## DEPARTMENT OF STATE AMBASSADOR AT LARGE WASHINGTON

March 27, 1979

## SECRET

## MEMORANDUM TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

Here are my views about the Pakistan weapon prospect:

- 1. This development is the sharpest challenge to the international structure since 1945. Pakistan is secretly transgressing one of the most basic -- and important -- norms held by most states.
- 2. It cannot be met by rewarding the Paks with more economic and military assistance. It is very doubtful that will work, and the example of our attempt will be a damaging precedent. The prospect of an Indian-Pak arrangement to keep nuclear weapons away from the subcontinent is bleak, but a try should be made to promote it.
- 3. If Pakistan persists, India is bound to develop nuclear weapons and then where does the process stop. It seems inevitable that the present broad consensus against weapons spread (more than 100 nations in NPT) will further erode. The prospect of "Moslem" bombs is as likely as a German and Japanese bomb /consider what their jingos would make of these countries remaining as 3d class powers/.
- 4. If this diagnosis is correct, the present paper prepared for the PRC meeting seems much too Pakistan parochial. The President should be helped to see clearly the world stakes involved. If we are "looking at" an unravelling of the nuclear consensus leading to Libyan et al. as well as German and Japanese weapons, I think the Soviets would be interested in playing a serious role in stopping this development -- China and

SECRET

-2-

Japan might well see their interests coinciding with ours. Mobilizing international opinion against the Pak action may be called for; a major effort in the UN may be needed.

Gerard Smith

## Copy to:

P - Mr. Newsom T - Mrs. Benson OES - Mr. Pickering NEA - Mr. Saunders IO - Mr. Maynes