

The Kashmir issue then lay dormant in the United Nations until March 21, 1951, when a joint resolution on the subject was submitted to the Security Council by the Representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States. The resolution, which was adopted on March 30, provided for the appointment of a United Nations Representative to replace Sir Owen Dixon. Again, an agreement for demilitarization as a prerequisite of a plebiscite was to be the main objective of the Representative.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, at that time Defence Manpower Administrator in the United States, was appointed as Representative. He arrived in the sub-continent on June 30, and in his first report to the Secretary-General, submitted on October 15, reported that he had found a general desire to settle the Kashmir problem as soon as possible. Nevertheless, the 11-week period spent by Dr. Graham on the sub-continent was marked by great tension between the two Governments.

On June 30, India alleged a series of violations of the cease-fire line by Pakistan. Shortly after this, Pakistan informed the Security Council that heavy concentrations of Indian armed forces were taking place in East Punjab and in Jammu and Kashmir, and stated that this constituted "a grave threat to the security of Pakistan and to international peace". The exchange of telegrams between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan which followed these accusations provided a subject for heated debate on the sub-continent throughout Dr. Graham's stay.

The outcome of consultations with the two Governments was a draft agreement prepared by Dr. Graham and presented to India and Pakistan on September 7. The draft agreement consisted of 12 proposals. Four of these set forth general principles, and the remaining eight dealt with the actual details of a programme of demilitarization.

Dr. Graham left the sub-continent to prepare his report, which was made public in October. His report showed that agreement had been reached on four general principles. In substance, these were that both Governments were willing: (a) to reaffirm their determination not to resort to force; (b) to restrain warlike statements about Kashmir within their countries; (c) to reaffirm their will to observe the cease-fire; and (d) to reaffirm their acceptance of the principle that the question of the accession of Kashmir would be decided by a plebiscite held under the auspices of the United Nations.

However, in spite of this agreement on general principles, the two Governments differed in their approaches to the operative proposals. India, for example, doubted that effective demilitarization could be carried out in the 90-day period recommended. Also, the attitudes of the two Governments towards the basic question of the number and character of the troops to remain on each side of the cease-fire line were still far apart.

Dr. Graham considered, however, that sufficient progress had been made to justify a renewed effort to obtain agreement. Accordingly, on November 10, the Security Council asked Dr. Graham to continue his efforts to obtain the agreement of India and Pakistan