



Department of State

INDIA - July
TELEGRAM

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMCONSUL DACCA

ANDERSON	_____
BETH	_____
CHAMBERLAIN	_____
CONRAD	_____
FELDMAN	_____
GALBRAITH	_____
ROSEN	_____
SULLIVAN	_____
TAMM	_____
TROTTER	_____
WALSH	_____
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SUBJ: LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER GANDHI

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER FORWARDED TO PRESIDENT NIXON BY INDIAN AMBASSADOR JHA FROM PRIME MINISTER GANDHI AUGUST 9, 1971. QUOTE:

J. J. J.
P.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTERS - ONE DATED 29TH MAY AND THE OTHER BROUGHT BY DR. KISSINGER DATED 1ST JULY. I HAVE READ THEM WITH INTEREST. DR. KISSINGER HAS NO DOUBT SPOKEN TO YOU ABOUT HIS WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSIONS IN NEW DELHI.

SINCE I WROTE TO YOU ON 13TH MAY, THE SITUATION HAS NOT IMPROVED. SANGUINARY CONFLICT CONTINUES UNABATED IN EAST BENGAL. THE NUMBER OF PAKISTANI CITIZENS FLEEING THEIR HOMELAND AND SEEKING SHELTER IN INDIA IS STEADILY AUGMENTING. WE NOW HAVE MORE THAN SEVEN MILLION REGISTERED EVACUEES. THE WEST PAKISTANI ARMY HAS DRIVEN OUT THE GREATER PART OF THE MINORITY COMMUNITY AS WELL AS MORE THAN A MILLION MUSLIM CITIZENS OF EAST BENGAL. IN RECENT WEEKS THE NUMBER OF THE LATTER IS INCREASING.

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IT IS NOT FOR US TO OBJECT TO THE U.S. MAINTAINING, AS YOU MR. PRESIDENT HAVE PUT IT, "A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN" SO THAT THE U.S. MAY, "RETAIN SOME INFLUENCE IN WORKING WITH THEM TOWARDS IMPORTANT DECISIONS TO BE MADE IN THAT COUNTRY". WE HAVE WAITED PATIENTLY AND WITH RESTRAINT, HOPING FOR A TURN IN THE TIDE OF EVENTS WHICH THE GOVERNMENT, PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDIA COULD RECOGNISE AS A STEP TOWARDS A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

YOUR LETTER OF 29TH MAY REFERRED HOPEFULLY TO PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE OF 24TH MAY. SINCE THEN WE HAVE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED HIS STATEMENT OF 28TH JUNE AND HIS UTTERANCES ON TELEVISION. THESE PRONOUNCEMENTS SHOW A HARDENING OF ATTITUDE AND IT SEEMS TO US THAT THEY DO NOT TAKE US NEARER A SOLUTION.

NOTHING WOULD GIVE ME AND MY COLLEAGUES IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INDIAN PEOPLE A GREATER SENSE OF RELIEF THAN TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT THE U.S. WAS WORKING TOWARDS A VIABLE SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD RESTORE PEACE AND THE SEMBLANCE OF CIVILIZED GOVERNMENT IN EAST BENGAL WHICH WOULD ENABLE PAKISTANI CITIZENS TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES.

HOWEVER THE MALAISE AFFLICTING THE SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF PAKISTAN AND THE TENSIONS PREVAILING BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PARTS OF IT ARE DEEP ROOTED. THE PRESENT ATTEMPT IS TO SOLVE CHRONIC PROBLEMS, ARISING OUT OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISPARITIES, BY FORCE. I BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. SUPPORTS THE VIEW THAT THE POSTING OF UN OBSERVERS ON EITHER SIDE OF THE FRONTIERS OF INDIA AND EAST BENGAL COULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE REFUGEES. WE REGRET THAT WE DO NOT SEE THE SITUATION IN THIS LIGHT. INDIA IS AN OPEN DEMOCRACY. WE HAVE A LARGE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND MANY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORLD PRESS. WE HAVE HAD VISITS OF PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATIONS FROM VARIOUS COUNTRIES. ALL ARE FREE TO TRAVEL AND TO VISIT THE REFUGEE CAMPS. THEY SEE FOR THEMSELVES THAT ALTHOUGH WE ARE DOING ALL WE CAN FOR THE REFUGEES, LIFE IN THE CAMPS IS ONE OF DEPRIVATION AND ACUTE DISCOMFORT. HENCE IT IS UNREALISTIC TO THINK THAT PRESENCE OF A GROUP OF UN OBSERVERS COULD GIVE ANY FEELING OF ASSURANCE TO THE EVACUEES WHEN EVERY DAY THEY SEE NEW EVACUEES POURING IN WITH STORIES OF ATROCITIES. WOULD

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NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS OBSERVERS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN PERSUADING THE REFUGEES WHO FLED FROM HITLER'S TYRANNY TO RETURN EVEN WHILST THE PROGRAMS AGAINST THE JEWS AND POLITICAL OPPONENTS OF NAZISM CONTINUED UNABATED? IN OUR VIEW THE INTENTIONS OF THE UN OBSERVERS MIGHT BE MORE CREDIBLE IF THEIR EFFORTS WERE DIRECTED AT STOPPING THE CONTINUING OUTFLOW OF THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE AND AT CREATING CONDITIONS WHICH, TO ANY REASONABLE PERSON, WOULD ASSURE THE SAFETY OF LIFE AND LIBERTY OF THE REFUGEES WHO WISH TO RETURN TO EAST BENGAL.

MR. PRESIDENT, I AM TOUCHED BY YOUR GENEROUS REFERENCES TO THE VITALITY OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE STRENGTH OF PURPOSE OF OUR GOVERNMENT IN MEETING THE COMPLEX SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONT INDIA. THESE PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN RENDERED MORE COMPLEX BY THE ACTION OF THE PAKISTAN ARMY AND THE BURDEN ON US IS ALMOST UNBEARABLE. IT IS BY SHEER ACT OF WILL THAT WE ARE ABLE TO HOLD ON. I SHOULD LIKE TO MENTION ONE OTHER MATTER. OUR GOVERNMENT WAS GREATLY EMBARRASSED THAT SOON AFTER OUR FOREIGN MINISTER'S RETURN FROM HIS WASHINGTON VISIT AND DESPITE THE STATEMENTS MADE BY AMBASSADOR KEATING IN BOMBAY ON APRIL 16TH AND BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S SPOKESMAN ON APRIL 15TH, 1971 CAME THE NEWS OF FRESH SUPPLIES OF US ARMS TO PAKISTAN.

IT WAS A SAD CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF OUR SUB-CONTINENT WHEN THE US BEGAN TO SUPPLY ARMS TO PAKISTAN IN 1954 AND CONTINUED DOING SO UPTO 1965. THESE ARMS HAVE BEEN USED AGAINST US, AS INDEED WE FEARED THEY WOULD BE. AND NOW THESE ARMS ARE BEING USED AGAINST THEIR OWN PEOPLE WHOSE ONLY FAULT APPEARS TO BE THAT THEY TOOK SERIOUSLY PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S PROMISE TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY.

IN THE MIDST OF ALL THE HUMAN TRAGEDY, IT IS SOME RELIEF TO CONTEMPLATE THE VOYAGE OF THE ASTRONAUTS IN THE APOLLO 15. THESE VALIANT MEN AND THE TEAM OF SCIENTISTS SUPPORTING THEM REPRESENT MAN'S ETERNAL LUNGING TO BREAK FROM THE CONSTRAINTS OF TIME AND SPACE. AS I WRITE THIS, THE ASTRONAUTS ARE HEADING HOMEARDS, BACK TO OUR EARTH. WE PRAY FOR THEIR SAFETY AND SUCCESS. PLEASE ACCEPT, MR. PRESIDENT, OUR WARM FELICITATIONS.

I WAS GLAD TO HAVE YOUR MESSAGE REGARDING YOUR INITIATIVE TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. WE

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HAVE WELCOMED THIS MOVE AND WE WISH YOU WELL.

WITH BEST WISHES AND REGARDS,

YOURS SINCERELY, INDIRA GANDHI. UNQUOTE. ROGERS

SECRET

A.P.