

C(S-HK-E339a)

## MEMORANDUM

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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November 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT:

Information Items

India-Pakistan Fighting: Reporting since yesterday sheds little new light on the nature of the continuing military actions along the borders of East Pakistan. The Paks are continuing to charge India with aggression, and Yahya has taken some further moves in preparation for war such as the calling up of all reservists and having his navy assume control of the merchant fleet. Mrs. Gandhi, meanwhile, has stated to the Indian Parliament that the Pak charges of Indian involvement with the guerrillas are "wholly untrue" and that the Indian troops are under orders not to cross borders, except in self-defense. In the remainder of her speech she seemed at pains to give an impression of restraint and calmness and said that "peaceful negotiation and reconciliation" is the best way out of the present situation.

It seems increasingly clear that the military action in East Pakistan is probably not yet the all-out, mainly Indian offensive that the Paks have described.

Also, it is hard to believe that Mrs. Gandhi would make a flat public denial if division level Indian attacks were being made with the intent of driving on East Pakistani cities. On the other hand, there has been a significantly increased level of fighting in the border areas of East Pakistan and it does not seem likely that the guerrillas could do this by themselves.

In short, there has been a sharply increased level of Indian-assisted guerrilla attacks with President Yahya dramatizing them to gain international attention and Mrs. Gandhi trying to project an opposite non-belligerent image.

NSA review completed

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*Attached to Severance from Saunders for HAK 23 Nov. 1971*