today, neither Britain nor France can play a role because their resolution has been overtaken by events.

There is a lot of goodwill for France in Pakistan, and they will not get the same goodwill in East Pakistan because in East Pakistan already the clock is now moving in another direction. Every day that the Indian Army of occupation stays there, it will be a grim reminder for Muslim Bengal that they are under Hindu occupation, and you will see the result of it. You will see how it will turn out. Let them stay—why not? Let them stay. Let them swagger around. If they want to take East Pakistan, let them stay as an army of occupation. They are an army of occupation; how can they be called liberators? They will stay, and they will see how the clock is going to move in a different direction.

Finally, I am not a rat. I have never ratted in my life. I have faced assassination attempts; I have faced imprisonments. I have always confronted crises. Today I am not ratting, but I am leaving your Security Council. I find it disgraceful to my person and to my country to remain here a moment longer than is necessary. I am not boycotting.

Impose any decision, have a treaty worse than the Treaty of Versailles, legalise aggression, legalise occupation, legalise everything that has been illegal up to 15 December 1971. I will not be a party to it. We will fight; we will go back and fight. My country beckons me. Why should I waste my time here in the Security Council?

I will not be a party to the ignominious surrender of a part of my country. You can take your Security Council. Here you are. I am going.

**CHINESE LEADER DENG XIAOPING EMPHASISES THAT PAST  
SHOULD BE BEHIND US AND CHINA MUST OPEN UP**  
(16 May 1989)

The Chinese people sincerely hope that Sino-Soviet relations will improve. I suggest that we take this opportunity to declare that henceforth our relations will return to normal.

For many years there has been a question of how to understand Marxism and socialism. From the first Moscow talks in 1957 [among delegations from the Soviet Union, China and Hungary] through the first half of the 1960s, bitter disputes went on between our two parties. I was one of the persons involved and played no small role in those disputes. Now, looking back on more than 20 years of practice, we can see that there was a lot of empty talk on both sides. Nobody was clear about exactly what changes had taken place over the century since Marx's death or about how to understand and develop Marxism in light of those changes. We cannot expect Marx to provide ready answers to questions that arise a hundred or several hundred years after his death, nor can we ask Lenin to give answers to questions that arise fifty or a hundred years after his death. A true Marxist-Leninist must understand, carry on and develop Marxism-Leninism in light of the current situation.

The world changes every day, and modern science and technology in particular develop rapidly. A year today is the equivalent of several decades, a century or even a longer period in ancient times. Anyone who fails to carry Marxism forward with new thinking and a new viewpoint is not a true Marxist.

Lenin was a true and great Marxist because it was not books that enabled him to find the revolutionary road and to accomplish the October socialist revolution in backward Russia but realities, logic, philosophical thinking and communist ideals. It was not by reading the works of Marx and Lenin that the great Marxist-Leninist Mao Zedong learned how to accomplish the new-democratic revolution in backward China. Could Marx predict that the October Revolution would take place in backward Russia? Could Lenin foresee that the Chinese revolutionaries would win by encircling the cities from the countryside?

Then, the question was how to make revolution. But the same is true when the question is how to build up a country. After a successful revolution each country must build socialism according to its own conditions. There are not and cannot be fixed models. Sticking to conventions can only lead to backwardness or even failure.

The purpose of our meeting is to put the past behind us and open up a new era. By putting the past behind us I mean ceasing to talk about it and focusing on the future. However, I am afraid it is no good for us just to keep silent about the past. We have to make our views clear. I should like to tell you what the Chinese people and the Chinese Party think about the past. You don't have to respond to these views or debate them. Let each of us talk about our own. That will help us advance on a more solid basis. I shall only mention two things in brief. First, how China suffered from the oppression of the big powers before liberation; second, where, as the Chinese see it, the threats have come from in recent decades -- specifically, during the last 30 years.

About the first question. Starting from the Opium War, because of the corruption of the Qing Dynasty, China was subjected to aggression and enslavement by foreign powers and reduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal status. Altogether, about a dozen powers bullied China, chief among them being Britain. And before Britain, Portugal had compelled China to lease its territory of Macao. The countries that took greatest advantage of China were Japan and czarist Russia -- and at certain times and concerning certain questions, the Soviet Union.

At various times Japan occupied many parts of our country; for 50 years it occupied Taiwan. It carved spheres of influence out of China. In the North in particular, there were Japanese concessions in many big cities. In 1931 Japan started a war of aggression against China, and in 1932 it set up the Manchukuo regime in the Northeast. In 1937 it launched a full-scale war that lasted for eight years. Thanks to China's resistance, to the joint struggle waged by the antifascist Allies and to the dispatch of Soviet troops to the Northeast, in the end Japan was totally defeated. Japan had inflicted untold damage upon China. Tens of millions of Chinese had died in the war, not to mention other losses. If we were to settle historical accounts, it would be Japan that would owe China the most. Since Japan was defeated, China recovered all the places that had been occupied. The only outstanding issue is Senkaku Shoto [Diaoyu Island], a small and uninhabited island. When I visited Japan, reporters asked me about it. I replied that the problem could be shelved and that if our generation could not solve it, the next generation would be wiser and would eventually find a way to do so. To settle similar disputes, we proposed later that such places be exploited jointly.

The other country that took greatest advantage of China was czarist Russia and later the Soviet Union. Through unequal treaties, Russia seized more than 1.5 million square kilometers of Chinese territory.

China was also encroached upon after the October Revolution. For instance, in 1929 the Soviet Union seized the Heixiazi Islands. When victory in the Second World

War was in sight the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union signed in Yalta a secret agreement dividing up spheres of influence among them, greatly to the detriment of China's interests. That was the period under Stalin. At that time, the Kuomintang government signed a pact with the Soviet Union recognizing the arrangements of the Yalta agreement.

After the People's Republic of China was founded, it signed a new treaty with the Soviet Union. It established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Mongolia and reached an agreement on the boundaries between the two countries. Later, China held negotiations on borders with the Soviet Union, asking the Soviet Union to recognize the historical fact that the treaties between czarist Russia and the Qing Dynasty rulers were unequal and had permitted Russia to encroach upon Chinese territory. Nevertheless, since more than 1.5 million square kilometers were seized under the treaties, and in view of past and present realities, we are still willing to settle border disputes on the basis of those treaties.

That was the first question. Spelling out our views may help solve problems left over by history and clarify what I mean by opening up a new era. So it was worth mentioning.

Now about the second question. Where have the threats come from in recent decades? Shortly after the end of the Second World War, the Chinese revolution triumphed, and the People's Republic was founded. China did not invade other countries and posed no threat to them, but other countries threatened China. Our country was poor and weak but independent. Where did the major threats come from? As soon as it was founded, the PRC was confronted with this question. At that time, the threat came from the United States. Glaring examples were the Korean War and then the Vietnam War. In the first, China sent volunteers to fight the United States. The Soviet Union supplied us with arms but asked us to pay for them, albeit at half price. In the following years Sino-Soviet relations deteriorated, and China was beset with economic difficulties. But no matter how serious our difficulties were, we were determined to pay that bill, and we paid it two years ahead of time.

In the 1960s the Soviet Union strengthened its military presence all along the borders between China and the Soviet Union and Mongolia. The number of missiles was increased to one third of the Soviet Union's total, and troops were increased to one million, including those sent to Mongolia. Where was the threat coming from? Naturally, China drew its conclusions. In 1963 I led a delegation to Moscow. The negotiations broke down. I should say that starting from the mid-1960s, our relations deteriorated to the point where they were practically broken off. I don't mean it was because of the ideological disputes; we no longer think that everything

we said at that time was right. The basic problem was that the Chinese were not treated as equals and felt humiliated. However, we have never forgotten that in the period of our First Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union helped us lay an industrial foundation.

If I have talked about these questions at length, it is in order to put the past behind us. We want the Soviet comrades to understand our view of the past and to know what was on our minds then. Now that we have reviewed the history, we should forget about it. That is one thing that has already been achieved by our meeting. Now that I have said what I had to say, that's the end of it. The past is past.

More contacts are being made between our two countries. After bilateral relations are normalized, our exchanges will increase in depth and scope. I have an important suggestion to make in this regard: we should do more practical things and indulge in less empty talk.

There is only one thing I shall have left undone in my lifetime: the resolution of the Taiwan question. I'm afraid I shall not live to see it. In foreign affairs, I have participated in accomplishing the following: we have readjusted our relations with Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union, and we have decided to recover Hong Kong and have reached an agreement with Britain in that regard. In domestic affairs, I have participated in defining the Party's basic line, deciding to concentrate on modernization, adopting the policies of reform and opening China to the rest of the world and upholding the Four Cardinal Principles. What I have not accomplished is to abolish the system of life tenure in office; that is an important problem concerning the system of leadership.

## SPEECH BY US PRESIDENT BUSH OF 16 JANUARY 1991

Just 2 hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed; its people, brutalized. Five months ago, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress, follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States, and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution, only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others traveled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held an historic meeting in Geneva, only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last-ditch effort, the Secretary-General of the United Nations went to the Middle East with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. And he came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution -- have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force. We will not fail. As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. Initial reports from General Schwarzkopf are that our operations are proceeding according to plan.

Our objectives are clear: Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions, and then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask: Why act now? Why not wait? The answer is clear: The world could wait no longer. Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of

accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait. While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities -- and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses, an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction -- a nuclear weapon. And while the world waited, while the world talked peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein dug in and moved massive forces into Kuwait. While the world waited, while Saddam stalled, more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the Third World, emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, to the entire world, including to our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations, he could weaken the forces arrayed against him. While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt. While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war. I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation resolutions. He did not do that. Instead, he remained intransigent, certain that time was on his side.

Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave Kuwait, or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead, he tried to make this a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America. Well, he failed. Tonight, 28 nations -- countries from 5 continents, Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Arab League -- have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail as quickly as possible, and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and allied service men and women. I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam, and I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back. I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful -- and we will be -- we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders. We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls." Those well-known words are so very true today. But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united, no nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbor. No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the Nation's finest. Ours is an all-volunteer force, magnificently trained, highly motivated. The troops know why they're there. And listen to what they say, for they've said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could.

Listen to Hollywood Huddleston, Marine lance corporal. He says, "Let's free these people, so we can go home and be free again." And he's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said: "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in." Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82nd Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next 100 years. It's better to deal with this guy now than 5 years from now." And finally, we should all sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who knows what's going to be next?"

I have called upon Hollywood and Walter and J.P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades-in-arms to do what must be done. Tonight, America and the world are deeply grateful to them and to their families. And let me say to everyone

listening or watching tonight: When the troops we've sent in finish their work, I am determined to bring them home as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf, and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

George Bush - January 16, 1991.

**THE UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF THE ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
BY PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN ON NUCLEAR TESTS BY  
PAKISTAN IN RESPONSE TO NUCLEAR TESTS CONDUCTED BY  
INDIA  
(28 May 1998)**

Today, God the great, has bestowed us with the courage and determination to enable us to make a decision to take a defensive step, for the sake of our country's security and defense.

When India tested its first nuclear bomb in 1974, we were not aware of any other use of the nuclear science except its peaceful uses. The nuclear test posed new threats to us. Whenever we tried to draw the world's attention towards this massive armament programme, Indian leaders came up with only one answer: that the preparations were made to counter the Chinese threat. We insisted that all these preparations were against Pakistan. China is against expansionism in spite of being several times more powerful than India in respect of strength and defence capabilities, while India is an expansionist country. We constantly pointed towards this fact but the major powers did not pay any attention and continued to believe in false pronouncements made by India. Under these circumstances, it was but natural for us to have apprehensions.

I even proposed that the United States, Russia and China use their good offices to protect Asia from the nuclear arms race. Had we wished, we could have conducted nuclear tests 15-20 years ago, but we had in mind the poverty of the peoples of our region.

South Asia is underdeveloped. The majority of our peoples have no access to basic facilities of life. We had wished that the race between the countries of this region, should be in the area of economic development, not in armaments.

We acknowledge the concerns of our friends and global powers.

The manner in which China has supported us, is praiseworthy. We are proud of our great neighbour.

I have had five telephonic conversations with President Bill Clinton. He expressed heartfelt sympathy, for which I am grateful. I understand that President Clinton is aware of our compulsions.

I am fortunate that my people have trust in me.

Today, we have settled the score in respect of the nuclear tests conducted by India. We have carried out five successful nuclear tests. History has taken us to decisive crossroads. One way is towards slavery, the other towards freedom.

## **ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH ON 20 SEPTEMBER 2001 IN THE WAKE OF 11 SEPTEMBER EVENTS**

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, Members of Congress, and fellow Americans:

In the normal course of events, presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground. Passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me welcome his wife Lisa Beamer here tonight?

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers working past exhaustion.

We've seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers in English, Hebrew and Arabic.

We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own.

My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of union, and it is strong.

Tonight, we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.

I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time.

All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol singing "God Bless America."

And you did more than sing. You acted, by delivering \$40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military. Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country.

And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support.

America will never forget the sounds of our national anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo.

We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America.

Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own. Dozens of Pakistanis, more than 130 Israelis, more than 250 citizens of India, men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan, and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain.

Once again, we are joined together in a great cause.

I'm so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity with America.

Thank you for coming, friend.

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars, but for the past 136 years they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war, but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning.

Americans have known surprise attacks, but never before on thousands of civilians.

All of this was brought upon us in a single day, and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking, "Who attacked our country?" The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al-Qaida. They are some of the murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.

Al-Qaida is to terror what the Mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money. Its goal is remaking the world and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics; a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam

The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans and make no distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children. This group and its leader, a person named Osama bin Laden, are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries.

They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of al-Qaida has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan we see al-Qaida's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized, many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan -- after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid -- but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists.

By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder. And tonight the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban.

Deliver to United States authorities all of the leaders of al-Qaida who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan. And hand over every terrorist and every person and their support structure to appropriate authorities.

Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah.

The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends. It is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with al-Qaida, but it does not end there.

It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. Americans are asking, "Why do they hate us?" They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other. They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us because we stand in their way. We're not deceived by their pretenses to piety.

We have seen their kind before. They're the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism, Nazism and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way to where it ends in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

Americans are asking, "How will we fight and win this war?" We will direct every resource at our command -- every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence and every necessary weapon of war -- to the destruction and to the defeat of the global terror network.

Now this war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes visible on TV and covert operations secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place until there is no refuge or no rest.

And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation in every region now has a decision to make: Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime. Our nation has been put on notice, we're not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans.

Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security.

These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight, I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me, the Office of Homeland Security.

And tonight, I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend, Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. The only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it and destroy it where it grows. Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents, to intelligence operatives, to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers.

And tonight a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready.

I have called the armed forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the

world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us.

We will ask and we will need the help of police forces, intelligence services and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded with sympathy and with support -- nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world.

Perhaps the NATO charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all. The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror unanswered cannot only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments.

And you know what? We're not going to allow it. Americans are asking, "What is expected of us?"

I ask you to live your lives and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat. I ask you to uphold the values of America and remember why so many have come here.

We're in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, [libertyunites.org](http://libertyunites.org), to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it. I ask for your patience with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity; they did not touch its source.

America is successful because of the hard work and creativity and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11, and they are our strengths today.

And finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead. Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together. Tonight we face new and sudden national challenges.

We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying with direct assistance during this emergency. We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act and to find them before they strike. We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy and put our people back to work.

Tonight, we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers, Gov. George Pataki and Mayor Rudolf Giuliani.

As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress and these two leaders to show the world that we will rebuild New York City. After all that has just passed, all the lives taken and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them, it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them.

As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror. This will be an age of liberty here and across the world. Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger, we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time, now depends on us.

Our nation, this generation, will lift the dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail. It is my hope that in the months and years ahead life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and

routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day and to whom it happened. We will remember the moment the news came, where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire.....Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever. And I will carry this. It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others.

It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. It is my reminder of lives that ended and a task that does not end. I will not forget the wound to our country and those who inflicted it. I will not yield, I will not rest, I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people. The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice, assured of the rightness of our cause and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Thank you.

**SECRETARIES OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
(since 1947)**

George C. Marshall

Dean G. Acheson

John Foster Dulles

Christian A. Herter

Dean Rusk

William P. Rogers

Henry A. Kissinger

Cyrus Vance

Edmund Sixtus Muskie

Alexander Meigs Haig, Jr.

George P. Shultz

James Addison Baker, III

Lawrence S. Eagleburger

Warren M. Christopher

Madeleine Korbel Albright

Colin L. Powell

Condoleezza Rice

Hillary Clinton

**FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

Zhou Enlai (1949-1958)

Chen Yi (1958-1972)

Ji Pengfei (1972-1974)

Qiao Guanhua (1974-1976)

Huang Hua (1976-1982)

Wu Xueqian (1982-1988)

Qian Qichen (1988-1998)

Tang Jiaxuan (1998-2003)

Li Zhaoxing (2003-2007)

Yang Jiechi (2007 - 2013)

## **FOREIGN MINISTERS OF PAKISTAN**

Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan	December 1947	October 1954
Hamid-ul-Haq Chaudhry	September 1955	September 1956
Feroz Khan Noon	September 1956	October 1958
Manzur Qadir	October 1958	June 1962
Muhammad Ali Bogra	June 1962	January 1963
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	January 1963	August 1966
Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada	July 1966	May 1968
Mian Arshad Hussain	May 1968	April 1969
General Yahya Khan	April 1969	December 1971
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	December 1971	March 1977
Aziz Ahmed	March 1977	July 1977
Agha Shahi	January 1978	March 1982
Sahabzada Yaqub Khan	March 1982	March 1991
Sardar Assef Ahmad Ali	November 1993	November 1996
Gohar Ayub Khan	February 1997	August 1998
Sartaj Aziz	August 1998	October 1999
Abdul Sattar	November 1999	June 2002
Inam-ul-Haq (Minister of State)	June 2002	November 2002
Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri	November 2002	November 2007

Inam-ul-Haq	November 2007	March 2008
Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi	March 2008	February 2011
Hina Rabbani Khar	February 2011	March 2013

## MINISTERS FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF INDIA

Jawaharlal Nehru	Sept 1946	May 1964
Gulzari Lal Nanda	May 1964	June 1964
Lal Bahadur Shastri	June 1964	July 1964
Sardar Swaran Singh	July 1964	Nov 1966
M C Chagla	Nov 1966	Sept 1967
Indira Gandhi	Sep 1967	Feb 1969
Dinesh Singh	Feb 1969	June 1970
Sardar Swaran Singh	June 1970	Oct 1974
Y B Chavan	Oct 1974	March 1977
Atal Bihari Vajpayee	Mar 1977	July 1979
Shyam Mishra	July 1979	Jan 1980
P V Narasimha Rao	Jan 1980	July 1984
Indira Gandhi	July 1984	Oct 1984
Rajiv Gandhi	Oct 1984	Sep 1985
Bali Ram Bhagat	Sep 1985	May 1986
P Shiv Shankar	May 1986	Oct 1986
Narayan Dutt Tiwari	Oct 1986	July 1987
Rajiv Gandhi	July 1987	June 1988
P V Narasimha Rao	June 1988	Dec 1989

V P Singh	Dec 1989	Dec 1989
I K Gujral	Dec 1989	Nov 1990
Vidya Shukla	Nov 1990	Feb 1991
Madhavsinh Solanki	June 1991	March 1992
Narasimha Rao	Mar 1992	Jan 1993
Dinesh Singh	Jan 1993	Feb 1995
Pranab Mukherjee	Feb 1995	May 1996
Sikander Bakht	May 1996	June 1996
I K Gujral	June 1996	March 1998
Atal Bihari Vajpayee	March 1998	Dec 1998
Jaswant Singh	Dec 1998	June 2002
Yashwant Sinha	July 2002	May 2004
K. Natwar Singh	May 2004	Nov 2005
Manmohan Singh	Nov 2005	Oct 2006
Pranab Mukherjee	Oct 2006	May 2009
S.M. Krishna	May 2009	October 2012
Salman Khurshid	October 2012	May 2014

## FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF PAKISTAN

Mohammad Ikramullah	15-08-1947	16-10-1951
Mirza Osman Ali Baig	16-10-1951	30-11-1952
Akhtar Hussain	1-12-1952	4-06-1953
J.A. Rahim	4-06-1953	11-01-1955
Sikandar Ali Baig	10-10-1955	30-06-1959
Mohammad Ikramullah	01-07-1959	11-05-1961
S.K. Dehlavi	12-05-1961	26-07-1963
Aziz Ahmed	26-07-1963	23-06-1966
S.M. Yusuf	24-06-1966	1-07-1970
Sultan Muhammad Khan	1-07-1970	31-03-1972
Iftikhar Ali	31-03-1972	01-01-1973
Mumtaz Ali Alvie	01-01-1973	07-05-1973
Agha Shahi	06-07-1973	6-07-1977
Sardar Shah Nawaz	06-07-1977	29-05-1980
Riaz Piracha	29-05-1980	10-07-1982
Niaz A. Naik	11-07-1982	30-05-1986
Abdul Sattar	31-05-1986	02-08-1988
Dr. Humayun Khan	03-08-1988	22-02-1989
Tanvir Ahmad Khan	30-12-1989	30-08-1990
Shahryar M. Khan	30-08-1990	29-03-1994
Najmuddin A. Shaikh	30-04-1994	24-02-1997
Shamshad Ahmad	25-02-1997	17-02-2000

Inam-ul-Haq	17-02-2000	21-06-2002
Riaz H. Khokhar	06-08-2002	14-02-2005
Riaz Mohammad Khan	15-02-2005	25-04-2008
Salman Bashir	3-04- 2008	3-04- 2012
Jalil Abbas Jilani	3-04-2012	2 -12 -2013

## AMBASSADORS OF PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED STATES

M. A. H. Ispahani	Oct 1947 to Feb 1952
Mohammed Ali Bogra	Feb 1952 to April 1953
Syed Amjad Ali	Sept 1953 to Sep 1955
Mohammed Ali Bogra	November 1955 to March 1959
Aziz Ahmed	March 1959 to July 1963
G. Ahmed	July 1963 to Sep 1966
A. Hilaly	Oct 1966 to Oct 1971
Nawabzada A. M. Raza	Oct 1971 to April 1972
Sultan Muhammad Khan	May 1972 to Dec 1973 Jan 1979 to Dec 1980
Sahabzada Yaqub Khan	Dec 1973 to Jan 1979
Ejaz Azim	July 1981 to Sep 1986
Jamsheed K. A. Marker	Sep 1986 to June 1989
Zulfiqar Ali Khan	July 1989 to Sep 1990
Najmuddin A. Shaikh	Oct 1990 to Nov 1991
Syeda Abida Hussain	Nov 1991 to April 1993
Dr. Maleeha Lodhi	Jan 1994 to Jan 1997
Riaz Hussain Khokhar	March 1997 to Sept 1999
Dr. Maleeha Lodhi	Dec 1999 to Aug 2002
Ashraf Jehangir Qazi	Aug 2002 to Aug 2004

Jehangir Karamat	Nov 2004 to June 2006
Mahmud Ali Durrani	June 2006 to April 2008
Sherry Rehman	Nov 2011 to Oct 2013

**LIST OF HIGH COMMISSIONERS/AMBASSADORS  
OF PAKISTAN TO INDIA**

Zahid Hussain	1947	1948
Khawaja Shahabuddin	1948	1948
M. Ismail	1948	1952
Shoaib Qureshi	1952	1953
Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan	1953	1956
Mian Zia-ud-Din	1956	1958
A. K. Brohi	1959	1961
Agha Hilaly	1961	1963
M. Arshad Hussain	1963	1968
Sajjad Hyder	1968	1971
S. Fida Hassan	1976	1977
Abdul Sattar	1978	1982
Riaz Paracha	1982	1983
Dr. M. Humayun Khan	1984	1988
Niaz A. Naik	1988	1989
M. Bashir Khan Babar	1989	1990
Abdul Sattar	1990	1992
Riaz H. Khokhar	1992	1997
Ashraf Jehangir Qazi	1997	2002
Aziz Ahmad Khan	2003	2006
Shahid Malik	2006	2012
Salman Bashir	2012	2014

**LIST OF AMBASSADORS OF PAKISTAN TO THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

Major-General N. A. M. Raza	1951-1954 and 1962-1966
Sultanuddin Ahmad	1954-1957
Dr. A. M. Malik	1958-1961
A. M. Rashidi	1961-1962
Sultan M. Khan	1966-1968
K. M. Kaiser	1969-1972
Agha Shahi	1972-1973
Mumtaz A. Alvie	1973-1978
Mohammed Yunus	1978-1982
Dr. M.A. Bhatty	1982-1986
M. Akram Zaki	1987-1991
Khalid Mahmood	1991-1994
Ashraf Jehangir Qazi	1994-1997
Inam-ul-Haque	1997-1999
Riaz H. Khokhar	1999-2002
Riaz Mohammad Khan	2002-2005
Salman Bashir	2005-2008
Masood Khan	2008-2012
Masood Khalid	2013 - 2019

## LIST OF US AMBASSADORS TO PAKISTAN

Paul H. Alling	1947 to 1948
H. Merle Cochran	1949 to 1950
Avra M. Warren	1950 to 1952
John M. Cabot	1952 to 1953
Horace A. Hildreth	1953 to 1957
James M. Langley	1957 to 1959
William M. Rountree	1959 to 1962
Walter P. McConaughy	1962 to 1966
Eugene Murphy Locke	1966 to 1967
Benjamin H. Oehlert, Jr.	1967 to 1969
Joseph S. Farland	1969 to 1972
Henry A. Byroade	1973 to 1977
Arthur W. Hummel, Jr.	1977 to 1981
Robert I. Spiers	1981 to 1983
Deane Roesch Hinton	1983 to 1986
Arnold Lewis Raphael	1987 to 1988
Robert B. Oakley	1988 to 1991
Nicholas Platt	1991 to 1992
John Cameron Monjo	1992 to 1995
Thomas W. Simons	1995 to 1998
William B. Milam	1998 to 2001
Wendy Jean Chamberlin	2001 to 2002
Nancy Powell	2002 to 2004
Ryan C. Crocker	2004 to 2007
Anne Patterson	2007 to 2010
Cameron Munter	2010 to 2012
Richard Olson	2012 to - 2015

**AMBASSADORS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA TO PAKISTAN**

Han Nianlong (1951-1956)

Geng Biao (1956-1959)

Ding Guoyv (1960-1966)

Zhang Wenjin (1966-1967)

Zhang Tong (1969-1974)

Lu Weizhao (1974-1979)

Xu Yixing (1979-1982)

Wang Chuanbin (1982-1986)

Tian Ding (1986-1991)

Zhou Gang (1991-1995)

Zhang Chengli (1995-1999)

Lu Shulin (1999-2002)

Zhang Chunxiang (2001 -2007)

Luo Zhaojun (2007-2010)

Liu Jian (2010 - 2013)

**AMBASSADORS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA TO THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

Yuan Zhongxian	(1950-1956)
Pan Zili	(1956-1962)
Chen Zhaoyuan	(1976-1979)
Shen Jian	(1980-1984)
Li Lianqing	(1984-1987)
Tu Guowei	(1986-1991)
Cheng Ruisheng	(1991-1994)
Pei Yuanying	(1994-1998)
Zhou Gang	(1997-2001)
Hua Junduo	(2000-2005)
Sun Yuxi	(2005- 2007)
Zhang Yan	(2007- 2012 )

**HIGH COMMISSIONERS/AMBASSADORS OF  
INDIA TO PAKISTAN**

Sri Prakash	1947	1949
Sita Ram	1949	1951
Mohan Singh Mehta	1951	1955
C. C. Desai	1955	1958
Rajeshwar Dayal	1958	1962
G. Parthasarathi	1962	1965
Kewal Singh	1965	1966
S. Sen	1966	1969
B. K. Acharya	1968	1971
J. K. Atal	1971	-
K. S. Bajpai	1976	1980
K. Natwar Singh	1980	1982
K. D. Sharma	1982	1985
S. K. Singh	1985	1989
J. N. Dixit	1989	1991
S. K. Lambah	1992	1995
Satish Chandra	1995	1998
G. Parthasarathy	1999	2000
V. K. Nambiar	2000	2001
Shivshankar Menon	2003	2006
Satyabrata Pal	2006	2009
Sharat Sabharwal	2009	2013

## **SIGNIFICANT PHOTOGRAPHS**



PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES



Pakistan's Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and President Harry S. Truman inspect the Guard of Honour at Washington National Airport. (May 3, 1950)



Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and President Harry S. Truman leave Washington National Airport for the Blair House.



*Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan addressing the US Congress.*



*American President, Dwight Eisenhower, being introduced to the Pakistan cricket team at Karachi's National Stadium in 1959.*



*President Eisenhower with President Mohammad Ayub Khan.*



*President Ayub Khan with President Eisenhower and Mrs. Eisenhower.*



*President Ayub Khan with Mr. Eisenhower and President Kennedy.*



*President Ayub Khan addressing the US Congress during his visit to Washington DC in 1961.*



*President Ayub Khan presenting a horse to Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy in Lahore. (1962)*



*Apollo 17 Astronaut waves to fans on arrival at Lahore Airport. (1973)*



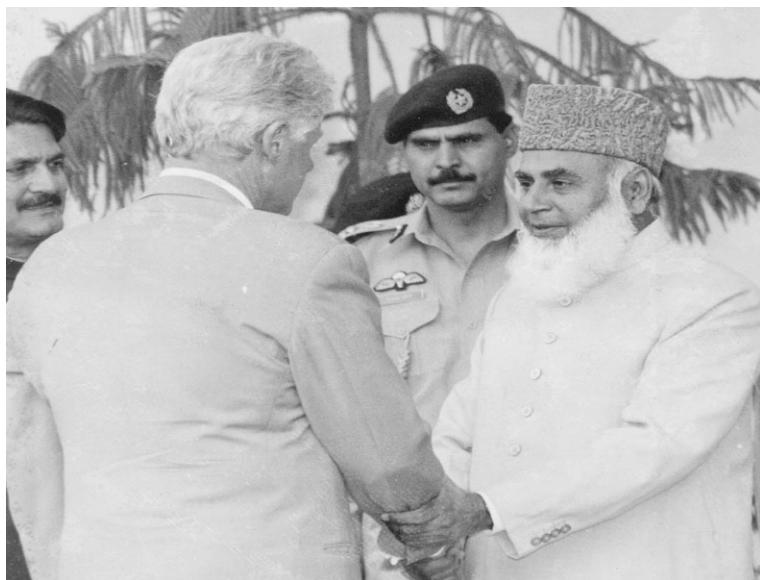
*President Zia ul Haque with President Ronald Reagan in White House.  
(December 1982)*



*Benazir Bhutto with Richard Nixon.*



*Benazir Bhutto with President Bush.*



*President Clinton with President Rafique Tarar in Islamabad.  
(March 2000)*



*President Musharraf with President Bush in Washington DC.*



*President Asif Ali Zardari with President Obama at the White House, May 2009.*



*Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani with President Obama, April 2010.*

PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA



*Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra and Mrs. Bogra with Premier Zhou Enlai.  
(Bandung, April 1955)*



*Prime Minister H.S. Suhrawardy with Chairman Mao Zedong.  
(Beijing, October 1956)*



Prime Minister HS. Suhrawardy with Premier Zhou Enlai Beijing, October 1956.



President Sikandar Mirza with Premier Zhou Enlal. (Karachi, December 1956)



Prime Minister H.S. Suhrawardy with Premier Zhou Enlai. (Karachi, December 1956)



President Ayub Khan with Premier Zhou Enlai. (Rawalpindi, February 1964)



President Ayub Khan with Premier Zhou Enlai at the Great Wall. (March 1965)



President Ayub Khan with Chairman Mao Zedong. (Beijing March 1965)



President Liu Shao Chi with President Mohammed Ayub Khan. (April 10, 1966)



President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan with Premier Zhou Enlai. (Beijing, November 1970)



Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto with Chairman Mao Zedong. (Beijing, May 1974)



Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto with Chairman Mao Zedong. (Beijing, May 1976).  
'Last Meeting of Chairman Mao Zedong with any Foreign Dignitary.'



*President Zia-ul-Haq with Vice Premier Li Xiannian. (Islamabad, January 1979)*



*President Zia-ul-Haq with Senior Leader Deng Xiaoping. (Beijing, May 1980)*



Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo with Premier Li Peng. (Beijing, May 1988)



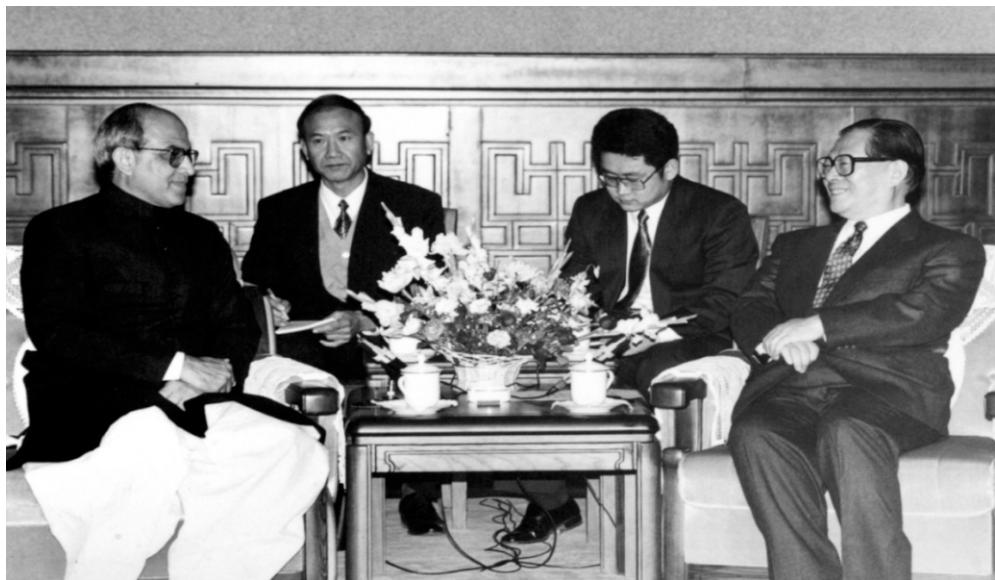
Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Premier Li Peng. (Beijing, February 1989)



President Ghulam Ishaq Khan with Premier Li Peng. (Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on the left.) Islamabad, November 1989.



Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif with President Jiang Zemin. (Beijing, March 1991)



*President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari with President Jiang Zemin. (Beijing, December 1994)*



*President Pervez Musharraf with Vice President Hu Jintao. (Beijing, December 2001)*



*Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali with Mr. Jiang Zemin. (Beijing, March 2003)*



*President Asif Ali Zardari with President Hu Jintao. (Beijing, July 2010)*

PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA



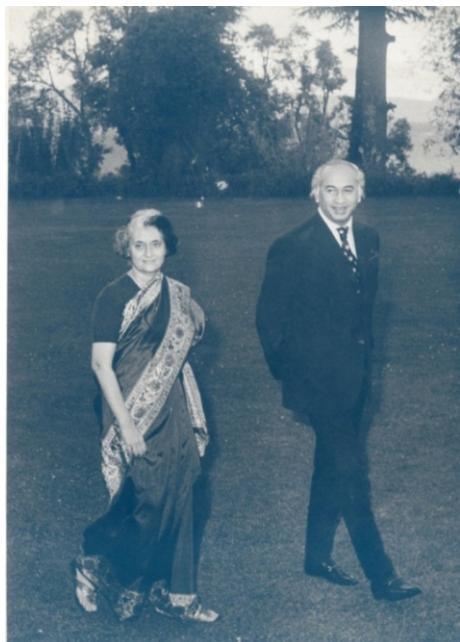
*Indian Prime Minister Nehru with Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan.*



*Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru with Prime Minister of Pakistan Mohammed Ali Bogra. (1953)*



President Ayub Khan and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. (Karachi 1960)



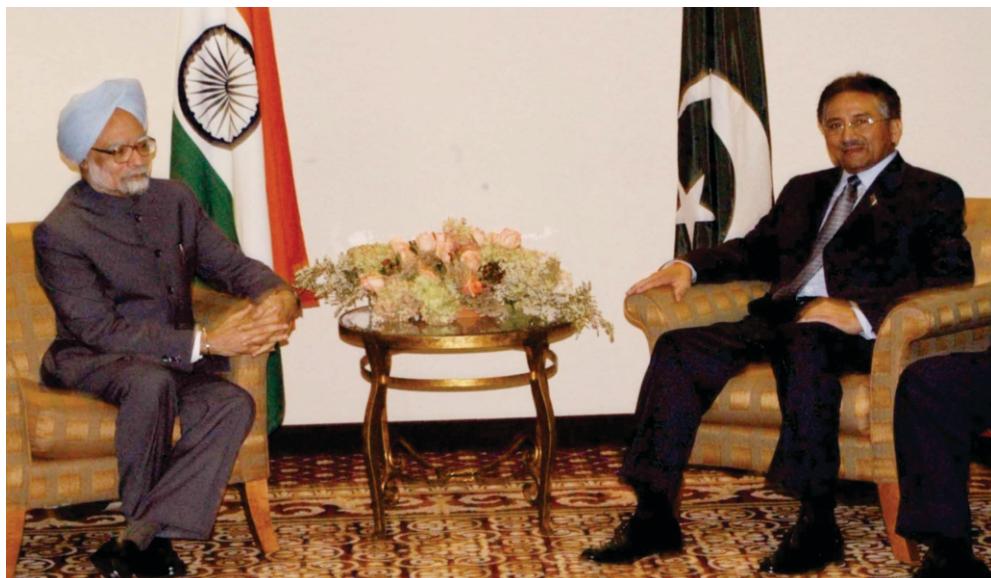
President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto with  
Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. (Simla,  
July 1972)



Simla, July 1972.



*President Zia ul Haque with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in New Delhi. (February 1987)*



*President Musharraf with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in New Delhi, April 2005.*



*President Asif Ali Zardari with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh,  
Russia, June 2009.*



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Mian Afrasiab Mehdi Hashmi Qureshi joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1984. He has worked in the US, UN and Asia-Pacific Divisions of the Foreign Office, Islamabad, and also as Staff Officer to the Secretary General, Foreign Affairs. He served in the Pakistani Missions in Washington DC, New Delhi and Beijing. He was working as Pakistan's Alternate Permanent Representative to the IAEA in Vienna when India conducted the nuclear tests in 1998, forcing Pakistan to respond.

Afrasiab was posted to New Delhi the second time where he served as Pakistan's Deputy High Commissioner to India from 2006 to 2009. Later, he was appointed Director General (South Asia) in the Foreign Office. From 2011 to 2014, he served as Pakistan's High Commissioner to Bangladesh with concurrent accreditation to Bhutan. Later, he was appointed

Additional Foreign Secretary in the Foreign Office. In 2016, he proceeded to New Zealand as High Commissioner with concurrent accreditation to Samoa, Tonga and Kiribati. He was promoted to Grade 22 in 2017, the senior most, in the civil services of Pakistan.

Afrasiab was born in Muzaffargarh, Pakistan. He is the grandson of Mian Khuda Baksh Qureshi of Thatta Qureshi; and son of Mian Muzaffar Mehdi Hashmi: writer, columnist and Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan (1965-1969). He studied in Lawrence College, Murree; and Government College, Lahore. He also served as Member, Board of Governors of The Lawrence College.

Ambassador Afrasiab has authored a few books. While this is the second edition of his 'Encyclopaedia' on Pakistan first time published in 2013, his book 'Ancient and Contemporary Pakistan' came out in 2015. The second print of his book 'US Relations with South Asia, since Christopher Columbus' was published earlier in 2002. The fifth edition of his book '1971: Fact and Fiction', on Bangladesh, came out in 2021, with its Urdu translation published earlier in 2018. Afrasiab has also written on the Prophet of Islam. His book 'The Greatest Man in history is Muhammad (PBUH)' was published first time in New Zealand in 2017, whose fourth edition came out in Islamabad in 2020. He has also written on other subjects including US Congress, American Foreign Service and Face Reading.