

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
2	message Doc # 11085	Heath to Yahya Khan MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 10-13 DECLASSIFIED Per Ltr 8/21/2014 MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 13-74	4/9/71	B
4	letter Doc # 11086	Yahya Khan to the President MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 10-13 MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 13-74 DECLASSIFIED Per Ltr 8/21/2014	6/20/71	B
7	message Doc # 11087	Yahya Khan to the President MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 10-13 MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 13-74 DECLASSIFIED Per Ltr 8/21/2014	n.d.	B
9	letter Doc # 11088	Yahya Khan to the President MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 10-13 MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 13-74 DECLASSIFIED Per Ltr. 8/21/2014	12/2/71	B
10	letter w/attach. Doc # 11089	Farooqi to Saunders MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 10-13 MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 13-74 DECLASSIFIED Per Ltr. 8/21/2014	11/23/71	B

FILE GROUP TITLE **NSC** BOX NUMBER **759**

FOLDER TITLE **(10)**

RESTRICTION CODES

- A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
- B. National security classified information.
- C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.
- D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.
- E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
- F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
- G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
- H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

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TAB	SUBJECT	DATE
* Insert	Ltr from Yahya Khan	23 Nov 71
1.	Ltr to Yahya Khan	22 Nov 71
	w/reply	26 Nov 71
	w/reply	2 Dec 71
2.	Ltr to the President (gratitude and sympathetic understanfing of the situation (33804)	6 & 9 Oct 71
3.	Ltr to the President (Indo & Pakistan)	26 Sep 71
4.	Ltr to the President (31968)	19 Aug 71
5.	Ltr to Yahya (31554)	14 Aug 71
6.	Ltr to the President w/reply (30026	18 & 28 Jun 71
7.	Ltr to the President (28351)	17 Apr 71
	w/reply (28895)	24 May 71
	w/reply (ltr to Yahya & Gandhi)	25 May 71
8.	Ltr to the President w/reply (27207)	31 Mar 71 7 May 71
9.	Ltr to the President	23 Feb 71
10.	Ltr to the President (25896)	8 Feb 71

10

WESTERN MILITARY SITUATION

13

VIETNAM MILITARY SITUATION

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This document has been reviewed pursuant to Executive Order 13526 and has been determined to be declassified

9

SECRET

25896

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 17, 1971

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your message informing me of the situation resulting from the hijacking of an Indian commercial aircraft to Pakistan on January 30. I have also carefully considered your suggestion that our government use its good offices with the Government of India for the purpose of preventing further deterioration of the situation and seeking to restore it to normalcy. These developments are of great concern to me, and I can assure you that I want very much to see this problem resolved and the resultant tension between Pakistan and India reduced.

First, I would emphasize our strong opposition to aircraft hijacking in any form and our desire to curb it through all practical means. I note with satisfaction that your government also deplors the action of the hijackers in this case.

With respect to the use of good offices, we have been discussing this case with the Government of India as we have with representatives of your government. We firmly believe that airline safety requires that all countries of the international community cooperate to strengthen international law and multilateral procedures for deterring aircraft hijacking, a problem which can be effectively dealt with only through a universal international approach. We have put this position to the Government of India, and have advised it as well as your government of the importance of acting in accordance with established international procedures regarding airline safety in seeking

SECRET

*Distal 2/17/71 via S/S
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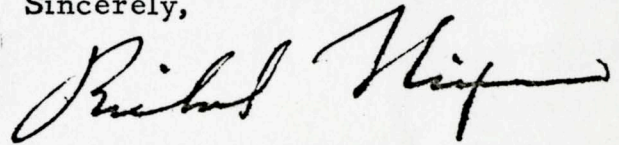
*cc Davis
Lundke*

solutions to various aspects of this problem. We feel that a multilateral approach offers the best means of moving toward such solutions.

Specifically, I would encourage your government to avail itself of the good offices procedures recently adopted by the International Civil Aviation Organization. We have already urged the Government of India to adopt this approach and we believe it would provide a practicable means of resolving these difficulties. Our government stands ready to cooperate in appropriate ways with the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India, and with other nations, in addressing this problem through such a multilateral procedure in the hope of overcoming this point of tension in the Subcontinent.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Richard Nixon", written in a cursive style.

His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Islamabad

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

25801/25896

SECRET

February 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger *HK*

SUBJECT: Message From President Yahya Khan

President Yahya has sent you a message explaining his view of the sudden deterioration of relations between India and Pakistan resulting from the recent hijacking and destruction in Lahore of an Indian commercial aircraft (Tab B). He has specifically asked that the U. S. use its good offices with the Government of India to bring the situation back to normal. Similar messages were sent to Prime Minister Heath and Chairman Kosygin.

Background

The hijacking incident reflects the atmosphere of suspicion and hostility that persists between India and Pakistan. There has been a sharp rise in tension since January 30 when two Kashmiris hijacked an Indian internal flight across the border to Lahore. The passengers were returned to India, but the plane was blown up. The Indian government, in part reflecting the pressures of an electoral campaign in progress there, has taken a hard line. The Pakistanis also share some of the blame, especially because of their relaxed attitude toward the hijackers and their initial willingness to see local politicians exploit the incident.

The Indians have accused the Pakistanis of complicity in the hijacking and destruction of the aircraft, which the Pakistanis have denied. The Indians first demanded extradition of the two hijackers, but the Pakistanis refused on the grounds that as Kashmiris they are not Indian citizens and then went on to offer them asylum. When the aircraft was destroyed, India demanded full compensation and, when this was not forthcoming, in retaliation banned all Pakistani overflights of India territory thereby making transportation between the two wings of Pakistan much more difficult.

The hijacking affair also has important internal implications in both countries which limit the ability of both governments to smooth it over. In Pakistan, it has further strained the fragile unity between east and west since the East Pakistanis care little of the government's attitude and

SECRET

- 2 -

actions. In India, some of Mrs. Gandhi's strongest opponents are hardliners on Pakistan, and her government -- if it survives -- is not expected to take any significant move to lessen tensions until at least after the elections in early March.

Thus the affair stands on dead center and is likely to remain there for some time. State's estimate is that Pakistan will not extradite the hijackers and is unlikely to prosecute them because public opinion, especially in West Pakistan, is so strongly sympathetic towards them. Pakistan has also shown no indication to consider compensation when it is directly linked to overflights. India is equally adamant over these issues.

U. S. Policy

In keeping with our worldwide policy on hijacking, State is trying to keep this affair focussed on the central issues of deterrence of hijacking and protection of international air safety. They are also reluctant to become directly involved between India and Pakistan on this issue given its contentious political overtones and the near impossibility of reconciling their views at this point.

So far the extent of our actions has been to remind the Pakistanis of our strong disapproval of hijacking and to point out the importance of their acting in accordance with the provisions of the international convention regarding the prosecution of aircraft hijackers. In response to initial Indian approaches we have urged them to take advantage of ICAO procedures for dealing with hijacking and to use them instead of resorting to unilateral action. Specifically, we have called India's attention to the good offices procedures of the ICAO and suggested they could be useful in breaking the current impasse.

This also provides the key to responding to President Yahya's message. Rather than putting ourselves in the middle or chiding Pakistan too sharply for not prosecuting the hijackers, State has suggested that you respond to President Yahya urging recourse to the ICAO. The letter is cast in broad enough terms not to be offensive.

Recommendation: That you sign the letter at Tab A to be cabled to President Yahya. [Mr. Price concurs in the text.]

SECRET

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN OF PAKISTAN TO PRESIDENT NIXON

The following is the text of a message from President Yahya Khan of Pakistan to President Nixon conveyed by Pakistan Ambassador Hilaly to Secretary Rogers in a letter dated February 8, 1971:

Your Excellency,

I must tell you of my serious concern over the turn of events which has resulted in a rapid escalation of tension in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. This has been brought about by what appears to us to be India's deliberate over reaction to an incident for which Pakistan could not be held responsible.

Two young men from Indian occupied Kashmir hijacked an Indian plane flying from Srinagar to Jammu on 30th January and landed at Lahore. My Government took prompt steps to fulfil its obligations under international conventions and arranged repatriation of passengers and crew of the hijacked plane to India at the earliest opportunity. We also employed every means to have the plane released from the hijackers. Despite our sustained efforts, this object could not be achieved and the hijackers destroyed the plane on 2nd February.

Although the hijacking was the result of repressive measures adopted by the Government of India in occupied Kashmir, my Government deplored the action of the hijackers.

Instead of appreciating our helpful attitude, the Government of India for its own reasons used the incident to intensify tension between the two countries. Highly provocative statements have been made by responsible Indian leaders, including the Prime Minister, blaming Pakistan for the incident and threatening retaliatory action. The Indian authorities have also been allowing massive and violent

demonstrations against the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi which has resulted in damage to property and injuries to personnel of the High Commission.

On 4th February the Indian Government took the extraordinary step of banning flights of all Pakistani aircraft over Indian territory. By taking this arbitrary measure of stopping direct flights between the two wings of Pakistan, India has committed a serious breach of its international and bilateral commitments which has resulted in heightening tensions. A situation has thus been created that could lead to developments which we in Pakistan very much wish to avoid.

Considering the degree of interest which your Government has taken in preservation of peace and tranquility in the sub-continent, I felt you would be interested in using your good offices with the Government of India for preventing a further deterioration of the situation and for bringing it back to normal. I and my Government would highly appreciate any effort that Your Excellency might make in this direction.

With kind regards.

Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan.

His Excellency
Richard M. Nixon,
President of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

-;--@@-F-

22 February

Nancy--

Can you confirm that
this was in fact received
& signed off on by the
President?

Dave

Dave
The Pres signed
this Ltr & ^{was} sent
to NSC/S for dispatch

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

sent to Pres 2-15
ACTION
~~25801~~/25896

SECRET

February 12, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM: Harold H. Saunders *Hal*

SUBJECT: Message From President Yahya

As you know, President Yahya has sent a message to the President asking us to use our good offices with India concerning the dispute arising from the recent hijacking and destruction of an Indian commercial aircraft in Lahore. State has now suggested a response that would hopefully steer Yahya toward using the good offices of the ICAO, which is consistent both with our general approach to the hijacking problem and our posture of keeping out of Indo-Pakistani disputes.

Recommendation: That you obtain as soon as possible the President's approval for this approach as reflected in the attached memo. Yahya sent similar appeals to both Prime Minister Heath and Premier Kosygin, and it would be nice to get to Yahya before the Soviets do.

SECRET



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

7102078

February 11, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Reply to Message from
President Yahya to President Nixon
on Indian Aircraft Hijacking Problem

In a memorandum of February 8 I forwarded a message from President Yahya Khan of Pakistan to President Nixon concerning the deterioration in relations between Pakistan and India resulting from the hijacking on January 30 of an Indian commercial aircraft to Lahore, West Pakistan, and its subsequent destruction by the hijackers. President Yahya suggested we use our good offices with the Government of India to bring the situation back to normal.

The Indians have accused the Pakistanis of complicity in the hijacking and destruction of the aircraft, while the Pakistanis have denied any responsibility for either. The Indians first demanded extradition of the two hijackers which the Pakistanis refused on grounds that, as Kashmiris, they are not citizens of India; instead, the Pakistanis offered them asylum which further irritated the Indians. When the aircraft was destroyed, India demanded compensation for the loss of the plane and its cargo, and banned all Pakistani civil and military overflights of its territory to back up its demands. This step has caused Pakistan serious inconvenience in air communication between East and West Pakistan, but Pakistan has not retaliated against Indian overflights. There have been public demonstrations in each country against the diplomatic mission of the other. The matter has become a serious domestic political issue in both countries, and Indo-Pakistan tensions have risen to their highest point since 1965.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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The affair now stands on dead center. Our estimate is that Pakistan will not extradite the hijackers and is unlikely to prosecute them because public opinion, especially in West Pakistan, is so strongly sympathetic toward them. Pakistan has also shown no inclination to consider compensation when it is linked directly with overflights, although it has told us it would be willing to discuss the subject through normal diplomatic channels.

India is equally adamant on its side over these issues. It has informed the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) of its position without requesting any action, although it is aware of the possibility of proposing collective measures against Pakistan under an existing ICAO Council resolution. Pakistan on February 9 made a formal complaint to the ICAO Council against the Indian ban on overflights by Pakistani civil aircraft.

Pakistan approached the British and the Soviets as well as ourselves on February 8 suggesting the utility of good offices. The British reportedly are offering to provide good offices if both India and Pakistan agree. We do not believe India would be amenable to an offer of U.S. good offices at this time.

In keeping with our general worldwide policy on hijacking, we desire to keep this affair focussed on the central issues of deterrence of hijacking and protection of international air safety. We are also reluctant to become involved directly in this problem, particularly in view of its contentious political overtones and the difficulty we have in seeing how we could reconcile such divergent views. We have, however, reminded the Pakistanis of our strong disapproval of hijacking and pointed out the importance of their acting in accordance with the provisions of the international convention regarding prosecution of aircraft hijackers. In response to initial Indian approaches, we urged the Indians to take advantage of ICAO procedures for dealing with hijacking and to utilize them instead of resorting to unilateral action. Specifically, we have called their attention to the good offices procedures of the ICAO and suggested they could be useful in resolving the current impasse.

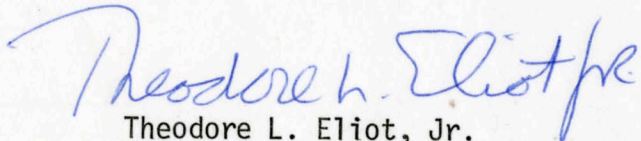
President Yahya's message affords us a ready opportunity also to steer the Pakistanis toward this multinational approach which we consider

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the most appropriate vehicle for addressing such issues as prosecution, compensation and overflights. A proposed reply from the President to President Yahya's message, reflecting the foregoing approach, is enclosed for your consideration. We recommend that the reply be sent by cable to our Embassy in Islamabad for delivery to President Yahya.



Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Suggested reply.

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUGGESTED REPLY

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. President:

I deeply appreciate your message conveyed through Ambassador Hilaly on February 8 informing me of the situation resulting from the hijacking of an Indian commercial aircraft to Pakistan on January 30. I have also carefully considered your suggestion that my government use its good offices with the Government of India for the purpose of preventing further deterioration of the situation and seeking to restore it to normalcy. I, too, am seriously concerned over these developments and can assure you that my government is sincerely interested in seeing this problem resolved and the resultant tension between Pakistan and India reduced.

First I would like to emphasize my government's strong opposition to aircraft hijacking in any form and our desire to curb it through all practical means. I note with satisfaction that your government also deplores the action of the hijackers in this case.

His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan,
President of Pakistan.

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CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

With respect to the use of good offices, I want you to know that we have been discussing this case with the Government of India as we have with representatives of your government. We firmly believe that airline safety requires that all countries of the international community cooperate to strengthen international law and multilateral procedures for deterring aircraft hijacking, a problem which can be effectively dealt with only through a universal international approach. We have put this position to the Government of India, and have advised it as well as your government of the importance of acting in accordance with established international procedures regarding airline safety in seeking solutions to various aspects of this problem. We feel that a multilateral approach offers the best means of moving toward such solutions.

Specifically, I would encourage your government to avail itself of the good offices procedures recently adopted by the International Civil Aviation Organization. We have already urged the Government of India to adopt this approach and we believe it would provide a practicable means of resolving these difficulties. My government stands ready to

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- 3 -

cooperate in appropriate ways with the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India, and with other nations, in addressing this problem through such a multilateral procedure in the hope of overcoming this point of tension in the Subcontinent.

With warm regards,

Richard Nixon

CONFIDENTIAL



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

7101910

February 8, 1971

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Message from Pakistan President Yahya
to President Nixon on Indian Aircraft
Hijacking Problem

The Secretary has received the enclosed message from President Yahya Khan to President Nixon concerning problems stemming from the recent hijacking of an Indian commercial aircraft from Kashmir to Lahore, West Pakistan, and suggesting the use of our good offices with the Government of India in an effort to bring the situation back to normal. Ambassador Hilaly followed the letter with a call on Assistant Secretary Sisco today.

The Department is considering the matter urgently and will propose an appropriate reply as soon as possible.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
for Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Message from
President Yahya.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE ROUTING AND CONTROL PROFILE

NUMBER MO DA HR

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DOCUMENT SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

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 S _____ RES DATA
 TS _____ CODEWORD
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 _____ PARIS MTG
 _____ NO FORN

DOC DATE: 02/11/71

SUBJECT: Proposed msg from Pres ~~JFK~~ Nixon to Pres
 Yahya on Indian aircraft hijacking

ENCLOSURES: (515 2102028) (_____) NOT XEROXED FOR SUSPENSE FILE

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			ACTION REQUIRED	
	NAME: <u>Saunders</u>			
	ACTION	INFO	RCD CY	
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			FOR: <u>X</u>	MEMO FOR HAK (_____)
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO TO PRESIDENT (_____)
DIR, SECRETARIAT				REPLY FOR HAK SIGNATURE (_____)
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				REPLY FOR PRES SIGNATURE (_____)
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA	<u>X</u>		<u>X</u>	MEMO _____ TO _____ (_____)
EUROPE/CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS (_____)
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO (_____)
UNITED NATIONS				APPROPRIATE ACTION (<u>X</u>)
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY (_____)
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE (_____)
PLANNING GROUP				DUE DATE: <u>02/16/71</u>
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				COMMENTS: (Including Special Instructions)

INTERNAL ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	ACTION REQUIRED
2/12/71	Saunders	Secretariat	Forwarded by 25801
02/12		HAK	Pres for Decision
2/14		Pres	Sgm ltr to Yahya
2/17			Pres sgnd ltr to Yahya

DISPOSITION

DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO <u>Yahya</u>	NSC _____ STAFF APPROVAL	<p>MICROFILM DATA</p> <p>DO <u>✓</u></p> <p>INIT <u>2/19</u></p> <p>DATE <u>2/19</u></p> <p>NSC _____</p> <p>TO J. PAF <u>✓</u></p> <p>WHC _____</p> <p>SUBF _____</p>
NOTIFY: _____	PAF _____ HAK APP'L	
COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE)	WHC _____ HAK MARGINALIA	
	SUBF _____ NS3 FORM REQUIRED	



From: General
Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan,
H.Pk, H.J.

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

23 February, 1971.

Dear Mr. President,

I am grateful for your message received through your Embassy in Islamabad today expressing your great concern over developments following the hijacking of an Indian aircraft to Pakistan.

2. I fully share your view that all countries of the international community should cooperate in effectively dealing with the question of hijacking. The incident at Lahore was not of our seeking and my Government deplored the blowing up of the plane. What we do not understand is the arbitrary and unilateral banning of overflights of our aircraft in peace time, in breach of established international conventions and specific bilateral agreements.

3. I appreciate your useful suggestion that we may have recourse to multilateral procedures by seeking the good offices of the International Civil Aviation Organization in resolving this problem. Pakistan has already approached the ICAO in this matter and we shall be glad to avail of their good offices. It is our earnest hope that India will also extend its cooperation to this Organization so that normal conditions can be restored without further delay.

PTO

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1971

SECRET/NODIS

MEMORANDUM FOR

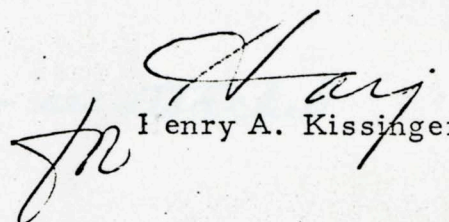
THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Letter to President Yahya

In response to the suggestion in the Acting Secretary of State's memorandum of April 27 that the President review the substance of the paper prepared on Pakistan for the Senior Review Group, the President has reviewed the options and approved the attached letter to President Yahya.

As a result of this review, he has decided that our posture should be one of making a serious effort to help President Yahya bring an end to civil strife and achieve a peaceful settlement of the political problems which triggered it. While adjustments in some of our programs will be necessitated by the situation, these will be for development reasons only and not as a facade for application of political pressure. He recognizes that the only long-term prospect of restoring normal life in East Pakistan may be under conditions of greater East Pakistani autonomy, but he would prefer to see West Pakistanis reach that conclusion, if it is valid, for themselves. The U.S. position for now, therefore, will be to give President Yahya time to follow through his efforts to work out his own arrangements transitional to greater East Pakistani cooperation or autonomy.

The President also requested that the foregoing guidance be passed by the Department of State to Ambassador Farland in a restricted channel.


Henry A. Kissinger

cc: The Secretary of Defense
The Director of Central Intelligence
The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

SECRET/NODIS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1971

Dear Mr. President:

I have given most serious thought to your message on the tragic situation which has developed in East Pakistan in the past few weeks. This situation has been of great concern to me.

Having labored so hard to carry out free national elections and to achieve an early and orderly transition, you must also be deeply disappointed not to have been able to transfer power to a civilian government according to the plan you had adopted and which you explained to me during your visit here last fall.

First, I should like to emphasize the sympathy which we in the United States feel for all the people of Pakistan who have been affected by these events and our concern over the loss of life and human suffering. I understand the anguish you must have felt in making the difficult decisions you have faced.

We also share your distress over the economic losses which have occurred and the serious resulting problems with which your Government has been faced. As you know, some of the Americans who were affected by the cessation of economic activity have had to leave East Pakistan because they were no longer able to perform their usual work. Because of the uncertainties, some of our programs are in abeyance.

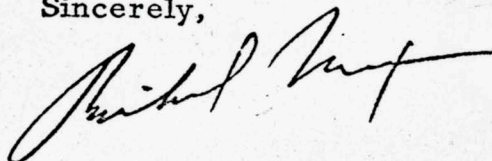
We look forward to an early renewal of your national development effort and of normal economic activity throughout Pakistan. We especially hope for the restoration of internal communications in East Pakistan to forestall food shortages, and we are prepared to support international humanitarian relief there.

As you are probably aware, some opposition has been expressed among our public and in our Congress to continuing economic and military assistance to Pakistan under present circumstances. This was due largely to the circumstances of civil strife which will hopefully continue to subside. Further, it is to no one's advantage to permit the situation in East Pakistan to lead to an internationalization of the situation. Foreign involvement could create new problems and compound the difficulty of securing an ultimate settlement. We have been in touch with the Government of India and have discussed the implications of the present situation. We have stressed the need for restraint.

Please let me know if there are any ways in which you believe that we can be helpful to the achievement of a satisfactory settlement. I would hope Ambassador Farland may have an early opportunity to discuss these matters with you and your colleagues.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,



His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION
27207

SECRET

May 1, 1971

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN... A

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Brigadier General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

SUBJECT: Reply to President Yahya

Now that you have decided on our general posture towards Pakistan, you should reply to President Yahya's letter to you (Tab B). We have delayed recommending a response until our policy review was complete and the situation clearer.

Yahya's letter explained political developments since December in terms of how the "progressively rigid stand" of East Pakistani political leaders made it impossible to agree on procedures for framing a constitution. This rigidity, he said, was backed up by a widespread campaign of defiance for governmental authority. His negotiations with them ended when they made clear that they were bent on separation. He was concerned over the threat of Indian military intervention, and he asked that the US urge India to refrain from any action that might aggravate the situation.

The response for your signature (Tab A)

-- begins by stating your sympathy for the frustration of President Yahya's political plans and for the suffering of all those affected by recent events;

-- shares Yahya's concern for the economic setbacks caused, noting that events have put some of our programs in abeyance but expressing hope that they might resume as soon as the conditions disrupting them have been resolved;

-- expresses hope that food distribution can soon resume in East Pakistan and affirms our willingness to support any international relief effort;

SECRET

-- notes some efforts in our Congress to urge suspension of assistance.

-- concludes by advising that we have urged India to show restraint.

This is basically the text recommended by Acting Secretary Irwin, which I have toned down to eliminate any inference of pressure from you. The text has been cleared with Mr. Price.

You may be interested in how other world leaders have responded to similar letters from Yahya. President Podgorny replied in a critical vein and seemed to come down on the side of the Bengalis and there reportedly has been a similar follow-up from Kosygin. Chou en-Lai took the opposite tact. Prime Minister Heath replied (Tab C) in fairly direct terms expressing his sympathy for Yahya's "terrible dilemma" but stressing that there "must be" an end to the "bloodshed and use of force" as soon as possible, as well as a resumption of political discussions with the Awami League leaders. He also urged Yahya to give "some public assurance" of the safety of Awami League leader, Mujibur Rahman.

With this letter, I would recommend that the following paragraph be sent to Ambassador Farland through the Secretary's special direct channel (Roger Channel, so that he will know your thinking when he sees Yahya:

"As a result of our recent policy review, it has been decided that our posture should be one of making a serious effort to help President Yahya bring an end to civil strife and achieve a peaceful settlement of the political problems which triggered it. While adjustments in some of our programs will be necessitated by the situation, these will be for development and domestic political reasons only and not as a facade for application of political pressure. We recognize that the only long-term prospect of restoring normal life in East Pakistan may be under conditions of greater East Pakistani autonomy, but we would prefer to see West Pakistanis reach that conclusion, if it is valid, for themselves. Our position for now, therefore,

SECRET

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will be to give President Yahya time to follow through his efforts to work out his own arrangements transitional to greater East Pakistani cooperation or autonomy. "

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the letter at Tab A and approve the above as direct (Roger Channel) general guidance for Ambassador Farland.

Approve The President Disapprove _____
approves his action

Attachments

A
May 7, 1971

SECRET

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This document has been reviewed pursuant to Executive Order 13526 and has been determined to be declassified

8

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION
27207

SECRET/NODIS

May 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL HAIG

FROM: Harold H. Saunders *HS*

SUBJECT: Letter to President Yahya

Would you please sign the attached transmittal of the letter to Yahya to the State Department? At this point we very much need to put some written guidance in their hands. I would like to get this out today if we possibly can.

SECRET/NODIS

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SECRET

Letter to You from President of Pakistan

March 31, 1971

Your Excellency.

I am taking earliest opportunity to inform you of the political developments which have taken place in Pakistan since general elections were held last December. It has been my constant endeavour to lead the country towards a restoration of democratic processes through elected representatives of the people. For this purpose, I have been holding talks with leaders of political parties. I had hoped that these discussions would lead to a broad political agreement regarding convening of the National Assembly and framing of a constitution. Unfortunately however the political leadership in East Pakistan and especially Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took a progressively rigid stand which made such an agreement impossible. Meanwhile murder arson and widespread disorder in defiance of governmental authority were let loose in the province.

In the larger interest of the country I exercised utmost restraint and patience and tried to evolve a generally acceptable formula to resolve constitutional difficulties. In pursuit of the same objective, I went personally to East Pakistan to hold consultations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Even while I was there, the Awami League leaders continued to make statements and to indulge in practices which clearly

SECRET

showed that they were not prepared for pursuing a compromise. The last round of talks in Dacca left me in no doubt that they had no intention of accepting any constitutional formula which would ensure integrity and unity of the country. Eventually a point was reached where the Awami League put forward final proposals which virtually amounted to dismemberment of the country. Since they had no such mandate from the people and as unity of the country was at stake, firm action had to be taken to assert government's authority and to safeguard the integrity of Pakistan. There was no option but to take that decision.

The situation in East Pakistan is well under control and normal life is being restored. Accounts to the contrary circulated by some outside sources especially from news media, do not reflect the correct position and are designed to mislead world public opinion.

While we are engaged in a national effort to safeguard our integrity, the Indian attitude is causing us grave concern. The Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and other important leaders of India have made public statements regarding developments in East Pakistan which constitute a clear interference in our internal affairs. A dangerous precedent is thus being set by India which is of direct concern to the international community.

Far more serious is the deployment of nearly six divisions of

the Indian Army not too far from the borders of East Pakistan. The composition of these forces which include artillery regiments and parachute brigades has no relevance to the needs of internal security in West Bengal or to the requirements of Indian elections which ended three weeks ago. This concentration of Indian forces on our borders constitutes a direct threat to our security.

In view of Your Excellency's dedication to the cause of international peace and security and to the principle of non-interference in internal affairs of other states, I hope Your Excellency would consider the desirability of expressing your support for the forces of peace and stability in this region and of impressing upon Indian leaders the paramount need for refraining from any action that might aggravate the situation and lead to irretrievable consequences.

I remain
Very sincerely yours

A. M. Yahya Khan

Tab C

**THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN
(DELIVERED ON 9 APRIL BY THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER
IN ISLAMABAD).**

Thank you for your message which I received on 31 March from your High Commissioner in London.

I know how hard you have strived for a political settlement and that you must be deeply distressed at the way things have turned out. I fully understand the terrible dilemma in which you are placed, but I am sure you will agree that, for the sake of all Pakistanis, there must be an end to bloodshed and the use of force as soon as possible and a resumption of discussions.

It also seems to me that the political leaders, who received such massive support, must at some stage participate in these discussions. Your High Commissioner told me on 31 March that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was safe and in custody. May I as a friend, and a friend of Pakistan, suggest that at this juncture it would be helpful internationally if you could give some public assurance about his safety and that of other leaders of the Awami League.

In your message you expressed your concern at the attitude of India. The Indian Government are well aware of our view that intervention by other governments can only complicate the situation and this has also been made clear by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary in the House of Commons. We have moreover received a specific assurance from the Indian Government that they have no intention of embarking upon intervention, or of interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan.

In sending you this personal and confidential message, I would emphasise that I also fully recognise that these are the internal affairs of Pakistan. I recall however the frank exchange of views which we had during my visit to Islamabad in January, and I hope that you will feel able to let me know with equal frankness, and in complete confidence, how you see the situation, and how you think the present strife in East Pakistan can be stopped and a political settlement eventually achieved.

With warm regards

EDWARD HEATH

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E.O. 13526, Section 3.5

NLN 10-13/11685 Per Ltr 821/2014
By Tan/WMLH NARA, Date 12/16/2014

SECRET

The Prime Minister's Reply to
President Yahya Khan

(Delivered on 9 April by the British High Commissioner in Islamabad)

Thank you for your message which I received on 31 March from your High Commissioner in London.

I know how hard you have strived for a political settlement and that you must be deeply distressed at the way things have turned out. I fully understand the terrible dilemma in which you are placed, but I am sure you will agree that, for the sake of all Pakistanis, there must be an end to bloodshed and the use of force as soon as possible and a resumption of discussions.

It also seems to me that the political leaders, who received such massive support, must at some stage participate in these discussions. Your High Commissioner told me on 31 March that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was safe and in custody. May I as a friend, and a friend of Pakistan, suggest that at this juncture it would be helpful internationally if you could give some public assurance about his safety and that of other leaders of the Awami League.

In your message you expressed your concern at the attitude of India. The Indian Government are well aware of our view that intervention by other governments can only complicate the situation and this has

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- 2 -

also been made clear by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary in the House of Commons. We have moreover received a specific assurance from the Indian Government that they have no intention of embarking upon intervention, or of interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan.

In sending you this personal and confidential message, I would emphasise that I also fully recognise that these are the internal affairs of Pakistan. I recall however the frank exchange of views which we had during my visit to Islamabad in January, and I hope that you will feel able to let me know with equal frankness, and in complete confidence, how you see the situation, and how you think the present strife in East Pakistan can be stopped and a political settlement eventually achieved.

With warm regards

Edward Heath

SECRET

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION
27207SECRET

April 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL HAIG

FROM: Harold H. Saunders *HS*

SUBJECT: The President's Reply to Yahya

Attached is a memorandum for the President putting to him his reply to President Yahya. You will recall that Henry agreed to hold this response until we completed our policy review on Pakistan. I believe the memo that has now gone to the President satisfies that requirement and permits us to recommend a reply.

The response will be sent by telegram and therefore, even if it is signed in California, early word of its signature will be helpful.

You will note that I have included a paragraph in the covering memo which tries to capture the essence of what I assume will be the President's decision on our general posture. The purpose of this is to enable us to get into the telegram sending the text some expression of the thinking behind it. I believe it is desirable to give Ambassador Farland something more than a written text to work from in his conversation with Yahya.

RECOMMENDATION: That you seek the President's approval of the attached as soon as possible.

SECRET

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION
27207SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Brigadier General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

SUBJECT: Reply to President Yahya

Now that you have had a chance to reflect on a general posture towards Pakistan, the time has come to reply to President Yahya's letter. It was felt desirable not to respond until our policy review was complete and the situation clearer so that no misleading signal would be sent.

The incoming letter from Yahya [Tab B] explained political developments since December in terms of how the "progressively rigid stand" of East Pakistani political leaders made it impossible to agree on procedures for framing a constitution. This rigidity, he said, was backed up by a widespread campaign of defiance for governmental authority. His negotiations with them ended when they made clear that they were bent on separation. He was concerned over the threat of Indian military intervention, and he asked that the US urge India to refrain from any action that might aggravate the situation.

The response for your signature [Tab A]

--begins by stating your sympathy for the frustration of President Yahya's political plans and for the suffering of all those affected by recent events;

--shares Yahya's concern for the economic setbacks caused, noting that events have put some of our programs in abeyance but expressing hope that they might resume as soon as the conditions disrupting them have been resolved;

--expresses hope that food distribution can soon resume in East Pakistan and affirms our willingness to support any international relief effort;

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- 2 -

--informs him of the moves in Congress to urge suspension of assistance but expresses the view that an early political accommodation will help us contain these moves;

--concludes by noting that we have urged India to show restraint.

This is basically the text recommended by Acting Secretary Irwin. The text has been cleared with Mr. Price.

You may be interested in how other world leaders have responded to similar letters from Yahya. President Podgorny replied in a critical vein and seemed to come down on the side of the Bengalis and there reportedly has been a similar follow-up from Kosygin. Chou en-Lai took the opposite tact. More instructive perhaps is Prime Minister Heath's response [Tab C]. In fairly direct terms he expressed his sympathy for Yahya's "terrible dilemma" but stressed that there "must be " an end to the "bloodshed and use of force" as soon as possible, as well as a resumption of political discussions with the Awami League leaders. He also urged Yahya to give "some public assurance" of the safety of Awami League leader, Mujibur Rahman.

With this letter, I would recommend that something like the following paragraph be sent to Ambassador Farland so that he will know your thinking when he sees Yahya:

As a result of our recent policy review, it has been decided that our posture should be one of making a serious effort to help President Yahya bring an end to civil strife and achieve a peaceful settlement of the political problems which triggered it. While adjustments in some of our programs will be necessitated by the situation, these will be for development and domestic political reasons only and not as a facade for application of political pressure. We recognize that the only long-term prospect of restoring normal life in East Pakistan may be under conditions of greater East Pakistani autonomy, but we would prefer to see West Pakistanis reach that conclusion, if it is valid, for themselves. Our position for now, therefore, will be to give President Yahya time to follow through his efforts to work out his own arrangements transitional to greater East Pakistani cooperation or autonomy.

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- 3 -

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the letter at Tab A and approve the above as general guidance for Ambassador Farland.

Approve _____

Other _____

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I have given most serious thought to your message on the tragic situation which has developed in East Pakistan in the past few weeks. This situation has been of great concern to me.

Having labored so hard to carry out free national elections and to achieve an early and orderly transition, you must also be deeply disappointed not to have been able to transfer power to a civilian government according to the plan you had adopted and which you explained to me during your visit here last fall.

First, I should like to emphasize the sympathy which we in the United States feel for all the people of Pakistan who have been affected by these events and our concern over the loss of life and human suffering. I understand the anguish you must have felt in making the difficult decisions you have faced.

We also share your distress over the economic losses which have occurred and the serious resulting problems with which your Government has been faced. As you know, some of the Americans who were affected by the cessation of economic activity have had to leave East Pakistan because they were no longer able to perform their usual work. Because of the uncertainties, some of our programs are in abeyance.

I would hope that our people could return and that our programs might resume as soon as the difficulties which have reduced development, reconstruction and other economic activities have been resolved. We look forward to an early renewal of your national development effort and of normal economic activity throughout Pakistan. We especially hope for the restoration of internal communications in East Pakistan to forestall food shortages, and we are prepared to support international humanitarian relief there.

As you are probably aware, some opposition has been expressed among our public and in our Congress to continuing economic and military assistance to Pakistan under present circumstances. I hope that an end of civil strife and an early peaceful settlement which resolves the underlying political problems will help to reduce this feeling. In any case, the important point is that an accommodation will enable the people of Pakistan to turn their attention to various development programs and help ensure that the strife in East Pakistan does not lead to an internationalization of the situation.

I recognize, Mr. President, that foreign involvement could create new problems and compound the difficulty of securing an ultimate settlement. We have been in touch with the Government of India and have discussed the implications of the present situation. We have stressed the need for restraint.

Please let me know if there are any ways in which you believe that we can be helpful to the achievement of a satisfactory settlement. I would hope Ambassador Farland may have an early opportunity to discuss these matters with you and your colleagues.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi



MOST IMMEDIATE

Tab B

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

March 31, 1971

Dear Mr. Secretary,

I have just been requested by the President of Pakistan to convey the following message from him to President Richard M. Nixon. I will be grateful if you transmit it to its high destination urgently.

BEGINS:

"Your Excellency.

I am taking earliest opportunity to inform you of the political developments which have taken place in Pakistan since general elections were held last December. It has been my constant endeavour to lead the country towards a restoration of democratic processes through elected representatives of the people. For this purpose, I have been holding talks with leaders of political parties. I had hoped that these discussions would lead to a broad political agreement regarding convening of the National Assembly and framing of a constitution. Unfortunately however the political leadership in East Pakistan and especially Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took a progressively rigid stand which made such an agreement impossible. Meanwhile murder arson and widespread disorder in defiance of governmental authority were let loose in the province.

In the larger interest of the country I exercised utmost restraint and patience and tried to evolve a generally acceptable formula to resolve constitutional difficulties.

page 2/....



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

In pursuit of the same objective, I went personally to East Pakistan to hold consultations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Even while I was there, the Awami League leaders continued to make statements and to indulge in practices which clearly showed that they were not prepared for pursuing a compromise. The last round of talks in Dacca left me in no doubt that they had no intention of accepting any constitutional formula which would ensure integrity and unity of the country. Eventually a point was reached where *the* Awami League put forward final proposals which virtually amounted to dismemberment of the country. Since they had no such mandate from the people and as unity of the country ~~was~~ at stake, firm action had to be taken to assert government's authority and to safeguard the integrity of Pakistan. There was no option but to take that decision.

The situation in East Pakistan is well under control and normal life is being restored. Accounts to the contrary circulated by some outside sources especially from news media, do not reflect the correct position and are designed to mislead world public opinion.

While we are engaged in a national effort to safeguard our integrity, the Indian attitude is causing us grave concern. The Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and other important leaders of India have made public statements regarding

page 3/....



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

developments in East Pakistan which constitute a clear interference in our internal affairs. A dangerous precedent is thus being set by India which is of direct concern to the international community.

Far more serious is the deployment of nearly six divisions of the Indian Army not too far from ^{the} borders of East Pakistan. The composition of these forces which include artillery regiments and parachute brigades has no relevance to the needs of internal security in West Bengal or to the requirements of Indian elections which ended three weeks ago. This concentration of Indian forces on our borders constitutes a direct threat to our security.

In view of Your Excellency's dedication to the cause of international peace and security and to the principle of non-interference in internal affairs of other states, I hope Your Excellency would consider the desirability of expressing your support for the forces of peace and stability in this region and of impressing upon Indian leaders the paramount need for refraining from any action that might aggravate the situation and

page 4/....



- 4 -

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

lead to irretrievable consequences.

I remain
Very sincerely yours

A. M. Yahya Khan "
ENDS.

With my warm personal regards.

Yours sincerely,

(A. Hilaly)

The Honourable
William P. Rogers,
The Secretary of State
The Department of State
Washington D. C.

STAND EARS

①

added to 27207

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(added)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

7106125

April 27, 1971

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Developments in Pakistan: Reply to Yahya

Recommendation:

That you send the enclosed suggested letter to President Yahya in reply to his letter to you of March 31.

Discussion:

During the four weeks since President Yahya decided to use military force, the military situation has become increasingly unfavorable for the Bengali separatists. The army is in effective control of virtually all major population centers while the separatists retain their hold only over pockets in the north and south. The fighting has resulted in a heavy loss of life, the almost complete cessation of economic development activity, and the political alienation of most citizens of East Bengal. Although the Pakistan Army has control over most of the province, the dangers of a long-term insurgency, supported covertly from India, have increased.

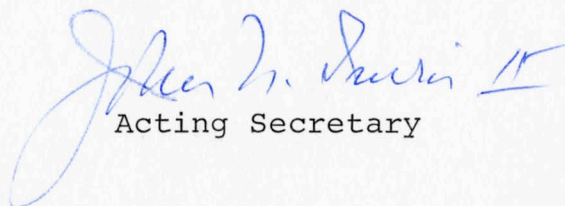
In this situation, which other outside powers, including the Chinese and Soviets, are trying to exploit, several complex policy dilemmas confront the United States. A Special National Intelligence Estimate has concluded that there is little if any long term prospect for a politically united Pakistan except through the continued use of force. In these circumstances, we will have a delicate task ahead of carrying water on both shoulders; maintaining good relations with West Pakistan while not alienating East Pakistan Bengali leaders who in the long run may be running their own show separately or with the loosest possible lines to West Pakistan.

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I have asked that the recent paper we prepared for the Senior Review Group be made available for your study since it presents the dilemmas we face very well. Over the coming weeks there will be a number of decisions which will have to be weighed from the point of view of the aforementioned two objectives. The suggested reply to President Yahya's letter to you takes this into account.


Acting Secretary

Enclosure:

Suggested reply.

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Suggested Reply

Dear Mr. President:

I have given most serious thought to your message of March 31 concerning the tragic situation which has developed in East Pakistan in the past few weeks. This situation has been of great concern to me.

I realize how hard you have labored to carry out free national elections in your country and to achieve an early and orderly transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. I feel sure that you must also be deeply concerned not to have been able to transfer power to a civilian government according to the plan you had adopted and which you explained to me during your visit here last fall.

First, I should like to emphasize the sympathy which I, and the people of the United States in general, feel for the people of Pakistan who have been affected by these events, and our concern over the loss of life and human suffering.

His Excellency
General Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi

SECRET

SECRET

-2-

We share your distress over the economic losses which have occurred and the serious resulting problems with which your Government has been faced. As you know, some of the Americans who were affected by the cessation of economic activity have had to leave East Pakistan because they were no longer able to perform their usual work. Because of the uncertainties created by recent developments we have found it necessary to hold some of our programs in abeyance. However, I would hope that our people could return and that our programs might resume when the difficulties which have reduced development, reconstruction and other economic activities have been resolved. We look forward to an early renewal of your national development effort and of normal economic activity throughout West and East Pakistan as well as to the restoration of internal communications in East Pakistan to forestall food shortages and facilitate a return to normal economic and social life. Meanwhile, we have informed your Government that we are prepared to support international humanitarian relief in East Pakistan.

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SECRET

-3-

I must tell you in all candor of the concerns among the public and in the United States Congress over recent events in East Pakistan, particularly over reports that United States-supplied military equipment has been used. These concerns can best be relieved if there is an end of civil strife and an early peaceful settlement which resolves the underlying political problems. Such a peaceful accommodation will enable the people of Pakistan to turn their attention to various development programs and help ensure that the strife in East Pakistan does not lead to an internationalization of the situation.

I recognize, Mr. President, that foreign involvement could create new problems and compound the difficulty of securing an ultimate settlement. We have been in touch with the Government of India and have discussed the implications of the present situation. We have stressed the need for restraint, which I am confident will be reciprocated on your part.

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Please let me know if there are any ways in which you believe that we can be helpful to the achievement of a satisfactory settlement. I would hope Ambassador Farland may have an early opportunity to discuss these matters with you and other senior officials of your Government.

Sincerely,



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

7104651

SECRET/NODIS

March 31, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter to President Nixon from
Pakistan President Yahya Khan

The attached message was delivered to the
Department late this afternoon.

Our recommendations regarding a response will
be sent to you in a separate memorandum. - SENT

*UNDER IRWIN MEMO TO PRES. of 4/27/71
(S/S 7106125)*

for *Michael Hankes*
Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

*Original used in Memo to
President. Copy substituted.*

SECRET/NODIS

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ FROM: ELIOT _____ U _____ NO FORN _____ NODIS

KISSINGER _____ ROGERS, W _____ LOU _____ BUO _____ EXDIS _____

HAIG _____ LAIRD, M _____ C _____ EYES ONLY _____ LIMDIS _____

S _____ CODE WORD _____ RES DATA _____

TS _____ SENSITIVE _____

SUBJECT: *Ltr to Pres. from Pakistan Pres. Yahya Khan informing of political developments since last Dec*

REFERENCE: S/S 7104651 OTHER _____ **AND STATE PROPOSED REPLY**

APPTS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. **ADDED 4/27/71**

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	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR		
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STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO STATE	
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY	
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LR PLANNING				DUE DATE: <u>0401</u>	
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INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

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4/29/71	Saunders	Haig	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	To Pres for decision (05/02)	
5/7/71	Saunders	Haig		Add	
5/8/71		USC		HAK eqd memo to Irwin	
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Department of State

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SUBJ: LETTER TO PRESIDENT YAHYA

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SIGNED LETTER DATED MAY 7 FROM
PRESIDENT NIXON TO PRESIDENT YAHA IN REPLY TO PRESIDENT
YAHYA'S LETTER OF MARCH 31, 1971.

QUOTE DEAR MR PRESIDENT: I HAVE GIVEN MOST SERIOUS
THOUGHT TO YOUR MESSAGE ON THE TRAGIC SITUATION WHICH HAS
DEVELOPED IN EAST PAKISTAN IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS. THIS
SITUATION HAS BEEN OF GREAT CONCERN TO ME.

HAVING LABORED SO HARD TO CARRY OUT FREE NATIONAL
ELECTIONS AND TO ACHIEVE AN EARLY AND ORDERLY TRANSITION,
YOU MUST ALSO BE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED NOT HAVE BEEN
ABLE TO TRANSFER POWER TO A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT ACCORDING
TO THE PLAN YOU HAD ADOPTED AND WHICH YOU EXPLAINED TO ME
DURING YOUR VISIT HERE LAST FALL.

FIRST, I SHOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THE SYMPATHY WHICH
WE IN THE UNITED STATES FEEL FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN
WHO HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THESE EVENTS AND OUR CONCERN
OVER THE LOSS OF LIFE AND HUMAN SUFFERING. I UNDERSTAND

SECRET

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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THE ANGUISH YOU MUST HAVE FELT IN MAKING THE DIFFICULT DECISIONS YOU HAVE FACED.

WE ALSO SHARE YOUR DISTRESS OVER THE ECONOMIC LOSSES WHICH HAVE OCCURRED AND THE SERIOUS RESULTING PROBLEMS WITH WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN FACED. AS YOU KNOW, SOME OF THE AMERICANS WHO WERE AFFECTED BY THE CESSATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HAVE HAD TO LEAVE EAST PAKISTANI BECAUSE THEY WERE NO LONGER ABLE TO PERFORM THEIR USUAL WORK. BECAUSE OF THE UNCERTAINTIES, SOME OF OUR PROGRAMS ARE IN ABEYANCE.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO AN EARLY RENEWAL OF YOUR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORT AND OF NORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY THROUGHOUT PAKISTAN. WE ESPECIALLY HOPE FOR THE RESTORATION OF INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS IN EAST PAKISTANI TO FORESTALL FOOD SHORTAGES, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF THERE.

AS YOU ARE PROBABLY AWARE, SOME OPPOSITION HAS BEEN EXPRESSED AMONG OUR PUBLIC AND IN OUR CONGRESS TO CONTINUING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTANI UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS WAS DUE LARGELY TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF CIVIL STRIFE WHICH WILL HOPEFULLY CONTINUE TO SUBSIDE. FURTHER, IT IS TO NO ONE'S ADVANTAGE TO PERMIT THE SITUATION IN EAST PAKISTAN TO LEAD TO AN INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE SITUATION. FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT COULD CREATE NEW PROBLEMS AND COMPOUND THE DIFFICULTY OF SECURING AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND HAVE DISCUSSED THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. WE HAVE STRESSED THE NEED FOR RESTRAINT.

PLEASE LET ME KNOW IF THERE ARE ANY WAYS IN WHICH YOU BELIEVE THAT WE CAN BE HELPFUL TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT. I WOULD HOPE AMBASSADOR FARLAND MAY HAVE AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS WITH YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES.

WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, SINCERELY, RICHARD NIXON
UNQUOTE. ROGERS

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Department of State

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TO AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 8585

S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 4891

EXDIS:

SUBJ: LETTER TO PRESIDENT YAHYA

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SIGNED LETTER DATED MAY 7 FROM
PRESIDENT NIXON TO PRESIDENT YAHA IN REPLY TO PRESIDENT
YAHYA'S LETTER OF MARCH 31, 1971.

QUOTE DEAR MR PRESIDENT: I HAVE GIVEN MOST SERIOUS
THOUGHT TO YOUR MESSAGE ON THE TRAGIC SITUATION WHICH HAS
DEVELOPED IN EAST PAKISTAN IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS. THIS
SITUATION HAS BEEN OF GREAT CONCERN TO ME.

HAVING LABORED SO HARD TO CARRY OUT FREE NATIONAL
ELECTIONS AND TO ACHIEVE AN EARLY AND ORDERLY TRANSITION,
YOU MUST ALSO BE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED NOT HAVE BEEN
ABLE TO TRANSFER POWER TO A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT ACCORDING
TO THE PLAN YOU HAD ADOPTED AND WHICH YOU EXPLAINED TO ME
DURING YOUR VISIT HERE LAST FALL.

FIRST, I SHOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THE SYMPATHY WHICH
WE IN THE UNITED STATES FEEL FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN
WHO HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THESE EVENTS AND OUR CONCERN
OVER THE LOSS OF LIFE AND HUMAN SUFFERING. I UNDERSTAND
THE ANGUISH YOU MUST HAVE FELT IN MAKING THE DIFFICULT
DECISIONS YOU HAVE FACED.

WE ALSO SHARE YOUR DISTRESS OVER THE ECONOMIC LOSSES
WHICH HAVE OCCURRED AND THE SERIOUS RESULTING PROBLEMS

50955
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM
MAY 20 AM 9:56

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 04891 201029Z

WITH WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN FACED. AS YOU KNOW, SOME OF THE AMERICANS WHO WERE AFFECTED BY THE CESSATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HAVE HAD TO LEAVE EAST PAKISTAN BECAUSE THEY WERE NO LONGER ABLE TO PERFORM THEIR USUAL WORK. BECAUSE OF THE UNCERTANTIES, SOME OF OUR PROGRAMS ARE IN ABEYANCE.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO AN EARLY RENEWAL OF YOUR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORT AND OF NORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY THROUGHOUT PAKISTAN. WE ESPECIALLY HOPE FOR THE RESTORATION OF INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS IN EAST PAKISTAN TO FORESTALL FOOD SHORTAGES, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF THERE.

AS YOU ARE PROBABLY AWARE, SOME OPPOSITION HAS BEEN EXPRESSED AMONG OUR PUBLIC AND IN OUR CONGRESS TO CONTINUING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS WAS DUE LARGELY TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF CIVIL STRIFE WHICH WILL HOPEFULLY CONTINUE TO SUBSIDE. FURTHER, IT IS TO NO ONE'S ADVANTAGE TO PERMIT THE SITUATION IN EAST PAKISTAN TO LEAD TO AN INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE SITUATION. FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT COULD CREATE NEW PROBLEMS AND COMPOUND THE DIFFICULTY OF SECURING AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND HAVE DISCUSSED THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. WE HAVE STRESSED THE NEED FOR RESTRAINT.

PLEASE LET ME KNOW IF THERE ARE ANY WAYS IN WHICH YOU BELIEVE THAT WE CAN BE HELPFUL TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT. I WOULD HOPE AMBASSADOR FARLAND MAY HAVE AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS WITH YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES.

WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, SINCERELY, RICHARD NIXON
UNQUOTE. ROGERS
FARLAND

7

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Presidential Letters to Prime Minister
Gandhi and President Yahya

I enclose copies of the President's letters to Prime
Minister Gandhi and President Yahya which were
delivered by Mr. Kissinger. Will you please make
copies of both letters available to Ambassadors
Keating and Farland.

JWD
Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary

MEMORANDUM	DATA
DO	UNIT <i>EST</i>
JUL 23 1971	
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TO J	PAF ✓
	WHC
	SUB

7/21/71 Dispatched

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I appreciated receiving from your Adviser for Economic Affairs and special representative, Mr. M. M. Ahmad, your thoughtful letter of April 17 commenting on the unfortunate situation which has developed in your country and reiterating your determination to press forward nonetheless toward restoring democratic processes and transferring power peacefully to the elected representatives of the people.

As you know, Mr. Ahmad presented your letter to me personally on May 10 and we had a good talk at that time. Among other things, he explained to me your plans for addressing these important political objectives, and I was most encouraged to hear of them. Mr. Ahmad also met separately with a number of high officials of our government. These discussions were useful to us in gaining a better understanding of the problems you are facing. I trust they were also useful to him.

Since then you have been good enough to receive Ambassador Farland in Karachi on May 22 so that he could present my letter of May 7 and exchange views with you concerning important aspects of the situation in your country and of our continuing relationship. I am pleased to know that you found my letter satisfactory and that you have responded so positively to suggestions we have made in an effort to be helpful in these circumstances.

accepted

Let me say in particular that I was gratified to learn this week of your decision to request formally the assistance of the United Nations in organizing an international humanitarian relief effort for the people of East Pakistan and of your letter to Secretary General U Thant confirming that decision. I have also noted your public declarations encouraging refugees from East Pakistan now in India to return to their homes. I believe, however, that more will have to be done if that hope is to become a reality.

I feel sure you will agree with me that the first essential step is to bring an end to the civil strife and restore peaceful conditions in East Pakistan. Then full-scale efforts can go forward within an international framework to help your government provide relief assistance to the people who need it. In this respect, we are particularly concerned about the people of the coastal area who were affected by the cyclonic disaster last November. The people of the United States and other friendly countries, and international organizations, have endeavored to assist these people in the past, and I can assure you that my government and countrymen are already prepared not only to resume humanitarian relief efforts in this special area but to extend them to the rest of East Pakistan under the aegis of the United Nations in accordance with arrangements now under discussion.

While this is being done, it will, of course, be essential to ensure that tensions in the region as a whole do not increase to the point of international conflict. I would be less than candid if I did not express my deep concern over the possibility that the situation there might escalate to that danger point, in large measure over the issue of the mounting numbers of refugees who are imposing such heavy burdens on the resources and economy of your neighbor, India, and who are bringing increasing pressures upon its government. I believe, therefore, that it is absolutely vital for the maintenance of peace in the Subcontinent to restore conditions in East Pakistan conducive to the return of these refugees. I urge you to continue to

*welcome
particulars*

*I am confident
that you will soon
move to
make this a
reality*

exercise restraint both along your borders with India and in your general relations with that country, as we are counseling the Government of India to do on its part.

It is only in a peaceful atmosphere that you and your administration can make effective progress toward the political accommodation you seek in East Pakistan. You have my heartfelt wishes for success in achieving that much desired objective.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
President's House
Rawalpindi

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

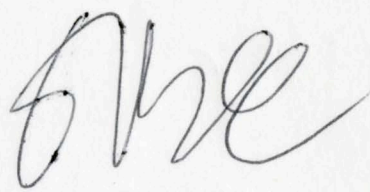
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CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT: Letter from President Yahya



In case you have a chance to glance at this before you see M. M. Ahmad, you may wish to be aware of the main points in a letter from President Yahya that Mr. Ahmad will be bringing:

--He shares your hope, sent with your foreign policy message, that normal conditions in East Pakistan may be restored so that the interrupted task of a peaceful transfer of power to elected representatives may be resumed. He is aware of the pressure of public opinion in the US and regards much of it as based on unauthenticated reports.


--He made a major effort last month to achieve a workable constitutional arrangement which would have insured the integrity and progress of Pakistan. His efforts were thwarted by a group of unpatriotic elements. M. M. Ahmad is prepared to explain these events.

--He is gratified that the US has made clear that it recognizes the current events in East Pakistan as an internal affair.

--He thanks you for your understanding and cooperation from the Administration, especially from Secretary Rogers and his Department.

--He hopes to announce shortly a plan for the induction of provincial governments on the basis of the elections held last December. He hopes this will create conditions to enable progress to the next stage of dealing with his constitutional issues.

CONFIDENTIAL



From: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan,
H.Pk., H.J.,
President of Pakistan

17 April 1971

Dear Mr President,

In my pre-occupation with events and developments at home, I have not so far been able to acknowledge your letter of March 3, 1971, with which I received a copy of your valuable and comprehensive report to the Congress of the United States on American Foreign Policy. I take this opportunity of thanking you for your letter and for your very kind expression of sympathy for me and the people of Pakistan in this hour of crisis. I share your hope, Mr President, that, with the restoration of normal conditions in East Pakistan, saner councils in that province will emerge to assist in the resumption of the interrupted task of democratic processes and a peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

I trust that you have had an opportunity of seeing the message which I had instructed my Ambassador in Washington to convey to you on March 30, 1971. I am conscious of the pressure of public opinion in the United States much of it based on unauthenticated, and in some cases biased, reports inspired by the Indian Government - which has created an impression quite different from the true state of affairs in Pakistan. No one is more pained than I am, Mr President, about the events leading to the



breakdown of law and order in East Pakistan. During the eleven days which I spent in Dacca last month, my efforts were directed solely towards the achievement of a workable constitutional arrangement which would ensure the integrity, sovereignty and progress of Pakistan. It is indeed tragic that my efforts were thwarted by a group of unpatriotic elements.

In order to acquaint you more fully with the background of the events of the last three months, following the general elections and with my plans for the future, I am sending Mr M. M. Ahmad, my Adviser for Economic Affairs, to Washington to convey to you personally all relevant information. I hope you will be good enough to find the time to receive him and provide him the opportunity to explain to you my present endeavours and future plans.

At this time of painful and anguished crisis in Pakistan, I am deeply gratified that your Government has made it clear, to all those who have raised the question, that the United States recognises the current events in East Pakistan as an internal affair, for whose solution the responsibility rests with the Government of Pakistan.

May I avail of this opportunity, Mr President, of expressing to you my appreciation of the understanding and cooperation which we have received from your Administration, especially from your esteemed Secretary for State, the Hon'ble Mr William Rogers, and the officials of his Department.



I am happy to know also that the alternative arrangements which we made for the evacuation of American nationals from Dacca by Pakistan International Airlines, as a substitute for the requested use of United States Air Force aircraft, were so readily accepted and that these arrangements have been satisfactorily completed.

In conclusion, may I reiterate what I said in my letter of March 30 that it continues to be my endeavour to resume the interrupted process of transferring power to the elected representatives of the people at the very earliest date. Now that the situation in East Pakistan is rapidly returning to normalcy, I intend to announce shortly, as a first step, my plan for the induction of provincial governments on the basis of elections held in December. It is my earnest hope that this will create appropriate conditions to enable me to proceed to the next stage of dealing with the constitutional issues at the national level.

With warmest personal regards

Sincerely,

His Excellency Mr Richard M. Nixon,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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*Kissinger
Saunders.*

SUBJECT: *Ltr fm Pres. Yahya*

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STAFF SECRETARY			
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EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

- MEMO FOR HAK ()
- MEMO FOR PRES. ()
- REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE ()
- FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ()
- MEMO _____ TO _____ ()
- RECOMMENDATIONS ()
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MAY 13 1971

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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May 25, 1971

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Letters to Indian Prime Minister Gandhi and
Pakistan President Yahya Khan

There are attached proposed draft letters from you to Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Pakistan President Yahya Khan responding to letters which each has recently sent to you.

Prime Minister Gandhi's letter to you concentrated on the refugee problem and India's limited capacity and resources to deal with it. She has sought your advice on how to deal with the problem and has appealed to you to use the power and prestige of the United States to influence the policies of the Government of Pakistan.

In the suggested response we have tried to meet her concerns in two ways, by indicating the various financial and diplomatic actions we have taken to contribute to an international refugee relief program in India and the efforts we have made to get underway an international relief program in Pakistan. We have also told her of our private efforts with the Government of Pakistan to address the underlying cause of the present crisis, the need for a peaceful accommodation in East Pakistan. In addition the letter also calls for the Indians to act with restraint in the present difficult circumstances. We believe that we can maximize our influence to prevent India-Pakistan escalation by simultaneously calling for restraint and indicating that we are addressing the basic problem in East Pakistan which Mrs. Gandhi wrote to you about.

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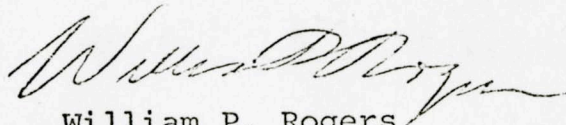
-2-

President Yahya's letter of April 17 to you was delivered by his special representative M. M. Ahmad when he called on you May 10. While it was in part intended as a letter of introduction for Ahmad's call, it sought to justify the military action which Yahya had taken in East Pakistan and to assure you that he intends to persevere in his objective of restoring democratic processes and transferring power to the elected representatives of the people in Pakistan.

The suggested reply is designed to reemphasize the main points which we have endeavored to make with the Pakistanis in recent talks both here and in Islamabad: the importance of bringing an end to the civil strife and restoring peaceful conditions, of launching an international humanitarian relief effort, of encouraging the refugees from East Pakistan in India to return home, and of exercising restraint vis-a-vis India to prevent internationalization of the conflict. In short, it stresses the need to create an atmosphere in which effective progress toward a political accommodation can be made.

Recommendation:

That you send the attached letters to Prime Minister Gandhi and President Yahya Khan.


William P. Rogers

Attachments:

Letters to Prime Minister Gandhi
and President Yahya Khan...

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SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Madame Prime Minister:

I have read with very great interest your letter of May 13 setting out your government's views on the tragic situation which has developed in Pakistan. I fully share your concern at the loss of life which has taken place, at the dislocation which the flow of refugees is causing for India, and at the dangers for the stability of the area which are implicit in the present situation.

We share your government's hope that peace and stability can be restored in the sub-continent and that all the countries of the area can develop democratic systems of government consistent with their own traditions and history.

The United States Government has not been a passive observer of these events. We have had under active and continuous review two elements of the situation which we regard as particularly urgent: the human suffering and dislocation which has taken place and the basic political cause of this suffering and dislocation. The public focus of our attention and activity has been upon the urgent humanitarian relief problems which have arisen in East Pakistan as a result of civil conflict there and which have been created in India

Her Excellency
Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

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by the refugee flow. We have actively supported over the last two months a variety of efforts to promote an international humanitarian relief effort. We have discussed these matters on several occasions with your representatives as well as with representatives of the Government of Pakistan and the United Nations.

I am happy to see that these efforts have borne fruit. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees is in the process of mounting and coordinating a relief effort in India in close cooperation with your government. The UN Secretary General has appealed to the world community for emergency relief assistance. In April I authorized \$2.5 million for refugee relief of which a contribution of \$500,000 --as donated in response to the Secretary General's appeal. We have decided to provide an additional \$15 million in food and cash to help the UN High Commissioner with refugee feeding and other assistance and in support of the program already initiated by the US voluntary agencies under which 300,000 refugees are being fed. We have agreed to your government's request to provide four C-130 aircraft to move refugees from Tripura to Assam and food supplies from Assam to Tripura. We stand ready to assist in other ways.

In regard to the basic cause of this human suffering and dislocation, my government has also been active. We have chosen to work primarily through quiet diplomacy, as we have informed your Ambassador and Foreign Minister. We have been discussing with the Government of Pakistan the importance of steps to bring about a peaceful political

accommodation and the restoration of conditions in which the refugee flow would stop and the refugees would be able to return to their homes.

Let me assure you that we fully realize the dangers which this massive movement of people have created. I recognize the very great burdens which India has to bear. I recognize that the international response to the Secretary General's appeal will only blunt the economic impact of the influx of refugees on your plans for the future. We will keep this in mind in our programming for economic assistance.

I should also mention to you my concern that the present situation not develop into a more widespread conflict in South Asia either as a result of the refugee flow or through an escalation of the insurgency which may be developing in East Pakistan. This is a problem which can and should be solved peacefully. As you know, in recent months we have been impressed by the vitality of Indian democracy and the strength of purpose which your government has shown in meeting the complex social and economic problems which India faces. This progress should not be interrupted by war. India as one of Asia's major powers has a special responsibility for the peace and stability of the region. I hope that India, in the face of what I recognize to be trying and difficult circumstances, will continue to act with restraint.

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I very much appreciate your thoughtful comments on my daughter's engagement. I know she and her fiance appreciate your expression of happiness at their engagement.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

Clearances:

S/R - Mr. Kellogg (subs)
AID/NESA - Mr. Rees (subs)
NEA/PAF - Mr. Spengler

NEA/INC: DTSchneider
x22141, 5/25/71

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SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Mr. President:

I appreciated receiving from your Adviser for Economic Affairs and special representative, Mr. M. M. Ahmad, your thoughtful letter of April 17 commenting on the unfortunate situation which has developed in your country and reiterating your determination to press forward nonetheless toward restoring democratic processes and transferring power peacefully to the elected representatives of the people.

As you know, Mr. Ahmad presented your letter to me personally on May 10 and we had a good talk at that time. Among other things, he explained to me your plans for addressing these important political objectives, which I was encouraged to hear. Mr. Ahmad also met separately with a number of high officials of our government. These discussions have been useful to us in gaining a better understanding of the problems you are facing. I trust they were also useful to him.

Since then you have been good enough to receive Ambassador Farland in Karachi on May 22 so that he could present my letter of May 7 and exchange views with you on important aspects of the situation in your country and of our continuing relationship. I am pleased to know that you found my letter satisfactory and that you have responded so

His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan,
President of Pakistan,
President's House,
Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

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Let me say in particular that I was gratified to learn this week of your decision to request formally the assistance of the United Nations in organizing an international humanitarian relief effort for the people of East Pakistan who have suffered loss and deprivation from recent events there, and of your letter to Secretary General U Thant confirming that decision. I have also noted your public declarations encouraging refugees from East Pakistan now in India to return to their homes. I believe that more will need to be done to make that hope a reality.

I feel sure you will agree with me that the first essential step is to bring an end to the civil strife and restore peaceful conditions in East Pakistan. Then full-scale efforts can go forward within an international framework to help your government provide relief assistance to the people who need it. In this respect we have particular concern for the people of the coastal area affected by the cyclonic disaster last November whom the people of the United States and other friendly countries, and international organizations, have endeavored to assist. I would like to reassure you that our government and countrymen are already prepared not only to resume humanitarian relief efforts in

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- 3 -

this special area but to extend them to the rest of East Pakistan under the aegis of the United Nations in accordance with arrangements now under discussion.

While this is being done it will, of course, be essential to ensure that tensions in the region as a whole do not increase to the point of international conflict. I would be less than candid if I did not acknowledge that I have recently become deeply concerned over the possibility that this situation might escalate to that danger point, in large measure over the issue of the mounting numbers of refugees who are imposing such heavy burdens on the resources and economy of your neighbor, India, and are bringing increasing pressures to bear on its government. I believe, therefore, that it is absolutely vital for the maintenance of peace in the Subcontinent to restore conditions in East Pakistan conducive to the return of these refugees. I urge you to continue to exercise restraint both along your borders with India and in your general relations with that country, as we are counseling the Government of India on its part to do.

I remain of the conviction that it is only in a peaceful atmosphere that you and your administration can make effective progress toward the political accommodation you seek. You have my heartfelt wishes for success in achieving that much desired objective.

Sincerely,

Clearances:

NEA - Mr. Van Hollen

Richard Nixon

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PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi,
May 13, 1971.

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your warm message of congratulations on our recent elections. You know how much I value your good wishes.

I trust you have been following closely the sequence of events in East Bengal. I do not wish to write about the barbarities which have been committed across our eastern border. These have been vividly described in the world press. My concern is to draw your attention to the gigantic problems which Pakistan's actions in East Bengal have created for India.

The carnage in East Bengal has naturally disturbed the Indian people deeply. There has been a surge of emotion which we have tried to contain but we find it increasingly difficult to do so in view of the systematic effort on the part of Pakistan to force millions of people to take refuge in our territory. The two problems - Pakistan's war on the people of East Bengal and its impact on us in the form of millions of refugees - cannot be separated.

Soon after it was returned to office in March, my government started mobilising all its energies in order to make up for the tardy growth of our economy in recent years. In the best of circumstances this would have been a formidable task but the situation with which Pakistan has confronted us makes it almost impossible. As things are at present, our economy faces disruption. This is not a prospect which we can contemplate with equanimity. As we see it, the rulers of Pakistan would wish the refugee problem in India to result in an aggravation of social tension and religious strife. They probably have a vested interest in this.

Until the 12th May, 1971, the number of fugitives who were registered on their crossing the border into India was 23,28,507. We believe that there is a fair number who have avoided registration. Refugees still continue to pour in at the rate of about fifty thousand a day. We are doing our utmost to look after them. But there is a limit to

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PRIME MINISTER

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our capacity and resources. Even the attempt to provide minimum facilities of shelter, food and medical care is imposing an enormous burden on us. The rains have begun in the Eastern region and soon the fury of the monsoon will be unleashed and vastly complicate the problem of providing shelter to the evacuees. Apparently, Pakistan is trying to solve its internal problems by cutting down the size of its population in East Bengal and changing its communal composition through an organised and selective programme of eviction; but it is India that has to take the brunt of this.

In this grim situation, I feel I am entitled to seek the advice of all friendly Governments on how they would wish us to deal with the problem. As far as we are concerned, Pakistan's claim that normalcy has been restored in East Bengal cannot carry conviction until it is able to stop this daily flow of its citizens across the border and the nearly three million refugees who are already here begin to go back with some assurance of their future safety.

The regions which the refugees are entering are over-crowded and politically the most sensitive parts of India. The situation in these areas can very easily become explosive. The influx of refugees thus constitutes a grave security risk which no responsible government can allow to develop.

We are convinced that the loyalty of a people to a State cannot be enforced at gun-point. Through their recent elections the overwhelming majority of the people of East Bengal expressed their adherence to the concepts of nationalism and democracy. Since the expressed will of the people is being stifled, extremist political elements will inevitably gain ground. With our own difficulties in West Bengal the dangers of a link-up between the extremists in the two Bengals are real. If your assessment is different, I should be glad to have the benefit of your views.

I believe that the Government of the United States of America is interested in the peace and stability of the sub-continent and its evolution along democratic lines. I have no doubt that you are giving thought to the long-term

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PRIME MINISTER

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consequences of the events in East Bengal. In the meantime, it is our earnest hope that the Government of the United States of America will impress upon the rulers of Pakistan that they owe a duty towards their own citizens whom they have treated so callously and forced to seek refuge in a foreign country.

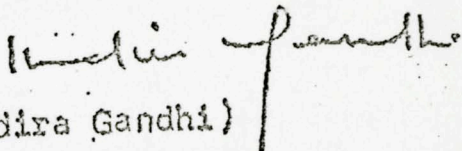
It is also our earnest hope that the power and prestige of the United States will be used to persuade the military rulers of Pakistan to recognize that the solution they have chosen for their problem in East Pakistan is unwise and untenable.

The people of India, including all political parties, are deeply concerned with the personal safety of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who is in the custody of the Government of Pakistan according to their own announcement. If you consider sending any message to the President of Pakistan, we would appreciate your taking up this matter with him.

We are all delighted to hear of your daughter's engagement and wish her and her fiancé the very best.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(Indira Gandhi)

His Excellency Mr. Richard Nixon,
President of the United States of America,
Washington.



From: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan,
H.Pk., H.J.,
President of Pakistan

7106999

17 April 1971

Dear Mr President,

In my pre-occupation with events and developments at home, I have not so far been able to acknowledge your letter of March 3, 1971, with which I received a copy of your valuable and comprehensive report to the Congress of the United States on American Foreign Policy. I take this opportunity of thanking you for your letter and for your very kind expression of sympathy for me and the people of Pakistan in this hour of crisis. I share your hope, Mr President, that, with the restoration of normal conditions in East Pakistan, saner councils in that province will emerge to assist in the resumption of the interrupted task of democratic processes and a peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

I trust that you have had an opportunity of seeing the message which I had instructed my Ambassador in Washington to convey to you on March 30, 1971. I am conscious of the pressure of public opinion in the United States much of it based on unauthenticated, and in some cases biased, reports inspired by the Indian Government - which has created an impression quite different from the true state of affairs. No one is more pained



breakdown of law and order in East Pakistan. During the eleven days which I spent in Dacca last month, my efforts were directed solely towards the achievement of a workable constitutional arrangement which would ensure the integrity, sovereignty and progress of Pakistan. It is indeed tragic that my efforts were thwarted by a group of unpatriotic elements.

In order to acquaint you more fully with the background of the events of the last three months, following the general elections and with my plans for the future, I am sending Mr M. M. Ahmad, my Adviser for Economic Affairs, to Washington to convey to you personally all relevant information. I hope you will be good enough to find the time to receive him and provide him the opportunity to explain to you my present endeavours and future plans.

At this time of painful and anguished crisis in Pakistan, I am deeply gratified that your Government has made it clear, to all those who have raised the question, that the United States recognises the current events in East Pakistan as an internal affair, for whose solution the responsibility rests with the Government of Pakistan.

May I avail of this opportunity, Mr President, of expressing to you my appreciation of the understanding and cooperation which we have received from your Administration, especially from your esteemed Secretary for State, the

Hon'ble Mr William P. Rogers and the officials of his



I am happy to know also that the alternative arrangements which we made for the evacuation of American nationals from Dacca by Pakistan International Airlines, as a substitute for the requested use of United States Air Force aircraft, were so readily accepted and that these arrangements have been satisfactorily completed.

In conclusion, may I reiterate what I said in my letter of March 30 that it continues to be my endeavour to resume the interrupted process of transferring power to the elected representatives of the people at the very earliest date. Now that the situation in East Pakistan is rapidly returning to normalcy, I intend to announce shortly, as a first step, my plan for the induction of provincial governments on the basis of elections held in December. It is my earnest hope that this will create appropriate conditions to enable me to proceed to the next stage of dealing with the constitutional issues at the national level.

With warmest personal regards

Sincerely,

His Excellency Mr Richard M. Nixon,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION
28895

28913

(Handwritten mark)

SECRET

May 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL HAIG

FROM: Samuel M. Hoskinson *SH*

SUBJECT: Letter to Yahya

Attached is the memo to the President you requested to set the record straight on the Yahya letter. Hopefully, we are now at the end of this saga!

SECRET

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 25, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: MRS. JEANNE W. DAVIS
JOHN MURPHY

D ~~HELL~~ BRAGAN, Senior Watch Officer, Sit Room ✓

FROM: L. G. ROBERTSON *L. G. Robertson*

SUBJ: Disposition of article 7106999 (subj) letters
7107481

to Indian Prime Minister Gandhi and Pakistan President Yahya Khan

Per Mrs. Davis' instructions, the "original" and two copies delivered to Sam Hoskinson.

Enclosed copy FYI.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT: Letter to Yahya

About the same time you signed the letter to President Yahya, you received a letter from him. He thanks you for your last letter, reaffirms his "resolve to transfer power to a civilian government at the earliest possible" moment and indicates that he recognizes the seriousness of the refugee problem. Most of his letter, however, is a long narrative blaming his problems on India. (See attached)

In view of this development, I amended the beginning of your letter to indicate that you had received Yahya's latest message and appreciated having his views. The substantive portion of your letter remains the same and very much to the point.

Your letters to both Yahya and Mrs. Gandhi were cabled immediately to Islamabad and New Delhi so that they might have the maximum impact on the Indo-Pakistani situation.

SECRET



FROM: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
H. Pk., H. J.

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

May 24, 1971

Dear Mr. President,

I appreciate greatly the constructive and friendly contents of your letter of May 7, 1971. I am also grateful to you for receiving Mr. M.M. Ahmed and listening to him on my behalf. He has informed me of the courtesy and the understanding shown to him by you personally and by your colleagues, particularly Secretary Rogers and Dr. Kissinger.

2. I greatly value and welcome the sentiments of friendship and assurance of your personal support for the renewal of our national development effort and the resumption of normal economic activity throughout Pakistan. This is characteristic of your Government's readiness to come to our assistance whenever needed.

3. It is also a matter of great satisfaction for us to know of your sympathetic comprehension of our manifold problems and difficulties. In particular, it is gratifying to learn that you share our view that it is to no one's advantage to permit the situation in East Pakistan to be internationalised and that any foreign intervention in this situation could create new problems and compound the difficulty of securing an ultimate settlement.

4. I take this opportunity, Mr. President, to reaffirm my resolve to transfer power to a civilian government at the earliest possible. For this purpose, I have initiated, once again, consultations with political leaders and elected representatives of the people and I hope to announce at an early date the outlines of my further plans. I have no doubt in my mind that with

... 2 .../



FROM: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
H. Pk., H. J.

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

- 2 -

the support of the responsible leadership in the country, we would be able to resolve the present constitutional impasse.

5. Mr. President, our plans for national reconstruction cannot materialise so long as India follows a policy of open and constant interference in our internal affairs. It was not a matter of mere coincidence that the present crisis in Indo-Pakistan relations started when Pakistan was at the threshold of ushering in a democratically elected government. By arranging a hijacking incident, India sought justification for its decision to ban overflights of our aircraft.. Thus, a situation was created which not only imposed a heavy financial burden on Pakistan but also made the task of a political settlement between the two wings of our country more difficult. Thereafter, India has persistently attacked the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan. The secessionist elements in East Pakistan were encouraged and assisted by India. The Indian Parliament, in an unprecedented move, officially extended sympathy and support to these elements. The question of "recognising" the rebellious movement has also been under consideration of the Indian Government. Infiltrators and saboteurs from across the border have violated our territory and indulged in activities to dislocate and destroy East Pakistan's economic and industrial life, including the vital communications system.

6. It is most unfortunate that due to disturbed conditions and for other reasons, a large number of people left their homes in East Pakistan and crossed into India. Their migration has created a human problem which should be

... 3 .../



FROM: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
H. Pk., H. J.

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

- 3 -

treated as such. There is no justification whatsoever for exploiting human misery for political gains. I have, therefore, in a public statement urged the law abiding citizens of East Pakistan who were compelled to migrate, to return to their homes and resume their normal duties. They would not only be welcome but would be afforded necessary protection and assistance by my Government.

7. I am afraid, however, that I cannot extend a welcome to those persons who committed murders, indulged in rape and arson, destroyed private and public properties and looted Government treasuries and food stores. No Government can condone such crimes against the people and the State.

8. Mr. President, it hardly needs reiteration that the problem of our relations with India is a major factor in the processes leading to the early resumption of normal life and economic reconstruction in East Pakistan. It is not only in regard to the refugee problem but also in respect of the banning of overflights, encouragement to infiltrators and anti-state elements, and other such matters, that India must exercise restraint and adopt a constructive approach. If Mrs. Indra Gandhi could be persuaded to show a more helpful attitude, there is no reason why the political climate of the sub-continent should not register an immediate and welcome improvement. Such a development is most desirable from our view point as this would enable us to devote all our attention and energies to tackling various problems including the question of refugees which demand immediate solution.

... 4 .../



FROM: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
H. Pk., H. J.

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

- 4 -

9. As I have stated above, the refugees pose a human problem which has to be settled on that basis. At the same time I feel that it is not an isolated development and stems from other issues which I have mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Any initiative, Mr. President, that you might find possible to take in solving the refugee problem and the related issues would be an act of historical significance.

With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

His Excellency
Mr. Richard M. Nixon
President of the United States of America
WASHINGTON

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC	RECD	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
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DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

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 TS _____ SENSITIVE _____

SUBJECT: *Responded to May 24 ltr from Yahya*

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION				ACTION REQUIRED	
	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			MEMO FOR HAK	(_____)
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES.	(_____)
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE	(_____)
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH	(_____)
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA				MEMO _____ TO _____	(_____)
EUROPE/CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS	(_____)
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO	(_____)
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO STATE	(_____)
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY	(_____)
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE	(_____)
LR PLANNING				DUE DATE:	
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				COMMENTS: (Including Special Instructions)	
NSC PLANNING					
CONGRESSIONAL					

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
<i>05/28</i>	<i>STAIN</i>	<i>HAIG</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>Sign Memo to Pres (0601)</i>	
<i>5/28</i>				<i>Noted by Haig / memo not forwarded to Pres</i>	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH _____ NOTIFY _____ DATE _____

SEE LOG _____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO _____

JOINED BY LOG _____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) _____

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SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: _____

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TO) PAF

WHC _____

SUBF _____



FROM: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
H. Pk., H. J.

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

May 24, 1971

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PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

- 2 -

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H. Pk., H. J.

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

- 3 -

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FROM: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
H. Pk., H. J.

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

- 4 -

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With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

His Excellency
Mr. Richard M. Nixon
President of the United States of America
WASHINGTON

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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 HAIG _____ LAIRD, M _____ C _____ EYES ONLY _____ LIMDIS _____
 S _____ CODE WORD _____ RES DATA _____
 TS _____ SENSITIVE _____

SUBJECT: *HILARY/KHAN, ya Lya*
ya Lya Khan's response to Pres Ltr re Situation: i Pakistan

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION		ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG				
STAFF SECRETARY				
FAR EAST				
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA				
EUROPE/CANADA				
LATIN AMERICA				
UNITED NATIONS				
ECONOMIC				
SCIENTIFIC				
LR PLANNING				
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				
NSC PLANNING				
CONGRESSIONAL				

ACTION REQUIRED	
MEMO FOR HAK	()
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REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE	()
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RECOMMENDATIONS	()
JOINT MEMO	()
REFER TO STATE	()
ANY ACTION NECESSARY	()
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DUE DATE:	

COMMENTS: (Including Special Instructions)
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INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
29 May	Huskinson	Sec.		Action already completed under memo HAK to Pres. # 28895 and original with this memo.	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH _____ NOTIFY _____ DATE _____
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 JOINED BY LOG _____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) _____
 SPECIAL FILE RQMT: SA, HP, HM
 SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: _____
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MICROFILM DATA

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TO) PAF

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JUN 03 1971

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Department of State

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TELEGRAM

SECRET 498

PAGE 01 STATE 095111

82
ORIGIN SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 R

66642
DRAFTED BY: NEA/PAF: WFSPENGLER
APPROVED BY: NEA: CVANHOLLÉN
S/S: MR. CURRAN
TEXT OF LETTER RECEIVED FROM WHITE HOUSE.

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

71 MAY 29 AM 9:07

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P 282310Z MAY 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY
AMCONSUL DACCA
USMISSION USUN NY
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

S E C R E T STATE 095111

EXDIS

BANGKOK PLEASE DELIVER TO AMBASSADOR JOSEPH S. FARLAND

SUBJ: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NIXON TO PRESIDENT YAHYA

1. EMBASSY SHOULD DELIVER TO PRESIDENT YAHYA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE FOLLOWING TEXT OF LETTER DATED MAY 28 FROM PRESIDENT NIXON REPLYING TO LETTER FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA DATED MAY 24 RECEIVED WHITE HOUSE EVENING MAY 27 (TEXT OF LETTER BEING SENT BY SEPTEL). FYI: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NIXON ORIGINALLY KEYED TO YAHYA'S LETTER OF APRIL 17 PRESENTED PERSONALLY BY M.M. AHMAD MAY 10 (STATE 83947), REVISED TO RESPOND ALSO TO LETTER OF MAY 24. LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NIXON TO PRINIM GANDHI BEING SENT SIMULTANEOUSLY. END FYI.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

MAY 28, 1971



Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 095111

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

YOUR LETTER OF MAY 24 WAS OF VERY GREAT INTEREST TO ME. THE SITUATION IN THE SUBCONTINENT HAS BEEN MUCH ON MY MIND AND IT IS MOST USEFUL TO HAVE YOUR VIEWS. AMBASSADOR FARLAND HAS ALSO SENT ME A FULL REPORT OF HIS RECENT CONVERSATION WITH YOU AND THIS, ALONG WITH OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. M.M. AHMAD, HAS GIVEN US A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS YOU ARE FACING.

I AM PLEASED TO KNOW THAT YOU FOUND MY LETTER SATISFACTORY AND THAT YOU HAVE RESPONDED SO POSITIVELY TO SUGGESTIONS WE HAVE MADE IN AN EFFORT TO BE HELPFUL IN THESE DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. IN THAT SAME SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING, I WISH TO INFORM YOU OF OUR PRESENT VIEWS AND CONCERNS.

LET ME SAY FIRST THAT I WAS GRATIFIED TO LEARN OF YOUR STATESMANLIKE DECISION TO ACPT FORMALLY THE ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN ORGANIZING AN INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT FOR THE PEOPLE OF EAST PAKISTAN AND OF YOUR LETTER TO SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT CONFIRMING THAT DECISION. I HAVE ALSO NOTED WITH SATISFACTION YOUR PUBLIC DECLARATION OF AMNESTY FOR THE REFUGEES AND COMMITMENT TO TRANSFER POWER TO ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES. I AM CONFIDENT THAT YOU WILL TURN THESE STATEMENTS INTO REALITY.

I FEEL SURE YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT THE FIRST ESSENTIAL STEP IS TO BRING AN END TO THE CIVIL STRIFE AND RESTORE PEACEFUL CONDITIONS IN EAST PAKISTAN. THEN FULL-SCALE EFFORTS CAN GO FORWARD WITHIN AN INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK TO HELP YOUR GOVERNMENT PROVIDE RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE WHO NEED IT. IN THIS RESPECT, WE ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PEOPLE OF THE COASTAL AREA WHO WERE AFFECTED BY THE CYCLONIC DISASTER LAST NOVEMBER. THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, HAVE ENDEAVORED TO ASSIST THESE PEOPLE IN THE PAST, AND I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT MY GOVERNMENT AND COUNTRYMEN ARE ALREADY PREPARED NOT ONLY TO RESUME HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS IN THIS SPECIAL AREA BUT TO EXTEND THEM TO THE REST OF

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 095111

EAST PAKISTAN UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARRANGEMENTS NOW UNDER DISCUSSION.

WHILE THIS IS BEING DONE, IT WILL, OF COURSE, BE ESSENTIAL TO ENSURE THAT TENSIONS IN THE REGION AS A WHOLE DO NOT INCREASE TO THE POINT OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. I WOULD BE LESS THAN CANDID IF I DID NOT EXPRESS MY DEEP CONCERN OVER THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SITUATION THERE MIGHT ESCALATE TO THAT DANGER POINT. I BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT IT IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN THE SUBCONTINENT TO RESTORE CONDITIONS IN EAST PAKISTAN CONDUCTIVE TO THE RETURN OF REFUGEES FROM INDIAN TERRITORY AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. I URGE YOU TO CONTINUE TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT BOTH ALONG YOUR BORDERS WITH INDIA AND IN YOUR GENERAL RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY. WE ARE COUNSELING THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO DO THE SAME.

IT IS ONLY IN A PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE THAT YOU AND YOUR ADMINISTRATION CAN MAKE EFFECTIVE PROGRESS TOWARD THE POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION YOU SEEK IN EAST PAKISTAN. YOU HAVE MY HEARTFELT WISHES FOR SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING THAT MUCH DESIRED OBJECTIVE.

WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

/S/ RICHARD NIXON

HIS EXCELLENCY
GENERAL AGHA MUHAMMAD YAHYA KHAN
PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN
PRESIDENT'S HOUSE
RAWALPINDI END TEXT.

3. WE CONTINUE BELIEVE EXCHANGE OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTERS THIS GENERAL SUBJECT SHOULD BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL, AND AGREE WITH POSITION TAKEN BY EMBASSY ON POINT RE EXCHANGE EARLIER THIS MONTH (PARA 6 ISLAMABAD 5086). WE DO NOT INTEND PUBLICIZE FOREGOING LETTER AND DESIRE GOP NOT RELEASE. ROGERS

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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This document has been reviewed pursuant to Executive Order 13526 and has been determined to be declassified

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET 078

71 MAY 30 AM 9:44

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 STATE 095358

82
ORIGIN SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 R

66643

DRAFTED BY: NEA:CVANHOLLEN
APPROVED BY: NEA: CHRISTOPHER VANI HOLLEN
NEA/PAF: MR SPENGLER
NEA/INC: MR SCHNEIDER
S/S-O:SEFRY

126091

R 292243Z MAY 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMCONSUL DACCA
USMISSION USUN NY

SECRET STATE 095358

EXDIS

FOR CHARGE

BANGKOK FOR AMBASSADOR FARLAND

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA TO PRESIDENT NIXON

REF: ISLAMABAD 5317

AS YOU WILL HAVE NOTED, PRESIDENT NIXON'S REPLY TO YAHYA'S
LETTERS OF APRIL 17 AND MAY 24 (STATE 095111) SIGNED AND TRANSMITTED
PRIOR TO RECEIPT OF REFTEL. HOWEVER, NUMBER OF YOUR SUGGESTIONS
ALREADY INCORPORATED IN PRESIDENT'S REPLY. WE WILL GIVE ACTIVE
CONSIDERATION TO YOUR OTHER SUGGESTIONS, INCLUDING POSSIBILITY
OF EXPANDED ROLE FOR UN ON BOTH SIDES OF INDIAN-EAST PAKISTAN
BORDER TO DEAL WITH REFUGEE PROBLEM. GP-3. ROGERS

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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DECLASSIFIED

This document has been reviewed pursuant to Executive Order 13526 and has been determined to be declassified

6

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1971

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your two recent messages expressing your concern over indications of a mounting threat to peace in the sub-continent and stressing the importance of clarifying the stance of Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium countries toward future economic assistance to Pakistan.

I am very pleased that Dr. Kissinger will have an opportunity to discuss with you in Islamabad a number of questions that concern us both. He will deliver to you this letter responding to both of your recent messages.

Your message of June 18 conveying your apprehension of a growing threat to the peace of your region of the world has received my most serious consideration. This trend is of grave concern to all friends of Pakistan and India alike, and I sincerely trust that any such development can be averted through the exercise of good will and the forbearance by all concerned.

As you know, Foreign Minister Singh recently visited this country. He reflected deep concern over the rising refugee problem India faces and the burden which this problem is placing on the Indian economy and people. It remains our earnest hope that you and your government will succeed in your efforts to enable these refugees to return to their homes. For our part, we continue to urge the Government of India to exercise restraint, as we have in our discussions with you.

Your several recent statements welcoming the return to East Pakistan of all the refugees irrespective of caste, creed or religion and promising them full protection provide

a necessary foundation along with the steps you have taken to facilitate their return and rehabilitation. We recognize, too, the significance of your initiative in seeking the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Your address to your countrymen on June 28 setting forth the framework within which you propose to proceed in restoring constitutional government and returning political power to the elected representatives of your people is also an important step.

The misunderstanding that has arisen over the meeting of the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium in Paris on June 21 is regrettable, and the anxiety which it has caused in your country understandable. I sympathize with the statement you made in your address of June 28 disapproving of foreign aid if political strings are attached.

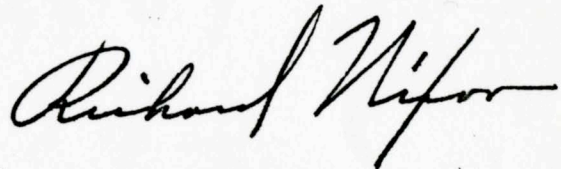
The Consortium meeting was an informal one. No decisions with respect to economic aid to Pakistan were sought, and none were reached. Furthermore, a common position was not developed whereby all members of the Consortium would jointly suspend future aid or withhold already committed assistance. The Consortium members are now awaiting the final reports of the World Bank and Fund Missions and also the completion by your government of a revised national development plan. As soon as resumption of national development programs is possible, we expect that a formal meeting of the Consortium, with Pakistani participation, will be called to review new aid requirements.

We wish to proceed with new agreements, subject to U.S. legislative criteria, as soon as adequate grounds are established for a resumption of economic development throughout Pakistan. In the meantime, we are extending new humanitarian relief aid to East Pakistan within the framework of the UN-coordinated program, and are urging others to contribute as well.

Please continue to let me know of any ways in which you feel we can help promote our common interests in safeguarding the peace of your region and the welfare of its people.

With personal regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard Nixon". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Richard Nixon".

His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
President's House
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

30026

29768

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Brigadier General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

SUBJECT: Letter to President Yahya

You have received two letters from President Yahya in recent days:

--On June 18, he wrote to call your attention to "the rapidly mounting threat to peace and stability in the subcontinent" [Tab B]. He alleged that the Indians have "spared no effort to exploit" the refugee problem as an instrument to impose the Government of India's choice on East Pakistan" and voiced concern that Indian "threats" could lead to a conflict. He closed by requesting you "to use your influence with India to persuade her to desist from actions, which could lead not only to a breach of the peace but, as a result of that, to unforeseen consequences which could affect the world community."

--On June 28, Yahya wrote again; this time to voice his concern about the results of the recent informal consortium meeting of economic aid donors. He seemed to be particularly upset about reports that a decision had been made to withhold aid as a pressure tactic to promote a political settlement in East Pakistan. Yahya specifically asked you to "prevent the present ambiguity and misunderstanding from becoming a source of further strains in Pakistan's relations with the Western world" [Tab C].

At Tab A is a draft reply which Dr. Kissinger would give to President Yahya. Its tone is friendly and reflects your desire to be helpful. It recognizes the efforts President Yahya has made toward resolving his problem in East Pakistan and wishes him success, noting that resolution is important not only in lessening tension with India but in providing a framework in which full economic development can resume.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the letter at Tab A so that it can be taken to Dr. Kissinger for delivery.

SECRET

29768 Tab B



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

June 19, 1971

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

Dear Dr Kissinger,

I have just received telegraphically the enclosed letter from my President addressed to His Excellency President Richard M. Nixon.

I shall be grateful if you would transmit it to its high destination immediately.

I am sending a copy of it to the Secretary of State also.

With my warm personal regards.

Yours sincerely,

(A. Hilaly)

The Honourable
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger
The White House
Washington D. C.

Received by telegram from Islamabad dated June 18, 1971

Your Excellency:

I am addressing you to invite your attention to the rapidly mounting threat to peace and security in the sub-continent. In the last few days belligerent statements have been made by the Indian Prime Minister and her Cabinet Ministers which amount to a threat of war. The latest of these is a statement in the Indian Parliament by the Indian Prime Minister on 15th June, relevant extracts of which are attached. It makes it obvious that the speaker is determined to exploit the presence of displaced persons in India to aggravate a tense situation and justify military intervention in East Pakistan. Should Indian leaders be allowed to continue on this course, consequences would be disastrous not only for the sub-continent but for the entire region.

Notwithstanding the fact, that since independence Pakistan has received millions of refugees from India, a large number of whom still remain unsettled, the Indian Government has spared no effort at this juncture to exploit the presence of Pakistani displaced persons for a political end. These persons should be enabled to return to their homes, and my Government has taken adequate steps to ensure this. We have as you must have learnt, associated the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees to advise and assist us in implementation of this objective. The U.N. High Commissioner, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, has personally visited some

of the reception centers we have established to welcome returning displaced persons, and satisfied himself that adequate facilities exist to receive them. Relief and rehabilitation arrangements within the province of East Pakistan are also to be provided by the U. N. and a representative of the Secretary-General has already reached Dacca to co-ordinate activities in this field with the provincial government. There is welcome news that thousands have already returned and more would be doing so, if only India would stop discouraging and hindering their return movement. It is most unfortunate that this humanitarian question should be cynically turned into political propaganda by India, and that the Indian Government should use the problem of the displaced persons, as an instrument of pressure on Pakistan to impose a political government of Indian choice in East Pakistan. No government could yield to such blackmail.

As I have repeatedly stressed, war would solve nothing and we do not want a conflict with India. It remains our earnest hope that India will not resort to a conflict. The danger is that through constant repetition of threats, Indian leaders may succeed in creating an atmosphere and mood in their country which could inevitably lead to a conflict. In recent days the Indian army has indulged in numerous aggressive activities from across the border and there are confirmed reports of increasing concentration of Indian forces. There have also

been reports by neutral observers of establishment of camps in India to train saboteurs to infiltrate into East Pakistan.

Your Excellency, it is in this serious situation and in the interest of preserving peace, that I would request you to use your influence with India to persuade her to desist from actions, which could lead not only to a breach of peace but as a result of that, to unforeseen consequences which could affect the world community.

Your personal interest in the maintenance of peace in the sub-continent and in the security and progress of Pakistan is a very important factor to which I attach great importance. Now, when considerable progress has been made on our side for receiving back displaced persons, I find that Mrs. Gandhi is unfortunately not willing to permit them to return to Pakistan, except in circumstances of her own choosing. I am confident that your advice to her, not to compound our difficulties, will make a profound difference to the prevailing situation. I have also made a commitment to announce my political plans for the country on 28th June. But unless India is restrained, my efforts would be seriously affected.

With my warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

His Excellency

Richard M. Nixon

President of the United States

A. M. Yahya Khan

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This document has been reviewed pursuant to Executive Order 13526 and has been determined to be declassified

EXCERPTS FROM LATEST STATEMENTS OF
INDIAN LEADERS ON THE EAST PAKISTAN
SITUATION.

Mrs Indira Gandhi said in the Parliament on June 15 " we are not going to let international community get away without sharing consequences of what is happening in Bangladesh. Whether they help in finding a settlement of problem or not, they will suffer from the consequences of events. Our Ministers who have gone to various countries are informing them of developments and their implications. "

Mrs Gandhi who was replying to a debate on the subject in the Rajyasabha said that if the international community had exerted its influence at the proper time, a political settlement could have been possible earlier. Now with each passing day, possibility of such a settlement is becoming more remote. The Indian Premier said, "India does not accept a political settlement which may mean death of Bangladesh and democracy. A settlement must be arrived at with those people who are being suppressed in Bangladesh". The Premier also said, "we have no intention of allowing refugees to settle down in ^{our} country or to go back to Bangladesh to be butchered".

The Indian Foreign Minister Mr Swaran Singh told a press

conference at Ottawa on June 14 that "India cannot allow itself to be overrun quietly by refugees from East Pakistan if the international community does not take sufficient interest in the problem. This influx poses a threat to India and action may have to be taken". When asked whether he was suggesting India might use force to alleviate the burden he replied, "let us not talk about the use of force". He suggested that foreign governments should cut off development and military aid to Pakistan.

Mr Jaya Prakash Narayan told Mr Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State at Washington on June 8, "if peace and tranquility was to be restored in East Bengal, President Yahya Khan's Government should be induced by the big powers to release Mujibur Rahman and other leaders, withdraw the army to the barracks and start negotiations with elected representatives of people". His own view was that East Bengal and their leaders would not settle for less than total independence from West Pakistan".

PRESS RELEASE

ISSUED BY THE
EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

June 19, 1971.

"Members of the minority community should have no hesitation in returning to their homes in East Pakistan. They will be given full protection and every facility as they are equal citizens of Pakistan and there is no question of any discriminatory treatment" said President Yahya Khan in a statement broadcast nation wide on the Pakistan Radio on June 18.

Referring to his earlier appeals launched May 21, and May 24, asking displaced persons to return home the President said, "My appeal was addressed to all Pakistani nationals irrespective of caste, creed or religion".

The following is the full text of the President's broadcast:

"On May 21, I issued a personal message to all Pakistan nationals who had, due to various reasons, gone to India to return to their homes in East Pakistan and resume their normal activities. In my press conference in Karachi on May 24, I reiterated my earlier statement and assured displaced persons that the necessary assistance would be provided to them for their return and resettlement. It is gratifying to note that despite hindrances put by interested parties, many Pakistanis have returned and are now on the way to their respective homes. I am certain many more will follow them. As I said before, there is no question of withholding permission to return from our own citizens. In fact ~~East~~ Pakistan Government has made adequate arrangements to receive them and to extend full assistance in their rehabilitation. My appeal was addressed to all Pakistani nationals irrespective of caste, creed or religion. Members of the minority community should have no hesitation in returning to their homes in East Pakistan. They will be given full protection and every facility as they are equal citizens of Pakistan and there is no question of any discriminatory treatment. I urge them not to be misled by mischievous propaganda being conducted from outside Pakistan."

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Tab C

30026



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

June 29, 1971.

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

Dear Dr. Kissinger,

.....

Herewith a letter from my President addressed to President Nixon just telegraphed to me. I will be grateful if you would be kind enough to deliver it to the President.

With my warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

(A. Hilaly)

The Honorable
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

SECRET



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

FULL TEXT OF PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN'S
LETTER TO HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT
RICHARD M. NIXON DATED JUNE 28, 1971.

Dear Mr. President,

I was greatly encouraged by report given to me by Mr. M.M. Ahmed after his meeting with you in Washington last month. I deeply appreciate your continuing interest in our development and particularly your assurance that United States would not wish to do anything that would aggravate Pakistan's difficulties and United States would like World Bank and other members of Consortium to adopt a similar helpful posture.

2. The proceedings of the informal meeting of the Consortium held at Paris on 21st June have however come to us as a disappointment. The official communique issued after the meeting is bare and negative. The same day British Broadcasting Corporation and New York Times carried stories that the Consortium had decided to withhold further aid to Pakistan until the Pakistan Government reveals what sort of political settlement it envisages for East Pakistan. The veracity of the newspaper reports has been enhanced by a statement of

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E.O. 13526, Section 3.5
NLN 10-13/11696 Per Ltr. 8/21/2014
By [Signature] BNARA, Date 12/18/2014

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This document has been reviewed pursuant to Executive Order 13526 and has been determined to be declassified. [9. 1 of 3]



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

- 2 -

the British Foreign Secretary that "there can be no question of new British aid to Pakistan until we have firm evidence that real progress is being made towards a political settlement".

3. All these developments have led to a strong and widespread public reaction in Pakistan. It is most unfortunate that all this should have happened at this juncture. It can only make more difficult the task of a political settlement.

4. In response to these developments I had no choice but to declare in unequivocal terms in my broadcast of today that external assistance with political strings will be unacceptable to Pakistan.

5. It is important that the general impression about the present attitude of the Consortium countries to Pakistan is fully clarified. The adjournment of the Paris discussions without announcing a date to take up our requirements is being interpreted as a consequence of Indian pressure tactics.

6. I hope Mr. President that in view of the friendly relations between our two countries and your



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

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personal interest in Pakistan's integrity and well-being, you will prevent the present ambiguity and misunderstanding from becoming a source of further strains in Pakistan's relations with the Western world. This is something which we should in our joint interest try to prevent.

7. Your sympathetic approach to the problems that Pakistan is facing today and the understanding you have shown of our efforts to resolve the crisis in East Pakistan continue to be a source of strength to me. I hope Mr. President that your personal interest and support in this regard will be maintained.

With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

A.M. Yahya Khan.

His Excellency
Richard M. Nixon,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

30026



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

S/S 7109823

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 1, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter from the President to President Yahya
Khan of Pakistan

The President on June 19 received through the Pakistan Embassy here a telegraphic message dated June 18 from President Yahya Khan of Pakistan conveying his concern over mounting tensions in his country's relations with India and his fears of a threat to the peace and security of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. We understand that similar messages were sent to leaders of a number of other countries as part of President Yahya's continuing exchange with them concerning the situation in his country and political developments stemming from it.

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On June 28 the President received a second telegraphic message from President Yahya, stressing the importance of clarifying the attitude of Pakistan Consortium countries toward future economic assistance to Pakistan and seeking the President's help in the matter.

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A suggested reply covering both subjects is attached for your consideration.

Robert C. Brewster
Acting Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Suggested Letter.

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SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Mr. President:

I have received your telegraphic message of June 18 expressing your concern over indications of a mounting threat to peace and security in the sub-continent. I have also received your message of June 29 stressing the importance of clarifying the stance of Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium countries toward future economic assistance to Pakistan and asking my help in this regard.

I am most pleased that you have agreed to receive a visit to Islamabad by Dr. Henry Kissinger July 8-10 and to discuss with him questions of mutual interest and concern. You are acquainted personally with Dr. Kissinger and I feel sure you will have a constructive and mutually beneficial exchange with him. I am asking him to deliver to you this letter responding to both of your recent messages.

Your message of June 18 conveying your apprehension of a growing threat to the peace of your region of the world has received my most serious consideration. Such a trend would indeed be of grave concern to all friends of Pakistan and India alike and I sincerely trust that any such development can be averted through the exercise of good will and restraint by all concerned.

His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan,
President of Pakistan,
President's House,
Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

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Department of State

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As you know, the Foreign Minister of India, Sardar Swaran Singh, recently visited this country. I had fruitful talks with him, as he also did with Secretary Rogers and other officials of the Department of State. The Department subsequently gave Ambassador Hilaly a full account of our talks with the Foreign Minister which I feel sure you will have received.

In our meetings the Government of India reflected deep concern over the rising refugee problem it faces and the burden which it is placing on the Indian economy and people. We noted in particular the desire of the Government of India that this problem be resolved peacefully and that conditions be restored in East Pakistan under which the flow of refugees will stop and be reversed. It remains our earnest hope that you and your government will continue to persevere in your efforts to restore the conditions which will make those objectives possible.

As I informed you in my letter of May 28, we have counseled the Government of India to exercise restraint in its relations with Pakistan as we have urged you and your government to do on your part. I can assure you that we have continued to stress the vital importance of this factor in our more recent conversations.

We have noted the several statements you have made recently welcoming the return to East Pakistan of all the refugees irrespective

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of caste, creed or religion and promising them full protection. We have also noted the steps you have taken to facilitate their return and rehabilitation. We recognize the significance of your initiative in seeking the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees toward that end. We believe, as I am sure you do, that there is much that the United Nations can do to facilitate a return of refugees in response to your appeal. We are concerned, however, that some East Pakistanis are reported to be continuing to seek refuge across the border in India and I trust that you will soon succeed in overcoming the problems which have caused this exodus so that the flow can be reversed. We are aware that Indian cooperation is also necessary.

I have noted with interest your address to your countrymen on June 28 setting forth the framework within which you propose to proceed in restoring constitutional government and returning political power to the elected representatives of the people in your country. I wish to give you every encouragement in maintaining and continuing your efforts to achieve a peaceful political accommodation and to attain your stated aim of restoring a democratic way of life in Pakistan. While I would not wish to intrude into your domestic political affairs, I continue to hope that you will be able to pursue a conciliatory approach to this problem so as to secure the cooperation and support of the preponderant majority of persons from East Pakistan already

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elected to serve in the national and provincial legislatures. I am confident that you are keenly aware that the restoration of peaceful and normal political as well as economic conditions in East Pakistan holds the key to resolving the refugee problem, which in turn should help alleviate much of the tension between Pakistan and India.

In response to your message of June 29 regarding economic aid, I very much regret the misunderstanding that has arisen over the meeting of the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium in Paris June 21 and the understandable anxiety which it has caused in your country. I sympathize with the statement you made in your address of June 28 disapproving of foreign aid if political strings are attached.

As you may know, the Consortium meeting was an informal one. No decisions with respect to economic aid to Pakistan were sought and none were reached. In particular I wish to assure you that a common position was not developed whereby all members of the Consortium would jointly suspend future aid or withhold already committed assistance. The meeting was called to hear the preliminary reports of the World Bank and IMF missions which recently visited Pakistan and to exchange views. The Consortium members are now awaiting the final reports of the Bank and Fund and also the preparation by your government of a revised national development plan.

I understand that the preliminary findings of the World Bank

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and IMF teams do not suggest that economic activity has yet been resumed to the extent of permitting resumption of national development programs. We hope that in the near future Pakistan will be able to develop its revised plan and begin to implement it. At that point we expect a formal meeting of the Consortium, with Pakistani participation, will be called to review new aid requirements.

I believe you are aware of the position of our Government on the question of future development aid. We wish to proceed with new arrangements, subject to U.S. legislative criteria, as soon as adequate grounds are established for a resumption of economic development in both wings of Pakistan. In the meantime we are extending new humanitarian relief aid to East Pakistan within the framework of the UN-coordinated program, and are urging others to contribute as well. In this regard I wish to call your attention to the statement in the press release issued by the Consortium June 22, that "all governments emphasize their willingness to participate in a program of humanitarian relief in East Pakistan".

Our Government and I have tried to give you our best counsel throughout this crisis in your nation's affairs and to be as helpful as possible in supporting constructive efforts towards its resolution. Please continue to let me know of any ways in which you feel we can

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help promote our common interests in safeguarding the peace of
your region and the welfare of its people.

With personal regards,

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

CONFIDENTIAL

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

Bypass

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ FROM: ELIOT _____ U _____ LOG IN/OUT ONLY _____
 KISSINGER _____ ROGERS, W _____ LOU _____ NO FORN _____ NODIS _____
 HAIG _____ LAIRD, M _____ C _____ EYES ONLY _____ LIMDIS _____
 SUBJECT: *HILARY, A.*
Pakistani Emb. Transmits ltr from Yahya Khan to Pres
 S _____ CODE WORD _____ RES DATA _____
 TS _____ SENSITIVE _____
 REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____
 APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG				MEMO FOR HAK (<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>)
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES. ()
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE ()
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ()
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MEMO _____ TO ()
EUROPE/CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS ()
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO ()
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO STATE ()
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY ()
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE ()
LR PLANNING				DUE DATE: <i>0703</i>
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				COMMENTS: (Including Special Instructions)
NSC PLANNING				
CONGRESSIONAL				

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
<i>7/2/71</i>	<i>Saunders</i>	<i>Haig</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Pres to sign ltr to Kohn (NSC) Bypass</i>	
<i>7/3</i>				<i>Pres signed ltr to Yahya Khan</i>	
				<i>M/F After ltr was signed, Saunders is hand carrying to HAK who will then pass on to G. Khan</i>	
				<i>(No copy of signed ltr received in NSC)</i>	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH _____ NOTIFY _____ DATE _____
 SEE LOG _____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO *to Yahya via Saunders* DO
 JOINED BY LOG _____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) *Saunders & Plate*
 SPECIAL FILE RQMT: SA, HP, _____ HM
 SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: _____
 SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES _____ NO _____

MICROFILM DATA	
ORIG)	NSC _____
TO)	PAF <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	WHC _____
	SUBF _____

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

29768

July 2, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger *K*
SUBJECT: Letter from President Yahya

President Yahya has written to call your attention to what he feels is "the rapidly mounting threat to peace and stability in the sub-continent" (letter attached). He feels that the Indians have "spared no effort to exploit" the refugee problem as an instrument to impose the government of India's choice in East Pakistan. He voices concern that, by constant repetition of threats India may create an atmosphere which could lead to conflict. Yahya closes by requesting you "to use your influence with India to persuade her to desist from actions, which could lead not only to a breach of peace but as a result of that, to unforeseen consequences which could affect the world community."

This most recent communication from President Yahya is probably intended to make sure, in the wake of Indian Foreign Minister Singh's visit, that the Pakistani side of the story is still being heard. Like the Indian presentation, it is a brief for a position, and the truth probably lies somewhere between the two. A reply is being drafted but should probably be held until after an important speech Yahya plans for June 28.

As you know, an important key to peace in South Asia is defusing the refugee problem. Yahya has taken some important initial steps to facilitate a reverse in the continuing net outflow of refugees, but more remains to be done. Ambassador Farland, who has just completed a tour of East Pakistan, believes that restoration of conditions and circumstances conducive to large-scale refugee return, particularly of Hindus, will be an "exceedingly difficult task," even in the unlikely event of full Pakistani and Indian cooperation to this end. President Yahya's political plans, which he tells you he will announce on June 28, will be important in establishing the framework.

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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ACTION
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Harold H. Saunders

CONFIDENTIAL

June 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM: Harold H. Saunders *HS*

SUBJECT: Letter from President Yahya

In the interest of keeping the President informed, I have provided you with the attached memorandum for passing on to him President Yahya's latest letter. However, the letter has no immediate operational content so if you want to minimize the flow of paper to the President's desk, we could hold this until a reply is ready.

I signed memo
HK

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29768

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

June 19, 1971

Dear Dr Kissinger,

.....
I have just received telegraphically the enclosed letter from my President addressed to His Excellency President Richard M. Nixon.

I shall be grateful if you would transmit it to its high destination immediately.

I am sending a copy of it to the Secretary of State also.

With my warm personal regards.

Yours sincerely,

(A. Hilaly)

The Honourable
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger
The White House
Washington D. C.

Received by telegram from Islamabad dated June 18, 1971

Your Excellency:

I am addressing you to invite your attention to the rapidly mounting threat to peace and security in the sub-continent. In the last few days belligerent statements have been made by the Indian Prime Minister and her Cabinet Ministers which amount to a threat of war. The latest of these is a statement in the Indian Parliament by the Indian Prime Minister on 15th June, relevant extracts of which are attached. It makes it obvious that the speaker is determined to exploit the presence of displaced persons in India to aggravate a tense situation and justify military intervention in East Pakistan. Should Indian leaders be allowed to continue on this course, consequences would be disastrous not only for the sub-continent but for the entire region.

Notwithstanding the fact, that since independence Pakistan has received millions of refugees from India, a large number of whom still remain unsettled, the Indian Government has spared no effort at this juncture to exploit the presence of Pakistani displaced persons for a political end. These persons should be enabled to return to their homes, and my Government has taken adequate steps to ensure this. We have as you must have learnt, associated the U. N. High Commissioner for Refugees to advise and assist us in implementation of this objective. The U. N. High Commissioner, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, has personally visited some

of.

of the reception centers we have established to welcome returning displaced persons, and satisfied himself that adequate facilities exist to receive them. Relief and rehabilitation arrangements within the province of East Pakistan are also to be provided by the U. N. and a representative of the Secretary-General has already reached Dacca to co-ordinate activities in this field with the provincial government. There is welcome news that thousands have already returned and more would be doing so, if only India would stop discouraging and hindering their return movement. It is most unfortunate that this humanitarian question should be cynically turned into political propaganda by India, and that the Indian Government should use the problem of the displaced persons, as an instrument of pressure on Pakistan to impose a political government of Indian choice in East Pakistan. No government could yield to such blackmail.

As I have repeatedly stressed, war would solve nothing and we do not want a conflict with India. It remains our earnest hope that India will not resort to a conflict. The danger is that through constant repetition of threats, Indian leaders may succeed in creating an atmosphere and mood in their country which could inevitably lead to a conflict. In recent days the Indian army has indulged in numerous aggressive activities from across the border and there are confirmed reports of increasing concentration of Indian forces. There have also

been

been reports by neutral observers of establishment of camps in India to train saboteurs to infiltrate into East Pakistan.

Your Excellency, it is in this serious situation and in the interest of preserving peace, that I would request you to use your influence with India to persuade her to desist from actions, which could lead not only to a breach of peace but as a result of that, to unforeseen consequences which could affect the world community.

Your personal interest in the maintenance of peace in the sub-continent and in the security and progress of Pakistan is a very important factor to which I attach great importance. Now, when considerable progress has been made on our side for receiving back displaced persons, I find that Mrs. Gandhi is unfortunately not willing to permit them to return to Pakistan, except in circumstances of her own choosing. I am confident that your advice to her, not to compound our difficulties, will make a profound difference to the prevailing situation. I have also made a commitment to announce my political plans for the country on 28th June. But unless India is restrained, my efforts would be seriously affected.

With my warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

His Excellency
Richard M. Nixon
President of the United States
of America
The White House, Washington, D. C.

A. M. Yahya Khan

EXCERPTS FROM LATEST STATEMENTS OF
INDIAN LEADERS ON THE EAST PAKISTAN
SITUATION.

Mrs Indira Gandhi said in the Parliament on June 15 " we are not going to let international community get away without sharing consequences of what is happening in Bangladesh. Whether they help in finding a settlement of problem or not, they will suffer from the consequences of events. Our Ministers who have gone to various countries are informing them of developments and their implications. "

Mrs Gandhi who was replying to a debate on the subject in the Rajyasabha said that if the international community had exerted its influence at the proper time, a political settlement could have been possible earlier. Now with each passing day, possibility of such a settlement is becoming more remote. The Indian Premier said, " India does not accept a political settlement which may mean death of Bangladesh and democracy. A settlement must be arrived at with those people who are being suppressed in Bangladesh". The Premier also said, "we have no intention of allowing refugees to settle down in ^{our} country or to go back to Bangladesh to be butchered".

The Indian Foreign Minister Mr Swaran Singh told a press



PRESS RELEASE

ISSUED BY THE
EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
WASHINGTON, D. C. 2008

June 19, 1971.

"Members of the minority community should have no hesitation in returning to their homes in East Pakistan. They will be given full protection and every facility as they are equal citizens of Pakistan and there is no question of any discriminatory treatment" said President Yahya Khan in a statement broadcast nation wide on the Pakistan Radio on June 18.

Referring to his earlier appeals launched May 21, and May 24, asking displaced persons to return home the President said, "My appeal was addressed to all Pakistani nationals irrespective of caste, creed or religion".

The following is the full text of the President's broadcast:

"On May 21, I issued a personal message to all Pakistan nationals who had, due to various reasons, gone to India to return to their homes in East Pakistan and resume their normal activities. In my press conference in Karachi on May 24, I reiterated my earlier statement and assured displaced persons that the necessary assistance would be provided to them for their return and resettlement. It is gratifying to note that despite hindrances put by interested parties, many Pakistanis have returned and are now on the way to their respective homes. I am certain many more will follow them. As I said before, there is no question of withholding permission to return from our own citizens. In fact East Pakistan Government has made adequate arrangements to receive them and to extend full assistance in their rehabilitation. My appeal was addressed to all Pakistani nationals irrespective of caste, creed or religion. Members of the minority community should have no hesitation in returning to their homes in East Pakistan. They will be given full protection and every facility as they are equal citizens of Pakistan and there is no question of any discriminatory treatment. I urge them not to be misled by mischievous propaganda being conducted from outside Pakistan."

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conference at Ottawa on June 14 that "India cannot allow itself to be overrun quietly by refugees from East Pakistan if the international community does not take sufficient interest in the problem. This influx poses a threat to India and action may have to be taken". When asked whether he was suggesting India might use force to alleviate the burden he replied, "let us not talk about the use of force". He suggested that foreign governments should cut off development and military aid to Pakistan.

Mr Jaya Prakash Narayan told Mr Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State at Washington on June 8, "if peace and tranquility was to be restored in East Bengal, President Yahya Khan's Government should be induced by the big powers to release Mujibur Rahman and other leaders, withdraw the army to the barracks and start negotiations with elected representatives of people". His own view was that East Bengal and their leaders would not settle for less than total independence from West Pakistan".

IMMEDIATE

The Honourable
Dr Henry A. Kissinger
The White House
Washington D. C.

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN

2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

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NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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SUBJECT: *Transmits Letter for Pres. Yahya of Pakistan to Pres. re threat of war between India and Pakistan.*

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

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ACTION REQUIRED

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- MEMO FOR PRES. _____ ()
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- CONCURRENCE _____ ()
- DUE DATE: *25 June*

COMMENTS: (Including Special Instructions)

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<i>7/5</i>				<i>Noted by Pres</i>	

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

Fisher
Ed

SECRET 613

PAGE 01 STATE 120529

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SECRET STATE 120529

SUBJ: JUNE 28 MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA TO PRESIDENT NIXON

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF TELEGRAPHIC MESSAGE DATED JUNE 28 FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA TO PRESIDENT NIXON DELIVERED BY PAKISTAN EMBASSY TO WHITE HOUSE JUNE 29:

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR PRESIDENT,
I WAS GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY REPORT GIVEN TO ME BY MR M M ABMED AFTER HIS MEETING WITH YOU IN WASHINGTON LAST MONTH. I DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR CONTINUING INTEREST IN OUR DEVELOPMENT AND PARTICULARLY YOUR ASSURANCE THAT UNITED STATES WOULD NOT WISH TO DO ANYTHING THAT WOULD AGGRAVATE PAKISTAN'S DIFFICULTIES AND UNITED STATES WOULD LIKE WORLD BANK AND OTHER MEMBERS OF CONSORTIUM TO ADOPT A SIMILAR HELPFUL POSTURE.

2. THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INFORMAL MEETING OF THE CONSORTIUM HELD AT PARIS ON 21ST JUNE HAVE HOWEVER COME TO US AS A DISAPPOINTMENT. THE OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 120529

ISSUED AFTER THE MEETING IS BARE AND NEGATIVE. THE SAME DAY BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION AND NEW YORK TIMES CARRIED STORIES THAT THE CONSORTIUM HAD DECIDED TO WITHHOLD FURTHER AID TO PAKISTAN UNTIL THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT REVEALS WHAT SORT OF POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IT ENVISAGES FOR EAST PAKISTAN. THE VERACITY OF THE NEWSPAPER REPORTS HAS BEEN ENHANCED BY A STATEMENT OF THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY THAT "THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF NEW BRITISH AID TO PAKISTAN UNTIL WE HAVE FIRM EVIDENCE THAT REAL PROGRESS IS BEING MADE TOWARDS A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT."

3. ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE LED TO A STRONG AND WIDESPREAD PUBLIC REACTION IN PAKISTAN. IT IS MOST UNFORTUNATE THAT ALL THIS SHOULD HAVE HAPPENED AT THIS JUNCTURE. IT CAN ONLY MAKE MORE DIFFICULT THE TASK OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

4. IN RESPONSE TO THESE DEVELOPMENTS I HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO DECLARE IN UNEQUIVOCAL TERMS IN MY BROADCAST OF TODAY THAT EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE WITH POLITICAL STRINGS WILL BE UNACCEPTABLE TO PAKISTAN.

5. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE GENERAL IMPRESSION ABOUT THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE CONSORTIUM COUNTRIES TO PAKISTAN IS FULLY CLARIFIED. THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE PARIS DISCUSSIONS WITHOUT ANNOUNCING A DATE TO TAKE UP OUR REQUIREMENTS IS BEING INTERPRETED AS A CONSEQUENCE OF INDIAN PRESSURE TACTICS.

6. I HOPE MR PRESIDENT THAT IN VIEW OF THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND YOUR PERSONAL INTEREST IN PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY AND WELL-BEING, YOU WILL PREVENT THE PRESENT AMBIGUITY AND MISUNDERSTANDING FROM BECOMING A SOURCE OF FURTHER STRAINS IN PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE WESTERN WORLD. THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH WE SHOULD IN OUR JOINT INTEREST TRY TO PREVENT.

7. YOUR SYMPATHETIC APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS THAT PAKISTAN IS FACING TODAY AND THE UNDERSTANDING YOU HAVE SHOWN OF OUR EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS IN EAST PAKISTAN CONTINUE TO BE A SOURCE OF STRENGTH TO ME. I HOPE

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 120529

MR PRESIDENT THAT YOUR PERSONAL INTEREST AND SUPPORT IN
THIS REGARD WILL BE MAINTAINED.
WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS,
YOURS SINCERELY,

A M YAHYA KHAN.

END TEXT.

2. FYI: PRESIDENT IS RESPONDING TO ABOVE AS WELL AS JUNE 18
MESSAGE (STATE 111968) IN LETTER TO BE DELIVERED BY DR KISSINGER
DURING FORTHCOMING VISIT ISLAMABAD, SIGNED ORIGINAL BEING
CARRIED BY SAUNDERS. ROGERS.

SECRET

5

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET/NODIS

August 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Senior Watch Officer
Operations Center (S/S-O)
Department of State

FROM:

Jeanne W. Davis *JWD*
JWD

The attached sealed letter should be delivered to Mr. Maurice Williams, Deputy Administrator of AID, prior to his departure for Pakistan. He is scheduled to leave Washington on Sunday, August 15.

A copy of the text of the letter is also attached. It should be cabled immediately to Embassy Islamabad for Ambassador Farland through State channels. The classification should be "Secret-Nodis".

Dispatched 8/14. Reg # 2690
JWD

SECRET/NODIS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 14, 1971

Dear Mr. President:

Dr. Kissinger has reported to me concerning his visit to Islamabad and the productive talks he had with you and other officials of your government on the problems which are now facing South Asia. I greatly appreciate the candor with which you discussed the serious situation in that part of the world, particularly the danger of hostilities.

You are keenly aware that to the dangers which have previously existed must now be added the possibility of serious food shortages in East Pakistan later this fall. We have sought to do our part to help alleviate these dangers through our appeals for restraint and through our full and active support of the humanitarian relief efforts arranged by the Secretary General of the United Nations. We plan to make a maximum effort in this regard.

Nonetheless, the situation remains extremely tense and in order for the dangers to recede it will be necessary to stabilize conditions in East Pakistan and to see a significant number of refugees begin to return from India. We would like to be helpful, and it is for this reason that I have asked Mr. Williams to go to Pakistan. He is a friend of Pakistan, and he fully shares my view of the situation and of what is required.

Both your officials and ours recognize that the most immediate priority is to mount a major effort to avert famine in East Pakistan. This step is fundamental to progress in re-establishing normal

conditions. It will help those of us who want to help and will reduce the pretext for interference. I am confident that you also share our judgment that it would also be helpful in this task for you to continue your efforts to build on the program announced in your June 28 address for enlisting the support of the elected representatives of the East Pakistani people in the urgent work of national reconciliation.

All of these measures will be important in counter- ing the corrosive threat of insurgency and restoring peace to your part of the world. They will also hasten the day when the United States and other countries can resume, within a revised national de- velopment plan, the task of assisting your country's economic development which has been so tragically complicated and slowed by recent events.

In addition, demonstrable progress on the political front will mean that our own counsels of restraint in New Delhi will have a greater chance of success.

I have asked Ambassador Farland and Mr. Williams to share with you some additional thoughts on these subjects, in that same spirit of friendship which you have so kindly shown for them in the past and which has also characterized our own discussions. Finally, let me extend my warm regards and assure you again that I appreciate fully the tremendous tasks that you and your countrymen face.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
President's House
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

Dear Mr. President:

Dr. Kissinger has reported to me concerning his visit to Islamabad and the productive talks he had with you and other officials of your government on the problems which are now facing South Asia. I greatly appreciate the candor with which you discussed the serious situation in that part of the world, particularly the danger of hostilities.

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Sincerely,

His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
President's House
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION
31554

August 14, 1971

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger *HK*
SUBJECT: Approach to President Yahya

HK for Pres

Attached is a proposed letter for you to send to President Yahya. It captures the essence of the approach which Ambassador Farland and Deputy AID Administrator Maury Williams will make to President Yahya early next week. Farland is already en route back to Islamabad, and Williams will leave Sunday night.

The letter generalizes the strategy which you stated Wednesday afternoon to the members of the Senior Review Group:

--The situation is tense and the dangers are unlikely to recede until East Pakistan returns to normal. Mr. Williams is coming to discuss ways in which we can help in re-establishing more normal conditions.

--In your view the most immediate need is to mount a major effort to avert famine in East Pakistan. This will not only help in restoring normal conditions but will provide a framework for the help of outsiders and undercut the Indian excuse for interference.

--This will also be important in the long run in the program President Yahya has announced for re-establishing a political framework in East Pakistan. That is important in blunting the threat of insurgency.

Williams will then talk about what the US will do, what the US will press the UN and other governments to do and what we feel the government of Pakistan can do to mount a successful relief program.

The instructions being sent to Williams and to Ambassador Farland then give them discretion to raise as questions several thoughts that President Yahya might consider as he plots his course toward

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- 2 -

re-establishment of civil administration and ultimately the new political framework in East Pakistan. But these would be put tentatively, if Farland uses them at all, and are not stated as pre-conditions for movement on the relief front.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the attached letter. [Text cleared by Mr. Price.] As soon as you have, I will clear instructions embodying the points made above.

SECRET

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Dr. Kissinger has reported to me concerning his visit to Islamabad and the productive talks he had with you and other officials of your government on the problems which are now facing South Asia. I greatly appreciate the candor with which you discussed the serious situation in that part of the world, particularly the danger of hostilities.

You are keenly aware that to the dangers which have previously existed must now be added the possibility of serious food shortages in East Pakistan later this fall. We have sought to do our part to help alleviate these dangers through our appeals for restraint and through our full and active support of the humanitarian relief efforts arranged by the Secretary General of the United Nations. We plan to ~~continue all of these efforts.~~ *make a maximum effort in this regard.*

Nonetheless, the situation remains extremely tense and in order for the dangers to recede it will be necessary to stabilize conditions in East Pakistan and to see a significant number of refugees begin to return from India. We would like to be helpful, and it is for this reason that I have asked Mr. Williams to go to Pakistan. He is a friend of Pakistan, and he fully shares my view of the situation and of what is required.

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Sincerely,

His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
President's House
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC	RECD	LOG NR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
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DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

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SUBJECT: *Approach to Pres YAHYA*

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

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INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

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8/14				Davis' Syd memo to State	

DISPOSITION

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Key # 2690

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 TO) PAF
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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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CONFIDENTIAL

September 10, 1968
71

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM: Samuel M. Hoskinson *SH*

SUBJECT: Letter from Yahya

President Yahya has sent a letter to the President expressing his pleasure in having been involved in your trip to China. Attached is a short memo for you to convey Yahya's letter to the President.

RECOMMENDATION: That you send the attached memo conveying Yahya's letter to the President.

CONFIDENTIAL



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

SECRET/NODIS

August 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Letter from Pakistani President
Yahya to President Nixon on
China Initiative

On August 25, the Pakistani Embassy delivered the attached letter from President Yahya to the President commending President Nixon's recent China initiative. We do not believe a reply is necessary.

The Department does not appear to have a copy of President Nixon's July 26 letter to President Yahya. If appropriate, we would appreciate receiving one.) No

James Carson for
Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Letter to President

SECRET/NODIS

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

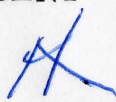
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September 15, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger 

SUBJECT: Letter from President Yahya

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN... 

President Yahya has written (see attached letter) to say that he is "deeply grateful" for your letter thanking him for his role in my trip to China. He is obviously happy to have been involved in what he calls "this mission of peace."

CONFIDENTIAL





PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

From: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan,
H.Pk., H.J.,
President of Pakistan

19 August 1971

Dear Mr President,

I am deeply grateful for your letter of 26th July 1971.

It is indeed very kind of you to express your sentiments about Pakistan's role in the historic negotiations undertaken by you towards normalising relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. Whatever we were able to do was from our deep conviction that this was essential in the interest of world peace. But the decision was yours and yours alone, and it is you, Mr President, who will be remembered in history for your statesmanship and far-sightedness.

It was a pleasure and an honour for us to cooperate in this mission of peace.

With warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

His Excellency Mr Richard M Nixon,
President of the United States of America,
White House,
Washington D.C.

3

34345

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 4, 1971


CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Letter from President Yahya and
Pakistani Aide Memoire

Attached for your information are copies of a letter to the President from President Yahya and an aide memoire on the Indo-Pakistani problem which were delivered by the Pakistani charge and Ambassador-Designate when they called on Dr. Kissinger November 3.


Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

AIDE MEMOIRE

A. DISPLACED PERSONS :

A careful district-wise survey by the Government of Pakistan showed that just over two million persons left their homes.

India claims that there are more than nine million. If India is honest about this claim, she should accept verification by the United Nations as repeatedly proposed by Pakistan's President.

Vagabonds, beggars and poor Indians and persons displaced in border areas of India have entered refugee camps and mingled with displaced Pakistanis to get free shelter, food, etc.

Kelly, UNHCR representative, is reported to have said that border areas remained disturbed because of guerrilla activities actively supported by India, returnees deny to have suffered atrocities and said that people fled out of sheer fear and panic.

B. WHAT PAKISTAN HAS DONE TO AID REFUGEE RETURN :

1. The President of Pakistan has already appealed to the refugees to return home regardless of their religion, caste or creed. There is no limitation on

their number. Government will provide all possible assistance, including financial, for their rehabilitation.

2. Refugee camps have been set up all along the border.

3. Pakistan has accepted U.N. and U.S. proposals as stated below :

i) Pakistan welcomed the U.N. Secretary-General's offer of good offices;

ii) Pakistan accepted U.S. proposal calling for withdrawal of troops. India rejected it. In reply to U.N. Secretary-General's proposal, the President of Pakistan suggested "withdrawals of manpower along with armour and artillery all along Indo-Pakistan international frontiers both in East and West if not to peace time stations, then at least to mutually agreed safe distance on either side of the border.

iii) The President has suggested to the Secretary-General to visit Pakistan and India;

iv) Pakistan has accepted the posting of United Nations observers on India and Pakistan side;

v) Pakistan has given full cooperation to the representatives of U.N. Secretary-General and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;

4. The measures taken by Pakistan include appointment of a Minister from Minority communities in East Pakistan Government and adequate funds placed at the disposal of the Provincial authorities.

C. MEASURES TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY :

(a) A ten man cabinet of members drawn from all major political parties including two elected members of the outlawed Awami League has been set up in East Pakistan with Dr. A.M. Malik as Governor.

Dr. Malik is a veteran East Pakistani politician who has held important portfolios in the past in various Governments of Pakistan.

(b) A Constitution providing for maximum autonomy will be announced on December 20, and presented to the National Assembly. The bye-elections will be completed and the National Assembly will meet on December 27;

(c) The National Assembly can propose amendment by a simple majority and with a consensus of various Provinces by 25 per cent vote. Soon after, power will be transferred to civilian elected government.

D. INDIA'S ACTIONS WHICH STAND IN THE WAY OF RETURN OF DISPLACED PERSONS :

1. Incessant mortaring and shelling across East Pakistan border keep conditions disturbed;

2. Indian radio broadcast about impending battle and disturbed conditions in Pakistan.

3. According to Lee Lescaze, who wrote in the Washington Post on October 29, "almost all

tell interviewers that refugees in Indian camps are constantly being warned that East Pakistan is still not safe and they will be killed if they go back". He also says " a few returning refugees tell of having been ordered to stay in India".

4. India does not allow United Nations observers into the camps;

5. India will not allow Pakistanis to go and speak to the refugees to return;

6. Delhi has refused United Nations help in arranging reversal of refugee flow. It has rejected U.N. Secretary-General's proposals. Its leaders insist that displaced persons will return only to "Bangla Desh".

E. MOUNTING INDO-PAKISTAN TENSION :

India and Pakistan stand on the brink of war. India has mobilised its forces and called up reserves. India is actively aiding guerrillas and arming them. India's Defence Minister has threatened that he will not withdraw from areas that Indian troops occupy in case of war. Indian leaders like Jay Prakash Narayan have urged war on Pakistan.

India argues that it brought troops to border after Pakistani troops moved to the border.

This is incorrect.

However, taking the false Indian statement as a hypothesis for the sake of discussion India should withdraw troops or offer to withdraw them now that President Yahya has clearly offered to do so.

India pretends that Pakistan is threatening to go to war against her and that Pakistan is fully equipped.

The facts are known to the world. India has many ordnance factories. It produces tanks, war planes, heavy guns and all kinds of arms and ammunition. It is also getting sophisticated weapons and military hardware from the U.S.S.R.-- a supply that has increased substantially since the signature of the India-U.S.S.R. Treaty.

While professing sympathy for the people of East Pakistan, India is waging an open warfare against them through continuous infiltration and shelling of East Pakistan. India has provided arms, training and sanctuaries on large scale to East Pakistan rebels. These facts have been confirmed by despatches of foreign correspondents from Calcutta. Two of these are :

Arms Are Flowing to Calcutta, Reported Destined for Bengalis

Guerrilla Step-up Seen

By SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG

Special to The New York Times

CALCUTTA, India, Oct. 11--

Under heavy security, several special freight trains carrying military supplies now arrive here every day. The arms are reported to be for the Bengali guerrillas who are fighting for East Pakistan's independence and who seem to be preparing to step up their activities against the Pakistani army.

On the guerrilla side, the crucial question is how far India is willing to go in support of the independence movement. So far the Indians have been providing sanctuary, training and a certain amount of arms.

Washington Post, November 2.

J. Hoagland.

Calcutta - Nov. 1.

Indian arms deliveries to the guerrillas were stepped up after the Soviet Union assured India that it would replenish weapons supplies sent to the rebel forces.

F. INDIA'S BELLICOSE STAND CONTRADICTORY :

India contends that East Pakistan crisis is not an internal matter for Pakistan and justifies her own and seeks other's interference. But when the U.N., Iran and U.S. proposed mediation, Indo-Pak summit talks and withdrawal of troops, (proposals which Pakistan accepted but India rejected) India said the dispute was not between India and Pakistan but an internal matter of Pakistan involving the so-called "Bangla Desh" rebels and the Government of West Pakistan. Mrs. Gandhi said recently that she was willing to talk with President Yahya on other subjects but not on "Bangla Desh".

Indian Ambassador Jha when asked by a TV interviewer on October 26, as to why India did not accept U.N. proposal, while declaring that it was committed to peace and desired peace and the U.N. proposals provided a compromise solution, the Indian Ambassador said "what is the compromise that we can make. The differences are between the people of East Bengal and the Government of West Pakistan. We cannot settle for them. We do not claim to speak for them." Yet India continues to interfere politically and militarily.

India is emboldened by the Indo-Soviet Treaty in her aggressive posture against Pakistan.

On the heels of the visit to India of the U.S.S.R. Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Firyubin, the Air Force Chief of the Soviet Union flew to Delhi. It was obviously not

a routine visit as he had toured India only a few months ago. It is believed that the visit is related to the supply of sophisticated and other military hardware to the Indian Armed Forces.

Mrs. Gandhi admitted massive Soviet arms deliveries to India.

Mrs. Gandhi Upholds Arms Aid
Special to The New York Times
BRUSSELS, Oct. 26—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said here today that there was nothing unusual in "massive arms deliveries" to India by the Soviet Union, as reported in the press.

India's Foreign Minister stated on October 29, that India had been assured by the U.S.S.R. of all support in case of a conflict with Pakistan.

Pakistan is naturally alarmed at these developments as they should cause concern to all those who are interested in peace in the Sub-continent.

India's violations of Pakistan's borders and continuous shelling of Pakistani territory escalated to dangerous proportions. Reuter despatch date-lined New Delhi October 30, stated :

QUOTE : "It was the first time the Government (Indian) had admitted border fighting involving Indian troops in the present tense situation between the two countries.

The disclosure was viewed by observers as an indication that Indian troops had moved up closer to the frontier.

Until now officials had maintained that all the border clashes with the Pakistani troops in East Pakistan since the outbreak of the "Bangla Desh" rebel movement there had involved only the para-military Indian border security forces". UNQUOTE.

G. INDIA'S REAL INTENTIONS :

India is feverishly working for dismemberment of Pakistan though her leaders claim that India would like to see a solution within the framework of Pakistan but acceptable to the elected representatives. India and the "Bangla Desh" rebels do not allow the elected representatives who are in India to go back to East Pakistan. Indian Government leaders and officials use the word "East Bengal" and "Bangla Desh" in all their statements instead of East Pakistan. India tries to include these words in joint statements issued at end of talks with foreign governments, and has given de-facto recognition to "Bangla Desh" through her large scale military, political and financial support to the rebels.

India's open political and military interference is another manifestation of Indo-Pakistan conflict arising out of India's basic unwillingness to reconcile herself to the partition of the Sub-continent and her attempts since then to isolate and now to dismember Pakistan.

If India sincerely wants a peaceful settlement of the present Indo-Pakistan crisis, she should take measures to

reduce tension (withdraw her troops, stop shelling and infiltration of Pakistani territory, withhold political and military assistance to rebels) and allow Pakistan to carry out her programme of transferring power to elected representatives of the people as scheduled by end of December-early January. Pakistan will fully cooperate with India for reducing tension. The President of Pakistan told Le Monde correspondent in an interview published on October 18 that he was prepared to discuss Indo-Pakistan affairs with any one, anywhere and on any point and was willing to accept any mediation in this connection.

H. TRUTH ABOUT INDIA'S MUCH PUBLICISED SELF-RESTRAINT :

India seems to have managed to get credit for :

- (a) exercising restraint; and
- (b) giving shelter to East Pakistan refugees.

In fact, it is Pakistan, not India which should be credited for having exercised restraint in the face of mounting Indian shelling and infiltration into East Pakistan.

India has given shelter to the displaced persons for its own ulterior motives :

- (a) to discredit Pakistan in the eyes of the world;
- (b) to obtain large foreign aid;
- (c) to use refugees for propaganda and guerrilla operations in East Pakistan; and
- (d) to secure secession of East Pakistan.

History demonstrates that India has had nothing but hatred and animosity for the areas that are now East Pakistan. When the British, recognizing the ruthless domination of West Bengal on East Bengal areas, separated the two regions into two provinces they had to face sustained opposition till they had to annul that decision. Not even a University was permitted in Dacca for a long time and East Bengal territory was maintained only as a raw material producing area for Calcutta's industry and capital. Another example of this ruthless exploitation is that East Pakistan which had a world monopoly of jute production did not have even a single jute mill before Independence. More recently India tried to create economic problems for East Pakistan and has not responded to Pakistan's continuous efforts for equitable distribution of the waters of the Ganges river at the Farakka. Some Indian lobbyists are using the above two arguments (restraint and shelter for refugees) for securing additional and substantial economic aid to India. On the contrary, it is Pakistan which needs economic assistance for rehabilitation and reconstruction. Further, in deference to the wishes of the U.S. Government Pakistan agreed to the closure of the military pipeline in the face of massive Soviet arms to India. It is Pakistan which thus needs debt relief, economic assistance and military supplies.

I. FOOD SITUATION :

Food situation in Pakistan is fully under control and economic life fast returning to normal.

From: General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan,
H.Pk., H.J.,

President of Pakistan

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.



26 September 1971

Dear Mr. President,

In calling Major-General N.A.M. Raza, a veteran soldier as well as an experienced diplomat, back to duty from retirement, I have I think selected a most suitable envoy for Washington. His appointment further emphasises the paramount importance I attach to our relations with your great country. Apart from his distinguished services as our Ambassador in Tehran, Rome and Paris, he served twice as Ambassador in Peking.

2. May I avail myself of this opportunity, Mr. President, to express my very sincere appreciation of the sympathetic understanding and assistance that I have been receiving from you and your Government in over-coming the immense difficulties placed in my path towards restoration of democracy, by the unfortunate crisis in East Pakistan.

3. As you know I have been doing everything within my power to put the country back on the rails. However, India with her intransigence, her open hostility and her unabashed support and aid to the miscreants is making my task infinitely more difficult. I earnestly request you to do all you can to dissuade India from this militantly aggressive attitude of hers towards my country. She must be made to realise the serious threat that her present policy is posing towards the peace of this region.

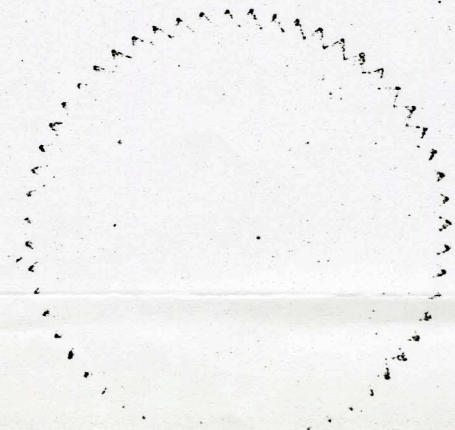
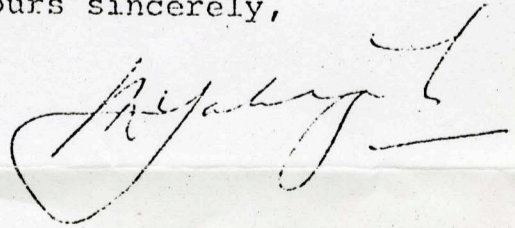
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4. Since the announcement of my political programme of 28th June, I have taken various steps to hasten the moment for the redemption of my pledge to transfer power to a civilian Government. As you may have been informed, I have declared general amnesty in East Pakistan and have also appointed a civilian Governor there, who is being assisted by civilian ministers selected from various shades of political opinion. Dates for by-elections in East Pakistan have also been announced. All these steps have evoked a response from political circles and I am hopeful that by the end of the year the major problems would have been resolved. In this process of democratisation your continued personal interest and the support of the United States would be invaluable.

5. With that in view, I would earnestly hope that Ambassador Raza, in whom I repose my fullest trust, would receive your kind co-operation and would have access to you so as to keep you posted on future developments in my country.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,



His Excellency Mr. Richard M. Nixon,
President of the United States of America,
Washington.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC	RECD	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
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DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

LOG IN/OUT ONLY

TO: PRES _____ FROM: ELIOT _____ U _____ NO FORN _____ NODIS _____

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HAIG _____ LAIRD, M _____ C _____ EYES ONLY _____ LIMDIS _____

Davis/YAHYA KHAN

S _____ CODE WORD _____ RES DATA _____

TS _____ SENSITIVE _____

SUBJECT: *Sep 26TH LTR From Yahya and Aide memoire - to state by!*

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION				ACTION REQUIRED	
	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG				MEMO FOR HAK	()
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES.	()
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE	()
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EUROPE/CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS	()
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO	()
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO STATE	()
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY	()
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE	()
LR PLANNING				DUE DATE:	
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				COMMENTS: (Including Special Instructions)	
NSC PLANNING					
CONGRESSIONAL					

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
<i>11/4</i>				<i>Davis sgd memo to Eliot</i>	

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Ed -
These

(Looks like
should go
in Pres Corres
File)

Ed Muriel said they
might look for
this so keep
handy

Jim

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2 November 71

General Haig:

These are the materials left
by the new Pak Ambassador.

Hal Saunders has copies. I don't

Route to staff _____

Send original to Pres. files _____

Other _____

[Handwritten signature]
Coleman

AIDE MEMOIRE

The Government of Pakistan request that the following may please be borne in mind during talks with Mrs. Gandhi:

(a) Within less than two months Pakistan would have completed elections to the National Assembly and framing of the Constitution and an elected government would have been set up.

(b) Refugees should be allowed to return to East Pakistan and that Pakistan has assured their safe return and rehabilitation;

(c) A united Pakistan is essential for stability in South Asia;

(d) India's actions only lead to one conclusion, i. e. she is working for the dismemberment of Pakistan and setting up of independent "Bangla Desh" which is contrary to her own interests and seriously threatens international peace and progress.

(e) President Yahya Khan has already extended his hand of friendship towards India and is not holding clenched fists.

contd.....2

- (f) Pakistan's all out efforts to restore democracy with maximum autonomy for East Pakistan;
- (g) India should not exploit Pakistan's present difficulties to dismember Pakistan;
- (h) India's military action may involve other powers;
- (i) Military balance on the sub-continent stood heavily in favour of India and she need have no fear of aggression from Pakistan.



Department of State

SUMMARY

TELEGRAM

FILE COPY

SECRET 146

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 10927 021626Z

42
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 1026 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1304
INFO AMCONSUL DACCA PRIORITY
AMCONSUL LAHORE
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
COMMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

SECRET ISLAMABAD 10927

EXDIS

SUBJECT: YAHYA-NURUL ISLAM MEETING

REF: STATE 198660
STATE 196540
DACCA 4497
ISLAMABAD 10701
STATE 199249

1. SUMMARY: YAHYA AGREED TO MEET WITH NURUL ISLAM PLUS HIS GROUP OF FORMER AWAMI LEAGUERS FOR PURPOSE DISCUSSION OF SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S FUTURE AND EXPLORING MEANS OF EFFECTING CONTACTS WITH BANGLA DESH.
END SUMMARY.

2. I MET WITH PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN AT THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE IN RAWALPINDI AT 0900 HOURS TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2. DURING THE HOUR AND TWENTY-MINUTE CONVERSATION WHICH ENSUED, AMONG OTHER MATTERS WHICH WERE TOPICS FOR COMMENT AND WHICH WILL BE REPORTED BY SEPTELS, THE QUESTION OF MEETING WITH MNA NURUL ISLAM (AWAMI LEAGUE) WAS DISCUSSED AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH.

- ANDERSON _____
- BEHR _____
- BERGSTEN _____
- CHAPIN _____
- HOLMES _____
- MCNAMARA _____
- ROBINSON _____
- RONDON _____
- SMYSER _____
- SONNENFELD _____

W/N

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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 10927 021626Z

3. I UTILIZED THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TELL YAHYA THAT A CLEARED FORMER AWAMI LEAGUE MNA, NURUL ISLAM, HAD APPROACHED OUR CONGEN IN DACCA WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT A SMALL DELEGATION OF FORMER AWAMI LEAGUERS BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH HIM (YAHYA) TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. I DID NOT GO INTO THE SUBSTANCE OF ISLAM'S PROPOSAL (REFTEL DACCA 4497), HOWEVER, I DID FOREWARN HIM THAT ONE THE THE TOPICS THE AWAMI LEAGUERS INTENDED TO RAISE WAS THE RELEASE OF SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN. THIS IN ORDER TO FORESTALL ANY ADVERSE REACTION THAT MIGHT OCCUR IF THE SUBJECT WERE BROUGHT UP WITHOUT ADVANCE NOTICE.

4. IN CONVEYING THIS INFORMATION TO YAHYA I MADE IT AS CLEAR AS POSSIBLE THAT WHAT I WAS DOING WAS NOTHING MORE THAN SERVING AS A CHANNEL FOR THE PROPOSAL; THE DECISION TO ACCEPT OR REJECT THE IDEA OF SUCH A MEETING WAS ENTIRELY UP TO HIM.

I ADDED THAT IF HE WISHED, NEVERTHELESS, I WOULD BE HAPPY TO GET IN TOUCH WITH NURUL ISLAM THROUGH CONSUL GENERAL SPIVAK FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONVEYING HIS DECISION ALONG WITH ANY COMMENTS HE MIGHT WANT TO MAKE.

5. YAHYA SAID THAT HE WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO NURUL ISLAM SINCE THE POINT OF VIEW OF THESE "CLEARED" MNAS WOULD BE VERY INTERESTING AND, HOPEFULLY, USEFUL. HE ALSO OBSERVED THAT NURUL AMIN, PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WOULD BE CALLING UPON HIM SHORTLY WITH SUGGESTIONS APPLICABLE TO EAST PAKISTAN.

6. WITH YAHYA COOPERATIVELY AMENABLE TO MY SUGGESTIONS, I ASKED HIM IF HE WOULD BE ADVERSE TO MEETING WITH A BANGLA DESH LEADER IN INDIA OR ELSEWHERE OTHER THAN EAST PAKISTAN FOR A DISCUSSION LOOKING TOWARD THE EASING OF THE PRESENT CRISIS, IT BEING UNDERSTOOD THAT GOP WOULD GRANT THE BANGLA DESH REPRESENTATIVE "WHITE FLAG" PASSAGE TO AND FROM PAKISTAN. IN A VEIN SIMILAR TO HIS ANSWER REGARDING NURUL ISLAM, YAHYA SAID THAT HE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO SUCH A MEETING AND WOULD BE WILLING TO PARTICPATE IN THE ARRANGEMENTS THEREFOR. HE ADDED ONE CAVEAT, HOWEVER, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE BANGLA DESH REPRESENTATIVE COULD NOT

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PAGE 03 ISLAMA 10927 021626Z

BE AN INDIVIDUAL WHO HAD BEEN ADJUDGED GUILTY OF A MAJOR CRIME. HE SAID TO RECEIVE SUCH AN INDIVIDUAL, CATEGORIZED A FELLOW, AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME, WOULD BE LESS THAN POLITIC, GIVEN THE POLITICAL CLIMATE PERMEATING WEST PAKISTAN.

7. I PRESSED THE MATTER ONE POINT FURTHER BY WONDERING ALOUD WHETHER OR NOT YAHYA WOULD AGREE TO PERMITTING SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN TO DESIGNATE THE BANGLA DESH REPRESENTATIVE SPECIFICALLY ONE SUCH AS WE HAD BEEN DISCUSSING (REFTEL STATE 199249). YAHYA SAID THAT HE WOULD CONSIDER THAT POSSIBILITY ALTHOUGH HE FELT, OFF HAND, THAT MUJIBUR HAD BEEN DISCREDITED TO THE POINT WHERE A SUGGESTION BY HIM OF SUCH A REPRESENTATIVE MIGHT NOT CARRY AS MUCH WEIGHT AS SUPPOSED. YAHYA ADDED THAT, GIVEN THE OCCASION, HE WOULD RAISE THIS IDEA WITH NURUL ISLAM AND HIS GROUP DURING THEIR MEETING. YAHYA CONCLUDED BY REQUESTING CONSUL GENERAL SPIVAK TO CONTACT NURUL ISLAM AND ADVISE HIM AND HIS PARTY THAT HE (YAHYA) WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO AN EARLY MEETING. I TOLD YAHYA THAT I WOULD PASS THE WORD ALONG.

8. FOR DACCA. UNLESS CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE INTERVENED, OR THE DEPARTMENT HAS SECOND THOUGHTS, I SUGGEST THAT YOU CONTACT NURUL ISLAM AND CONVEY TO HIM THE FOREGOING INFO CONCERNING A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT. AS TO ARRANGEMENTS FOR THAT MEETING I WOULD SUGGEST THAT IT BE DONE DIRECTLY BETWEEN NURUL ISLAM AND THE PRESIDENT.

GP-2
FARLAND

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FM AMCONSUL DACCA
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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USUN NEW YORK 217

S E C R E T DACCA 4750

EXDIS

SUBJECT: YAHYA - NURUL ISLAM MEETING

REF: ISLAMABAD 10927

1. I MET NURUL ISLAM TODAY IN MY RESIDENCE AND TOLD HIM THAT PRESIDENT YAHYA HAD SAID TO AMBASSADOR FARLAND THAT HE WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO ISLAM. I TOLD ISLAM FURTHER THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS AWARE THAT SUBJECT OF RELEASE OF SHEIKH MUJIB RAHMAN WAS ONE OF TOPIC THAT ISLAM WOULD WANT TO BRING UP.
2. ISLAM SAID HE GREATLY APPRECIATED MY EFFORT AND THAT OF AMBASSADOR FARLAND. AFTER SOME SPECULATION -- MORE INO VYVTURE OF THINKING OUT LOUD THAN ASKING MY ADVICE -- ABOUT HOW TO SET UP MEETING, ISLAM SAID HE AND ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD (AL MNA-ELECT ANJSUBTMER CENTRAL MINISTER) WOULD PROCEED TO ISLAMABAD AS SOON AS THEY COULD OBTAIN PLANE RESERVATIONS AND GET IN TOUCH WITH PRESIDENT'S MILITARY SECRETARY THERE. ISLAM ASKED ME WHETHER PRESIDENT'S

SECRET

PAGE 02 DACCA 04750 03 1209Z

(#)

WOULD BE AWARE OF PRESIDENT'S
INTEREST IN SEEING ISLAM, AND I SAID THAT I COULD,
ONLY PRESUME THEY WOULD.

3. ISLAM SAID THAT HE WOULD SEEK OPPORTUNITY ON THIS
TRIP TO ISLAMABAD TO CALL ON AMBASSADOR. I NEITHER
ENCOURAGED NOR DISCOURAGED HIM IN THIS. GP-3.
SPIVACK

NOTE BY OC/T: DACCA 4750, # OMISSION CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

SECRET

SECRET EXDIS

AIDE MEMOIRE

I. DISPLACED PERSONS :

Mr. Kelly, representative in Dacca of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees confirmed in a meeting with the Pakistan Foreign Secretary on September 25 that a large number of returnees had told him that they had fled over to India because of the general panic and that none of them had seen a single soldier or any kind of military action in their areas before their flight to India.

A. Actual number :

The total number of displaced persons who left East Pakistan has been established after a very careful district-wise survey at a little over two million. India's claim of 9 million is highly exaggerated and includes large numbers of vagabonds, beggars and other poor Indians who pose as refugees for free doles. This has been confirmed by a BBC correspondent, Ronald Robson in a report published in the weekly "LISTENER" on September 23. If India is honest about her claim, why she continues to refuse verification of the actual number of displaced persons through the United Nations as proposed by Pakistan to U Thant. In fact, the President of Pakistan said in a nation-wide broadcast on October 12 that Pakistan would welcome any international agency to assess the correct number of displaced persons.

B. Steps taken by the Government of Pakistan to facilitate the return and rehabilitation of the displaced persons :

(a) The President of Pakistan in a public statement on May 21, called upon the displaced persons to return to their homes and assured them protection and safety;

(b) Twenty-one camps have been set up along the East Pakistan - India border to provide facilities and amenities for the return and rehabilitation of the displaced persons;

(c) Pakistan has accepted various proposals made by the U.N. Secretary-General and U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees designed to facilitate the return of the displaced persons. While Pakistan accepted the U.N. Secretary-General's proposal for stationing U.N. observers, India took a negative and obstructive approach and rejected it;

C. India's actions which stand in the way of the return of the displaced persons :

(a) The incessant mortar firing and shelling over the East Pakistan border, particularly on main routes, make it virtually impossible for refugees to return. Most of the two hundred thousand refugees who have so far returned have crossed into Pakistan through irregular routes.

(b) India rejected U Thant's proposal for U.N. observers on both sides of the border which

Pakistan accepted. The presence of U.N. observers would create confidence and a sense of safety amongst the displaced persons;

(c) Indian leaders including Mrs. Gandhi have declared that the displaced persons would only be allowed to return to Mujib's "Bangla Desh". Obviously, refugees would wait and see if India succeeds in dismembering Pakistan;

(d) The continuance of the refugee problem stands to benefit India vis-a-vis Pakistan both politically and financially. Pakistan continues to get a bad name while India gets money which is not being used for the purpose for which it is given. Returnees from India have stated that no medical assistance was made available to them by the Indians. India has also refused any international management or coordination of international assistance;

(e) India's proposal to establish an international consortium for aid to refugees is designed to promote India's own political and financial interests.

II. STEPS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN FOR RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY :

East Pakistan :

(a) Dr. A.M. Malik, a veteran East Pakistani leader has taken over as the Governor of East Pakistan;

(b) A committee of experts is busy framing a new constitution which will provide maximum

autonomy compatible with the unity of the country to various component units, including East Pakistan;

(c) The results of the elections held in December last have not been annulled and, in fact, all those members who did not take part in the anti-State and criminal activities continue to retain their respective membership of the Provincial and National Assemblies. Bye-elections for the seats vacated by those who committed serious criminal offences will be held on December 20;

(d) The Government of Pakistan has granted a general amnesty to all those who had committed or alleged to have committed offences during the disturbances in East Pakistan, beginning from March 1, 1971. This amnesty will also extend to personnel belonging to Armed Forces, East Pakistan Rifles and para-military forces;

(e) A civilian representative government comprising politicians of various political parties including two elected members of the outlawed Awami League was sworn in on September 17, 1971;

(f) Food situation fully under control; industrial and economic life rapidly returning to normal.

Pakistan :

(a) The National Assembly will meet on December 27;

(b) Soon after, power will be transferred to a civilian elected Federal Government;

(c) A Constitution drafted by a committee of experts providing for maximum autonomy compatible with territorial integrity of the country will be presented to the National Assembly for approval. The National Assembly will have every opportunity of suggesting amendments to the Constitution. To facilitate easy amendment, the Assembly can propose amendment to the Constitution by a simple majority of total number of seats in the Assembly and a consensus of various Provinces by a minimum of 25 per cent of total seats of each Provincial Assembly.

III. INDIAN SUPPORT FOR THE SO-CALLED "BANGLA DESH".

While the Indian leaders profess that they do not insist on any particular solution for the political settlement of the East Pakistan crisis (Swaran Singh spoke to the Secretary of State Rogers on these lines and Mrs. Gandhi might do so in her meetings with President Nixon) all Indian actions and public statements of Indian leaders confirm the contrary as borne out by the following :

(a) India has stopped using the word "East Pakistan" and instead use "East Bengal" in all official statements and public pronouncements. In fact, India has sought support of other countries for the use of the word "East Bengal" in joint statements;

(b) Indian leaders have publicly declared that the refugees will only go to "Bangla Desh"

which means an independent East Pakistan;

(c) Large scale military and political support for the so-called "Bangla Desh" government which has stated that the demand of "Bangla Desh" as an independent state is not negotiable.

Thus India has almost accorded de-facto recognition to "Bangla Desh".

IV. MOUNTING INDO-PAKISTAN TENSION :

India's persistent intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs and continued violation of Pakistan's borders through shelling, infiltration by Indian equipped and trained infiltrators have created a highly dangerous and explosive Indo-Pakistan situation. The following extract from Sydney Schanberg's despatch from Calcutta reported on the front page of the New York Times on October 13 confirms India's violation of all norms of International Law and U.N. Charter :

Arms Are Flowing to Calcutta, Reported Destined for Bengalis

Guerrilla Step-up Seen

By SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG

Special to The New York Times

CALCUTTA, India, Oct. 11—

Under heavy security, several special freight trains carrying military supplies now arrive here every day. The arms are reported to be for the Bengali guerrillas who are fighting for East Pakistan's independence and who seem to be preparing to step up their activities against the Pakistani army.

On the guerrilla side, the crucial question is how far India is willing to go in support of the independence movement. So far the Indians have been providing

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certain amount of a **DECLASSIFIED**

Apart from political support and military supplies on large scale to the secessionists, India has moved forward armoured formations of all types, including infantry, armour and artillery all around the borders of East Pakistan. Similarly, Indian Air Force units have been located in positions threatening East Pakistan.

Large numbers of units and formations of Indian Armed Forces have also been moved close to the borders of West Pakistan.

India's Air Force has activated airfields closer to Pakistan in both Wings and has also moved forward an Air Force Tactical Headquarters.

All these have created a very serious possibility of aggression by India.

Further deterioration in Indo-Pakistan relations must therefore be arrested and ways and means worked out to reduce tension.

Pakistan has been willing to hold discussions with India at any level and accepted the mediatory efforts of the Shahinshah of Iran for Indo-Pakistan summit talks which India rejected.

U.N. observers, as proposed by U Thant, should be posted on both sides of the border.

A good offices mission of the U.N. Security Council should visit areas of tension. India tries to raise the East Pakistan situation in all the U.N.

forums but shies away from U.N. good offices for reducing tension.

The U.S. should use its influence with India for talks between India and Pakistan and for collaboration with the U.N. for easing tension.

V. INNOCENT PAKISTANIS DETAINED IN INDIAN JAILS :

India has repeatedly ignored Pakistan's request for the release of Pakistani nationals who were compelled to cross over into India during March-April disturbances in East Pakistan and are presently detained in Indian jails.

The U.S. Government should take up the matter with Mrs. Gandhi during her forthcoming visit and impress upon her to treat this question as a humanitarian issue and release the unfortunate persons who are victims of circumstances beyond their control.

HIS EXCELLENCY MR. RICHARD M. NIXON,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON.

2

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

GENERAL HAID

A1:

Re the letter to Yahya, if it is not possible to have it machine-signed Sunday but if it is clearly approved and ready to go, could you have the text of it LDXed to State so that they can send it out by telegram. The signed original will follow by pouch in any case.

Farland sees Yahya at midnight Monday our time so the earlier we get it into his hands for typing etc. the ~~xxx~~ better.

Thanks.

Hal

Hal Saunders

sent.

copy LDX'd to State
Secretariat 10/30/71
per Gen Haig

orig to be ~~machine~~ signed
Monday

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

REVISED LETTER
TO YAHYA

October 30

1:00 p. m.

HAK:

The letter to Yahya under TAB A of the attached package now includes all the changes you made and those you suggested to me on the phone this morning, notably:

- a warm additional sentence in the second paragraph ("burdens");
- eliminating praise of U Thant and halving paragraph on his role.

I hope this is responsive to your thoughts.

OK to send

Other

Hal

Hal Saunders

Pres Corres
Yahya
Pakistan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1971

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letters of October 6 and October 9 concerning the dangers to peace in South Asia. I am grateful to you for conveying your concerns to me and for the confidence and friendship in which your letters were written. The Vice President has conveyed your good wishes from Persepolis.

We share most deeply many of the concerns you have expressed. I am keenly aware of the continuing difficulties you face and know how much the threat of war adds to the burdens you already bear. I have asked Ambassador Farland to discuss with you as a concerned friend further steps that might be taken to reduce tension.

Because of our concern for peace, we have requested both your government and the government of India to consider withdrawal of forces along your respective borders as an action that would contribute to restoring mutual confidence and reducing the risks of war. We appreciate your prompt and positive response to this proposal. We hope that both your government and that of Mrs. Gandhi will keep this possibility under serious consideration in the days ahead. Your strong desire to avoid hostilities is most encouraging.

Nonetheless, there are still serious risks in the present situation and hostilities could still erupt inadvertently. Such hostilities could easily escalate with a much wider conflict with tragic consequences for the entire South

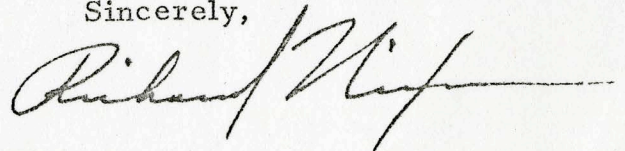
Asian subcontinent. We therefore share your view that the United Nations has a serious responsibility in this situation to act in ways that will help reduce tensions and begin the difficult task of building a lasting peace in that area.

For those reasons we have welcomed the initiatives taken by the United Nations in recent months, both those designed to reduce the risk of conflict and those in the field of humanitarian relief. I know of the Secretary General's very recent letter to you and Mrs. Gandhi, and I welcome the tenor of your response to that letter. We intend to be in close touch with the Secretary General, with your government, and with the government of India to consider ways in which these initiatives might be followed through.

Meanwhile, I have asked Ambassador Farland to talk with you about what might be a feasible next step toward beginning the withdrawal of forces from their dangerous border positions. I know the importance you attach to enlisting the maximum degree of participation by the elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan. I also believe you agree that this process is essential to restoring those conditions in the Eastern wing of your country which will end the flow of refugees into India and achieve a viable political accommodation among all the people of Pakistan.

We have recently said farewell to Ambassador Hilaly who has completed more than five years of dedicated service to the cause of friendship between our two countries. I want you to know how much we have appreciated his wise counsel and understanding and how much I have enjoyed my relationship with him.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
President's House
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION
LDX #395

SECRET

October 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: DR. KISSINGER
FROM: HAROLD H. SAUNDERS *Hal*
SUBJECT: Letter to Yahya

Attached is a final version of the letter to Yahya with the more personal touch you requested this morning.

In order to get Farland in to see Yahya in time to get a reply to us before Mrs. Gandhi arrives as you suggest, we ought to get this on the wire tonight.

RECOMMENDATION: That you seek the President's signature tonight via the attached.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION
LDX 395

November 1, 1971

SECRET/NODIS

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Letter to President Yahya

President Yahya has written you two recent notes:

1. One (at Tab B) called your attention to India's "persistent intervention" in Pakistan's internal affairs and "refusal" to resolve the humanitarian problem of the displaced persons with the help and assistance of the UN as originally proposed by Dr. Kissinger during his talks with me last July. He notes that Indian armed forces had moved forward. He underscores the need to bring the situation under control. He notes that these Indian moves have taken place since the signing of the Indo-Soviet treaty despite Soviet assurances that Moscow was urging restraint. He asked our help in facilitating urgent consideration by the UN Security Council or some other international action if you thought that more helpful.

2. A second (Tab C) was written to lay out the Pakistani position before Mrs. Gandhi's visit here. In addition to expressing thanks for your sympathy, he described the Indian military moves which have been reported to you. He states concern about Indian offensive action and about continuing infiltration into East Pakistan. He describes the steps taken and planned for transferring power to an elected government. He urges you to impress on Mrs. Gandhi the need for "urgent constructive steps" to prevent further deterioration.

The suggested reply at Tab A would be sent with instructions to Ambassador Farland to seek from Yahya the most forthcoming statement possible on ways of reducing tension for our use with Mrs. Gandhi:

--Instead of a Security Council meeting, we have already discussed with Yahya the idea of a pullback of military forces from the border, and he has picked it up. Farland would ask whether he might pull a couple of units back on his own.

SECRET/NODIS

SECRET/NODIS

- 2 -

--On the political side, Farland would ask what can be said about Yahya's plans for autonomy in East Pakistan in the new constitution that is being drafted.

The letter at Tab A is a friendly general statement of our desire to help reduce tensions and an introduction to the subjects Farland would take up in detail.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the letter at Tab A.

SECRET/NODIS

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Letter from President Yahya of Pakistan

The attached documents were delivered to the White House today by the Pakistani Charge and are forwarded to the Department for information:

- A letter from President Yahya dated October 9.
- An Aide Memoire prepared by the Charge.

Both of these were delivered with the statement that they were designed to help in US preparations for Prime Minister Gandhi's visit.

Could we have the Department's recommendation for a reply to President Yahya's letter?

Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

HHSaunders:tmt 10/19/71

Text of message to His Excellency Mr. Richard M. Nixon,
President of the United States of America, from
General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, President of the
Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Begins:

"Mr. President,

"Persistent intervention in my country's internal affairs by India, its refusal to resolve the humanitarian problem of the displaced persons with the help and assistance of the United Nations as originally proposed by Dr. Kissinger during his talks with me last July, later formally proposed by U Thant, and promptly accepted by us, and the increasing violations of Pakistan's borders by the Indian Armed Forces, have created a warlike situation between Pakistan and India.

"Moreover, all available evidence indicates that Indian Armed Forces have been put in a state of readiness and moved to forward positions for offensive action at short notice against our frontiers in both the wings.

2. "In these circumstances, and because India has rejected the United Nations observers and good offices, the present situation in the India-Pakistan sub-continent constitutes a threat to international peace and security and an armed conflict between the two countries is likely to erupt if it is not brought under control immediately. It, therefore, appears appropriate that the United Nations Security Council should consider this matter in order to avert in time the impending blood-shed and destruction.

/3.
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E.O. 13526, Section 3.5

3. "In our discussions with the Russians in Moscow last month, they conveyed assurances that India would not start a conflict and added that they were exercising restraining influence on India. Unfortunately, the facts are quite different. The bulk of Indian Forces have moved in operational positions against our borders after the signing of Indo-Soviet Treaty and there has also been a marked increase in shelling and raids on our territory since then. Apparently, the Indians are either not amenable to Soviet advice or are deliberately misleading them.

4. "Confident of the friendship between our two countries and your personal concern for peace in the region, I would request that the United States Government extend the necessary help and assistance to my country in this grave hour with a view to facilitating an urgent consideration of the situation by the Security Council and for a constructive decision and positive action by it.

5. "In case, Mr. President, you deem that some other course of international action at this stage would be more helpful, I shall be grateful to be apprised of it. It only remains for me to assure you that we repose the utmost confidence in your judgement.

"With warm personal regards."

Ends.



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From : Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, H.Pk, H.J.,
President of Pakistan



PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI,

October 9 , 1971.

Your Excellency,

I write to express the sense of gratitude of the Government and the people of Pakistan for your sympathetic understanding of our difficulties during the recent crisis. We also appreciate your Government's continuing interest in the affairs of the sub-continent, particularly, its concern for the well-being of the people and for the preservation of stability and peace in the area. In this context, may I state briefly, Mr. President, the latest position on the state of affairs in the sub-continent. In an already tense situation India's Land, Sea and Air Forces have been brought to a state of confrontation against Pakistan's frontiers in both the wings.

There are 7 divisions of the Indian Army which are deployed against West Pakistan and additional forces have been put in a state of readiness to move to forward positions at short notice.

A total of nearly 8 divisions have encircled East Pakistan.

Substantial forward moves have taken place from the rear to the forward operational positions in the last few weeks. In addition, the deployment of Indian Forces on the Sino-Indian borders have been rearranged in a manner that these could be simultaneously utilized in an offensive against Pakistan's frontiers as well.

The Indian Air Force has activated and occupied forward airfields and special facilities and stock-piling have been carried out. Tactical air-centres have also been established near Pakistan's frontier.

A total of nearly 26 squadrons, inclusive of supersonic aircrafts, are today positioned against Pakistan. There is a virtual combat air ring around East Pakistan for offensive purposes.

The Indian Navy has been put to a state of war - preparedness with sixty percent of its forces deployed against the coasts of West Pakistan. The remaining strength of the Indian Navy is positioned to move against the shores of East Pakistan.

Mr. President, the inevitable conclusion that one can draw from this offensive posture of the Indian Armed Forces is that it is pointed in the direction of conflict and not of peace. Our concern is all the more grave since India has shown no inclination to give up its policy of instigating and assisting armed infiltration into East Pakistan. It continues to support, train, and launch rebels and insurgents who seek the dismemberment and destruction of Pakistan. I am constrained to say that if this state of affairs continues it may lead to dangerous consequences; a situation which we in Pakistan - and I am sure all the friends of Pakistan and India, particularly, the United States - would wish to avoid.

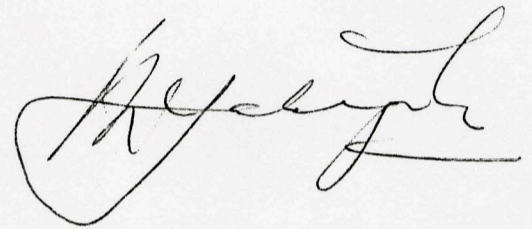
It is most unfortunate that to justify its aggressive posture, India continues to exploit the humanitarian question of displaced persons. As you perhaps know, Mr. President, my Government has taken several constructive steps for the return and speedy rehabilitation of these persons who are our own kith and kin. This contrasts sharply with India's totally negative attitude and leaves us with no doubt that India does not wish an amicable settlement of this problem.

I would wish to add that the political situation in Pakistan is rapidly progressing towards the objective I have set out for transferring power to the elected representatives of the people. I have already taken some decisive steps, including the appointment of a civilian Governor in East Pakistan, fixing a time schedule for holding bye-elections in December this year, declaration of general amnesty and release of detained persons. These efforts towards the civilianisation of provincial government in East Pakistan have evoked a highly favourable response from the people. In addition, the food situation in the province is fully under control and the industrial and economic life is rapidly returning to normal. A very healthy improvement in the atmosphere in East Pakistan is thus discernible.

Mr. President, since you have always taken a keen personal interest in the preservation of peace in the sub-continent, I do hope that you would share my belief that whether it be for the creation of a climate conducive to the return of the displaced persons, or for the normalisation of situation, it is essential that India and Pakistan should work out necessary ways and means to reduce tension and allow normalcy to return at the earliest. Having this in mind, may I urge you to impress upon the Government of India the need for urgent constructive steps with a view to arresting further deterioration of the situation in the sub-continent. As I have always maintained, war will solve nothing. I, therefore, earnestly hope that wise counsels would prevail in India and the

Indian leaders would exercise restraint and caution in this highly surcharged atmosphere. I would request you, Mr. President, personally to take up this matter in your talks with the Indian Prime Minister during her forthcoming visit to Washington. On my part, I shall welcome any constructive suggestion that you may wish to offer in this regard.

With warm personal regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'A.M. Yahya Khan', written in dark ink on a light background.

(A.M. Yahya Khan)

His Excellency
Mr. Richard Nixon,
President,
United States of America,
WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. RICHARD NIXON,
PRESIDENT,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

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KISSINGER _____ ROGERS, W _____ LOU _____ BUO _____ EXDIS _____

HAIG _____ LAIRD, M _____ C _____ EYES ONLY _____ LIMDIS _____

ELIOT X *Davis/Yalya* *S* _____ CODE WORD _____ RES DATA _____

TS _____ SENSITIVE _____

SUBJECT: *LIK from Pres Yalya & Lida Mervin de Santa Lina - Gov*
ST-20-871

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

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PROGRAM ANALYSIS				COMMENTS: (Including Special Instructions)	
NSC PLANNING					
CONGRESSIONAL					

WOODS, R *4* *done*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
				<i>Davis sgd memo to Eliot (1) States (27)</i>	
<i>10/29</i>	<i>SANDOZ</i>	<i>HAK</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>Pres to sgd for to Yalya</i>	
<i>10/29</i>		<i>Pres</i>		<i>sgd for to Yalya</i>	
<i>11/2</i>				<i>Pres sgd for to Yalya</i>	

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Department of State

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APPROVED BY: NEA-CHRISTOPHERVANHOLLEN
NEA/PAF-LAINGEN
S/S MILLER
WHITE HOUSE-DAVIS

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- BEHR _____
- BERGSTEN _____
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- LEHMAN ✓
- NACHMANOFF _____
- ROBINSON ✓
- RONDON _____
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- SONNENFELDT ✓
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SUBJECT: YAHYA LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER FROM PRES YAHYA TO PRESIDENT NIXON DTD OCT 9, DELIVERED TO WHITE HOUSE OCT 19 BY PAKISTANI DCM FAROOQI:

DJW ✓
Carole ✓
P.C. ✓

BEGIN TEXT YOUR EXCELLENCY

I WRITE TO EXPRESS THE SENSE OF GRATITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN FOR YOUR SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING OF OUR DIFFICULTIES DURING THE RECENT CRISIS. WE ALSO APPRECIATE YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE SUB-CONTINENT, PARTICULARLY, ITS CONCERN FOR THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PRESERVATION OF STABILITY AND PEACE IN THE AREA. IN THIS CONTEXT, MAY I STATE BRIEFLY, MR PRESIDENT, THE LATEST POSITION ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE SUB-CONTINENT. IN AN ALREADY TENSE SITUATION INDIA'S LAND, SEA AND AIR FORCES HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO A STATE OF CONFRONTATION AGAINST PAKISTAN'S FRONTIERS IN BOTH THE WINGS.

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THERE ARE 7 DIVISIONS OF THE INDIAN ARMY WHICH ARE DEPLOYED AGAINST WEST PAKISTAN AND ADDITIONAL FORCES HAVE BEEN PUT IN A STATE OF READINESS TO MOVE TO FORWARD POSITIONS AT SHORT NOTICE.

A TOTAL OF NEARLY 8 DIVISIONS HAVE ENCIRCLED EAST PAKISTAN.

SUBSTANTIAL FORWARD MOVES HAVE TAKEN PLACE FROM THE REAR TO THE FORWARD OPERATIONAL POSITIONS IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS. IN ADDITION, THE DEPLOYMENT OF INDIAN FORCES ON THE SINO-INDIAN BORDERS HAVE BEEN REARRANGED IN A MANNER THAT THESE COULD BE SIMULTANEOUSLY UTILIZED IN AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST PAKISTAN'S FRONTIERS AS WELL.

THE INDIAN AIR FORCE HAS ACTIVATED AND OCCUPIED FORWARD AIRFIELDS AND SPECIAL FACILITIES AND STOCKPILING HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT. TACTICAL AIR-CENTRES HAVE ALSO BEEN ESTABLISHED NEAR PAKISTAN'S FRONTIER.

A TOTAL OF NEARLY 26 SQUADRONS, INCLUSIVE OF SUPERSONIC AIRCRAFTS, ARE TODAY POSITIONED AGAINST PAKISTAN. THERE IS A VIRTUAL COMBAT AIR RING AROUND EAST PAKISTAN FOR OFFENSIVE PURPOSES.

THE INDIAN NAVY HAS BEEN PUT TO A STATE OF WAR-PREPAREDNESS WITH SIXTY PERCENT OF ITS FORCES DEPLOYED AGAINST THE COASTS OF WEST PAKISTAN. THE REMAINING STRENGTH OF THE INDIAN NAVY IS POSITIONED TO MOVE AGAINST THE SHORES OF EAST PAKISTAN.

MR PRESIDENT, THE INEVITABLE CONCLUSION THAT ONE CAN DRAW FROM THIS OFFENSIVE POSTURE OF THE INDIAN ARMED FORCES IS THAT IT IS POINTED IN THE DIRECTION OF CONFLICT AND NOT OF PEACE. OUR CONCERN IS ALL THE MORE GRAVE SINCE INDIA HAS SHOWN NO INCLINATION TO GIVE UP ITS POLICY OF INSTIGATING AND ASSISTING ARMED INFILTRATION INTO EAST PAKISTAN. IT CONTINUES TO SUPPORT, TRAIN, AND LAUNCH REBELS AND INSURGENTS WHO SEEK THE DISMEMBERMENT AND DESTRUCTION OF PAKISTAN. I AM CONSTRAINED TO SAY THAT IF THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS CONTINUES IT MAY LEAD TO DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES; A SITUATION WHICH WE IN PAKISTAN--AND I AM SURE ALL THE

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

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FRIENDS OF PAKISTAN AND INDIA, PARTICULARLY, THE UNITED STATES--WOULD WISH TO AVOID.

IT IS MOST UNFORTUNATE THAT TO JUSTIFY ITS AGGRESSIVE POSTURE, INDIA CONTINUES TO EXPLOIT THE HUMANITARIAN QUESTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS. AS YOU PERHAPS KNOW, MR PRESIDENT, MY GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN SEVERAL CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS FOR THE RETURN AND SPEEDY REHABILITATION OF THESE PERSONS WHO ARE OUR OWN KITH AND KIN. THIS CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH INDIA'S TOTALLY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE AND LEAVES US WITH NO DOUBT THAT INDIA DOES NOT WISH AN AMICABLE SETTLEMENT OF THIS PROBLEM.

I WOULD WISH TO ADD THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN PAKISTAN IS RAPIDLY PROGRESSING TOWARDS THE OBJECTIVE I HAVE SET OUT FOR TRANSFERRING POWER TO THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE. I HAVE ALREADY TAKEN SOME DECISIVE STEPS, INCLUDING THE APPOINTMENT OF A CIVILIAN GOVERNOR IN EAST PAKISTAN, FIXING A TIME SCHEDULE FOR HOLDING BYE-ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER THIS YEAR, DECLARATION OF GENERAL AMNESTY AND RELEASE OF DETAINED PERSONS. THESE EFFORTS TOWARDS THE CIVILIANISATION OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN EAST PAKISTAN HAVE EVOKED A HIGHLY FAVOURABLE RESPONSE FROM THE PEOPLE. IN ADDITION, THE FOOD SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE IS FULLY UNDER CONTROL AND THE INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE IS RAPIDLY RETURNING TO NORMAL. A VERY HEALTHY IMPROVEMENT IN THE ATMOSPHERE IN EAST PAKISTAN IS THUS DISCERNIBLE.

MR PRESIDENT, SINCE YOU HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN A KEEN PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE IN THE SUB-CONTINENT, I DO HOPE THAT YOU WOULD SHARE MY BELIEF THAT WHETHER IT BE FOR THE CREATION OF A CLIMATE CONDUCTIVE TO THE RETURN OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS, OR FOR THE NORMALISATION OF SITUATION, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT INDIA AND PAKISTAN SHOULD WORK OUT NECESSARY WAYS AND MEANS TO REDUCE TENSION AND ALLOW NORMALCY TO RETURN AT THE EARLIEST. HAVING THIS IN MIND, MAY I URGE YOU TO IMPRESS UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA THE NEED FOR URGENT CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS WITH A VIEW TO ARRESTING FURTHER DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE SUB-CONTINENT. AS I HAVE ALWAYS MAINTAINED, WAR WILL SOLVE NOTHING. I, THEREFORE, EARNESTLY HOPE THAT WISE COUNSELS

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WOULD PREVAIL IN INDIA AND THE INDIAN LEADERS WOULD EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND CAUTION IN THIS HIGHLY SURCHARGED ATMOSPHERE. I WOULD REQUEST YOU, MR PRESIDENT, PERSONALLY TO TAKE UP THIS MATTER IN YOUR TALKS WITH THE INDIAN PRIME MINISTER DURING HER FORTHCOMING VISIT TO WASHINGTON. ON MY PART, I SHALL WELCOME ANY CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTION THAT YOU MAY WISH TO OFFER IN THIS REGARD.

WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, A.M. YAHYA KHAN END TEXT ROGERS

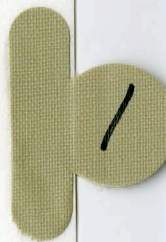
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Roberts
Your file pls.
mlh

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE

December 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Attached is a communication just received from the Government of Pakistan. The President has requested that a draft reply be prepared on a most urgent basis for his consideration tomorrow morning.

15/
Henry A. Kissinger

Attachment

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE



From: Nawabzada A. M. Raza,
HQA, HK, SPk.

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

November 30, 1971.

My dear Dr Kissinger

I am sending herewith a cutting of an item from the Evening Star of today headlined "Pakistan Concedes Losses as Warfare Intensifies". The item is date-lined Calcutta. If you allow me, I would like to draw your attention to the underlined portions. It is interesting to know that Mrs. Gandhi is now demanding that we withdraw all our troops from East Pakistan. Tomorrow she will demand that Pakistan army should be disbanded. Is the world still going to take it lying down?

With kindest regards

*Yours Sincerely
A M Raza*

Honourable
Dr Henry A. Kissinger,
The White House,
Washington D. C.

Pakistan Concedes Losses As Warfare Intensifies

By HENRY S. BRADSHER
Star Staff Writer

CALCUTTA — Both India and Pakistan report that fighting is intensifying in East Pakistan into the second week of a major offensive supported by Bangla Desh forces, but conflicting claims obscure the situation. Some Indian claims of advances by rebel forces are be-

ginning to be matched by Pakistani admissions of reverses. However, Indian claims for the Mukti Bahini (Freedom Army) are running far ahead of admissions of losses by what Pakistan says are Indian army troops.

Despite mounting military pressure and increasing guerrilla activity around Dacca, the Pakistani government shows no

signs of declaring this to be an all-out war with India and widening it to their western borders. Observers still are uncertain whether President A. M. Yahya Khan might still choose to do this rather than accepting a disadvantageous limited war in East Pakistan.

"Proxy War" Indicated

The problem facing Yahya Khan is that a broader war, which he has often said would result from exactly the kind of situation that has developed in the East within the last 10 days, would also be to his disadvantage. Whether he is only hesitating or intends to avoid it remains unclear.

But India's determination to go ahead with a proxy war against Pakistan is repeatedly made clear.

While Yahya Khan appeals for United Nations observers on his side of the border in confident expectation that they would find India violating international law, India quite bluntly is uninterested in the legal technicalities of its effort to establish an independent Bangla Desh government so some 10 million refugees in India will return home.

(In New Delhi, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi demanded today the withdrawal of Pakistani troops from East Pakistan, saying their presence "is a threat to our security," the Associated Press reported.

(Mrs. Gandhi told Parliament that a Pakistani withdrawal was the only way to peace and indicated India would continue to send troops across the border.

"We cannot allow annihilation of people next door," she said "and this must be clearly understood by the world."

(While declaring that the withdrawal of Pakistani troops from East Pakistan would be a gesture of peace by the Pakistan government, Mrs. Gandhi warned that there was no magic solution to the crisis.

(For the second time in three days, Mrs. Gandhi opposed any

THE EVENING STAR

Washington, D. C., Tuesday, November 30, 1971

TOP SECRET



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

December 2, 1971.

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

TEXT OF THE MOST IMMEDIATE MESSAGE FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL AGHA MUHAMMAD YAHYA KHAN,
PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN TO HIS EXCELLENCY
RICHARD M. NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA.

BEGINS:

Dear Mr. President,

I write to thank you most sincerely for your letter of November 27 which was delivered to me by Ambassador Farland. I deeply appreciate the measures taken by you to counsel restraint and to promote a withdrawal of forces. I especially take note of your kind offer to consider suggestions from my government and to discuss with you measures that will help reduce the risk of further conflict in South Asia. It is in this spirit that I address these few lines to you now.

As you are aware, I have done my utmost to resolve the problem with India peacefully. I have gone more than half way. I have done my best to keep the clashes localised and confined to East Pakistan.



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Ambassador Farland and Raza are being kept informed of developments and the evolving military situation. Unfortunately India has chosen the path of war, aided and abetted by Soviet Union, in a bid to break up my country. Time is fast running out and the choice before me has, indeed, become very limited.

I have, therefore, been seriously considering to make an approach to you for a final attempt to avert the impending catastrophe. I do so now.

The advice given to the Indian Prime Minister and indications of the U.S. opposition to any rash actions by India have apparently proved futile. Gesture such as the stoppage of two million dollars worth of arms supplies to India or delay in the signing of PL-480 and development loans are unlikely to change the Indian attitude at this stage. Therefore, I request for urgent consideration, Mr. President, of the following measures :

a) issuance of a personal statement by you, condemning India's aggression, aided and abetted by the Soviet Union, and calling for an immediate end to hostilities



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and withdrawal of opposing forces to safe distance behind their respective borders;

b) issuance of a statement by you strongly advising Soviet Union to desist from militarily supporting India in its aggression against Pakistan;

c) your agreement to my invoking Article I of the Pakistan-United States Bilateral Agreement of Co-operation signed on 5th March 1959 and meeting my request for military assistance in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

Mr. President, Pakistan is determined to resist aggression launched by India which has enormous superiority of arms and equipment over us. The Russian involvement consisting of massive supplies of sophisticated arms to India has made our task much more difficult. Pakistan must, therefore, enlist powerful and tangible support of its friends in keeping with the solemn agreements signed with them, to meet this formidable challenge.

I shall be most anxiously awaiting your reply.

With warm personal regards,

Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, H.Pk., H.J.

ENDS.

MOST IMMEDIATE



His Excellency

Richard M. Nixon,

President of the United States of America,

The White House,

WASHINGTON, D.C.



Department of State

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DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER FROM PRES YAHYA TO PRESIDENT NIXON DELIVERED BY PAK EMB ON NOV 23 A.M.,

QUOTE MR. PRESIDENT

I AM ADDRESSING THIS MESSAGE TO YOU WITH A DEEP SENSE OF URGENCY IN VIEW OF THE GRAVE SITUATION WHICH HAS ARISEN IN MY COUNTRY AS A RESULT OF UNPROVOKED AND LARGE SCALE ATTACKS BY INDIAN ARMED FORCES INTO VARIOUS PARTS OF PAKISTAN.

ON NOV 21 AN INDIAN ARMY BRIGADE GROUP SUPPORTED BY ARMED HELICOPTERS INGRESSSED INTO CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS OVER-RUNNING OUR BORDER OUT-POSTS AND INGRESSING APPROXIMATELY 10 MILES IN OUR TERRITORY.

W/7/71 ✓
PC ✓
Casper ✓
Ed ✓

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ON THE SAME DAY, ANOTHER BRIGADE GROUP OF 23RD INDIAN DIVISION LAUNCHED AN ATTACK IN THE BELONIA SALIENT OF NOAKHALI DISTRICT PUSHING 8 MILES DEEP INTO PAKISTANI TERRITORY, SUPPORTED BY THE REST OF THE DIVISION.

IN THE BRAHMAMBARIA SUBDIVISION ALSO ON NOV 21 ATTACKS WERE LAUNCHED BY A BATTALION GROUP EACH FROM 57TH DIVISION AGAINST TWO OF OUR BORDER POSTS AT MUKANDPUR AND SALDANDI WHICH WERE OVER-RUN.

IN SYLHET DISTRICT MAULVI BAZAR SUBDIVISION, TWO BATTALION GROUPS ATTACKED AND OVER-RAN BORDER OUT-POSTS AT DHALAI, ATHERAM AND ZAKIGAUJ. THE BATTALION GROUPS INCLUDED TWO COMPANIES OF GURKHAS.

ON NOV 21, ANOTHER ATTACK WAS LAUNCHED IN RANGPUR DISTRICT IN THE BURANGAMARI SALIENT WHERE AN INDIAN BRIGADE GROUP PENETRATED 15 MILES INTO PAKISTAN TERRITORY UP TO NAGESHWARI.

ON THE SAME DAY IN JESSORE DISTRICT, A MAJOR OFFENSIVE WAS LAUNCHED BY A BRIGADE GROUP OF 9TH INDIAN DIVISION SUPPORTED BY ARMOR AND AIR COVER. THE ATTACK WAS LAUNCHED OPPOSITE CHAUGACHA AND INDIAN TANKS PENETRATED ABOUT 8 MILES INTO PAKISTAN TERRITORY.

THE INDIAN AIR ATTACK WAS CHALLENGED BY PAKISTAN AIR FORCE. ONE INDIAN AIRCRAFT WAS DESTROYED AND WE LOST TWO. SIX INDIAN TANKS WERE DESTROYED IN THE ENGAGEMENT AND EIGHT OF OURS WERE DESTROYED.

INTERMITTENT SHELLING OF JESSORE AIRFIELD CONTINUES.

IN MYMENSINGH DISTRICT REPEATED ATTACKS AGAINST OUR BORDER OUT-POSTS AT KARITOLA HAVE BEEN REPULSED.

AS MANY AS 12 INDIAN DIVISIONS HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED AROUND EAST PAKISTAN. IN ADDITION THERE ARE 38 BATTALIONS OF THE INDIAN BORDER SECURITY FORCE. 2ND AND 5TH INDIAN MOUNTAIN DIVISIONS WHICH WERE PREVIOUSLY DEPLOYED ON THE BORDERS WITH CHINA HAVE ALSO BEEN MOVED TOWARDS EAST PAKISTAN. THE 8TH MOUNTAIN DIVISION (OF 6 BRIGADES) HAS ALSO BEEN

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MOVED TO EAST PAKISTAN BORDERS TOWARDS SYLHET FROM NAGALAND WHERE ONLY ONE BRIGADE IS NOW LEFT.

TWELVE SQUADRONS OF THE INDIAN AIR FORCE ARE NOW PLACED AROUND EAST PAKISTAN. A SIZEABLE INDIAN NAVAL FORCE COMPRISING AIRCRAFT CARRIER, FRIGATES, LANDING SHIPS AND TWO SUBMARINES IS STANDING BY NEAR VIZIGAPATNAM IN THE BAY OF BENGAL POSING AN AMPHIBIOUS THREAT TO CHITTAGONG AND CHALNA PORTS. THE APPROACHES TO CHALNA PORT HAVE BEEN MINED BY THE INDIANS WITH THE RESULT THAT TWO MERCHANT SHIPS CHARTERED FOR CARRYING FOODGRAINS AND OTHER ESSENTIAL SUPPLIES HAVE BEEN DAMAGED. THIS WOULD SERIOUSLY DISRUPT FOOD SUPPLIES TO EAST PAKISTAN.

MR. PRESIDENT, AS YOU ARE AWARE INDIAN ARMED FORCES IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS HAVE MAINTAINED PRESSURE ALL ALONG OUR EASTERN BORDERS. APART FROM TRAINING, EQUIPPING AND LAUNCHING REBELS SUPPORTED BY INDIAN BORDER SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL INTO PAKISTAN TERRITORY, INDIAN ARTILLERY UNITS HAVE BEEN CONSTANTLY SHELLING AREAS IN EAST PAKISTAN. BUT AS I HAVE POINTED OUT ABOVE, IN THE LAST 3 OR 4 DAYS THE INDIAN ARMED FORCES HAVE TURNED FROM LOCALIZED ATTACKS TO OPEN AND LARGE SCALE WARFARE ON SO MANY FRONTS. THEY HAVE FURTHER ESCALATED THE CONFLICT BY INTRODUCING ARMOR AND AIR FORCE. PAKISTAN ARMY AND AIR FORCE UNITS IN EAST PAKISTAN HAVE BEEN UNDER STRICT ORDERS NOT TO CROSS THE FRONTIERS AND TO EXERCISE UTMOST RESTRAINT IN THE FACE OF GRAVE PROVOCATIONS. THE PRESENT SITUATION, HOWEVER, IS SUCH THAT THE OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED BY INDIAN ARMED FORCES MUST BE MET BY US WITH ALL THE FORCE AT OUR COMMAND IN THE DEFENSE OF OUR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

WE WERE ASSURED FROM TIME TO TIME THAT INDIA DID NOT INTEND TO LAUNCH OPEN AND LARGE SCALE WARFARE AGAINST PAKISTAN. IT IS NOW EVIDENT THAT FAR FROM EXERCISING RESTRAINT INDIA HAS CHOSEN THE PATH OF UNABASHED AND UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION. INDIA CONTINUES TO HARP ON THE THEME THAT THE INROADS INTO PAKISTAN ARE BEING MADE BY THE SO-CALLED 'MUKTI BAHINI'--A REBEL FORCE CREATED, MAINTAINED AND SUSTAINED BY INDIA. NO ONE WILL BE DECEIVED BY THE INDIAN CLAIM WHICH STANDS DISPROVED BY THE SCALE OF PRESENT OPERATIONS AND BY THE EQUIPMENT INCLUDING ARMOR AND

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AIR FORCE ELEMENTS NOW BEING USED.

MR. PRESIDENT, I HAVE KEPT IN TOUCH WITH YOU SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CRISIS IN EAST PAKISTAN AND I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE AND THANKFUL FOR YOUR UNDERSTANDING AND WISE COUNSEL. IN ADDRESSING THIS MESSAGE I AM ALSO CONSCIOUS OF YOUR SINCERE CONCERN FOR PEACE IN THIS REGION AND STABILITY IN THE SUB-CONTINENT. ON MY PART, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY UNHESITATINGLY THAT I WISH TO AVOID A SENSELESS AND DESTRUCTIVE WAR WITH INDIA. BUT THE DEVELOPING SITUATION CREATED BY INDIA MAY LEAD US TO A POINT OF NO RETURN. I AM SANGUINE THAT YOUR PERSONAL INITIATIVE AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE COULD STILL PROVE DECISIVE IN AVERTING A CATASTROPHE. I SHALL ANXIOUSLY AWAIT YOUR RESPONSE.

WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS.

(AGHA MOHAMMAD YAHYA KHAN) UNQUOTE. ROGERS

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EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

No. PA/AMB/183/71

November 23, 1971.

My dear Hal,

Further to my talk with you, I am enclosing herewith the full text of a top secret message from President Yahya Khan to President Nixon. I should be grateful if you would pass it on to the President.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Z. M. Farooqi
(Z. M. Farooqi)

Mr Harold Saunders,
The White House, Room No. 386,
Washington D. C.



TOP SECRET

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

TEXT OF MOST IMMEDIATE MESSAGE FROM GENERAL AGHA MUHAMMAD YAHYA KHAN, PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN TO MR RICHARD M. NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

.....

Mr President,

I am addressing this message to you with a deep sense of urgency in view of the grave situation which has arisen in my country as a result of unprovoked and large scale attacks by Indian armed forces into various parts of Pakistan.

2. On November 21 an Indian army brigade group supported by armed helicopters ingressed into Chittagong hill tracts over-running our border out-posts and ingressing approximately 10 miles in our territory.

On the same day, another brigade group of 23rd Indian division launched an attack in the Belonia salient of Noakhali district pushing 8 miles deep into Pakistan territory, supported by the rest of the division.

In the Brahmanbaria sub-division also on November 21 attacks were launched by a battalion group each from 57th division against two of our border posts at Mukandpur and Saldandi which were over-run.

In Sylhet district Maulvi Bazar sub-division, two battalion groups attacked and over-ran border out-posts at Dhalai, Athgram and Zakiganj. The battalion groups included two companies of Gorkhas.

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AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

On November 21, another attack was launched in Rangpur district in the Burangwari salient where an Indian brigade group penetrated 15 miles into Pakistan territory up to Nageshwari.

On the same day in Jessore district, a major offensive was launched by a brigade group of 9th Indian division supported by armour and air cover. The attack was launched opposite Chaugacha and Indian tanks penetrated about 8 miles into Pakistan territory.

The Indian air attack was challenged by Pakistan air force. One Indian aircraft was destroyed and we lost two. Six Indian tanks were destroyed in the engagement and eight of ours were disabled.

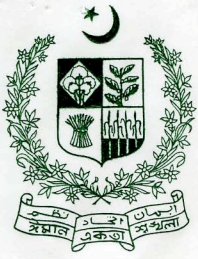
Intermittent shelling of Jessore air field continues.

In Mymensingh district repeated attacks against our border out-posts at Karitola have been repulsed.

3. As many as 12 Indian divisions have been deployed around East Pakistan. In addition there are 38 battalions of the Indian border security force. 2nd and 5th Indian mountain divisions which were previously deployed on the borders with China have also been moved towards East Pakistan. The 8th mountain division (of 6 brigades) has also been moved to East Pakistan borders towards Sylhet from Nagaland where only one brigade is now left.

Twelve squadrons of the Indian air force are now placed around East Pakistan. A sizable Indian

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naval force comprising aircraft carrier, frigates, landing ships and two submarines is standing by near Vizigapattam in the Bay of Bengal posing an amphibious threat to Chittagong and Chalna ports. The approaches to Chalna port have been mined by the Indians with the result that two merchant ships chartered for carrying foodgrains and other essential supplies have been damaged. This would seriously disrupt food supplies to East Pakistan.

4. Mr President, as you are aware, Indian armed forces in the last few months have maintained pressure all along our eastern borders. Apart from training, equipping and launching rebels supported by Indian border security force personnel into Pakistan territory, Indian artillery units have been constantly shelling areas in East Pakistan. But as I have pointed out above, in the last 3 or 4 days the Indian armed forces have turned from localised attacks to open and large scale warfare on so many fronts. They have further escalated the conflict by introducing armour and air force. Pakistan army and air force units in East Pakistan have been under strict orders not to cross the frontiers and to exercise utmost restraint in the face of grave provocations. The present situation, however, is such that the offensive launched by Indian armed forces must be met by us with all the force at our command in the defence of our territorial integrity.

5. We were assured from time to time that India

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did not intend to launch open and large scale warfare against Pakistan. It is now evident that far from exercising restraint India has chosen the path of unabashed and unprovoked aggression. India continues to harp on the theme that the inroads into Pakistan are being made by the so-called 'MUKTI BAHINI' - a rebel force created, maintained and sustained by India. No one will be deceived by the Indian claim which stands disproved by the scale of present operations and by the equipment including armour and air force elements now being used.

6. Mr President, I have kept in touch with you since the beginning of the crisis in East Pakistan and I have always been deeply appreciative and thankful for your understanding and wise counsel. In addressing this message I am also conscious of your sincere concern for peace in this region and stability in the sub-continent. On my part, I would like to say unhesitatingly that I wish to avoid a senseless and destructive war with India. But the developing situation created by India may lead us to a point of no return. I am sanguine that your personal initiative at the present juncture could still prove decisive in averting a catastrophe. I shall anxiously await your response.

With warm personal regards.

(AGHA MOHAMMAD YAHYA KHAN)

His Excellency Mr Richard M. Nixon,
President of the United States of America,
Washington.

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