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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
16 December 1971

WHITE HOUSE
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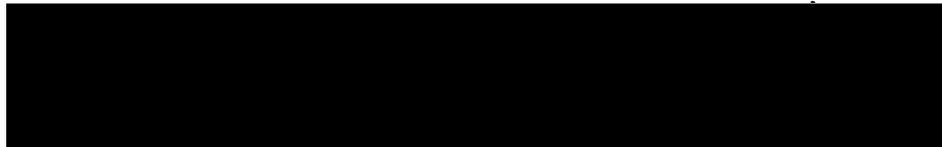
INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

India-Pakistan Situation Report
(As of 1200 EST)

The War Ends in East Pakistan and India Orders a
Unilateral Cease-fire on the Western Front

1. Prime Minister Gandhi told a cheering parliament today that West Pakistan forces in East Pakistan have unconditionally surrendered. Mrs. Gandhi said the surrender was signed in Dacca at 0600 EST, and added that Indian troops would not remain in Bangla Dosh any longer than they are needed. Although the prime minister's speech was entirely oriented toward the East Pakistan conflict, her declaration that India is fighting for limited aims may imply that the Indian Government is willing to negotiate the end of the war in the west, unless the Pakistan Government insists on fighting on.

2. In fact, the Indian Government has ordered an open-ended unilateral cease-fire along the western front as of 0930 EST tomorrow. According to the New Delhi press, Mrs. Gandhi said that she has instructed Foreign Minister Swaran Singh to announce the cease-fire in the United Nations today.



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operations" on the western front and would not attempt to seize West Pakistani territory. (This leaves open the possibility of attempting to take territory in Azad Kashmir, an area over which India has never formally relinquished claim.)

4. As Mrs. Gandhi spoke, Radio Pakistan announced that fighting had stopped in East Pakistan following an agreement between the local Indian and Pakistani commanders; the broadcast did not mention surrender. It is clear, however, that the Pakistanis must have agreed to Indian terms.

5. President Yahya Khan, in a defiant speech to the nation this morning, acknowledged a setback in the east, but said "if we fall back from one front, it does not mean that we have lost the war. We shall eventually conquer. The people of East Pakistan will continue to struggle against the oppression of the aggressor. We tell our brethren in the east: be patient, we will continue fighting." Apparently refusing to accept the loss of East Pakistan, Yahya is quoted as saying that he will promulgate a new constitution on 20 December that will apply to "both wings" of Pakistan; he pledged to continue the war with India until the occupied areas are taken back.

6. US officials in Dacca report that no one is in effective control of the situation. Crowds are roaming the streets shouting "Jai Bangla" and firing weapons in the air. Many people are being killed and wounded as a result of fighting between Bengalis and scattered Mujahid/Razakar/West Pakistani elements. Indian General Jacob has said he will impose martial law as soon as sufficient reinforcements arrive.

Yahya's Future

7. [REDACTED] Prime Minister designate Nurul Amin has heard speculation that President Yahya Khan may be removed. Amin thinks Yahya was a bad leader

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who brought Pakistan to its present situation and that his removal would be beneficial. Amin described Yahya as "one of the most hated men" in Pakistan. Amin believes that he will remain as prime minister, even if Yahya is deposed; he would like to see Sultan Khan removed as foreign secretary. Nurul Amin said he may visit China soon in order to appeal directly to Chinese leaders. Despite assurances of support from the Chinese ambassador in Islamabad and President Yahya's continued assurances that China will intervene, Amin does not believe that the Chinese will act to save Pakistan's position in East Pakistan.

Military Situation in the East

8. Even though Dacca has fallen sporadic fighting appears to be continuing in the more remote areas of the province. This is to be expected because the Indians had previously destroyed the Pakistani radio net in East Pakistan and many of the troops probably have not received word of General Niazi's surrender.

Military Situation in the West

9. Heavy fighting continues in the Sialkot area of West Pakistan.

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the Pakistani town of Shakargarh has been surrounded by Indian troops but has not yet fallen. Tanks have been used extensively in the area and casualties have been heavy on both sides.

10.

the Pakistanis are massing troops and equipment a short distance south of Lahore. the buildup might be in preparation for a large scale offensive in this area that would involve the Pakistani First Armored Division. This would be the first time one of the two Pakistani armored divisions has been committed to battle in its entirety. Previous use of tanks by the Pakistanis has been on a relatively limited scale.

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11. Other sectors of the front have been relatively quiet.

Military Aid to Pakistan

12. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a squadron of Jordanian F-104s was delivered to Pakistan on 13 December. The [REDACTED] the total number of aircraft supplied was twelve. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 11 F-104s landed at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, on 12-13 December enroute to Pakistan. Some of the planes had Jordanian pilots and others were reportedly guarded by Pakistanis.

13. Foreign Minister Dhutto announced today that his country would consider asking the US for military assistance if the war with India continues in the west. He said his authority for a military aid request would be two multilateral defense treaties and other bilateral agreements with the US. He said, however, that the door was still open for political negotiations toward a comprehensive settlement with India.

Mrs. Gandhi's Letter to President Nixon

14. Mrs. Gandhi has written a letter to President Nixon that was released to the press this morning. The letter defends India's actions in East Pakistan and asserts that the war could have been averted if the great powers had realized that the people of Bangla Desh were being deprived of their life and liberty, "not to mention the pursuit of happiness" and had searched for a genuine basis for reconciliation. She charges that the war could have been avoided "if the power, influence, and authority of all the states and above all the United States had gotten Sheik Mujibur Rahman released." She says that India's plea for the release of Mujib was not considered practical because the "US could not urge policies which might lead to the overthrow of Yahya Khan." She asks, "was the release or even secret negotiations with Mujib more disastrous than the waging of a war?"

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[REDACTED] adds that India has been deeply hurt by "innuendos and insinuations" that India provoked the crisis and thwarted the emergence of Bangladesh. She expresses hope that the President "at least let me know where precisely we have been wrong before your representatives deal with us with such harshness of language." The letter reiterates that India seeks no territory of what was East Pakistan and "does not want any territory of West Pakistan."

Bangla Desh

15. [REDACTED]

India has been pressing several governments to recognize the "People's Republic of Bangla Desh." The countries approached--Syria, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Mauritius--remain uncommitted.

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Chinese Accusations

16. China has strongly hinted to India that the surrender of the Pakistani Army in East Pakistan should now bring the war to an end. In an official statement issued 16 December, Peking for the first time accused India of wanting not only to annex East Pakistan, a standard Chinese charge, but also of desiring "to annihilate all of Pakistan." The Chinese also have lodged a protest accusing Indian troops of intruding into Chinese territory from Sikkim on 10 December for reconnaissance purposes. New Delhi today rejected the Chinese protest as "totally without foundation."

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17. Peking is still basically relying on political moves to deter further Indian military action in the west, however. Overall, China's statements and actions concerning the crisis in the subcontinent remain restrained. Although the

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16 December statement says that if New Delhi's aggressive action is not checked all other countries adjacent to India will be in danger, it at no point explicitly portrays Indian actions as a threat to Chinese security. This restraint, coupled with earlier remarks by a Chinese diplomat in Islamabad virtually discounting the possibility of direct Chinese military intervention, reflect Peking's appreciation of its limited ability to alter the course of events in the subcontinent and its apprehension about increased Soviet pressure should China drastically increase its support for Islamabad.

At the UN:

18. The Security Council, which was scheduled to convene at 1030 this morning, has not yet begun debate. Intensive negotiations are taking place in private, but these are complicated by the fact that there are five draft resolutions formally before the Council and a sixth, offered by Canada, is being circulated informally among Council members. The primary focus remains the British-French draft, because it may be the least susceptible to a great-power veto. It couples a call for a cease-fire on all fronts with relatively non-contentious language on prospects for an East Pakistan political settlement.

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