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AND THE SE	ING ARE THE 1 CRETARY FROM SE WERE DELI SSY.	N PRIME NI	NISTER BHUTT	O DATED JU	INE 13,
2. QUOTE:	DEAR MR. P	RESIDENT,			
INTEREST E AND STABIL SINCE YOU RELATING T TO WAIT UM	N WANTING TO BOTH TO THE S ITY OF OUR V HAVE BEEN PR TO EUROPE AND ITIL YOU RETU	SECURITY OF AST AND PO REOCCUPIED THE MIDDO IRNED HOME	F PAKISTAN A DPULOUS REGI WITH MOMENT LE EAST, I T AND HAD TIM	ND TO THE ON. HOWEN OUS ISSUES HOUGHT IT IE TO ADDRE	PEACE ER, BETTER SS
YOUR ATTEN PEACE.	ITION TO OTHE	R MATTERS	OF IMPORTAN	ICE TO WORL	.D
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ON MAY 22, SECRETARY KISSINGER AND NY MINISTER OF STATE FOR DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR. AZIZ AHMED, MET IN ANKARA. IN THE COURSE OF THAT MEETING, DR. KISSINGER INFORMED MR. AHMED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN TO SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKU IN VERY STRONG TERMS TO THE EFFECT THAT

AN INDIAN ATTACK ON PAKISTAN WITH SOVIET EQUIPMENT WOULD Invite a response from the united states.

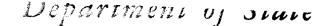
IT IS AN ESTABLISHED FACT THAT PRACTICALLY ALL OF INDIA'S ARMED FORCES ARE EQUIPPED WITH SUVIET WEAPONS, MOREOVER, IN VIEW OF THE INDO-SOVIET TREATY OF 1971, AN ARMED ATTACK ON PAKISTAN BY INDIA WOULD NECESSARILY CARRY SOVIET AP-PROVAL AND, INDEED, DIRECT INVOLVEMENT.

AS YOU ARE AWARE, MR. PRESIDENT, MY GOVERNMENT IS DETER-MINED TO FURTHER THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH INDIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SIMLA AGREEMENT. WE WILL SUSTAIN THIS POLICY AS LONG AS IT IS RECIPROCATED BY INDIA. NEVERTHELESS, OUR CONSIDERED ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION, AS MR. AHMED CONVEYED TO DR. KISSINGER, IS THAT WAR COULD COME AT ANY TIME THE SOVIET UNION WANTED IT, AS INDIA WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN CONTRIVING AN EXCUSE FOR STARTING ONE. FOR INSTANCE, INDIA COULD BRAZENLY ASSERT ITS SPURIOUS CLAIM TO THE WHOLE OF THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF INDIA AND PREPARE THE STAGE FUR AN INVASION OF AZAD KASHMIR ON THE PRETEXT THAT IT SOUGHT TO RELEASE IT FROM PAKISTAN'S CONTROL. ALL-OUT HOSTILITIES WOULD BE INELUCTABLE RESULT.

DR. KISSINGER ASKED WHAT CHINA WOULD DO IN THE EVENT OF AN INDIAN ATTACK ON PAKISTAN. WE HAD PUT PRECISELY THE SAME QUESTION TO THE CHINESE VICE-PREMIER WHEN HE VISITED PAKISTAN RECENTLY. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ARE CONSIDERING THIS QUESTION BUT HAVE GIVEN US NO ANSWER SO FAR. THEIR DECISION IN THIS REGARD CANNOT BUT BE INFLUENCED BY THE EXISTENCE OF THE INDO-SUVIET TREATY. THE CUNSTRAINT ON CHINA'S FREEDOM TO ACT AS A RESULT OF THIS TREATY WAS TRAGICALLY DEMONSTRATED WHEN INDIA ATTACKED PAKISTAN IN 1971. CHINA WAS HAMSTRUNG WHILE PAKISTAN WAS DISMEMBERED

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WITH SOVIET INSTIGATION AND SUPPORT.

DR. KISSINGER THEN ENQUIRED WHETHER HE COULD ASK CHINA WHAT EXACTLY IT WOULD DO IF INDIA ATTACKED PAKISTAN AND ADDED THAT, IF CHINA POSED THE COUNTER-QUESTION AS TO WHAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD OU IN SUCH AN EVENT, IT WOULD BE INFORMED THAT IF INDIA ATTACKED PAKISTAN AND CHINA CAME TO ITS HELP AND IF IN CONSEQUENCE THE SOVIET UNION ATTACKED CHINA, THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO STAY UUT OF THAT SITUATION.

TO PAKISTAN, CONFRONTED WITH AN OVERWHELMING MILITARY THREAT FROM INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN, BOTH ARMED AND BACKED BY THE SOVIET UNION, THIS FURTHRIGHT ENUNCIATION OF THE DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO WARD OFF A DANGER OF VAST AND INCALCULABLE PROPORTIONS COMES AS MOST WELCOME NEWS,

I AM DEEPLY IMPRESSED, MR. PRESIDENT, BY THE CLARITY WITH WHICH YOUR ADMINISTRATION HAS PERCEIVED THE IMPLICATIONS OF AN ATTACK ON PAKISTAN FOR THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF THIS STRATEGIC AREA. THIS UNCLOUDED APPRDACH ENVISAGES, FOR THE FIRST TIME, A CONCRETE STER WHICH COULD RESTORE THE POWER EQUILIBRIUM IN THIS REGION. THIS COULD OPERATE AS A DECISIVE FACTOR IN MAINTAINING PEACE, DEFENDING FREE-DOM AND PROTECTING THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES IN SOUTH ASIA. IF THE SHADUW OF BLACKMAIL AND THE SPECTRE OF WAR WHICH DARKEN THE HORIZONS OF THIS STRIFE-TORN SUBCONTINENT WERE REMOVED FROM IT, A TURNING POINT WOULD BE REACHED IN ITS HISTORY. THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER WOULD GAIN REALITY AND THE STRUCTURE OF PEACE IN OUR CRITI-CAL REGION COULD BECOME TRULY INVIOLABLE.

WITH BEST WISHES AND WARM REGARDS, YOURS SINCERELY, Zulfikar ali bhutto, End Quote

3. QUOTE: MY DEAR DR. KISSINGER,

AS YOU ARE AWARE, WE HAVE DONE, AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO, OUR UTMOST TO NORMALIZE OUR RELATIONS WITH INDIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SIML<u>A AGRE</u>EMENT. NEVERTHELESS, WE

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ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED OVER THE PROBABILITY OF INDIA DECIDING TO LAUNCH A WAR AGAINST PAKISTAN IN WHICH AFGHANI-STAN WILL ALSO JOIN AND BOTH WILL HAVE THE FULL BACKING OF THE SOVIET UNION. SUCH A WAR COULD COME AT ANY TIME THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD JUDGE THE SITUATION TO BE RIPE. IT IS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT IT COULD BE UNLEASHED WITHIN TWO YEARS, BEFORE WE HAVE HAD THE TIME ADEQUATELY TO STRENGTHEN OUR DEFENCE CAPABILITY. INDIA COULD CONTRIVE A PRETEXT ON THE BASIS OF ITS BRAZEN CLAIM TO JAMMU AND KASHMIR BEING AN INTEGRAL PART OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN BEING IN CONTROL OF A PART OF THE STATE.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, I WAS RELIEVED TO HEAR FROM MR. AZIZ AHMED WHAT YOU HAD TOLD GROMYKO AND WHAT YOU PLANNED TO TELL THE CHINESE ABOUT THE ACTION THE UNITED STATES WOULD TAKE IF THE SUVIET UNION ATTACKED CHINA FOR COMING TO PAKISTAN'S ASSISTANCE IN THE EVENT OF AN INDIAN ATTACK ON PAKISTAN,

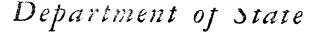
THIS LATTER ASSURANCE COULD HAVE A MOST VITAL BEARING ON THE BALANCE OF POWER IN ASIA AND FORTIFY PEACE AND STABIL-ITY IN THIS CRITICAL REGION. I CONSIDER IT TO BE THE MOST EFFECTIVE COUNTER YET TO THE SOVIET AMBITIONS TO EXTEND HEGEMONY TO PAKISTAN, WHICH IS THE IMMEDIATE TARGET OF THESE AMBITIONS, IT COMES AS A REFRESHING INDICATION OF A NEW DETERMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES AUMINISTRATION TO SAFEGUARD PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA.

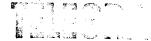
I SHOULD ALSO ADD THAT THIS ASSURANCE IS ANOTHER MANIFESTA-TION OF THE FAR-SIGHTED STATESMANSHIP AND CLARITY OF VISION WHICH I, LIKE MANY OTHERS, HAVE ALWAYS ADMIKED IN YOU. ONLY SUCH A PERCEPTION OF LURKING DANGERS AND THE UN-DISTRACTED WILL TO AVERT THEM CAN TRANSFORM THE FEARS OF TODAY INTO THE HOPES OF TOMORROW.

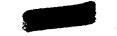
MAY I SUGGEST THAT THE QUESTION OF CHINESE ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN IN THE EVENT OF AN INDIAN ATTACK MAY BE TAKEN UP WITH THE CHINESE LEADERS WHILE THEY ARE STILL CONSIDERING THE ISSUE, IT COULD HELP THEM MATERIALLY TO DECIDE WHAT CHINA COULD DO IN THAT CONTINGENCY.

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MR. AZIZ AHMED TOOK UP THE MATTER OF THE CHINESE PRESS ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES WITH THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR ALONG THE LINES INDICATED BY YOU SOUN AFTER HIS RETURN FROM ANKAKA.

WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS, YOURS SINCERELY, ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO. END QUOTE. KISSINGER



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