



Department of State

INDIA - S
TELEGRAM

SECRET 803

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 /026 W

R 081634Z DEC 71
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4592

S E C R E T NEW DELHI 18950

EXDIS

SUBJ: U.S. PUBLIC POSITION ON ROAD TO WAR

1. I WAS VERY INTERESTED TO READ BYLINER BY IPS WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT SULLIVAN IN THIS MORNING'S WIRELESS FILE (NESA-42) REPORTING QTE WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS UNQTE EXPLANATION OF DEVELOPMENT OF PRESENT CONFLICT AND U.S. ROLE IN SEEKING AVERT IT. WHILE I APPRECIATE THE TACTICAL NECESSITY OF JUSTIFYING OUR POSITION PUBLICLY, I FEEL CONSTRAINED TO STATE ELEMENTS OF THIS PARTICULAR STORY DO NOT COINCIDE WITH MY KNOWLEDGE OF THE EVENTS OF THE PAST EIGHT MONTHS.

2. SPECIFICALLY, SULLIVAN STATES THAT USG \$155 MILLION RELIEF PROGRAM IN EAST PAKISTAN WAS INITIATED QTE AT THE SPECIFIC REQUEST OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT UNQTE. MY RECOLLECTION, AND I REFER DEPT. TO MY CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SWARAN SINGH, NEW DELHI 8053 OF MAY 25, IS THAT GOI WAS RELUCTANT TO SEE RELIEF PROGRAM STARTED IN EAST PAK PRIOR TO A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ON GROUNDS SUCH AN EFFORT MIGHT SERVE TO QTE BAIL OUT YAHYA UNQTE.

3. IN NOTING OFFER OF AMNESTY FOR ALL REFUGEES, STORY FAILS TO MENTION QUALIFICATION IN YAHYA'S SEPT. 5 PROCLAMATION THAT AMNESTY APPLIED TO THOSE "NOT ALREADY CHARGED WITH SPECIFIC CRIMINAL ACTS", WHICH I TAKE TO BE MORE THAN A MINOR BUREAUCRATIC NR PMEAT#IN EAST PAK CIRCUMSTANCES.

4. STORY INDICATES THAT BOTH THE SECRETARY AND DR. KISSINGER INFORMED AMBASSADOR JHA THAT WASHINGTON FAVORED AUTONOMY FOR

SUMMARY

FILE COPY

- ANDERSON _____
- BEHR _____
- BERGSTEN _____
- CHAPIN _____
- HOLDRIDGE _____
- KENNEDY _____
- LEHMAN _____
- NACHMANOFF _____
- ROBINSON 16574
- RONDON _____
- SAUNDERS _____
- SMITH _____
- SMYSER _____
- SUNNENFELDT _____
- WRIGHT _____

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EAST PAKISTAN. I AM AWARE OF OUR REPEATED STATEMENTS THAT WE HAD NO FORMULA FOR A SOLUTION, AND OUR BELIEF THAT THE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD PROBABLY BE AUTONOMY IF NOT

INDEPENDENCE, BUT I REGRET I AM UNINFORMED OF ANY SPECIFIC STATEMENT FAVORING AUTONOMY.

O ALSO JGMDING# TO STORYGO JHA WAS INFORMED BY DEPARTMENT ON NOV. 19 THAT QTE WASHINGTON AND ISLAMABAD WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS A PRECISE TIMETABLE FOR ESTABLISHING POLITICAL AUTONOMY FOR EAST PAKISTAN UNQTE. THE ONLY MESSAGE I HAVE ON RECORD OF THIS CONVERSATION (STATE 211384) MAKES NO REFERENCE TO THIS CRITICAL FACT.

6. WITH VAST AND VOLUMINOUS EFFORTS OF INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, REPORTING FROM BOTH DELHI AND ISLAMABAD, AND MY OWN DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON, I DO NOT UNDERSTAND STATEMENT THAT QTE WASHINGTON WAS NOT GIVEN THE SLIGHTEST INKLING THAT ANY MILITARY OPERATION WAS IN ANY WAY IMMINENT. UNQTE. SEE FOR EXAMPLE DIAIB, 219-71, OF NOV. 12, STATING SPECIFICALLY THAT WAR IS QTE IMMINENT UNQTE.

7. STATEMENT THAT PAKISTAN HAD AUTHORIZED U.S. TO CONTACT MUJIB THROUGH HIS ATTORNEY SEEMS AN OVERSTATEMENT, SINCE ACCORDING ISLAMABAD 11760 YAHYA ON NOV. 29 TOLD AMBASSADOR FARLAND NOTHING MORE THAN THAT A FARLAND-BROHI MEETING WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA SINCE AMBASSADOR FARLAND QTE WOULD BE ABLE OBTAIN FROM BROHI AT LS VD HIS GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AS TO THE STATE OF THE TRIAL AND ITS CONDUCT UNQTE. I AM UNAWARE OF ANY SPECIFIC AUTHORIZATION FROM YAHYA QTE TO CONTACT MUJIBUR UNQTE THROUGH BROHI. IN ANY CASE/M AS WE ARE ALL ONLY TOO UNHAPPILY AWARE, YAHYA TOLD AMOFSSADOR FARLAND ONIMEC. 2 (ISLAMABAD 11955) THAT BROHI ALLEGEDLY WAS NOT INTERESTED IN SEEING HIM.

8. THE STATEMENT ON GOP AGREEMENT DISTRIBUTION BY UN OF RELIEF SUPPLIES IN EAST PAKISTAN OBSCURES THE FACT THAT THE UN NEVER HAD NOR INTENDED TO HAVE SUFFICIENT PERSONNEL IN EAST PAK TO HANDLE ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION, WHICH WAS ALWAYS IN PAK GOVERNMENT NFHANESTXG;#TO. I HAVE MADE THE FOREGOING COMMENTS IN THE FULL KNOWL

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EDGE:
THAT I MAY NOT HAVE BEEN PRIVY TO ALL THE IMPORTANT FACTS OF THIS TRAGEDY. ON THE BASIS OF WHAT I DO KNOW, I DO NOT BELIEVE OF HOSE ELEMENTS OF THE SULLIVAN STORY EITHER ADD TO OUR POSITION OR, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO OUR CREDIBILITY.

GP-3 KEATING

NOTE BY OC/T: NEW DELHI 18950 (#) AS RECEIVED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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