

MEMORANDUM

NSS, State Dept. reviews completed

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION  
(Outside System)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS) with XGDS attachment

July 10, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: DR. KISSINGER  
FROM: HAROLD H. SAUNDERS *hhs*  
SUBJECT: Bhutto's Return Dinner

Attached at Tab A is the message for President Bhutto which you asked me to draft.

25X1  
25X1

At Tab B is a State Department telegram reporting a similar approach to our Charge in Islamabad. State Department will have to provide him with guidance through normal channels. Once we have your guidance on the private message, I could give Sisco something simple to send out through normal channels as guidance for responding to the Pakistani Foreign Secretary's approach as a supplement to the direct message.

I recognize that you have essentially given the Ambassador his answer. However, as you were talking one compromise occurred to me. Would the President be more willing to attend a small working dinner with Bhutto and the immediate members of his party at Blair House than a ceremonial affair? A working dinner like this would take much less of the President's time than a ceremonial function, and it would have greater public appeal for its appearance of substance and intimacy. Just a thought.

Recommendation: That you authorize sending the message at Tab A to our Charge in Islamabad

25X1  
25X1

Approve *HK* Other \_\_\_\_\_

Do you want me to show this to Khan before sending? Do you want simply to give him a copy?

Show before sending \_\_\_\_\_  
Send and give him a copy \_\_\_\_\_  
Do neither \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS) with XGDS attachment.

25X1

July 10, 1973

25X1

SECRET (XGDS-3)

TO: ISLAMABAD/CHARGE SOBER/EYES ONLY

FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE/HENRY A. KISSINGER/K

Please deliver the following message directly to President Bhutto from President Nixon:

"Dear Mr. President:

"On the eve of your departure for Washington, I want you to know how much I am looking forward to our meetings and discussions. Every effort has been made here to assure that the world will see that we are receiving you as an ally and a close friend. Everything about your program, I am sure, will convey to you and your party and to your countrymen the warmth of feeling we have for you and for Pakistan.

"As you have said through Ambassador Khan, there is much for us to talk about, and our schedule allows ample time for open and confidential discussions between us on any subject of concern to you. As you know, the United States is prepared to do what it can to help strengthen the independence and viability of Pakistan in a variety of fields where we cooperate, and I shall welcome your views on the best approaches to the present situation.

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SECRET (XGDS-3)

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Dr. Kissinger has discussed with Ambassador Khan our thoughts on these talks as well as many of the details of your visit. We deeply respect him as a person and as a highly competent diplomat, and once again we have enjoyed the opportunity to work closely with him.

"I believe that the last details of your program are now falling into place, and I know that you will find them satisfactory. I am sorry if there has been misunderstanding about my participation in a social event hosted by you. *and I want to assure you that Ambassador Khan has done every thing humanly possible in this respect* Because of the size of the diplomatic corps in Washington and the large number of visitors both to the United Nations and to Washinton, I have reluctantly had to adopt a practice of limiting my social engagements. In doing this I have also been conscious of the importance of concentrating on substance rather than ceremony during these visits. I did consent last year during my visit to Tehran to attend a dinner to be hosted by the Shah during his visit here, but that will remain as one of very few exceptions to my normal practice.

"I am confident that you will feel the warmth of our friendship and the closeness of our relationship throughout your visit here. Until Mrs. Nixon and I have the pleasure of welcoming

SECRET (XGDS-3)

SECRET (XGDS-3)

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you and Begum Bhutto at the White House, I wish you both and your party a safe journey. I attach the highest importance to our talks, and I am certain that they will be productive for both of us.

Sincerely, Richard Nixon"

The State Department will be sending you instructions separately for responding to Foreign Secretary's approach which you reported in Islamabad 5479.

SECRET (XGDS-3)



# Department of State

## TELEGRAM

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSD-00 NSCE-00 /026 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9945

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 5479

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP, PK  
SUBJECT: BHUTTO VISIT: PAK DINNER

SUMMARY. GOP HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT PRES NIXON IS EXPECTED TO ATTEND BANQUET TO BE HOSTED BY SHAH OF IRAN... DURING LATTER'S FORTHCOMING STATE VISIT. GOP MAKES URGENT APPEAL FOR SIMILAR HONOR TO BE ACCORDED TO PRES BHUTTO DURING HIS STATE VISIT NEXT WEEK. FOR REASONS DISCUSSED IN THIS MESSAGE, I RECOMMEND THAT CAREFUL CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO PAK REQUEST WHICH IS ADMITTEDLY EXTRAORDINARY. END SUMMARY.

1. GOP FOREIGN SECRETARY AGHA SHAHI, NEWLY ARRIVED FROM PEKING WHERE HE HAD BEEN AMBASSADOR, ASKED ME TO SEE HIM URGENTLY MORNING JULY 9. HE APOLOGIZED FOR CALLING ME ON SUCH SHORT NOTICE AND REMARKED I WAS FIRST FOREIGN DIPLOMAT HE WAS SEEKING IN NEW CAPACITY AS FONSEC. (DEAN OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS WAS DUE IN SHORTLY.) HE FELT HE HAD TO BREAK PROTOCOL BECAUSE OF URGENT MATTER REGARDING PRES BHUTTO'S STATE VISIT TO US NEXT WEEK.

2. YESTERDAY, FONSEC WENT ON, GOP HAD RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM AMBASSADOR SULTAN KHAN REPORTING HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT PRES NIXON WILL ATTEND RETURN BANQUET BEING GIVEN BY SHAH OF IRAN DURING LATTER'S STATE VISIT THE WEEK FOLLOWING BHUTTO. WHEN INQUIRING SOME

HHS

- ANDERSON \_\_\_\_\_
- HOLDRIDGE \_\_\_\_\_
- HORMATS \_\_\_\_\_
- JORDEN \_\_\_\_\_
- KENNEDY \_\_\_\_\_
- LEHMAN \_\_\_\_\_
- LEVINE \_\_\_\_\_
- NEGROPONTE \_\_\_\_\_
- OBLEN \_\_\_\_\_
- RATLIFF \_\_\_\_\_
- RONDON \_\_\_\_\_
- SAUNDERS \_\_\_\_\_
- SONNENFELDT \_\_\_\_\_
- V. I. G. \_\_\_\_\_
- WALSH \_\_\_\_\_

Coral  
ED.



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TIME AGO ABOUT POSSIBLE RETURN BANQUET BY BHUTTO, SULTAN KHAN HAD BEEN TOLD NOT ONLY THAT IT NOT NORMAL FOR PRES NIXON TO ATTEND BUT ALSO THAT VISITS BY BHUTTO AND SHAH WERE BEING GENERALLY TREATED IN SAME WAY; GOP HAD THEREUPON DROPPED IDEA OF RECIPROCAL BANQUET.

3. FONSEC THEN EMBARKED ON STATEMENT OF RATIONALE FOR GOP HOPE THAT SIMILAR TREATMENT WILL BE ACCORDED BHUTTO AS BEING PLANNED FOR SHAH. FIRST HE REMARKED THAT GOP HAS THE VERY HIGHEST REGARD FOR THE SHAH. IT WELCOMED EVERY HONOR ACCORDED TO THE SHAH AND REJOICED WITH HIM. THE PROBLEM WAS THAT PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN, WHO HAVE GONE THROUGH SO MANY SHOCKS AND TRIBULATIONS IN PAST COUPLE OF YEARS, MAY MISUNDERSTAND. THEY MAY CONCLUDE THAT PAKISTAN'S STATURE HAS BEEN SO DIMINISHED THAT EVEN ITS VERY BEST FRIENDS (READ US) DO NOT CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO ACCORD PAKISTAN'S LEADER THE TREATMENT WHICH IS ACCORDED TO OTHERS (READ IRAN'S LEADER). STATING THAT PAKISTAN IS STILL SOMEWHAT IN A STATE OF SHOCK AFTER THE DISMEMBERMENT OF 1971, FONSEC NOTED THAT LTP AND BHUTTO NEED TO CARRY PUBLIC OPINION WITH THEM ON MANY ISSUES. THAT VERY DAY BHUTTO WAS SENDING TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY A REQUEST FOR SPECIAL RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD AUTHORIZE HIM TO RECOGNIZE BANGLADESH AT A TIME HE JUDGED APPROPRIATE. POTENTIAL RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH IS A HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE AS I (FONSEC SAID) WAS WELL AWARE. HE NOTED THAT SOME PARTIES AND STRONG BODY OF PUBLIC OPINION OPPOSE BANGLADESH RECOGNITION ON HISTORIC AND IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS. BHUTTO'S MOVE TO SEEK MANDATE ON RECOGNITION FROM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WOULD PROBABLY BE APPLAUDED ABROAD BUT IT MIGHT VERY WELL COMPOUND BHUTTO'S PROBLEMS AT HOME ESPECIALLY IF PAK PEOPLE COME TO THINK THAT USG DOES NOT CONSIDER NECESSARY TO HONOR HIM DURING STATE VISIT IN SAME WAY THAT WE WILL BE HONORING HEAD OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRY.

4. FONSEC THEN CAME BACK TO POINT HE HAD MADE EARLIER IN CONVERSATION, AND EMPHASIZED STRONGLY THAT GOP IS WELL AWARE OF MULTIPLE HEAVY PRESSURES ON PRES NIXON

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AND WISHES TO DO NOTHING WHATSOEVER THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED AS PUTTING PRESSURE ON USG ON QUESTION OF ATTENDANCE AT RECIPROCAL BANQUET. GOP VERY DEEPLY APPRECIATES THE SUBSTANTIAL HELP PAKISTAN HAS RECEIVED FROM USG. THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT OUR CLOSE FRIENDSHIP. BUT, FONSEC CONTINUED, THERE COULD BE A

PSYCHOLOGICAL REACTION AMONG PEOPLE HERE REGARDING BHUTTO'S STATE VISIT THAT COULD WEAKEN BHUTTO'S POSITION. HE COULD MAKE THIS APPROACH, FONSEC SAID, ONLY TO A PERSON LIKE MYSELF WHOM HE KNEW AND WHO UNDERSTOOD PAKISTAN'S PROBLEMS.

5. I RESPONDED THAT I WOULD REPORT HIS APPROACH URGENTLY. I DID APPRECIATE THE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS WITH WHICH BHUTTO IS DEALING AND PARTICULARLY I ADMIRER HIS DETERMINATION AND COURAGE IN MOVING AHEAD ON THE TROUBLESOME PROBLEM OF RECOGNIZING BANGLADESH, WHICH HE AND I HAD DISCUSSED ONLY A FEW DAYS AGO. I RECALLED THAT I HAD INQUIRED A SHORT TIME BACK, AT GOP BEHEST, AND HAD DETERMINED THAT THERE WERE NO PLANS FOR SHAH TO ADDRESS JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS, A PROPOSAL ON WHICH GOP HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN ON BHUTTO. AS FOR QUESTION OF RECIPROCAL BANQUET, I STATED I COULD NOT SAY ANYTHING EXCEPT THAT IT WAS STANDING PROCEDURE THAT PRES NIXON DID NOT ATTEND SUCH BANQUETS BY VISITING CHIEFS OF STATE. OBVIOUSLY I WAS NOT IN POSITION TO MAKE ANY RESPONSE BUT I WOULD INFORM MY GOVERNMENT PROMPTLY OF GOP CONCERN. IN RESPONSE MY QUERY, FONSEC ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BHUTTO WAS PERSONALLY AWARE OF PLANS FOR PRES NIXON TO ATTEND SHAH'S BANQUET, ALTHOUGH FONSEC DID NOT SAY SO (AND I DID NOT ASK HIM) I INFERRED THAT FONSEC'S APPROACH TO ME WAS BEING MADE WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE OF PRES BHUTTO.

6. WE HAVE A POTENTIALLY VERY TOUCHY PROBLEM IN ALL THIS. GOP IS PROBABLY CORRECT THAT AT LEAST SOME PEOPLE IN PAKISTAN WILL DRAW INVIDIOUS COMPARISONS IF BHUTTO FAILS TO BE ACCORDED HONORS EQUAL TO THOSE TO BE ACCORDED TO SHAH. I DO BELIEVE IT TO BE IN OUR INTEREST TO DO WHAT WE REASONABLY CAN AT THIS TIME TO

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AVDID WEAKENING BHUTTO'S HAND AS HE EMBARKS ON THE  
HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL COURSE WHICH SHOULD LEAD TO  
RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH AND, WE HOPE, TO SOME  
MEANINGFUL RECONCILIATION WITH INDIA. (GGX HAS  
SUGGESTED OFFICIAL TALKS WITH INDIANS HERE THE WEEK  
BHUTTO RETURNS FROM VISIT TO US.) I THEREFORE RECOMMEND  
THAT CAREFUL CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO GPO'S SPECIAL  
REQUEST REGARDING PRES NIXON'S ATTENDANCE AT A BANQUET  
WHICH BHUTTO COULD HOST IN WASHINGTON ON JULY 18.  
SOBER