

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 52947  
By R NARA Date 5-7-10



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

*Pakistan*

October 4, 1978

Chris:

I've beefed up the Pakistan cable along the lines we discussed. Have not reviewed the changes with NEA. Would propose to do so after you've seen them.

NEA's original version and last night's evening reading with the President's comments are also attached for your information.

*A.L.O.*  
Steve

Authority NND 529477  
By RAR Date 5-7-10

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY  
SECRETARY OF STATE

The Secretary made clear our continuing concern over Pakistani intentions with respect to nuclear explosives and reminded him of U.S. legislation and Administration policy on non-proliferation. He said we are proceeding with resumption of aid on the assumption that the GOP ~~has~~ will not acquire a nuclear explosive capability.

SIGNATURE  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

TO: JNYE  
MHUMPHREYS  
/WE: MLISSFELTRANCES  
ARAPHEL

MEDIATE ACTION ADDRESSES  
PRIORITY, KABUL PRIORITY, LONDON  
PRIORITY

K [are now in a position to resume aid programs and to consider military sales.]

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TIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND  
AND RESUME OUR NORMAL  
ITH PAKISTAN. [FURTHER  
U IN SEPTTEL.]

N AS POSSIBLE THE  
TOTALING 37 MILLION  
DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS

RIDER

4. YOU MAY ALSO INFORM GOP THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO COMMIT 40 MILLION DOLLARS IN NEW PL-480 FUNDS AND ARE RESERVING AN ADDITIONAL 40 MILLION DOLLARS WHICH IN TOTAL CAN PROVIDE PAKISTAN WITH ABOUT 500,000 TONS OF WHEAT AND 34,000 TONS OF VEGETABLE OIL. THESE TOTALS ARE OF COURSE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS WHICH AMONG OTHER THINGS WOULD PROVIDE ASSURANCES THAT PAKISTAN IS EMBARKED ON A COURSE WHICH WILL LEAD TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ESSENTIAL FOOD STUFFS. DETAILED NEGOTIATING INSTRUCTIONS WILL BE SENT YOU BY SEPTTEL.

- DN
- MH *W*
- JS *W*
- JN *W*
- MG *W*
- MH *W*
- JM *W*
- ML *W*
- BA *W*
- AR *W*
- JF
- CS *W*
- TT *W*
- JM
- RZ *W*
- S/S-0

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RIDER 2

You should stress that we are concerned about Pakistan's intentions with respect to nuclear explosives and will carefully monitor Pakistan's activities. You should make it clear that should Pakistan develop an indigenous nuclear explosive capability, or acquire reprocessing or enrichment equipment or technology from some other country, we would have to review immediately our overall relationship.

SIGNATURE \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
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TO: JNYE NAME  
 MHUMPHREYS  
 FROM: MLISSFELT RANCES  
 SUBJECT: ARAPHEL

IMMEDIATE ACTION ADDRESSES  
 PRIORITY, KABUL PRIORITY, LONDON  
 PRIORITY

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RIDER 1

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- TT *wt*
- JM
- RZ *wt*
- S/S-0

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CLASSIFICATION  
SPECIAL CHARGES

NEA/PAB:MHORNBLow:DE  
10/3/78 EXT. 22441

NAME  
TEL EXT.

NEA:WCRAWFORD

NAME

AID:JSULLIVAN  
DES/NET:MGUHN  
L:JMICHEL CLEARANCES  
H:BATWOOD

NAME

T/D:JNYE  
PM:MHUMPHREYS  
EUR/WE:MLISSFELT FRANCES  
S/P:ARAPHEL

NAME

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION

IMMEDIATE ISLAMABAD, PARIS IMMEDIATE ACTION ADDRESSES

PRIORITY TEHRAN, NEW DELHI PRIORITY, KABUL PRIORITY, LONDON  
PRIORITY, JIDDAH PRIORITY, OTTAWA PRIORITY

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, EAID, MASS, MNUC, SHUM, PK

SUBJECT: PAK-US RELATIONS

*are now in a position to resume aid programs and to consider military sales.*

1. FOR ISLAMABAD - SECRETARY TOLD AGHA SHAHI IN NEW YORK OCT 2 THAT WE HAVE COMPLETED CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND NOW WISH TO MOVE AHEAD EXPEDITIOUSLY AND RESUME OUR NORMAL AID AND MILITARY SALES RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN. [FURTHER DETAILS OF DISCUSSION WILL BE SENT YOU IN SEPTEL.]

*Insert from p 2*

3. YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO SIGN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE THREE REMAINING FY-77 AID AGREEMENTS TOTALING 37 MILLION DOLLARS. AID WILL BE PROVIDING MORE DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS BY SEPTEL.

*RIDER*

4. YOU MAY ALSO INFORM GOP THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO COMMIT 40 MILLION DOLLARS IN NEW PL-480 FUNDS AND ARE RESERVING AN ADDITIONAL 40 MILLION DOLLARS WHICH IN TOTAL CAN PROVIDE PAKISTAN WITH ABOUT 500,000 TONS OF WHEAT AND 34,000 TONS OF VEGETABLE OIL. THESE TOTALS ARE OF COURSE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS WHICH AMONG OTHER THINGS WOULD PROVIDE ASSURANCES THAT PAKISTAN IS EMBARKED ON A COURSE WHICH WILL LEAD TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ESSENTIAL FOOD STUFFS. DETAILED NEGOTIATING INSTRUCTIONS WILL BE SENT YOU BY SEPTEL.

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- BA *init*
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- JF *init*
- CS *init*
- TT *init*
- JM
- RZ *init*
- S/S-0

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5. YOU MAY ALSO TELL GOP THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER THEIR REQUESTS FOR MILITARY PURCHASES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR GLOBAL AND REGIONAL ARMS POLICIES. YOU MAY TELL THEM THAT THIS SPECIFICALLY INCLUDES CONSIDERATION OF F-5ES IN LIMITED NUMBERS. IF SUBJECT OF FMS FINANCING COMES UP YOU SHOULD SAY THAT SUCH FINANCING WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE DURING COMING FISCAL YEAR BUT WE WILL KEEP THE QUESTION UNDER REVIEW.

*Sheet on p. 1*

6. IN MAKING <sup>the following</sup> ~~YOUR~~ PRESENTATION <sup>to the GOP,</sup> YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT OUR SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN IS BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT PAKISTAN WILL NOT ACQUIRE A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITY. IN THIS CONNECTION YOU SHOULD ARRANGE TO REVIEW WITH THE GOP US NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY AND ALL PERTINENT LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS. *RIDER 2*

6. YOU SHOULD ALSO DISCUSS WITH GOP OUR CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS, DRAWING UPON YOUR RECENT DISCUSSION WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY DERIAN. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO BRIEF GOP ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS EXPRESSED DURING YOUR CONSULTATIONS ON HILL.

7. YOU MAY INFORM GOP THAT IN RESPONSE TO CMLA ZIA'S REQUEST, UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM PLANS TO REAFFIRM PUBLICALLY ~~IN A SPEECH BEFORE THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS ON~~ THAT THE DURAND LINE IS THE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BOUNDARY BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN.

8. FOR PARIS - PLEASE ADVISE GOF OF FOREGOING. YOU SHOULD TELL GOF THAT IN OUR CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS WE HAVE MERELY STATED THAT WE ARE SATISFIED THAT THE CONTRACT IS NOT GOING FORWARD AND HAVE NOT MENTIONED ANY GOF ASSURANCES.

9. OTHER INFO ADDRESSEES (EXCEPT KABUL) MAY ADVISE HOST GOVERNMENTS OF FOREGOING AS APPROPRIATE. 44

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By R NARA Date 5-7-10

**ADDITIONAL CLEARANCES:**

HA:CSALMON

NSC:TTHORNTON

NEA:JMIKLOS

S/S-0

DOD/ISA:RZWART

P:JFORBES

*When Cy met*

*stat*

~~In his meeting with Pakistani Minister of State Agha Shahi <sup>to</sup>, Cy indicated that we have completed our consultations with Congress and are now in a position to resume normal aid programs for Pakistan and to consider military sales. The latter, of course, would be subject to Congressional review. Cy made clear our continuing concern over Pakistani intentions with respect to nuclear explosives and told Agha Shahi we are proceeding <sup>to consider resumption of aid</sup> on the assumption that the government of Pakistan has no intention of developing a nuclear capability. Agha Shahi was told that we will have to keep Congress informed of relevant developments in Pakistan with respect to this issue.~~

*Chris  
This is  
unpleasant  
no view  
of what  
we are  
going  
on 5-10*

*Yesterday, he made*

*him that*

~~Agha Shahi asked for a clarification of our policy with respect to A-7 sales in light of India's intention to buy 200 deep penetration strike aircraft. Cy <sup>said</sup> we had made our views on this subject absolutely clear <sup>told</sup> to the Indian Foreign Minister ~~this morning~~. He said ~~that we~~ saw no reason for the Indian purchase and warned that it could create a new spiral of arms acquisitions in the region. ~~He added that he thought the Indians were agonizing over the issue and have not yet made their decision.~~ Cy agreed that if the Indians go forward, we would have to review our policy. Agha Shahi was informed that we would have no objection to a sale of F-5Es, subject to Congressional review.~~

Pakistan. We have ~~now~~ completed Congressional consultations on resumption of economic aid and arms sales to Pakistan now that the French reprocessing deal is off. There were no objections to resumption of economic aid. Although some concern was expressed about arms sales, we found a general willingness not to oppose them.

Recent intelligence suggests that Pakistan is ex-

ploring other means of completing the reprocessing plant or otherwise

acquiring a nuclear option <sup>through indigenous efforts.</sup> ~~but as a result of the~~

~~However, the French cancellation will prevent any rapid French cancellation, we may have gained a five to ten month delay in their acquiring a reprocessing capability.~~

~~and gives us time to work on persuading the Pakistanis to abandon the nuclear option.~~

We will carefully monitor Pakistan's ~~nuclear~~ activities, <sup>are working</sup> and ~~work~~ with other suppliers to inhibit the acquisition of sensitive equipment <sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ materials.

~~During our consultations~~ We told members of Congress

that the proliferation problem with Pakistan was not <sup>has</sup> been

*Completely resolved* ~~solved~~ but that <sup>we believe</sup> a restoration of normal relations would

best serve both our non-proliferation objectives and our

interest in regional stability. ~~By plans to inform~~

~~Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahri in New York that~~

~~we are prepared to resume economic aid and limited~~

~~military sales.~~ <sup>equipment or technology</sup>

*Plans by Pakistan towards this objective*

*Should Pakistan ~~not~~ ~~in efforts to~~ acquire a ~~reprocessing or enrichment~~ capability from some other country, we would not be in a position to provide U.S. aid.*

*Of Pakistan ~~plans~~, we would not be in a position to provide U.S. aid.*

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