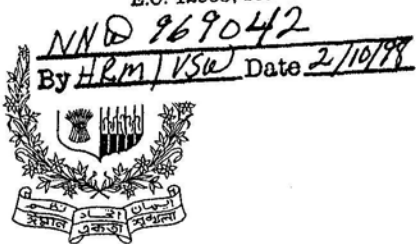


DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.4

1: Mr M. Akram Zaki, PFS,
Charge d'Affaires a. i.



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

No.SS/11/1/72

April 24, 1972.

Dear Mr Secretary,

I have the honour to forward herewith the
letter dated April 18, 1972 from the President of
Pakistan to His Excellency Mr. Richard M. Nixon,
President of the United States of America.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. Akram Zaki

(M. Akram Zaki)

The Honorable
William P. Rogers,
Secretary of State,
The Department of State,
Washington D. C.

Encl: As above.

DECLASSIFIED
PA/HO, Department of State
E.O. 12958, as amended
June 9, 2005

70 L

174

215

①

1 NND 969042
By HRM/VSC Date 2/10/98

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

RSR FILES

April 25, 1972

~~SECRET~~

ATTENTION: MRS. MULLETT
Keep this study together.



COPIES TO:

S
J
S/S
S/S-S
S/PC
EUR
NEA
RF

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter to President from President
Bhutto

The Pakistan Embassy delivered to the Department on April 25 the attached letter to the President from President Bhutto. It acknowledges the President's letter of March 22, discusses President Bhutto's visit to Moscow and, noting the President's forthcoming visit to Moscow, asks his assistance in promoting a rapprochement between all parties concerned in the recent South Asian crisis.

The Department will shortly forward a suggested reply to President Bhutto.

Theodore L. Eliot Jr.
Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Letter from President Bhutto,
April 18

Drafted: NEA/PAF:JHHolmes:jmp
x21147 4/25/72

Concurrences: NEA/PAF - Mr. Laingeh
NEA - Mr. Van Hollenent

~~SECRET~~

MICROFILMED
S/S-I

FO L
XR
FO L
PAF - US
INDIA - PAF

(2)

NA, NSC, 24760,
President's Office,
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

~~SECRET~~

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI.

18 April 1972

Dear Mr. President,

I thank you for your letter of March 22, which was delivered to me by your Charge d'Affaires in Islamabad.

I am grateful to you for your concern for the well-being and security of the people of Pakistan and for the help you have offered my country in rebuilding our war-shattered economy. The assurance of your support at this critical juncture is most heartening.

I also thank you for your impressions of your historic visit to China, and for the outline of your talks and their significance. Your visit has not only paved the way to a healthier relationship with China but has considerably improved the prospect for world peace.

May I once again take this opportunity to discuss the situation in our sub-continent. I regret that I should have to deal with it at some length, but since you are shortly to visit Moscow I feel you may find this information of use in your discussions there.

On the 16th of March I went to Moscow principally to make a first-hand assessment of the intentions of the Soviet leadership towards the sub-continent. I also wanted to assure the Soviet leaders of our desire to live in peace and to seek an honourable settlement of our problems with India.

My impression is that in the short term the Soviet Union probably wants to see an early return to peace and the "normalization" of the situation in the sub-continent. The Soviet leaders showed considerable anxiety that we recognise 'Bangla Desh' and that I meet Mrs. Gandhi in order to negotiate a settlement of the problems that bedevil our relationship. But their desire for peace may be no more than a move in their efforts to consolidate their position in India and 'Bangla Desh'.

On the issue of prisoners of war, Mr. Kosygin read out from a letter of Mrs. Indira Gandhi her comment that she could not return our prisoners of war

DECLASSIFIED
PA/HO, Department of State
E.O. 12958, as amended
June 9, 2005

NA NSC,
President's Office,
Pakistan, Rawalpindi
پاکستان، راولپنڈی

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI

-2-

to augment Pakistan's war potential until she was satisfied as to Pakistan's peaceful intentions. I told both Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Brezhnev that I was resolved to work for peace between India and Pakistan and that if I intended otherwise there was no dearth of manpower available to join the armed forces in Pakistan.

I also gathered from the talks with Soviet leaders that the prisoners of war would not be returned until 'Bangla Desh' had been recognised. I told them quite candidly that 'Bangla Desh' had come into existence as a result of direct intervention by Indian armed forces and that it would be unrealistic to expect the people of Pakistan readily to accept the dismemberment of their country in this fashion. The question of recognition arouses deep emotions among our people. It was therefore essential for me to lay the ground-work for such an eventuality. I expressed my willingness at this stage to signify an "intent to recognise" 'Bangla Desh' and would like to meet Shaikh Mujibur Rahman to discuss with him this and other matters of mutual concern.

I told the Soviet leaders that they could greatly assist in preparing the climate for normalization of conditions and return to peace in the sub-continent by persuading India to release the prisoners of war immediately. I informed that it was wholly inappropriate for India to link the question of the release of prisoners of war with other political issues. They could not be used as hostages in brazen contravention of international conventions to which India was signatory.

The Indians are threatening the preservation of the tenuous peace that has been achieved; they have in the last month moved five additional Divisions to the West Pakistan border, and the Indian Chief of Staff has recently visited Moscow to replenish military equipment. Then too the Soviet Union and India have stepped up their subversive activities in both Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province.

We have nevertheless responded positively to Mrs. Gandhi's proposal that the emissaries of both countries should meet to prepare the way for a meeting between the two of us. I have left her to decide the time and place for the emissaries to meet.

NA NSC,
President's Office,
Rawalpindi
پاکستان، ریاست خواتین

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE,
RAWALPINDI

-3-

At the moment it appears that the prospects of any worthwhile negotiations with Shaikh Mujibur Rahman have diminished. The persecution and killing of the helpless Biharis continues - for no other reason than that they are federalists. Many thousands of Bengalis who are opposed to the secession of East Pakistan have been dubbed 'collaborators', consigned to concentration camps.

Moreover, Shaikh Mujibur Rahman seems determined, with the cooperation and collaboration of India, to try some 1500 prisoners of war for alleged "war crimes". This is a most disturbing development. If the 'Bangla Desh' authorities went forward with these trials they would indeed have very serious repercussions in Pakistan. There are over 400,000 Bengalis in West Pakistan. We have so far succeeded in ensuring that they are not maltreated in any way. But if the projected trials took place, they would generate such bitterness and resentment among our people that irreparable damage might be done to the prospects of establishing normal relations with India and 'Bangla Desh'.

Mr. President, the United States may be in a position to use its influence to prevent the Indian and 'Bangla Desh' authorities from going forward with the proposed trials. I shall be grateful for any assistance you can give us in this respect and for the influence you can use to promote a rapprochement between all the parties concerned so that a durable peace can be established in the sub-continent.

With warm personal regards,

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

His Excellency
Mr. Richard Nixon,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D.C.