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X INDIA
November 19, 1971
(Hoskinson/Saunders)

For President

PRESIDENT'S SATURDAY BRIEFING

Situation in India: Ambassador Keating reports that since Mrs. Gandhi has returned to New Delhi most observers feel that she is attempting to lower the political temperature there for the time being at least. She seems to be telling the Indian people and the world that, while she has no intention of reducing the pressure on Pakistan by withdrawing Indian troops from the frontiers or reducing support to the guerrillas, she is prepared to wait for some unspecified period to see whether the international community's efforts to get Yahya into a dialogue with the Awami League are successful before initiating more decisive action. A frequent comment from Indian and foreign observers is that Mrs. Gandhi remains, as before her trip, less hawkish than the country as a whole and that she apparently continues to work to avoid a major war.

The above is the positive side of the picture. Our intelligence indicates that complementing this public posture is continuing planning for possible military intervention in East Pakistan and serious incidents, reflecting an aggressive Indian posture, continue to flare up along the East Pakistan border. It is also worth noting that some official U.S. observers believe that the Indian and guerrilla pressures on the Pak forces could be gradually building up to a point at which the Paks could be goaded into counteractions which could precipitate a full-scale war.

Att: Islamabad 11476, 11/18/71
New Delhi 17805, 11/16/71
New Delhi 17736, 11/15/71
TDCS DB-315/06847-71, 11/16/71 from New Delhi

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INRE-00 SA-03 10-12 ACDA-19 RSR-01 AID-20 /128 W
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P R 181250Z NOV 71
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1576
INFO AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL DACCA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 11476

SUBJECT PAKISTAN CRISIS

1. SUMMARY: POLITICAL OFFICIERS FROM EMBASSY AND CONSTITUENT POSTS CONCLUDED AT INFORMAL NOV 12 MEETING THAT INDIAN/MUKTI BAHINI PRESSURES ON PAK FORCES IN EAST PAK WERE BUILDING UP TO POINT AT WHICH GOP MAY BE GOATED INTO COUNTERACTIONS WHICH COULD PRECIPITATE INDO/PAK WAR. BEST HOPE OF HEADING OFF WAR LIES IN PROMPT GOP MOVES IN DIRECTIONS REALISTIC POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN EAST PAKISTAN, BUT GOP ACTIONS TO DATE OFFER LITTLE PROMISE ANY SUCH MOVES FORTHCOMING SOON ENOUGH. END SUMMARY.

2. POLS OFFS FROM ISLAMABAD, DACCA, KARACHI, AND LAHORE, AND PESHAWAR MET IN ISLAMABAD NOV 12 FOR INFORMAL REVIEW CURRENT SITUATION. MAIN CONCLUSIONS AS FOLLOWS:

A. PARTICIPANTS SAW LITTLE POSSIBILITY OF TWO WINGS OF PAKISTAN REMAINING UNITED. (KARACHI EXPRESSED LESS DIM VIEW RE PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUATION UNITED PAKISTAN. DACCA HELD THAT, IN EYES MOST EAST PAKISTANIS, DE FACTO SEPARATION HAS ALREADY TAKEN

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PLACE.)

B. MOST SIGNIFICANT CURRENT DEVELOPEMENT IS INCREASING LEVEL MILITARY CONFRONTATION BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN, INCLUDING COMMITMENT OF INDIAN REGULAR MILITARY FORCES IN EAST PAKISTAN BORDER FIGHTING AND BUILD-UP IN MUKTI BAHINI SABOTAGE AND TERRORISM ACTIVITIES DURING PAST THREE WEEKS IN INTERIOR OF EAST PAKISTAN. AVAILABLE INFORMATION INDICATES THAT LONG-RUMORED MUKTI BAHINI "OFFENSIVE" IN EAST PAISTAN HAS PROBABLY BEGUN AND CAN BE EXPECTED INCREASE IN INTENSITY.

C. OFFICERS AGREED THAT MOST LIKELY CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO PAKISTAN DECISION TO ATTACK INDIA WOULD ARISE WHEN LEVEL OF FIGHTING IN EAST REACHED POINT WHERE PAK MILITARY CONCLUDED THAT WAR OF ATTRITION IN EAST HAD SURPASSED LEVEL OF TOLERANCE. CONSENSUS WAS THAT LATTER WAS PROBABLY POINT WHERE FIGHTING IN EAST BEGINS TO THREATEN PAK HOLD OVER URBAN CENTERS IN EAST OR TO SERIOUSLY IMPINGE ON PAK MILITARY RESOURCES AND CAPABILITIES IN WEST. PAKS MIGHT TAKE SUCH DECISION TO LAUNCH FULL-SCALE WAR WHEN THIS LEVEL REACHED DESPITE THEIR AWARENESS PARA-MILITARY INFERIOR TO

INDIA. OFFICERS AGREED THAT PROBABLY NEXT TO IMPOSSIBLE FOR OUTSIDERS TO ASCERTAIN JUST WHAT CONSTITUTES PAK LEVEL OF TOLERANCE AND WHEN THIS POINT MIGHT BE REACHED. INDIAN RECOGNITION BANGLA DESH OR MUKTI BAHINI SEIZURE AND PERMANENT OCCUPATION OF SIGNIFICANT PIECE OF EAST PAK TERRITORY IN NAME BANGLS DESH ALSO SEEN AS PROBABLE CASUS BELLI IF EITHER OCCURS.

D. OFFICERS FELT GOP PERCEPTION OF SITUATION IN EAST PAKISTAN WAS MOVING GRADUALLY IN DIRECTION OF REALITY RUT STILL HAD FAR TO GO. WHILE YAHYA REGIME HAS CONCEDED NEED FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN EAST, MEASURES TAKEN SO FAR--APPOINTMENT CIVILIAN GOVERNOR, BY-ELECTIONS, AMNESTY--HAVE BEEN INADEQUATE IN CONCEPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION. ALTHOUGH GOP HAS NOW UNVEILED COMPLETE BLUEPRINT FOR OSTENSIBLE RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE, PROGRAM HAS LITTLE CHANCE OF WINNING BACK ANY SIGNIFICANT SEGMENT DISAFFECTED EAST PAK POPULACE. GOP'S ACTIONS HAVE INSTEAD

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TENDED FREEZE REGIME IN UNTENABLE POSITION AND
REDUCE ITS FLEXIBILITY IN MOVING TOWARD POLITICAL
SETTLEMENT.

3. BECAUSE OF TIME LIMITATION, COMPREHENSIVE
DISCUSSION OF US POLICY INTERESTS IN EVOLVING SITUA-
TION IN SUBCONTINENT WAS NOT POSSIBLE AT THIS MEETING.
IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, OFFICIERS CONCLUDED THAT US SHOULD
CONTINUE SEARCH FOR WAYS TO DEESCLATE INDO/PAK
TENSIONS AND
TO PROD GOP TOWARDS POLITICAL SETTLE-
MENT. AT SAME TIME, THERE NO ROOM FOR OPTIMISM THAT
THIRD COUNTRY PRESSURES IN EITHER AREA WOULD BE
SUCCESSFUL. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS POUCHED NEA/PAF.
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FARLAND

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USIA-12 SR-02 ORM-03 AID-20 RSR-01 /125 W
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R 161340Z NOV 71
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4033
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
USUN 1141
AMCONSUL BOMBAY
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL MADRAS
AMCONSUL DACCA

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 17805

INDEX: PFOR/IN,PK.

SUBJ: OBSERVERS BELIEVE MRS. GANDHI TRYING COOL
POLITICAL TEMPERATURE AT LEAST TEMPORARILY.

REF: NEW DELHI 17736

1. SUMMARY: REPORTS OF PRIMIN'S REMARKS TO OPPOSITION LEADERS
NOW IS COINCIDE WITH RESTRAINED TONE SHE HAS ADOPTED ELSEWHERE
SINCE HER RETURN IN DISCUSSING SOUTH ASIA CRISIS. PRELIMINARY
ASSESSMENT OF MOST LOCAL OBSERVERS IS THAT MRS. GANDHI
CONSCIOUSLY ATTEMPTING LOWER POLITICAL TEMPERATURE IN THIS
COUNTRY FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST. END SUMMARY.

2. IN ADDITION TO MEETING, STATEMENTS ON SOUTH ASIA CRISIS
REPORTED REFTEL WITH WHICH PRIMIN, INDIRA GANDHI ASSOCIATED
SINCE HER RETURN, SHE ALSO HELD MEETING WITH PARLIAMENTARY

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OPPOSITION LEADERS NOV 15, WHICH COVERED IN TODAY'S (TUES.) PRESS. ALMOST ALL REPORTS INDICATE PRIMIN ADOPTED SAME AUTIOUS, RESTRAINED POSTURE AS IN MEETING WITH CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY PARTY AND IN LOK SABHA STATEMENT. (SWANTANTRA MP WHO TALKED WITH HIS PARTY LEADER AFTER MEETING WITH PRIMIN CONFIRMS ACCURACY OF PRESS REPORTING.) ACCORDING TO STATESMAN, PRIMIN BROADLY INDICATED FOLLOWING REASONS FOR COUNSELING PATIENCE TO HER CONTRYMEN: (A) THERE SOME INDICATION US MAY BE EXERTING INFLUENCE ON GOP TO MOVE IT TOWARD REALISTIC POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION; (B) MUKTI BAHINI INCRASINGLY SUCCESSFUL AS IT CONTINUES TO STEP UP EFFORTS AGAINST PAK ARMY; AND (C) THERE HAS RECENTLY BEEN NOTICEABLE DROP IN REFUGEE INFUX INTO INDIA. OTHER ARTICLES INDICATE MRS. GANDHI EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT CESSATION OF US ARMS SALES TO PAKISTAN AND SAID SHE WAS INFORMED US WOULD NOT APPROVE

THIRD-COUNTRY SALES.

3. AT SHART VARIANCE WITH MANY OTHER REPORTS RECENT DAYS OF MRS. GANDHI'S DISINCLINATION TO INDICATE DEADLINE FOR MOVEMENT TOWARD POLITICAL SOLUTION IN EAST PAKISTAN IS RESPECTED C.S. PAMZBT'S INDIAN EXPRESS (NOV 16) ALLEGATION THAT "KNOWLEDGEABLE SOURCES" SAY GOI PREPARED GIVE WORLD POWERS MAXIMUM OF TWO WEEKS TO PRODUCE EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS. (IN CONTRAST TO HIS NOV 12 PERSONAL PREDICATION TO EMBOFF OF 5 WEEKS.) THOUGH PANDIT UNAVAILABLE FOR AMPLIFICATION, OTHER WELL-INFORMED NEWSMEN, INCLUDING ONE FROM EXPRESS, SAY TWO-WEEK "DEALINE" BEING FLOATED BY SOME OPPOSITION LEADERS WHO DESIRE MORE RAPID PROGRESS TOWARD INDEPENDENT BANGLA DESH THAN NOW APPARENT AND WANT TO CREATE CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO THEIR PRESSING PRIMIN FOR FIRMER ACTION FEW WEEKS HENCE IF THERE NO SIGNS OF POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION. SOME OPPOSITION MP'S WHO WERE AT MEETING WITH MRS. GANDHI HAVE DENIED TO NEWSMEN SHE HINTED AT DEADLINE, SAYING THAT (AS IN CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY PARTY SESSION) SHE GAVE IMPRESSION OF WISHING LEAVE TIME QUESTION OPEN. SEVERAL JOURNALISTS ALSO OF OPINION THAT MRS. GANDHI HAS NOT SET TIME LIMIT TO INDIAN PATIENCE.

4. FIRST REACTIONS AMONG MOST GOI OFFICIALS, PARLIAMENTARIANS, NEWSMEN, AND DIPLOMATS TO PRIMIN'S PRIVATE AND PUBLIC COMMENTS SINCE HER RETURN TO INDIA NOV 13 CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

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PRIMIN TELLING INDIAN PEOPLE AND WORLD THAT WHILE SHE HAS NO INTENTION OF REDUCING PRESSURE ON PAKISTAN BY WITHDRAWING INDIAN TROOPS FROM BORDERS OR REDUCING SUPPORT TO MUKTI BAHINI, GOI IS PREPARED TO WAIT FOR SOME UNSPECIFIED PERIOD (MANY OBSERVERS THINK PERIOD IS ONLY FEW WEEKS, BUT OTHERS THINK IT COULD BE LONGER) TO SEE WHETHER INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S EFFORTS TO GET GOP OPEN DIALOGUE WITH AWAMI LEAGUE SUCCESSFUL, BEFORE INITIATING MORE DECISIVE ACTION. FREQUENT COMMENT FROM INDIAN AND FOREIGN OBSERVERS IS THAT MRS. GANDHI REMAINS, AS BEFORE HER TRIP, LESS HAWKISH THAN COUNTRY AS A WHOLE, AND THAT SHE APPARENTLY CONTINUES TO WORK TO AVOID MAJOR INDO-PAK WAR. HER BRIEFINGS TO LEGISLATORS AND GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATES PAST THREE DAYS, COUPLED WITH REMARKS TO PRESS UPON ARRIVAL NOV 13 AND STATEMENT TO PARLIAMENT NOV 15 (NEW DELHI 17737) ARE BEING LIKENED IN TONE AND EFFECT TO HER CALMING PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS OCT 19 AND EVE OF DEPARTURE SPEECH TO NATION OCT 23. HINDU'S G.K. REDDY

PERHAPS BEST SUMMED UP GENERAL REACTION TO MRS. GANDHI'S PERFORMANCE PAST THREE DAYS IN COMMENT TO EMBOFF NOV 15: "MRS. GANDHI HAS CLEARLY DE-ESCALATED POLITICAL TENSION SINCE HER RETURN, BUT THERE NO INDICATION SHE SEEKS DEFUSE BORDER SITUATION. NOR IS IT IN HER OR INDIA'S INTERESTS TO DO SO."

5. IT IS RUMORED THAT OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES WISH DEBATE IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AT EARLY DATE ON PRIMIN'S NOV 15 STATEMENT REPORTING ON HER TRIP ABROAD. GP-3. STONE

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ACTION NEA-11

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L-03 H-02 NSC-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-06 NSAE-00 P-03

RSC-01 USIA-12 PRS-01 RSR-01 /091 W 101841

R 151330Z NOV 71
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4002
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMBAD
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL BOMBAY
AMCONSUL CALUCTTA
AMCONSUL MADRAS
AMCONSUL DACCA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USUN 1139

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INDEX: PFOR/IN,PK.

SUBJ: INDO-PAK-GOI MAY BE PREAPRED TO WAIT A LITTLE LONGER

1. SUMMARY. IN FIRST COMMENTS FOLLOWING HER RETURN TO INDIA
NOVEMBER 13 PRIMIN INDIRA GANDHI SEEMS TO BE AKSING COUNTRY
TO CONTINUE TO REPOSE CONFIDENCE IN HER GOVERNMENT'S CAPACITY TO
HANDLE INDO-PAK CRISIS AND SAYING HER PEOPLE SHOULD NOT EXPECT
DRAMATIC GOI DECISIONS IMMEDIATELY, WHILE WORLD STATESMEN
TRYING TO HELP FIND POLITICAL SOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

2. REPORT WE HAVE READ/HEARD OF PRIMIN'S PUBLIC AND
PRIVATE COMMENTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:
(A) IN ANSWERING NEWSMEN'S QUESTIONS UPON ARRIVAL NOVEMBER 13,
MRS. GANDHI SAID THAT IN TALKS ABPOAD SHE HAD GIVEN FRANK
ASSESSMENT OF PRESENT SITUATION AND LIKELY CONSEQUENCES IF
CONTINUED: HAD FOUND WESTERN STATESMEN INTERESTED IN SEARCHING

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FOR POLITICAL SOLUTION IN ORDER AVOID INDO-PAK WAR; HAD NO IDEA WHETHER LATTER'S EFFORTS WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL, THOUGH MATTER IS NOT ONE ABOUT WHICH ONE CAN QTE SET A DATE UNQTE (I.E., DEADLINE). SHE ALSO REPEATED GOI STAND THAT INDIA WILL NOT PERMANENTLY ACCEPT REFUGEES.

(B) MAJOR DELHI NEWSPAPERS NOVEMBER 15 CARRY ALMOST IDENTICAL VERSIONS OF REPORT AS IN PREVIOUS DAY'S MEETING WITH POLITICAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (PAC OF CABINET, PRIMIN TOLD COLLEAGUES WESTERN LEADERS CONVINCED OF NEED FOR GOP POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WITH EAST BENGALIS, THAT SOME LEADERS ATTEMPTING NUDGE YAHYA KHAN IN THAT DIRECTION, AND THAT INDIA SHOULD BE PREPARED WAIT A WHILE TO SEE IF EFFORTS FRUITFUL. PAC REPORTEDLY DISCUSSED DESIRABILITY OF DECLARING NATIONAL EMERGENCY, BUT TOOK NO DECISION.

(C) AMERICAN NEWSMAN WHO ATTENDED NOVEMBER 15 PRESS BRIEFING ON PRIMIN'S 15 MINUTE INFORMAL ADDRESS TO CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY PARTY JUST PRIOR OPENING OF PARLIAMENT TODAY, REPORTS THAT ADDRESS WAS APPARENTLY VAGUE AND UNDRAMATIC. HIGHLIGHTS: PRIMIN TOLD PARTYMEN HER TRIP ABOARD RESULTED IN GREATER SYMPATHY FOR INDIAN POSITION ON EAST PAKISTAN AMONG GOVERNMENTS, PEOPLE, AND PRESS OF COUNTRIES VISITED. SAID SHE AND FOREIGN LEADERS DISCUSSED VARIOUS ASPECTS OF CRISIS, BUT NO ONE TRIED GIVE HER ADVICE, SINCE ALL RECOGNIZED INDIA MUST MAKE OWN DECISION. NOTED SHE HAD EXPLAINED QTE DANGER NOT ONLY AT OUR DOORSTEP BUT RIGHT WITHIN OUR HOUSE UNQTE. CAUTIONED THAT DECISION ON IMPORTANT MATTER FACING INDIA (PRESUMABLY WAR/PEACE) QTE MUST NOT BE TAKEN IN HASTE OR ANGER UNTE, AND ASKED THAT HER PARTY RALLY SUPPORT IN COUNTRY FOR WHATEVER DECISIONS MAY BE NECESSARY.

3. BOTH HOUSES PARLIAMENT HAD CALLED ATTENTION NOTICES NOVEMBER 15 ON QTE CONCENTRATION OF PAKISTANI FORCES ON INDIA'S BORDERS UNQTE. IN LENGTHY PREPARED REPLY GOI SPOKESMAN REVIEWED IN STRONGER LANGUAGE THAN PRIMIN USED EVENTS SINCE MARCH 25. MAIN POINTS WERE: (A) GOP GUILTY OF GENOCIDE; (B) QTE FORCIBLE EXPULSION UNQTE OF REFUGEES CONSTITUTES QTE NEW KING OF AGGRESSION UNQTE AND QTE IMPOSES INTOLERABLE STRAINS ON US UNQTE; (C) TERROR IN EAST PAKISTAN, WHICH CONTINUING HAS SPARKED UNQTE POWERFUL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT...THEIR SUCCESSES HAVE MADE THEM HOPEFUL OF EARLY DELIVERANCE; (C) GOP CREATED WAR HYSTERIA AND DEPLOYED TROOPS ALONG INDIA'S

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BORDERS, AND GOI HAS REACTED IN KIND; (E) SITUATION ON BORDERS QTE VERY SERIOUS INDEED UNQTE, WITH PAKS GUILTY OF QTE EXTENSIVE SHELLING UNQTE OF AND SABOTAGE ON INDIAN TERRITORY AND QTE LARGE NUMBERS UNQTE OF AIR AND LAND BORDER VIOLATIONS; (F) INDIA VIGILANT AND PREPARED TO MEET ANY ATTACK ON TERRITORY;

(G) PROBABLY NO RELAXATION OF BORDER TENSIONS UNTIL GOP NEGOTIATES WITH AWAMI LEAGUE; QTE WE DO NOT PROPOSE TO RELAX OUR VIGILANCE OR WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS FROM BORDERS UNTIL SATISFACTORY SOLUTION IS FOUND TO SITUATION IN BANGLA DESH WHICH SHALL INDUCE AND ENABLE REFUGEES TO RETURN THEIR HOMELAND... IN HONOR, IN DIGNITY, AND IN FULL SAFETY. HOPE PAKISTANI RULERS PERSUADE THEMSELVES TO ABANDON COURSE ON WHICH THEY HAVE EMBARKED, TO RETRACT THEIR THREATS TO US AND TO FIND POLITICAL SOLUTION TO BANGLA DESH WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALREADY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF PEOPLE UNDER LEADERSHIP OF SHEIKH MUJIBU REHMAN.

4. LATE AFTERNOON NOVEMBER 15 PRIMIN READ MODERATE STATEMENT (EXCERPTS IN SEPTEL) TO LOK SABHA REVIEWING HER TRIP ABROAD WHICH CONSISTENT WITH HER EARLIER REMARKS TO PRESS AND CONGRESS COLLEAGUES. DECONTROL AFTER NOVEMBER 15, 1972. STONE

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