

# **April 9, 1979**

# Memorandum for the Secretary of State from Gerard Smith with Enclosed Telegram from the American Embassy, Islamabad

### Citation:

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## **Summary:**

This document has two parts. The first is a memo addressed to the Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, that focuses on the increasing immediacy of the Pakistan nuclear situation. The second part is a telegram that details the growing pushback from U.S. political leaders after the Carter Administration decided to invoke the Symington Amendment towards Pakistan.

## **Credits:**

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English

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Original Scan



#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE AMBASSADOR AT LARGE WASHINGTON

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April 9, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Cy:

will instruction for The attached telegram instructing Ambassador Hummel was not cleared with me -- although it deals with the most important nonproliferation issue yet faced by President Carter. I urge reconsideration of the "straddle" policy which it adopts. This policy attempts the impossible -- to keep proliferation separate from Pakistan security -- by dealing with these issues on "two levels."

The Eisenhower doctrine which the 1959 agreement implemented never contemplated security guarantees for a prospectively nuclear armed Pakistan.

We have been willing to put sharp strains on relations with the Federal Republic, Japan and other allies in efforts to get them to alter their clearly peaceful nuclear programs. We even embargoed the European Community for a short period. Here, we have discovered a Pakistani covert weapons program based on stolen designs. Our reaction seems mild by comparison. Even the aid cutoff seems cast as an action which we have to take because of Congress and we are even willing to discuss with the Pakistanis "the question of the strategic value of a nuclear weapons capacity." Our nonproliferation policy thus becomes in the language used in the instruction a matter of "degree," not principle.

I think our best chance to turn the Pakistanis around -- and to sustain Congressional and domestic political support for a U.S. role in Pakistan -- is to make clear that in the last analysis its nuclear policy puts our whole relation at stake. I recommend that Ambassador Hummel's instructions be changed accordingly.

Ary erard Smith

cc: - D - Mr. Christopher

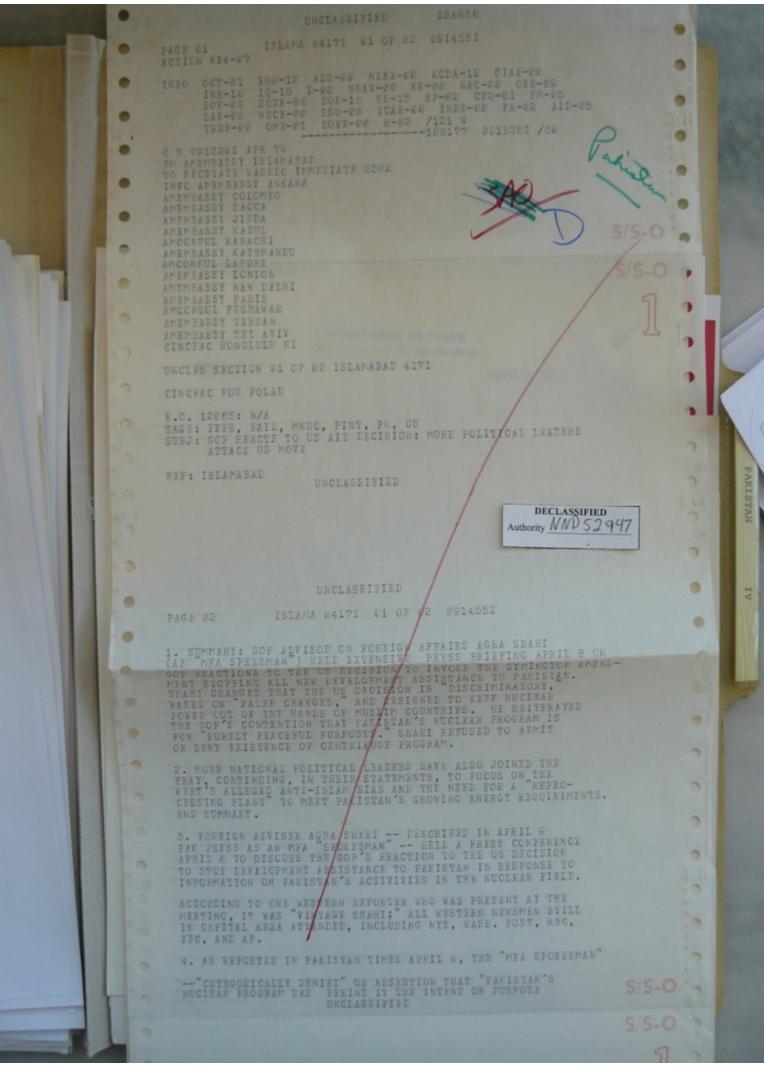
P - Mr. Newsom

NSC - Dr. Brzezinski

State 85585

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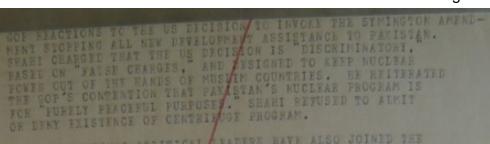
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2. MORE NATIONAL POLITICAL LEADERS BAVE ALSO JOINED THE FRAY, CONTINUING, IN THEIR STATEMENTS, TO FOCUS ON THE WIST'S ALLEGED ANTI-ISLAM PLAS AND THE NEED FOR A "REFRO-CISSING PLANT" TO MEET PALISTAN'S GROWING ENERGY REQUIREMENTS. END SUMMARY.

3. FOREIGN ALVISER AGRASHARI -- DESCRIBED IN APRIL 9
FAX PRESS AS AN MFA "SHOKESMAN" -- HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE
APRIL 8 TO DISCUSS THE GOP'S REACTION TO THE US DECISION
TO STOF INVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN IN RESPONSE TO
INFORMATION ON FAKIST N'S ACTIVITIES IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD.

ACCORDING TO ONE WESTERN REPORTER WEO WAS PRISENT AT THE MEETING, IT WAS "VIOTAGE SHAHI;" ALL WESTERN NEWSMEN STILL IN CAPITAL AREA ATTENDED, INCLUDING NYT, WASH. POST, NEC. FFC. AND AP.

4. AS REFORTED IN PAKISTAN TIMES APRIL 9, THE "MFA SPOKESMAN"

-- "CATEGORICALLY DENIED" US ASSERTION THAT "PARISTAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM EAS BESIND IT THE INTENT OR PURPOSE UNCLASSIFIED

#### UNCLASSIFIED

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OF INVELOPING A NUCLEAR WEAPON;"

-- "REJECTED THE FALSE CHARGE" THAT THE GOP IS DF-VELOPING "ITS NUCLEAR PROGRAM WITH THE ASSISTANCE OR PARTNER-SELP OF LIPYA OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY;"

-- SAID THAT THE US DECISION TO INVOKE THE SYMINGTON AMENIMENT IS DISCRIMINATORY SINCE THE US STILL AIDS AND ARMS COUNTRIES WHICE MAINTAIN COMPLETELY UNSAFF-GUARTED NUCLEAR PROGRAMS;

-- SAID THAT PAKISTAN IS "READY TO ACCEPT FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS TO COVER ITS PRACEFUL PROGRAM OF NUCLEAR RESTARCE" IF THE US IS "WILLING TO ENSURE" THAT THE SAFE-GUARDS ARE APPLIED "WITHOUT PREFERENCES AND EXCLUSIONS" TO OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE EITHER ACQUIRED A NUCLEAR WEARONS CAPABILITY, OF ARE ON THE "THRESHOLD OF DOING SO."

--SUGGESTED THAT IF THE NON-PROLIFERATION PROBLEM IS GLOBAL, AS THE US SUGGESTS, IT SHOULD BE ADDRESSED NOT IN A BILATERAL CONTEXT BUT RATHER IN THE UN, WHERE PARISTAN "HAS ALREALY PROVEN," IY SPONSORING RESOLUTIONS AND CITED ACTIONS, THAT IT SUPPORTS THE GOALS OF NON-PROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT.

5. IN ANSWER TO A SPECIFIC QUESTION ON PAKISTAN'S DEVEL-

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"PAVISTAN IS NOT THE ONLY COUNTRY ENGAGED IN A RESEARCH

PROGRAM ON THE PRACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY. SHABI

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POSSIBLE USES IN PAKISTAN OF ENRICHED URANIUM, BY ASKING
THE REPORTER IF HE IS "AWARE OF ALL OF THE NUCLEAR

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6. SHAHI ALSO SAID THAT HE WAS "NOT INFORMED" ON THE QUESTION OF PAKISTAN'S IMPORT OF SOME NUCLEAR RESEARCH EQUIPMENT; HE SUGGESTED THAT "MANY COUNTRIES" IMPORT THIS TYPE OF TECHNOLOGY, HOWEVER, AND DENIED THAT PAKISTAN HAS IMPORTED ANY ENRICHED URANIUM.

NOTE BY OC/T: REFERENCE AS RECEIVED.

Authority NND 52947

