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SECTION 01 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 11791

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3102  
INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 11791

EXDIS

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: MNUC, PREL, PK  
SUBJECT: NUCLEAR: SOLARZ CONVERSATIONS WITH GOP

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: DURING HIS MAY 24-25 VISIT TO ISLAMABAD, CONG. STEPHEN SOLARZ RAISED THE NUCLEAR ISSUE WITH ALL THE SENIOR OFFICIALS HE MET. SOLARZ WENT STRAIGHT AT THE POINT SAYING U.S. INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES HAD, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, CONCLUDED THAT PAKISTAN WAS PRODUCING FISSILE MATERIAL THAT COULD BE USED TO MAKE AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WERE THERE POLITICAL WILE. HE SAID THIS ISSUE HAD THE POTENTIAL TO DERAIL CONGRESSIONAL AGREEMENT NEXT YEAR FOR A FOLLOW-ON PROGRAM. HE URGED THE GOP TO TAKE STEPS TO ALLOW INDEPENDENT VERIFICATION, AND RETICHTED TO GOP INSISTENCE ON A REGIONAL SOLUTION THAT IT SEEMED FOLLY TO ALLOW THE INDIANS A VETO ON U.S.-PAK RELATIONS.

3. THE PRESIDENT, PM, ZAIR NOORANI AND MUNIR KHAN ALL DENIED THAT PAKISTAN HAD ENRICHED OR WOULD ENRICH URANIUM OVER FIVE PERCENT. THEY SAID THE WORD OF

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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GOVERNMENT LEADERS MUST BE ACCEPTED IF THERE IS TO BE ANY BASIS FOR THE RELATIONSHIP; THE PRO-VENT ONE STEP FURTHER SAYING IF THE WORD OF A MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR WAS GOOD ENOUGH, AN ELECTED HEAD OF GOVERNMENT'S WORD SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT NOW. ZIA AND NOORANI RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF INDEPENDENT VERIFICATION, EXCEPT IN THE CONTEXT OF SIMILAR TREATMENT FOR INDIA. END SUMMARY

4. MR. SOLARZ DISCUSSED THE NUCLEAR ISSUE WITH THE PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF STATE NOORANI, PAFC CHIEF MUNIR KHAN AND, INFORMALLY WITH THE CHARGES OF THE UK AND AUSTRALIA. HIS PRESENTATION, WHICH WAS GENERALLY ALONG THE SAME LINES, IS SUMMARIZED BELOW, FOLLOWED BY SUMMARIES OF THE POINTS MADE BY EACH OF THE CONGRESSMAN'S INTERLOCUTORS.

5. THE CONGRESSMAN BEGAN BY NOTING THAT ALTHOUGH THE DOP HAD CONTINUALLY MAINTAINED THAT THE PAK NUCLEAR PROGRAM WAS PURELY PEACEFUL, THE USG BELIEVED THAT A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THE PROGRAM WAS DEVOTED TO DEVELOPING A NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. THE US INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY FELT THAT THE KAHUTA FACILITY HAD BEGUN PRODUCING WEAPONS-GRADE ENRICHED URANIUM, WHICH WOULD GIVE PAKISTAN THE ABILITY TO PRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN FAIRLY SHORT ORDER IF THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE THE POLITICAL DECISION TO DO SO. SOLARZ CONCEDED THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY MIGHT BE WRONG, BUT CONGRESS WOULD HAVE LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO GO WITH THEIR ASSESSMENT.

6. SOLARZ NOTED THAT THE NUCLEAR ISSUE COULD DERAIL THE PROPOSED FOLLOW-ON AID PROGRAM. IN LIGHT OF US

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FOR PROLIFERATION CONCERNS, HIS COMMITTEE WOULD HAVE TO CLOSELY EXAMINE WHETHER THE US COULD PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO A NATION WHICH APPEARED TO BE PRODUCING FISSILE MATERIAL FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. "I HAVE THE IMPRESSION PAKISTAN HAS CROSSED THE RUBICON." SOLARZ TOOK NOTE OF THE GOP INSISTENCE THAT ANY SOLUTION MUST BE A REGIONAL ONE BY NOTING THAT THE INDIANS DID NOT APPEAR PREPARED TO COOPERATE ON PAK PROPOSALS -- THUS THE GOP WAS IN ESSENCE GIVING THE GOI A VETO OVER PAK-US RELATIONS. HE URGED THAT THE GOP FIND SOME WAY TO ALLOW INDEPENDENT VERIFICATION OF THEIR ASSERTIONS, NOTING THAT ON THIS ISSUE TRUST ALONE WOULD NOT SUFFICE.

7. PM JUNEJO ON MAY 24 TOLD SOLARZ THAT AN ANTI-PAKISTAN LOBBY WAS VILIFYING HIS COUNTRY'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM. PAKISTAN DID NOT HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO MAKE BOMBS, THOUGH INDIA, WHICH HAD TO BE A FACTOR IN PAKISTAN'S CALCULATION, HAD ALREADY SHOWN IT COULD EXPLODE A BOMB. JUNEJO ALSO NOTED THAT THE GOP HAD TO CONSIDER THE MASSIVE INDIAN ARMS PURCHASES WHEN TRYING TO EVALUATE GOI INTENTIONS. HE ENDED BY STRESSING THAT A U.S. GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD ACCEPTED THE WORD OF A MARTIAL LAW REGIME SHOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT THE WORD OF AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT. AMBASSADOR SAID THIS ARGUMENT WOULD NOT WORK ON SUCH A CRITICAL ISSUE WHEN INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS REMAIN IN DOUBT.

8. PRESIDENT ZIA ON MAY 25 TOLD SOLARZ THAT GOVERNMENTS SOMETIMES GET EMOTIONAL ON CERTAIN ISSUES. IRRESPECTIVE OF WHO IS IN POWER, NO PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT WOULD ALLOW ITS SOVEREIGNTY TO BE

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P 291211Z MAY 86  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3103  
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SECRET SECTION 02 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 11791

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CHALLENGED, AND VERIFICATION BY THE U.S. WOULD  
CONSTITUTE SUCH A CHALLENGE. ZIA ASSERTED THE U.S. AND  
PAKISTAN HAVE A MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS. IE, DESPITE  
THIS, THE U.S. WERE SUBSEQUENTLY TO CONCLUDE THAT IT IS  
IN AMERICA'S INTEREST TO BREAK UP THE PRESENT STATE OF  
AFFAIRS -- BECAUSE, AS HE PUT IT, OF INDIAN  
INTRANSIGENCE -- THAT IS A DECISION FOR THE U.S. ZIA  
SAID PAKISTAN IS NOT ENRICHING URANIUM ABOVE THE FIVE  
PERCENT LEVEL. IT HAS NO INTENTION OF DOING SO.

9. ZIA REFERRED TO HIS CONVERSATION LAST FALL WITH  
PRESIDENT REAGAN AND NOTED HE HAD GIVEN THE PRESIDENT  
CARTE BLANCHE, IN TERMS OF NEGOTIATING ON PAKISTAN'S  
BEHALF A REGIONAL NUCLEAR ACCORD WITH INDIA. THAT IS,  
ANYTHING WE COULD ACCEPT, HE COULD ACCEPT. THE ONLY  
QUALIFICATION WAS THAT BOTH INDIA AND PAKISTAN HAD TO  
BE TREATED EQUALLY. INDEED, HE CONTINUED TO SOLARZ,  
INDIA, BEING THE LARGEST PARTNER, SHOULD BE PREPARED TO  
TAKE CERTAIN MEASURES. TO SOLARZ'S QUESTION, ZIA SAID

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PAKISTAN BELIEVES INDIA DOES HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE DENIED, HOWEVER, THAT INDIA'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE NUCLEAR CLUB HAD LED TO A PAK DECISION TO GO NUCLEAR, SAYING PAKISTAN'S POLICY ON NON-PROLIFERATION IS ONE OF CONVICTION -- "IN THE INTEREST OF MANKIND." HE REPEATED, HOWEVER, THAT ANY SOLUTION MUST PLACE EQUAL OBLIGATION ON BOTH PAKISTAN AND INDIA TO VERIFY THEIR PEACEFUL INTENTIONS.

10. MINISTER OF STATE NOOFANI ON MAY 25 TOLD THE CONGRESSMAN THAT SOLARZ'S SUGGESTION FOR A PRIVATE INSPECTION OF PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR FACILITIES WAS NOT POSSIBLE BECAUSE IT WOULD NOT REMAIN PRIVATE. EVERYTHING IN THE U.S. LEAKS SOONER OR LATER. IF THE U.S.-PAKISTAN RELATIONSHIP IS TO WORK IT HAS TO BE ON A BASIS OF TRUST. IF THE WRITTEN ASSURANCES PROVIDED BY PRESIDENT ZIA ARE HONORED, NIA AND REVITALIZE ITS AFGHAN ACTIVITIES, WHICH MIGHT NOT CONTINUE IN THEIR PRESENT FORM, BUT WHAT THOSE CHANGES WOULD BE, HE COULD NOT SAY AT THIS TIME. ANY ASSISTANCE GIVEN BY THE U.S. HAS TO BE WITHOUT ANY STRINGS ATTACHED. NO GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN CAN DO SOMETHING ON NUCLEAR QUESTIONS THAT INDIA DOES NOT DO.

11. MUNIR KHAN, DURING A MAY 25 MEETING SOLARZ HELD AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WITH SENIOR BUREAUCRATS, SAID:

- PAKISTAN HAS NOT ENRICHED URANIUM ABOVE 5 PERCENT AND HAS NO PLANS TO DO SO IN THE FUTURE.
- ALL PAK NUCLEAR FACILITIES, INCLUDING KAHUTA, COME UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE PAEC, AND PAEC COMES UNDER PRIME

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MINISTER JUNEJO, WHO HOLDS THE PORTFOLIO OF MINISTER FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY.

-- TO SOLARZ'S QUESTION ABOUT HYPOTHETICAL USES OF URANIUM ENRICHED ABOVE THE FIVE PERCENT LEVEL, KHAN NOTED PAKISTAN'S RESEARCH REACTOR CURRENTLY USES NINETY PERCENT FUEL -- UNDER IAEA SAFEGUARDS -- BUT PAKISTAN, IN THE CONTEXT OF AN IAEA PROJECT, IS NOW CONSIDERING RETROFITTING THE REACTOR TO USE TWENTY PERCENT FUEL. HE SAID, AS WELL, ENRICHED URANIUM COULD BE USED FOR MATERIAL TESTING, E.G., REACTOR MATERIALS. FINALLY, HE NOTED THAT, BUT FOR U.S. OPPOSITION, PAKISTAN WOULD HAVE ALREADY COMPLETED A THOUSAND MEGAWATT LIGHT WATER REACTOR, WHICH WOULD BE USING 3-5 PERCENT ENRICHED URANIUM. HE NOTED PAKISTAN WOULD NOT WANT THE FUEL SUPPLY FOR SUCH A REACTOR TO BE SUBJECT TO OUTSIDE MANIPULATION.

-- HE HAD GOTTEN LITTLE POSITIVE REACTION FROM INDIAN ATOMIC ENERGY CHAIRMAN BANANA ON ANY OF PAKISTAN'S PROPOSALS. INDIA HAD REJECTED THE NPT AND FULL SCOPE

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NOTICE 88-82

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P 291211Z MAY 86  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3124  
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SECRET SECTION 03 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 11791

EXDIS

E.O. 13526: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: #NUC, #REL, #R  
SUBJECT: NUCLEAR: SOLARZ CONVERSATIONS WITH GOP

SAFEGUARDS AS DISCRIMINATORY AND AN INFRINGEMENT OF SOVEREIGNTY; RAMANA TURNED DOWN THE IDEA OF RECIPROCAL INSPECTIONS; ON A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IN SOUTH ASIA (LAND AREAS ONLY), MUNIR HAD A SENSE RAMANA DID NOT COMPLETELY RULE OUT THE IDEA; SIMILARLY, WITH A JOINT DECLARATION -- MORALLY BINDING -- ON NON-ACQUISITION, NON-MANUFACTURING, MUNIR HAD A SENSE THERE MAY BE ROOM FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION. RAMANA, HOWEVER, HAD NO COUNTER PROPOSAL THAT COULD HAVE MOVED THE DIALOGUE ALONG, THOUGH RAJIV MADE HIS NO ATTACK ON NUCLEAR FACILITIES PROPOSAL TO ZIA THE FOLLOWING DAY.

13. SOLARZ HAD A FURTHER PRIVATE TETE A TETE WITH MUNIR KHAN AT RESIDENCE MAY 22. IN A BROADER DISCUSSION, INCLUDING THE BRITISH AND AUSTRALIAN CHARGES, THE LATTER TWO BOTH POSITED TO SOLARZ. IN RESPONSE TO HIS QUESTION ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCES WERE AID TERMINATED NEXT YEAR, THAT THE GOP WOULD SEEK AN ACCOMMODATION ON AFGHANISTAN -- PER HAPS NOT

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IMMEDIATELY, BUT IN SHORT ORDER.

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