

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION (Outside System)

SECRET (XGDS)

July 17, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: DR. KISSINGER  
FROM: HAROLD H. SAUNDERS *Hal*  
SUBJECT: Follow-up Message to Ambassador Moynihan

Attached is a follow-up message to Ambassador Moynihan [Tab A] which takes further two subjects addressed in the quick message to him last night [Tab B]. That was designed to let him know, in connection with his meeting today with Prime Minister Gandhi, that nothing had taken place here which changed the instructions he received in San Clemente.

--The attached includes a paragraph to tell him what you have done on the question of food for India. As you know, it has been extremely difficult to get any answers on food export questions while the world-wide review and the Phase IV decisions are still up in the air.

--It also mentions the point that Kaul made about guarantees for Pakistan's integrity. I had deliberately omitted this from last night's message because I thought perhaps you would want to keep this idea to yourself until you had had a chance to consider it and perhaps discuss it with the Shah. However, there is a paragraph in the attached on this which you can use if you decide to inform Moynihan now.

Recommendation: That you send the attached message to Moynihan if you feel that something additional is required.

Send it \_\_\_\_\_

MORI/CDF C05097890

Kill it \_\_\_\_\_

XGDS-3  
DECLAS-Impossible to Determine Date,  
BYAUTH-Dr. Henry A. Kissinger

SECRET (XGDS)

DOS, NSS,  
review  
completed

SECRET (XGDS)

July 17, 1973

25X1

TO: NEW DELHI/AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN/EYES ONLY  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE/HENRY A. KISSINGER

1. I wanted to get my short message of last night out to you in a hurry so that you would be assured that nothing in my conversation with Ambassador Kaul affected anything you might say to Prime Minister Gandhi in your meeting today. However, there are a couple of more detailed points I want you to have.
2. As I indicated last night, the world-wide review of our food situation and the decisions in connection with Phase IV are still very much in process. A decision on how much food India might buy would not normally come out of those reviews for another several weeks. However, I recognize full well the political problem which you have described and agree we should avoid it if we can. Therefore, I have called Secretary Butz and asked him <sup>what</sup> ~~whether there is an~~ amount of food <sup>we can make</sup> ~~that seems likely to be~~ available to India no matter what our decisions are. He has promised me an answer by the end of today.

XGDS-3

DECLAS-Impossible to Determine Date.

BYAUTH-Dr. Henry A. Kissinger

SECRET (XGDS)

MR. TAMEO

0 170131Z JUL 73 ZYH ZFF-1 ZFF-4  
FM THE WHITE HOUSE

25X1

TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

SECRET [REDACTED] EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY WH31853

25X1

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

TO: NEW DELHI/AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN/EYES ONLY  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE/HENRY A. KISSINGER

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE (NEW DELHI 086). I UNDERSTAND FULLY THE POLITICAL POINT YOU ARE MAKING ABOUT OUR HANDLING OF THE INDIAN FOOD REQUEST. UNFORTUNATELY, THE QUANTITY IS SO LARGE THAT WE JUST HAVE TO GET THROUGH THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS OVER THE NEXT WEEK TO TEN DAYS BEFORE WE WILL KNOW WHERE WE STAND ON FUTURE EXPORTS. WE SHALL BEAR YOUR WARNING CAREFULLY IN MIND AND HOPE THAT THIS DECISION-MAKING PERIOD IS SHORT ENOUGH AS TO DEPRIVE THE INDIANS OF ANY REAL ARGUMENT THAT WE HAVE HELD OUT ON THEM.

2. THERE WAS NOTHING SIGNIFICANT FROM MY MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR KAUL WHICH WOULD AFFECT YOUR TALK WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. HE DID RAISE THE FOOD REQUEST WHICH HE HAD EARLIER IN THE WEEK PUT TO SECRETARY RUTZ. I POINTED OUT THAT WE ARE IN A PERIOD OF MAKING DECISIONS ON OUR EXPORT PROGRAM BUT SAID THAT, INsofar AS POLITICAL JUDGMENT PREVAILS, THE INDIANS WOULD HAVE A HIGH PRIORITY. I INDICATED THAT POLITICAL JUDGMENT MAY NOT PREVAIL SINCE OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE COMPLEX AND THAT WE JUST DO NOT HAVE AN ANSWER THIS WEEK. ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, HE FELT THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT FAVORS NO DECISION ON FUTURE AID UNTIL OUR WHOLE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IS IN PLACE. HE FAVORS A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH. I SIMPLY INDICATED THAT YOU WOULD BE CARRYING FORWARD THESE DISCUSSIONS IN NEW DELHI. HE CAME IN PRIMARILY TO PAINT HIS PICTURE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE AREA FROM THE PERSIAN GULF THROUGH SOUTH ASIA ON THE EVE OF WHAT WE HAD ORIGINALLY THOUGHT WOULD BE A VISIT BY PRESIDENT BHUTTO NEXT WEEK AND THE SHAH'S VISIT THE FOLLOWING WEEK. ON THESE ISSUES, HE TOOK A LINE WHICH IS FAMILIAR TO YOU.

WARM REGARDS.

\* \* \* \* \* W H S R C O M M E N T \* \* \* \* \*

HAK, SCOWCROFT, HOWE, RODMAN, MCFARLANE

PSN:037971 RECALLED  
PAGE 01

TOR:198/01:50Z

DTG:170131Z JUL 73

\*\*\*\*\* S E C R E T \*\*\*\*\* COPY

\*\*\*\*\* S E C R E T \*\*\*\*\* S COPY

\*\*\*\*\* S E C R E T \*\*\*\*\* S COPY

XDDG-3  
DECLAS-DATE IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE.  
AUTH-DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER  
600