

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
3	letter	Yahya Khan to the President MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST: NLN 10-13 DECLASSIFIED Per Ltr. 8/21/2014	10/1/69	B

FILE GROUP TITLE <p align="center">NSC</p>	BOX NUMBER <p align="center">759</p>
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FOLDER TITLE

⑨

RESTRICTION CODES

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G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.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H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.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

TAB	SUBJECT	DATE
1	Ltr to President Nixon regarding need for wheat	1 Oct 69
2	reply to above letter	13 Nov 69
3.	Ltrs to President Yaha Khan (4936)	3 & 20 Dec 69
4.	Responses to above ltrs	17 Jan 70
5.	Ltr to President Nixon w/reply	7 May 70 16 Jun 70
6.	Ltr to Yaha Khan (Wrap up of Pakistan Arms Deal)	15 Oct 70

6

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 15, 1970

Dear Mr. President:

The patience you have shown in connection with the protracted review of our military supply policy has been very much appreciated. Our deliberations have taken even longer than anticipated and have involved a number of difficult considerations. One of the problems, as I have explained before, has been the current mood of our Congress toward military assistance and involvement abroad.

Despite these problems, I have tried to be as responsive as possible to Pakistan's requests, in keeping with my assurance to you in Lahore that I would see what could be done to be helpful. I was pleased that Ambassador Farland was able to discuss these matters with you informally on June 20 and again last month before returning home on leave, and I had a good talk with him while he was here. Since then the necessary Congressional consultations have been completed and we are now able to move ahead.

In specific terms, I am pleased to confirm that we are prepared to sell Pakistan on this one occasion the following items which your military authorities have requested from us: six replacement fighter interceptor aircraft or, as an alternative, twelve interceptor aircraft of a different model if Pakistan transfers the remaining aircraft in the squadron concerned; seven replacement medium bomber aircraft; 300 armored personnel carriers; and four maritime patrol aircraft. Our diplomatic mission in Pakistan is prepared to discuss this offer in greater detail with you or your associates, and our respective military representatives can proceed with arrangements.

In addition to the aforementioned items, which are in the "lethal" category, I have asked our people to move as promptly and sympathetically as possible on pending requests by your military authorities to purchase various non-lethal items such as light aircraft, transport aircraft, jeeps and trucks. We are doing our best to be responsive on such items.

I recognize that the equipment to be provided does not cover some of your requests but I hope you will consider this offer as reflecting my sincere desire to be of assistance to Pakistan. As you know from our talk in Lahore, I have had a long personal association with your country and am anxious to ensure that our relations remain on a close and cordial basis.

In closing, let me express my admiration for the great skill you have shown in leading Pakistan through a difficult transition period. In your determination to see Pakistan safely and peacefully through this transition, you have demonstrated statesmanship, courage and sensitivity to the special conditions facing your country and the aspirations of your people. You have my warm good wishes in your great endeavor.

I am now looking forward with great pleasure to our meeting here in Washington and wish you a safe and comfortable journey.

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 Mohammed Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi

Dispatched 10/15 thru S/S rect # 1786

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

②
ACTION 22729

SECRET/NODIS

Harig for
October 15, 1970
Sub

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM: Harold H. Saunders *HS*

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Wrap Up Pakistan Arms Deal

Attached is a final formality in wrapping up the Pakistan arms deal--a letter to President Yahya confirming the secret message that was passed in June.

The timing relevant to delivery of this letter is as follows:

--If it could be signed today, it could be delivered in Rawalpindi tomorrow before President Yahya leaves.

--If there is a slight slippage beyond today, it might be delivered Saturday morning in Karachi.

--Next it might be passed to Yahya in London or even be delivered when he arrives in New York.

Recommendation: That you sign the attached memo to the President.

SECRET/NODIS

MEMORANDUM


THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION 22729

SECRET/NODIS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger 

SUBJECT: Formally Confirming the Pakistan Arms Deal

All of the steps but one have now been taken to wrap up the arms sale to Pakistan which you directed. That one remaining step is a formal confirmation from you to President Yahya.

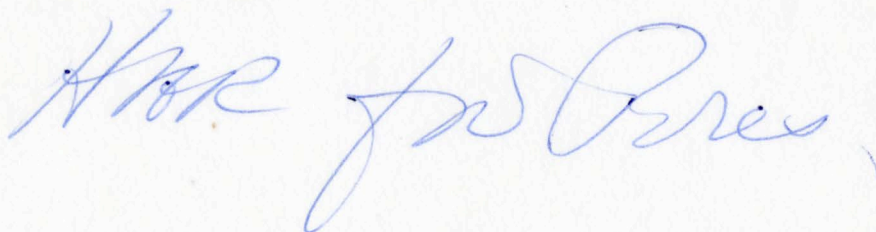
You may recall that, when you authorized Ambassador Farland to inform President Yahya very confidentially in June before his trip to Moscow, the Ambassador was instructed to tell him that we still had to consult with the Congress before we could formally confirm these arrangements. The Ambassador was instructed to inform President Yahya that this confirmation would come in a letter from you. The Congressional consultations have been completed, and the Indians and Pakistanis have been informed. Discussions between U. S. and Pakistani military experts are already in train on the details of the deal. Secretary Rogers now recommends (Tab B) that your letter be sent to President Yahya before he leaves Pakistan on his way to New York and Washington so that the last action promised in connection with your June offer will have been completed before you see him.

You should be aware that the Pakistanis are already attempting to broaden the list of equipment and are also asking credit (your approval was for a cash sale). You may hear both of these requests from President Yahya himself, although he may decide just to thank you for what you have been able to provide at this stage and leave the pressure to lower levels of his government. What the suggested letter to President Yahya does is to confirm the precise package which you authorized and on which key members of the Congress were briefed. The generally mild Congressional reaction to date seems to result in part from the limited and one-time nature of the package.

Even if you wish at some later stage to broaden our military relationship with Pakistan, it would seem desirable to complete the record of this transaction in terms of exactly what has been offered to Pakistan and what has been told to the Congress. That would, of course, require a further decision.

Secretary Rogers urges that this letter be delivered to President Yahya before he leaves Pakistan Friday night. There is some value in getting this behind us if you can conveniently sign this letter in time.

Recommendation: That you sign the letter at Tab A. [Mr. Keogh has cleared.]





THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

S/S 13751

October 13, 1970

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Military Sales Offer to Pakistan

As you may recall, Ambassador Farland on June 20 conveyed informally to President Yahya your decision to sell some military aircraft and armored personnel carriers to Pakistan as a one-time exception to our arms embargo. We have now completed the necessary follow-up steps including briefing the Congress in detail and informing the Indians in general terms.

Reactions to the Decision

Congressional reaction has been restrained, although some further Congressional interest may be generated by critical press commentary here and in India and by the visit of an Indian Parliamentary delegation to Washington from October 12-17. On the Indian side there has been an anticipated sharp reaction. Indian officials have formally protested our decision strongly and we can expect further criticism when the Indian Parliament reconvenes in mid-November. We have also told the Pakistanis we are now ready to move ahead with the sales offer and they have been understandably pleased. The Pakistan press has played the story generally straight, under low-key guidance from the Foreign Office, and has refrained from editorializing.

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Downgraded at 12-year intervals;
not automatically declassified.

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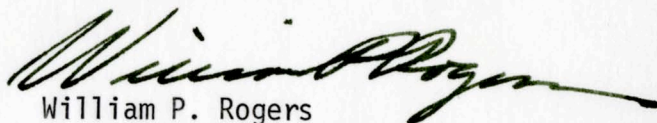
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Formal Confirmation of Sales Offer

In my memorandum of June 4, I recommended that, if you decided to offer an arms package to Pakistan, you confirm your decision by letter to President Yahya after we had consulted the Congress and informed the Indians. I think it is important that you send that message to President Yahya before he leaves for the United States in about five days. We have received indications that Yahya may try to expand the scope of our offer and it therefore seems prudent to confirm it in writing before he arrives.

Recommendation

I therefore recommend that you approve a message along the lines of the enclosed draft to be cabled to our Embassy in Rawalpindi for delivery to Yahya by our Charge d'Affaires, followed by presentation of the signed original by Ambassador Farland after his and Yahya's return to Pakistan.


William P. Rogers

Enclosure:

Suggested letter.

SECRET

SECRET

Draft Letter to President Yahya

Dear Mr. President:

I very much appreciate the patience you have shown in connection with the protracted review of our military supply policy. Our deliberations have taken even longer than I had anticipated when I wrote you on December 20 and have involved a number of difficult considerations. One of the problems, I must say in all candor, has been the current mood of our Congress toward military assistance and involvement abroad.

Despite these problems, I have tried to be as responsive as possible to Pakistan's requests, in keeping with my assurance to you in Lahore that I would see what could be done to be helpful. I was pleased that Ambassador Farland was able to discuss these matters with you informally on June 20 and again last month before returning home on leave. Since then the necessary Congressional consultations have been completed and we are now able to move ahead.

In specific terms, although we are retaining our basic policy, as a special exception on this one occasion I am pleased to confirm that we are prepared to sell Pakistan the following items which your military authorities have requested from us: six replacement

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fighter interceptor aircraft or, as an alternative, twelve interceptor aircraft of a different model on the understanding that Pakistan transfers the remaining aircraft in the squadron concerned; seven replacement medium bomber aircraft; 300 armored personnel carriers; and four maritime patrol aircraft. Our diplomatic mission in Pakistan will be prepared to discuss this offer in greater detail with you or your associates, and our respective military representatives can proceed with arrangements.

In addition to the aforementioned items, which are in the "lethal" category, I have asked our people to move as promptly and sympathetically as possible on pending requests by your military authorities to purchase various non-lethal items such as light aircraft, transport aircraft, jeeps and trucks. We are doing our best to be responsive on such items.

I recognize that the equipment we would provide does not cover some of your requests but I hope you will consider this offer as reflecting my sincere desire to be of assistance to Pakistan. As you know from our talk in Lahore, I have had a long

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SECRET

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personal association with your country and am anxious to ensure that our relations remain on a close and cordial basis.

In closing, let me express my admiration for the great skill you have shown in leading Pakistan through a difficult transition period. Your determination to hold nationwide elections, to be followed by the framing of a new constitution and installation of a civilian government, has demonstrated statesmanship, courage and sensitivity to the special conditions facing Pakistan and the aspirations of its people. You have my warm good wishes in your great endeavor.

I am now looking forward with great pleasure to our meeting next week here in Washington and wish you a safe and comfortable journey.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

His Excellency

General Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan,
President of Pakistan.

SECRET

22709

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

The patience you have shown in connection with the protracted review of our military supply policy has been very much appreciated. Our deliberations have taken even longer than anticipated and have involved a number of difficult considerations. One of the problems, as I have explained before, has been the current mood of our Congress toward military assistance and involvement abroad.

Despite these problems, I have tried to be as responsive as possible to Pakistan's requests, in keeping with my assurance to you in Lahore that I would see what could be done to be helpful. I was pleased that Ambassador Farland was able to discuss these matters with you informally on June 20 and again last month before returning home on leave, and I had a good talk with him while he was here. Since then the necessary Congressional consultations have been completed and we are now able to move ahead.

In specific terms, ~~although we are retaining our basic policy, as a special exception on this one occasion~~ I am pleased to confirm that we are prepared to sell Pakistan the following items which your military authorities have requested from us: six replacement fighter interceptor aircraft or, as an alternative, twelve interceptor aircraft of a different model if Pakistan transfers the remaining aircraft in the squadron concerned; seven replacement medium bomber aircraft; 300 armored personnel carriers; and four maritime patrol aircraft. Our diplomatic mission in Pakistan is prepared to discuss this offer in greater detail with you or your associates, and our respective military representatives can proceed with arrangements.

In addition to the aforementioned items, which are in the "lethal" category, I have asked our people to move as promptly and sympathetically as possible on pending requests by your military authorities to purchase various non-lethal items such as light aircraft, transport aircraft, jeeps and trucks. We are doing our best to be responsive on such items.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE ROUTING AND CONTROL PROFILE

NUMBER MO DA HR

22729 10 14 10

DOCUMENT SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES HAK _____ FROM: ELIOT _____ CLASSIF: U _____ EXDIS _____
 ROGERS LAIRD _____ C _____ NODIS _____
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 TS _____ RES DATA _____
 CODEWORD _____
 SENSITIVE _____
 PARIS MTG _____
 NO FORN _____

DOC DATE: 10/13/70

SUBJECT: *Militar Sales Offer to Pakistan Follow Up Steps to be taken*
 (5/513751) ENCLOSURES: _____) NOT XEROXED FOR SUSPENSE FILE _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			
	NAME: <i>Saunders</i>		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIC	(10/13)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RCD CY FOR:
STAFF SECRETARY			
DIR, SECRETARIAT			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA			
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
PLANNING GROUP			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			

ACTION REQUIRED	
MEMO FOR HAK	(<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>)
MEMO TO PRESIDENT	(<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>)
REPLY FOR HAK SIGNATURE	(_____)
REPLY FOR PRES SIGNATURE	(_____)
MEMO _____ TO _____	(_____)
RECOMMENDATIONS	(_____)
JOINT MEMO	(_____)
APPROPRIATE ACTION	(_____)
ANY ACTION NECESSARY	(_____)
CONCURRENCE	(_____)
DUE DATE:	16 Oct
COMMENTS: (Including Special Instructions)	

INTERNAL ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	ACTION REQUIRED
10/15/70	Saunders	Kissinger	Send memo & letter to President Davis has seen 10/15
			MICROFILM DATA DO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INIT _____ DATE 10/19
			ORIG) NSC _____ TO J. PAF <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> WHC _____ SUBF _____

DISPOSITION

DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO	<i>✓ Khr via s/s</i>	NSC <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> STAFF APPROVAL
NOTIFY:		PAF <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> HAK APP'L
COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE)		WHC _____	HAK MARGINALIA
		SUBF <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NS3 FORM REQUIRED

5

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1970

Dear Mr. President:

I share your concern over recent trends in the Arab-Israeli dispute, voiced in the letter of May 7 which you sent me jointly with the Shah of Iran and the President of Turkey.

You asked that the influence of the United States be exercised toward achieving the full implementation of all the provisions of the UN Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. Since the outset of my administration, the United States has worked vigorously to promote a comprehensive settlement on the basis of the November 1967 resolution. A just and enduring settlement of the Arab-Israeli problem is essential not only for the parties but also for the peace of the region and the world. To this end we have been in continuous consultation with the other major powers and with the parties directly concerned.

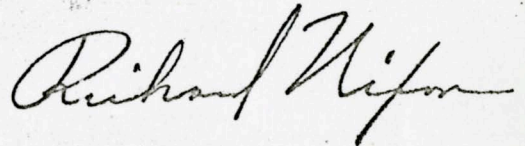
The expression of your concern is particularly welcome at this time in view of the recently increased military involvement of certain outside elements in the Arab-Israeli dispute. In contrast, the U.S. has acted with deliberate restraint. The implications of this outside involvement for the entire region of the Middle East are a matter of serious concern to all of us.

I believe that countries of the region, like yours, can add an influential voice to encourage the necessary mutual accommodation by the parties directly concerned. The inflexible positions of both sides are roadblocks to peace, contributing both to escalation of violence and to increased danger of great power confrontation in the Eastern Mediterranean area.

The seriousness of the situation suggests that each of us redouble his efforts with parties to the dispute so that they will make the compromises necessary if a peaceful settlement is to be attained. I assure you we will not be found wanting in this respect. I hope that our governments will continue in close cooperation on this serious situation.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

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 Mohammed Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION 10396
June 12, 1970

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger *HK*

SUBJECT: Reply to Mid-East Letter from Turkish, Iranian,
Pakistani Heads of State

Just before you met with the CENTO foreign ministers, Presidents Yahya and Sunay and the Shah had jointly sent you and Chairman Kosygin a letter urging renewed efforts to achieve an Arab-Israeli settlement. They were meeting in Turkey in the context of their organization for Regional Cooperation for Development. Their letter (Tab D) focussed on the need for Israeli withdrawal--but in the context of full peace as outlined in the November 1967 UN Resolution.

Your replies (Tabs A, B, C) agree with their feeling that the need for a settlement is urgent, regrets that the USSR has not reciprocated U.S. restraint and urges that efforts be renewed to persuade the parties to the dispute to show the flexibility necessary to negotiate a settlement.

Kosygin's reply (Tab E) calls for Israeli withdrawal, blames Israel ("supported by certain circles in the West") for frustrating all efforts at a political settlement, explains Soviet assistance to the Arabs in defending their "legitimate national rights" and says the USSR is consistently working for an early settlement.

Recommendation: That you sign the very similar replies at Tabs A, B, C. [Texts cleared with Mr. Keogh.]

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

WJ

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION 10396

CONFIDENTIAL

June 1, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM: Harold H. Saunders *HS*

SUBJECT: President's Reply to Yahya, Sunay, Shah on Mid-East

(Tab D)

You sent the joint letter from the Shah, Sunay and Yahya to the President in connection with his meeting with the CENTO foreign ministers. *(Tab D)*

Recommendation: That you send the attached memo to him recommending replies. *(Tab A, B, C)*

Has Liss seen + approved?

Markinsign

JK

*Yes
checked
w/HS
4/2*

CONFIDENTIAL

C O P Y

[May 7, 1970]

The Honourable Mr. Richard Nixon
President of the United States of America
Washington, D. C.

Excellency,

We, the Heads of States and Governments of Iran, Turkey and Pakistan have met and discussed among other questions of common concern to us, the problem of the conflict in the Middle East.

The continued deterioration in the situation in the Middle East has caused us grave concern. We apprehend that a point of no return may soon be reached in the escalation of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Together with other heads of states and governments, we had addressed our appeal at Rabat to all members of the international community, especially the great powers, to intensify individual and collective efforts to secure speedy withdrawal of Israel's military forces from the territories occupied by it in June 1967, within the framework of the full implementation of all the provisions of the Security Council Resolution of 22 November 1967. The need for this action has been rendered even more urgent since then. We are convinced that it will create an appropriate atmosphere in the region leading to an eventual peaceful settlement. We, therefore, urge Your Excellency to exercise the undeniably great influence of your country towards that objective.

For your information we may add that we are addressing His Excellency Mr. Alexis Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., on similar lines.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our high esteem and regards.

(signed)

Mohammad Reza Pahlevi
Cevdet Sunay
Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan

KOSYGIN REPLY

On May 20, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Alexei Kosygin has sent the following reply message to the Shah of Iran, the President of Turkey and the President of Pakistan:

"I thank you for your message of May 7, 1970, with which you deemed it necessary to approach the Soviet Government.

"The Government of the USSR shares the concern and anxiety, expressed by you, at the present day alarming situation in the Middle East. We agree with the demand, expressed by you, that it is necessary to have undelayed withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from the Arab territories, occupied by them in June 1967. This would be in full compliance with all provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

"It has to be stated with regret that there are still serious obstacles on the road towards relaxation of the tension and towards establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East. It is well known that the Israeli Government frustrates all the efforts aimed at a political settlement of the Middle East crisis. Supported and encouraged by certain circles in the West, the Israeli Government is trying to act 'from the position of strength,' makes barbarous raids at civilian objects of neighbouring Arab states. Contrary to the Security Council's decision of November 22, 1967, the Israeli Government still avoids making a clear-cut statement on withdrawal of its troops from all Arab territories, occupied in 1967, and also on its agreement to comply with other provisions of the above mentioned Security Council resolution.

"The Soviet Union is consistently working to have the earliest political settlement in the Middle East. We are rendering to the Arab states, victims of the Israeli aggression, an extensive assistance so as they could successfully defend their legitimate national rights. We intend to continue exerting our efforts in this direction with the aim of settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of compliance with all provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

"The Soviet Government hopes that Iran, Turkey and Pakistan, interested as they are in the normalization of the situation in the Middle East, will continue their efforts toward establishment, at long last, of a stable and just peace in that area."



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

S/S - 7320

May 20, 1970

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Reply to Turkish, Iranian, Pakistani
Heads of State

On May 7 the Presidents of Turkey and Pakistan and the Shah of Iran sent a joint letter to the President urging further U.S. efforts to bring about an Arab-Israel peace settlement. The text is enclosed.

We are enclosing proposed drafts for the President's reply. In the drafts we suggest that the President call on Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan themselves to make known their feeling of urgency concerning an Arab-Israel settlement directly to the parties to the conflict. In doing so we have had in mind Turkey's and Iran's ties with Arab states and with Israel, and Pakistan's close connections with Arab countries and support for their positions.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Draft reply to the Shah of Iran
2. Draft reply to the President of Turkey
3. Draft reply to the President of Pakistan
4. Letter from Heads of State

GROUP 3

Downgraded at 12-year intervals;
not automatically declassified.

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PROPOSED REPLY TO THE SHAH OF IRAN

Your Imperial Majesty:

I share your concern over recent trends in the Arab-Israeli dispute, voiced in the letter of May 7 which you sent me jointly with President Sunay of Turkey and President Yahya Khan of Pakistan.

You asked that the influence of the United States be exercised toward achieving the full implementation of all the provisions of the UN Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. Since the outset of my administration, the United States has worked vigorously to promote a comprehensive settlement on the basis of the November 1967 resolution. A just and enduring settlement of the Arab-Israel problem is essential not only for the parties but also for the peace of the region and the world. To this end we have been in continuous consultation with the other major powers and with the parties directly concerned.

His Imperial Majesty

Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi,

Shahanshah of Iran,

Tehran.

The expression of your concern is particularly welcome at this time in view of the recently increased military involvement of the Soviet Union in the Arab-Israel dispute. In contrast, the U.S. has acted with restraint in the hope that it would be reciprocated. We deeply regret that this has not been the case. The implications of Soviet involvement for the entire region of the Middle East are a matter of serious concern to all of us.

I believe that countries of the region, like yours, can add an influential voice to encourage the necessary mutual accommodation between parties directly concerned by advocating modification in the inflexible positions of both sides which constitute a roadblock to peace and contribute to escalation of violence.

The seriousness of the situation suggests that each of us redouble his efforts with parties to the dispute so that they will make the compromises necessary if a peaceful settlement is to be attained. I assure you we will not be found wanting in this respect. I hope that our governments will continue in close cooperation on this serious situation.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Richard Nixon

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PROPOSED REPLY TO TURKISH PRESIDENT

Dear Mr. President:

I share your concern over recent trends in the Arab-Israeli dispute, voiced in the letter of May 7 which you sent me jointly with the Shah of Iran and the President of Pakistan.

You asked that the influence of the United States be exercised toward achieving the full implementation of all the provisions of the UN Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. Since the outset of my administration, the United States has worked vigorously to promote a comprehensive settlement on the basis of the November 1967 resolution. A just and enduring settlement of the Arab-Israeli problem is essential not only for the parties but also for the peace of the region and the world. To this end we have been in continuous consultation with the other major powers and with the parties directly concerned.

His Excellency
Cevdet Sunay,
President of the Republic of Turkey,
Ankara.

The expression of your concern is particularly welcomed at this time in view of the recently increased military involvement of the Soviet Union in the Arab-Israeli dispute. In contrast, the U.S. has acted with restraint. The implications of these Soviet initiatives for the entire region of the Middle East are a matter of serious concern to all of us.

I believe that countries of the region, especially yours, drawing on its historic association with this troubled area, can add an influential voice to encourage the necessary mutual accommodation by the parties directly concerned. The inflexible positions of both sides are a roadblock to peace, contributing both to escalation of violence and the growth of Soviet influence in the Middle East.

The seriousness of the situation suggests that each of us redouble his efforts with parties to the dispute so that they will make the compromises necessary if a peaceful settlement is to be attained. I assure you we will not be found wanting in this respect. I believe that our two governments through

- 3 -

continued close contact and cooperation on this serious situation can contribute to the attainment of a just solution.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Richard Nixon

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PROPOSED REPLY TO
THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

Dear Mr. President:

I share your concern over recent trends in the Arab-Israeli dispute, voiced in the letter of May 7 which you sent me jointly with the Shah of Iran and the President of Turkey.

You asked that the influence of the United States be exercised toward achieving the full implementation of all the provisions of the UN Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. Since the outset of my administration, the United States has worked vigorously to promote a comprehensive settlement on the basis of the November 1967 resolution. A just and enduring settlement of the Arab-Israel problem is essential not only for the parties but also for the peace of the region and the world. To this end we have been in continuous consultation with the other major powers and with the parties directly concerned.

The expression of your concern is particularly welcome at this time in view of the recently increased

His Excellency
General Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan,
President of Pakistan,
Rawalpindi.

military involvement of certain outside elements in the Arab-Israel dispute. In contrast, the U.S. has acted with deliberate restraint. The implications of this outside involvement for the entire region of the Middle East are a matter of serious concern to all of us.

I believe that countries of the region, like yours, can add an influential voice to encourage the necessary mutual accommodation by the parties directly concerned. The inflexible positions of both sides are roadblocks to peace, contributing both to escalation of violence and to increased danger of great power confrontation in the Eastern Mediterranean area.

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With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Richard Nixon

C O P Y

[May 7, 1970]

The Honourable Mr. Richard Nixon
President of the United States of America
Washington, D. C.

Excellency,

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Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our high esteem and regards.

(signed)
Mohammad Reza Pahlevi
Cevdet Sunay
Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan

4

The attached has been discussed orally
with x Mr. Saunders.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

6882
folowere

SECRET

January 28, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM: Harold H. Saunders *Hal*

SUBJECT: Reply from President Yahya

Ambassador Hilaly has delivered to me President Yahya's response to President Nixon's general letter. Hilaly said he had no special reason to impose on your time.

Hilaly did, however, make two points with reference to your earlier exchanges with him:

1. A date for Chou En-Lai's visit to Pakistan is expected to be set soon.
2. He asked whether you have any reaction to the Warsaw exchange which it would be useful for him to pass to President Yahya.

Tell him I'll fill him in next time I see him _____

Other _____

Recommendations:

1. That you send the attached memo to the President for his information. *Done Hk*
2. That you authorize sending a copy of Yahya's reply to State for information.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

SECRET

MEMORANDUM

File Hara

6882

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

January 31, 1970

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger *HK*

SUBJECT: Reply from President Yahya Khan

HK - doesn't this show advantage of our letter idea? Let's continue the practice on a selection basis

President Yahya has sent the attached reply to your general letter. His response is in the same spirit of a general exchange of views as your letter to him. In brief, he covers these points:

1. Pakistan's vital concern in Asian stability.
2. His wish for success in U.S. efforts to develop a meaningful dialogue with China.
3. Pakistan's encouragement for our efforts for peace in the Mid-East, opposition to use of force to gain territory and belief that a lasting settlement must take into account the interests of the Palestinian Arabs.
4. Pleasure in U.S. - Pakistani bilateral relations and appreciation for your prompt action on food shipments.
5. Need to press urgently toward a decision on military supply policy.
6. Appreciation for your November 3 speech.

No reply now is necessary, but I shall keep my eyes open for a natural opportunity to continue this exchange.

The military supply question is ready for NSC discussion at the next opportunity.

for basis of keeping U.S. word

SECRET

Let's give them spare parts immediately
I lean to the Trakhtenkov unless it rains too much hell with Congress. I don't care about Indian reaction.



PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

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

19 January 1970

Dear Mr President,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 20th December in which you have reviewed developments in Asia and the Middle East since we had the pleasure of welcoming you in our midst last summer. I am glad that the process of personal exchange of views started in Lahore is being kept up through correspondence.

As you very well know, Mr President, in our situation and because also of the imperatives of our ideology, we cannot but be vitally concerned in the peace, stability and progress of Asia. We welcome all developments and initiatives which hold promise of promoting these objectives, and are heartened by your own and your great country's continuing interest in them.

It is our belief that a meaningful dialogue between the United States and China could help reduce tensions and serve the cause of peace. We wish you success in your efforts in this direction.

We have watched with great interest your Administration's efforts to break the deadlock in the Middle East and to bring lasting peace and stability to this deeply troubled area. Pakistan's strong opposition to the use of force to gain territory is well-known. So is its unstinted support for the exercise of the right of self-determination by all peoples. We hope, Mr President, that your great country will be able to exercise its tremendous influence to bring about a lasting settlement in the region which conforms to the principles of the United Nations Charter and is consistent with the dignity and honour of the Arab people. It is our belief that, judging by the experience of the last 22 years, any settlement which fails to take into account the interests and wishes of the Palestinian Arabs will at best prove ephemeral and illusory. The Security Council resolution of 22nd November 1967, provides a basis acceptable to the Governments of the UAR and Jordan on which a settlement can be worked out. It is not inconsistent with the considerations I have set forth above. I very much hope that the efforts made by your Government in that direction will meet with success.

Happily relations between our two countries are, as you said, going well. We are grateful for your personal interest



- 2 -

which led to a smooth arrangement for PL-480 foodgrains supplies. The uncertainty regarding the foreign aid legislation is causing some anxiety to our planners, but we are hoping that any cuts in new appropriations will not be reflected pro-rata in our allocation which will be as near as possible to the figure indicated to us last summer during your and Secretary Rogers' visits.

You have referred, Mr President, to the delays in reviewing your military supply policy. I feel that there is need to press ahead urgently with this matter. For a decade Pakistan had depended on the United States as its major, rather sole, supplier of defence equipment. The ban imposed more than four years ago has operated greatly to Pakistan's disadvantage. As I explained to you, we have neither the desire nor the capacity for an arms race with India, but unless we have a minimum, credible deterrent, peace and stability in the region are likely to be in jeopardy.

It was nice of you to send me a copy of your address of the 3rd November on the Pursuit of Peace. This gave me an opportunity to read it again in the background of the highly favourable impact it has had on your countrymen.

There is a golf course here in Rawalpindi next to my house, but it is not often that I can get to play a round. At this rate, I am in danger of soon becoming an 'elder statesman' of the game!

Yours sincerely,

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

386 SW902

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



4936

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 20, 1969

Dear Mr. President:

Having enjoyed our all too brief talks in Lahore last summer, I wanted to write you this letter as a further step in keeping each other abreast of our thinking.

You will recall that one purpose of my Asian trip was to dramatize that the United States will continue to have a major interest in Asia beyond the period of the war in Vietnam.

My recent conversations with Prime Minister Sato are worth mentioning as illustrative of how we intend to proceed, and I thought you might be interested. As you know, we agreed to look toward the reversion of Okinawa to the Japanese in 1972. As a result we believe that a new relationship of mutual trust and assistance has been created between our countries. We share with the Japanese, and indeed with all Asians, a common interest in peace, stability and material progress and remain willing to help other governments achieve these goals.

The Middle East is another area where we are actively pursuing these objectives. My Administration decided last February to play a more active role in helping to find a peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and we are continuing this effort. We have been accused by both sides of taking a partisan position. This reflects the balanced nature of our approach as well as the complexity of the subject. The essence of our position is that there will be no peace unless there is a territorial settlement that each side sees as fair and that there will be no territorial settlement unless both sides feel secure in the peace arrangements.

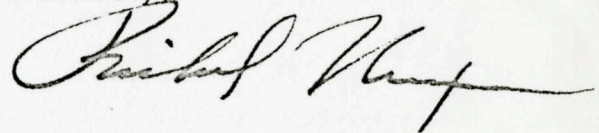
You know of my interest in trying to bring about a more meaningful dialogue with Chinese leaders. This is a slow process at best, but I have not abandoned it. As you know, we are exploring the possibilities of contacts.

It is good to see that relations between our countries are going well. The United States has a deep interest in the stability and progress of South Asia and we remain willing to help when we can. Our military supply policy review has not moved as quickly as I anticipated when I spoke with you. However, it is now scheduled for discussion in our National Security Council shortly, and I can assure you that your views are being given full consideration.

It is a pleasure to know that you enjoyed my token of appreciation for your fine hospitality during my visit last summer. I hope that your golf game is providing some needed relaxation. Let's compare scores sometime!

I would like to continue our exchange of views and hope you will feel free to write from time to time.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Richard Nixon", written in dark ink.

His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

4936/3446

December 15, 1969

*Letter handed
to Pak
Ambassador*

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger *HK*

SUBJECT: Correspondence with Foreign Leaders

JK

DEC 20 1969

You have indicated your desire to correspond from time to time with major foreign leaders (Tab C).

Attached at Tab B is a schedule of letters, to be written through early March. The individuals include those you have singled out personally, plus some other likely candidates. I expect the list may change a bit in time; depending on circumstances, we may want to move certain individuals up or put others on.

Attached at Tab A is a letter for your signature to President Yahya Khan of Pakistan. Inter alia, the letter:

- Reiterates your interest in Asia within the conceptual approach you outlined last summer, emphasizing Asian governments and peoples should determine their own future.
- Brings Yahya abreast of your discussions with Prime Minister Sato.
- Expresses your concern about the Middle East situation and reiterates our balanced attitude with respect to the interests of both sides.
- Notes your continued willingness to develop a dialogue with the Chinese leaders.
- Refers to forthcoming NSC consideration of South Asian military supply policy.
- Solicits a continuing exchange of views.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. President:

It was most interesting to hear of your decision to hold elections next year for a National Assembly to draw up a new constitution for Pakistan as the basis for a return to representative government. Given the economic, social and political problems that you face, this is a courageous decision worthy of high praise. In your address I recognized a number of points which you made to me when we had our friendly talks in Lahore last summer.

While I realize that these are the internal affairs of Pakistan, I want you to have this personal note of encouragement and to know that I appreciate the difficulty of the decision you made. Your progress will be of great interest to me.

It is pleasant to know that you enjoyed my token of appreciation for your fine hospitality during my all too brief visit to Pakistan. I hope your golf game is providing some needed relaxation. Let's compare scores sometime!

Sincerely,

**His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi, Pakistan**

RN:HAK:HHS:SMH:il (12/3/69)

SCHEDULE OF LETTERS

<u>December 17</u>	President Pompidou (France)
<u>December 24</u>	Pope (Vatican)
<u>December 31</u>	Prime Minister Wilson (UK)
<u>January 7</u>	Chancellor Brandt (Germany)
<u>January 14</u>	Prime Minister Sato (Japan)
<u>January 21</u>	Prime Minister Gorton (Australia)
<u>January 29</u>	Prime Minister DeJong (Netherlands)
<u>February 4</u>	President Suharto (Indonesia)
<u>February 11</u>	Prime Minister Trudeau (Canada)
<u>February 18</u>	Shah of Iran
<u>February 25</u>	President Park (Korea)
<u>March 4</u>	President Bourguiba (Tunisia)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10

December 10, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR

HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM : Bill Watts

SUBJECT: Correspondence with
Foreign Leaders

Attached for your signature is a revised memo for the President and letter to President Yahya Khan of Pakistan.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the attached memo to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

*I wanted to write you
this letter*

Dear Mr. President:

Having enjoyed our all too brief talks in Lahore last summer, ~~I thought we might correspond~~ as a further step in keeping each other abreast of our thinking.

You will recall that one purpose of my Asian trip was to dramatize that the United States will continue to have a major interest in Asia ~~far~~ beyond the period of the war in Vietnam. We intend to continue to play an active and energetic role, because it is in our interest and because we want to help where we can be constructive. As I told you, we seek only to participate in Asia's future. We believe that, in the final analysis, it is the Asian governments and peoples that should determine their own futures.

My recent conversations with Prime Minister Sato are worth mentioning as illustrative of how we intend to proceed, and I thought you might be interested. As you know, we agreed to look toward the reversion of Okinawa to the Japanese in 1972. ~~Our bases will remain and will continue to make a contribution to the security of the area.~~ Perhaps even more important, ~~however, is the new relationship of mutual trust and assistance that we have created between our countries.~~ We share with the Japanese, and indeed with all Asians, a common interest in peace, stability and material progress and remain willing to help other governments achieve these goals.

The Middle East is another area where we are actively pursuing these objectives. My Administration decided last February to play a more active role in helping to find a peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and we are continuing this effort. ~~We have no wish to dominate or interfere in the affairs of the countries and peoples of the Middle East.~~ But we also feel a strong responsibility to assure that ~~others do not do so either.~~ We have been accused frequently by both sides of taking a partisan position. This is simply not

*reflects the balanced
nature of our
approach as well
the complexity of the*

~~true.~~ The essence of our position is that there will be no peace unless there is a territorial settlement that each side sees as fair and that there will be no territorial settlement unless both sides feel secure in the peace arrangements.

You know of my interest in trying to bring about a more meaningful dialogue with Chinese leaders. This is a slow process at best, but I have not abandoned it. ~~I am continuing to seek means to make clear my interest.~~ *As you know, we are exploring the possibilities of contacts*

It is good to see that relations between our countries are going well. The United States has a deep interest in the stability and progress of South Asia and we remain willing to help when we can. Our military supply policy review has not moved as quickly as I anticipated when I spoke with you. However, it is now scheduled for discussion in our National Security Council shortly, and I can assure you that your views are being given full consideration. ~~Incidentally, I have followed your announcements on the recent political steps you have taken with great interest and know from my own experience just how difficult it is to make decisions of that kind.~~

It is a pleasure to know that you enjoyed my token of appreciation for your fine hospitality during my visit last summer. I hope that your golf game is providing some needed relaxation. Let's compare scores sometime!

I would like to continue our exchange of views and hope you will feel free to write from time to time.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi

2nd & 3rd
pages were
destroyed in
error - only
change made was
addition of 1st full
para - last line

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Having enjoyed our all too brief talks in Lahore last summer, I thought we might correspond as a further step in keeping each other abreast of our thinking.

You will recall that one purpose of my Asian trip was to dramatize that the United States will continue to have a major interest in Asia far beyond the period of the war in Vietnam. We intend to continue to play an active and energetic role, because it is in our interest and because we want to help where we can be constructive. As I told you, we seek only to participate in Asia's future. We believe that, in the final analysis, it is the Asian governments and peoples that should determine their own futures.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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While I realize that these are the internal affairs of Pakistan, I want you to have this personal note of encouragement and to know that I appreciate the difficulty of the decision you made. Your progress will be of great interest to me.

It is pleasant to know that you enjoyed my token of appreciation for your fine hospitality during my all too brief visit to Pakistan. I hope your golf game is providing some needed relaxation. Let's compare scores sometime!

Sincerely,

His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

THE WHITE HOUSE

His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President,

Having enjoyed our all too brief talks in Lahore last summer, I thought I might follow up with a short note from time to time to keep you abreast of my thinking.

You will recall that a major purpose of my Asian trip was to dramatize that the United States will continue to have a major interest in Asia far beyond the period of the war in Vietnam. We intend to continue to play an active and energetic role, because it is in our interest and because we want to help where we can be constructive. As I told you, we seek only to participate in Asia's future for we believe that, in the final analysis, it is the Asian governments and peoples that should determine their own futures.

My recent conversations with Prime Minister Sato are worth mentioning as illustrative of how we intend to proceed, and I thought you might be interested. We agreed to look toward the reversion of Okinawa to the Japanese in 1972. The United States does not have imperial ambitions and does not want indefinitely to govern islands inhabited by a million Japanese. The important thing about the communique which Prime Minister Sato and I endorsed is the recognition it gives to a new relationship of mutual trust and assistance between our countries. We share with the Japanese, and indeed with all Asians, a common interest in peace, stability and material progress and remain willing to help other governments achieve these goals.

It is clear to me that you also share my concern about the Middle East situation. My Administration decided last February to play a more active role in helping to find a peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and we are continuing this effort. We have no wish to dominate or interfere in the affairs of the countries and peoples of the Middle East. But we also feel a strong responsibility to assure that others do not do so either. We have been accused frequently by both sides of taking a partisan position. This is simply not true. The essence of our position is that there will be no peace unless there is a territorial settlement that each side sees as fair and that there will be no territorial settlement unless both sides feel secure in the peace arrangements.

I have followed your recent announcements with great interest and know from my own experience what it means to make decisions of that kind.

It is a pleasure to know that you enjoyed my token of appreciation for your fine hospitality during my visit last summer. I hope that your golf game is providing some needed relaxation. Let's compare scores sometime!

Sincerely,

His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi

- 2 -

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

we might correspond

Dear Mr. President,

① Having enjoyed our all too brief talks in Lahore last summer, I thought I might follow up with a short note as a further step in keeping each other abreast of our thinking.

② You will recall that one purpose of my Asian trip was to dramatize that the United States will continue to have a major interest in Asia far beyond the period of the war in Vietnam. We intend to continue to play an active and energetic role, because it is in our interest and because we want to help where we can be constructive. As I told you, we seek only to participate in Asia's future. We believe that, in the final analysis, it is the Asian governments and peoples that should determine their own futures.

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Perhaps even more important, however, is the new relationship of mutual trust and assistance that we have created between our countries.

Our bases will remain and will continue to make a contribution to the security of the area.

(4) The Middle East is another area where we are actively pursuing these objectives.

It is clear to me that you also share my concern about the Middle East situation. My Administration decided last February to play a more active role in helping to find a peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and we are continuing this effort. We have no wish to dominate or interfere in the affairs of the countries and peoples of the Middle East. But we also feel a strong responsibility to assure that others do not do so either. We have been accused frequently by both sides of taking a partisan position. This is simply not true. The essence of our position is that there will be no peace unless there is a territorial settlement that each side sees as fair and that there will be no territorial settlement unless both sides feel secure in the peace arrangements.

I have followed your recent announcements with great interest and know from my own experience what it means to make decisions of that kind.

(7) It is a pleasure to know that you enjoyed my token of appreciation for your fine hospitality during my visit last summer. I hope that your golf game is providing some needed relaxation. Let's compare scores sometime!

(8) I would like to continue our exchange of views and hope you will feel free to write from time to time.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi

5

You know of my interest in trying to bring ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ about a more meaningful dialogue with Chinese leaders. This is a slow process at best, but I have not abandoned it. I am continuing to seek means to make ~~it~~ clear my ~~continuing~~ interest and I am encouraged by the fact that the Chinese, if they have not reacted, have at least not reacted negatively.

~~Mr. Hockinson - please send me a copy of the letter. U.S.~~

6

review has not moved as quickly as I anticipated when I spoke with you. ~~last~~. However, it is ^{now} scheduled for discussion in our

It is good ~~to see that~~ to see that relations between our countries are going ~~so~~ well.

The United States has a deep interest in the stability and progress of South Asia and we remain willing to help when we can. Our military supply policy ~~is currently~~ ^{shortly} under ~~intensive review by the~~ National Security Council, ^{I can assure you that your views} and ~~the views that you gave~~ ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{given} being/full consideration. ~~[We have been informed by the Government of Turkey that they are now prepared to sell 100 M-47 tanks to you, and I have personally ordered that the proper steps be taken to complete our~~ ^{part} ~~end of the deal so that the tanks can get to you as soon as possible.~~ ^{arrangement.]} Incidentally, I have followed your ~~recent~~ ^{recent political decisions} announcements on the ~~return to democratic government,~~ ^{steps you have taken} with great interest and know from my own experience just how difficult it ~~really~~ is to make decisions of that kind.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

4936/3446

December 3, 1969

ACTIONCONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM: William Watts

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders

revised

Attached is a memorandum from you to the President, which covers (1) a letter to President Yahya Khan and (2) a schedule of correspondence with key foreign leaders through the end of February.

Your covering memo to the President includes a bit of background on the Yahya letter, and also notes that the list of letters for the future may change as circumstances dictate.

As we look ahead on this project, I can see three alternative ways of handling the letter drafting:

1. Drafting by NSC staff, without reference to or consultation with the State Department.
2. Drafting by NSC staff, with the appropriate staff officer working with his counterpart in State.
3. Drafting done by State, upon the basis of specific written instructions from here, with review by the NSC staff man. The logical way of handling the instructions would be by a directive from me to Ted Eliot, enclosing the schedule being sent to the President. When that expires, a new schedule could be worked up jointly.

All staff inform me you supervision / providing expertise. State.

I strongly prefer option 3. State will know about the project anyway, and will want to be in the act; it will have useful inputs to make; it has more manpower to assign to the task; and we will maintain full control through the review process. *However, in view of your*

CONFIDENTIAL

and will proceed accordingly.

Recommendation:

1. That you sign the attached memorandum to the President (Tab I).

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

2. That you authorize me to send a directive to Eliot, forwarding the proposed schedule, and tasking State with future letter drafting.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT: Correspondence with Foreign Leaders

You have indicated your desire to correspond from time to time with major foreign leaders (Tab C).

Attached at Tab B is a schedule of letters, to be written through the end of February. The individuals include those you have singled out personally, plus some other likely candidates. I expect the list may change a bit in time; depending on circumstances, we may want to move certain individuals up or put others on.

Attached at Tab A is a letter for your signature to President Yahya Khan of Pakistan. ~~As you know, President Yahya has announced a~~ timetable for moving his country toward democratic government. His announcement seems to reflect a sincere desire to return the military to the barracks and to transfer the reins to popularly elected government. Given Pakistan's turbulent political history and the country's intense and conflicting economic and social pressures, there is no assurance that Yahya will be able to carry through with his plans. If the going gets too rough, he may well be tempted to revert to stern military rule.

At this point, more than anything else, Yahya would probably appreciate reassurance that he has made the right decision. Neither the Soviets or the Communist Chinese -- the other great powers with a stake in Pakistan's future -- will be happy about this move and may even counsel that he has made a mistake. A brief personal letter from you applauding in a low-key manner Yahya's difficult decision would be well received. The attached is drafted to avoid any appearance of your looking over his shoulder; it is simply to tell him you are aware that he has made a ~~difficult decision.~~ The letter has been cleared with Jim Keogh.

revised the letter states:

insert #1

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

Recommendation: That you approve and sign the letter from you to President Yahya at Tab A which is not to be publicly released.

Copy will be furnished to Anthony Rogers

CONFIDENTIAL

2

3404

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 13, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. President:

I am glad that my government has been able to act promptly in response to the foodgrain shortage in East Pakistan described in your letter.

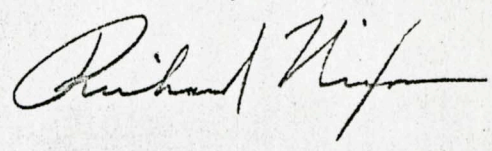
As you have now been informed, the United States Government is prepared to negotiate a PL-480 agreement of one million tons of wheat for your country. In order to act as quickly as possible, arrangements are already being made for advance shipment of up to 500,000 tons of wheat under a reimbursable letter of credit. I hope this action will have a sharp impact on rising grain prices in East Pakistan and will accelerate the arrival of our initial grain shipments.

Once specific terms of an agreement are reached, shipments will continue up to a total of 800,000 tons. Then together our governments will review Pakistan's requirements in the early part of the next calendar year.

The rapid strides Pakistan is making in foodgrain production are encouraging. We recognize that during the current transition period, as Pakistan moves from heavy dependence on food aid to meeting her own requirements, PL-480 foodgrain assistance may be needed. The United States stands ready to help when it can.

It is always good to hear from you.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

CONFIDENTIAL

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT: Reply to President Yahya

You will recall that President Yahya had a letter to you delivered here on October 10 urging prompt action on Pakistan's request for one million tons of grain under PL-480 (Tab B).

You have now approved that program, and arrangements for shipment of the grain are already being made. The only action now needed to complete this exercise is to reply directly to President Yahya's letter.

Recommendation: That you sign the letter at Tab A.

*Approved by Kissinger
for President.*

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT: Reply to President Yahya

You will recall that President Yahya had a letter to you delivered here on October 10 urging prompt action on Pakistan's request for one million tons of grain under PL-480 (Tab B).

You have now approved that program, and arrangements for shipment of the grain are already being made. The only action now needed to complete this exercise is to reply directly to President Yahya's letter.

Recommendation: That you sign the letter at Tab A.

*Approved by Kissinger
for President.*

TOP SECRET

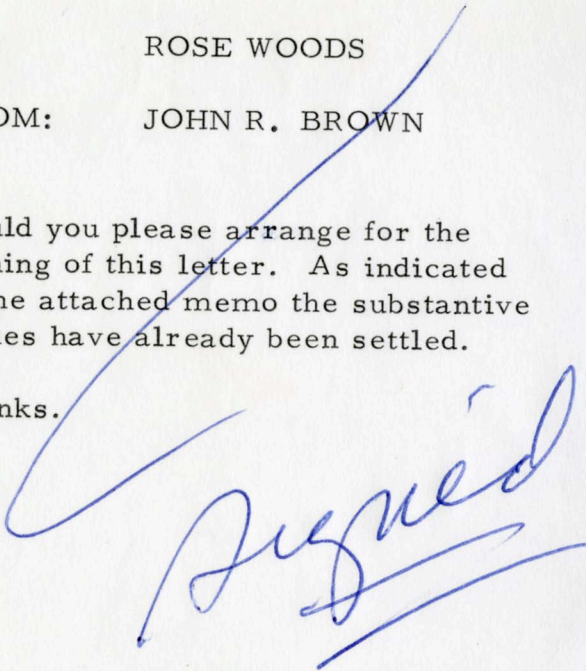
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1969

TO: ROSE WOODS
FROM: JOHN R. BROWN

Would you please arrange for the signing of this letter. As indicated in the attached memo the substantive issues have already been settled.

Thanks.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3404

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

October 27, 1969

FROM: Harold H. Saunders *Hal*

SUBJECT: Reply to President Yahya

You will recall the letter delivered to you by Ambassador Hilaly on the food shortages in East Pakistan. The President has approved the program. The only action needed to complete this exercise is for him to reply to the letter.

Recommendation: That you send the attached letter to the President.

coordinated with Fred Bergsten

Richard Nixon

HHS

TOP SECRET

3404



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

s/s 15652

October 23, 1969

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Pakistan's Request for PL-480 Wheat

In response to Mrs. Davis' request of October 10, there is enclosed a suggested reply by the President to the letter of October 1 from General Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan, underlining the urgency of the Pakistan Government's request for one million tons of wheat to meet requirements in East Pakistan.

We understand the President has approved the negotiation of a PL-480 agreement to supply the wheat. A recommendation to this effect had been made in a memorandum from Mr. Hannah of October 10.

The Embassy in Rawalpindi is being informed of the President's action and will be notifying the Government of Pakistan. In order to deliver the reply to General Yahya as soon as possible after such notification, we suggest that the reply be transmitted by telegram.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Suggested reply by the President to General Yahya
2. Copy of General Yahya's letter

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Suggested Reply

Dear Mr. President:

Your letter to me of October 1 on the foodgrain shortage in East Pakistan was delivered on October 10 by their Excellencies the Minister of Information and National Affairs, Nawabzada Sher Ali, and the Ambassador of Pakistan, Agha Hilaly.

We are encouraged by the rapid strides Pakistan is making in foodgrain production. We recognize that during the current transition period, as Pakistan moves from heavy dependence on food aid to meeting her own requirements, the country may need PL 480 foodgrain assistance. I want to assure you we stand ready to help when we can. Your current request for a million tons of foodgrain is urgent. Pakistan's food needs were cogently presented by your senior government officials on their recent trip to Washington.

I am pleased to inform you we are prepared to negotiate a PL-480 agreement of one million tons of wheat for your country. In order to act as quickly as possible, we have already offered, and your Government has agreed to, advance shipment of up to 500,000 tons of wheat under a reimbursable letter of credit. We hope this immediate action will have a sharp impact on rising grain prices in East Pakistan and will accelerate the arrival of our initial grain shipments.

Once specific terms of an agreement are reached, we will continue shipments of up to 800,000 tons. The timing of the shipment of the remaining 200,000 tons will be subject to a review of Pakistan's requirements in the early part of the next calendar year.

PL-480 wheat assistance should help meet the food requirements of people in East Pakistan, and enable your Government to respond further to pressing challenges of this new stage of Pakistan's social and economic development.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

His Excellency General A. M. Yahya Khan, H.Pk., H.J.
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

TOP SECRET

15652

REFERRAL

To: State Secretariat

Date: October 10, 1969

ACTION REQUESTED

- Draft reply for:
 - President's signature.
 - Undersigned's signature.
- Memorandum for use as enclosure to reply.
- Direct reply.
- Furnish information copy.
- Suitable acknowledgment or other appropriate handling.
- Furnish copy of reply, if any.
- For your information.
- For comment.

NOTE

Prompt action is essential.

If more than 48 hours' delay is encountered, please telephone the undersigned immediately, Code 1450.

Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum, or comment is requested.

REMARKS:

For recommendation.

Description:

Log # 3404

Letter: Telegram: Other:

To: President

From: Gen. AM Yahya Khan, J. Pk., H.J., President of Pakistan

Date: October 1, 1969

Subject: Letter re the deteriorating food & price situation in the province of East Pakistan. He requests food under PL480.

By direction of the President:

Jeanne W. Davis

Jeanne W. Davis

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

Text of this letter was not changed.

It was returned by Ken Cole's office
for retype because it was set up ~~to~~ too high.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I am glad that my government has been able to act promptly in response to the foodgrain shortage in East Pakistan described in your letter.

As you have now been informed, the United States Government is prepared to negotiate a PL-480 agreement of one million tons of wheat for your country. In order to act as quickly as possible, arrangements are already being made for advance shipment of up to 500,000 tons of wheat under a reimbursable letter of credit. I hope this action will have a sharp impact on rising grain prices in East Pakistan and will accelerate the arrival of our initial grain shipments.

Once specific terms of an agreement are reached, shipments will continue up to a total of 800,000 tons. Then together our governments will review Pakistan's requirements in the early part of the next calendar year.

The rapid strides Pakistan is making in foodgrain production are encouraging. We recognize that during the current transition period, as Pakistan moves from heavy dependence on food aid to meeting her own requirements, PL-480 food-grain assistance may be needed. The United States stands ready to help when it can.

It is always good to hear from you.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

NOV 13 1969

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Sincerely,

151

His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

Retyped:nm:11/12/69

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Sincerely,

His Excellency
General A. M. Yahya Khan
President of Pakistan
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

RN:State:HHSaunders:tmt 10/27/69

Coordinated with
Fred Bergsten 10/27/69



~~TOP SECRET~~



General A.M. YAHYA KHAN, H.Pk., H.J.
PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

DO No I68/50/69/CMLA

1 October '69.

Dear Mr President.

I am writing you on a matter of great economic and political urgency to me.

My government is getting extremely worried about the deteriorating food and price situation in the province of East Pakistan. The province is threatened with a major food deficit and rice, which is the staple diet of 70 million East Pakistanis, is selling at unprecedentedly high prices, almost 60 per cent higher than normal. This is causing wide-spread distress and misery. We are making all-out efforts to rush 1.7 million tons of foodgrains to East Pakistan to avoid a serious situation from arising there. On our own, we have already despatched a quarter million tons of wheat from West Pakistan and 350,000 tons of rice is also earmarked for despatch from the Western to Eastern wing. However, to meet the full gap, we need one million tons of wheat but we do not have the cash foreign exchange resources to purchase this quantity. We have, therefore, already made a formal request to your Government for import of one million tons of wheat under US Public Law 480. Mr. M.M. Ahmed, Deputy Chairman of our Planning Commission, will be discussing this request with your officials in Washington next week.

We require imports under PL 480 on a priority basis. The timely introduction of PL 480 wheat into East Pakistan (in the next 6 to 8 weeks) can help avoid large scale human misery and hardship and earn a tremendous amount of goodwill for the U.S.

I would request you, Mr. President, to give this matter your personal attention so that an act of high statesmanship can replace normal administrative procedures.

With best personal regards,

Yours very sincerely,

General
(A.M. Yahya Khan)

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

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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Section 3.5
NLN 10-13/111084 Per Ltr. 8/21/2014
By AMH/NARA, Date 12/16/2014

[P. 1 OF 1]

TOP SECRET

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

