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*[Handwritten initials]*  
7:14 P.M.

PLEASE DELIVER IMMEDIATELY TO:

COMMANDER HOWE  
DR. KISSINGER'S OFFICE

FROM: KENNEDY AND SAUNDERS

Attached is material on Anderson papers as requested  
by Dr. Kissinger this morning.

January 6, 1972

Economic Assistance

Kissinger quoted as saying December 3 at WSAG: "The President wants no more irrevocable letters of credit issued under the \$99 million credit. He wants the \$72 million P. L. 480 credit also held." Then at December 4 WSAG meeting: "Dr. Kissinger stated that the President had directed that cutoff was to be directed at India only." Mr. Williams is quoted as saying on December 6: "A case can be made technically politically and legally that there is a difference between the aid given to India and that given to Pakistan."

Public statements

Bray on December 6: "General economic assistance in the pipeline for India has as of this morning been suspended to the extent it is not firmly committed to suppliers and banks. General economic assistance ... is non-project aid provided to support the general economy of an aid-recipient and thus support a development effort. In the present circumstances in India this objective cannot be secured."

Kissinger on December 7: "The United States has made no new development loans to Pakistan since March 1971."

United Nations

Kissinger quoted as saying at December 3 WSAG that "the President is in favor of this [going to the UN] as soon as we have some confirmation of this large-scale action." Then at December 4 WSAG meeting HAK instructed that there be "no delay" in introducing a US resolution and "to make clear our position relative to our greater strategy." Finally, at the December 6 WSAG meeting, HAK stressed that any resolution introduced into the General Assembly "must retain two key elements: cease-fire and withdrawal of military forces."

Public statements

Ambassador Bush on December 4 in introducing a US resolution to the UN Security Council: "The United States Government has made a major effort in South Asia to ease the human suffering caused by the present crisis, to prevent war and to facilitate a political solution to the problem. ... The immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of forces are essential conditions for progress toward a political solution in East Pakistan."

Ambassador Bush on December 7 spoke to the UN General Assembly in support of a resolution, later passed with 194 affirmative votes, calling for ceasefire and withdrawal.

Kissinger on December 7: "With respect to the immediate issue which is before the United Nations, we have an obligation to make clear for the sake of peace that we do not favor recourse to military forces as a member of the United Nations and as one of the principal countries in the world."

Press India

Kissinger quoted as saying in WSAG of December 3: "I am getting hell every half-hour from the President that we are not being tough enough on India.... He wants to tilt in favor of Pakistan."

Public statements

Kissinger on December 7: After denying that the Administration was anti-Indian went on to say: "We are opposed to the use of military force in this crisis.... We believe that what started as a tragedy in East Bengal is now becoming an attempt to dismember a sovereign state and a member of the United Nations."

Bush on December 4 said: "This body cannot accept recourse to force to solve this problem."

Sisco on December 4 said: "India bears the major responsibility for the broader hostilities which have ensued."

Kissinger on December 7 said: "...military action was taken in our view without adequate cause.... We have told the Indian government all summer long that we want or favored political evolution leading toward autonomy; and secondly, that we were opposed to the use of military force...."

Ziegler on December 6, briefing on the President's talk with Prime Minister Trudeau said: "The President again pointed out to the Prime Minister. . . that we feel it is very unfortunate and quite contrary to recent favorable international trends for India to be using armed force against a sovereign country, against a neighbor, such as they are in the case of Pakistan."

U.S. Public Posture

Kissinger quoted as saying in WSAG of December 4: "Whoever was putting out background information relative to the current situation is provoking Presidential wrath." [Anderson describes this as Kissinger "still fuming over the gentle treatment US spokesmen were giving India."]

Public statements

Sisco on December 4 said: "India bears the major responsibility for the broader hostilities which have ensued."

Bush told the UN Security Council on December 4: "This body cannot accept recourse to force to solve this problem. Indian officials have now announced that regular Indian forces have been instructed to move into East Pakistan in what the Indian Defense Secretary is quoted in the press as calling a 'no holds barred' operation. The very purpose which draws us together here--building a peaceful world--will be thwarted if a situation is accepted in which a government intervenes across its borders in the affairs of another with military force in violation of the UN Charter."

Who Started the War

Kissinger quoted in the column of December 21 as saying to the WSAG [date unidentified]: "The President believes India is the attacker."

Public statements

Sisco on December 4: "India bears the major responsibility for the broader hostilities which have ensued."

Kissinger on December 7: "...military action was taken in our view without adequate cause...."

Bush in commenting to the UN Security Council on December 12 on India's refusal to accept the UNGA's ceasefire resolution: "In view of India's defiance of world opinion expressed by such an overwhelming majority, the US is now returning the issue to the Security Council...." The Indians "continue to prefer the use of force to peaceful means."

Military Assistance to Pakistan

Kissinger quoted as saying at WSAG of December 6: "The President may want to honor [Pakistani] requests [for emergency military supply.] The matter has not been brought to Presidential attention, but it is quite obvious that the President is not inclined to let the Paks be defeated."

Public statements

US officials have not addressed publicly the issue of third-country transfers of military equipment to Pakistan. Comments on military supply have dealt only with the drying up of the Pakistan pipeline before the crisis. However, the strong Bush speech of December 12 in calling the Security Council back into session was clear indication of US concern over a major attack on West Pakistan. Contingency planning in WSAG to meet this new factor is to be read in that context.