

FORM 1 (2-77)
DEFENSE DEPARTMENT
STATE

24304

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

SECRET

AMB 12/4/87

DOS REVIEWED 19-Apr-2007. DECLASSIFIED IN FULL

AMB DEAN

AMB DEAN:GW

NONE

AMB DCM AMB/EX, CHRON

NATOR

AMBASSY, NEW DELHI

SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE

EXDIS

DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, IN, OPDC

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER GANDHI FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN

1. SECRET ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE PRIME MINISTER CALLED ME TO HIS HOUSE AT 7 O'CLOCK LOCAL TIME TO HAND ME A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT. HE ASKED ME TO CONVEY IT WITHOUT DELAY SINCE IT DEALS IN PART WITH THE PROBLEMS WHICH MIGHT BE CREATED IN INDO-U.S. RELATIONS IF THE SENATE AMENDMENT TO THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION WERE TO BE ADOPTED.

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DRAFTS
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3. BEGIN TEXT: NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 4, 1987

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I THANK YOU FOR THE WARM SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED IN YOUR LETTER OF NOVEMBER 2. I GREATLY ENJOYED THE OPPORTUNITY OF MEETING YOU AGAIN. IT WAS A BRIEF BUT PRODUCTIVE VISIT.

MY DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND YOUR COLLEAGUES HELPED BOTH SIDES TO HAVE A BETTER APPRECIATION OF EACH OTHER'S PERCEPTIONS AND CONCERNS. SINCE THEN THERE HAVE BEEN CONTINUING EXCHANGES ON BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. WE VALUE THIS INTERACTION.

OUR DISCUSSIONS ON AFGHANISTAN REVEALED SEVERAL SHARED OBJECTIVES. AFGHANISTAN IS OUR CLOSE NEIGHBOUR. INDIA HAS A VITAL INTEREST IN FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN THAT COUNTRY.

FOLLOWING OUR TALKS IN WASHINGTON, WE UNDERTOOK EXTENSIVE INTERNAL EXERCISES TO EVALUATE SCENARIOS AND OPTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN. WE ALSO HAD INFORMAL EXCHANGES WITH DIFFERENT GROUPS CONCERNED WITH THE SITUATIONS INCLUDING THE AFGHAN LEADERS IN THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. WE HAD KEPT OURSELVES INFORMED OF THE TREND OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN MR. VORONTSOV AND MR. ARMACOST IN GENEVA. THE VISIT OF PREMIER RYZHKOV GAVE US THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE SERIOUS AND EXTENDED DISCUSSIONS ON WHAT CAN BE DONE TO RESOLVE THE KEY ISSUES. I WAS ENCOURAGED TO LEARN FROM MR. RYZHKOV THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS KEEN TO FIND A WAY TO ENABLE AN EARLY WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR TROOPS. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, THE SOVIET UNION SHARED OUR ASSESSMENT THAT ONLY A REALISTICALLY BALANCED AND REPRESENTATIVE COALITION GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY IN THE REGION. THERE IS SCOPE FOR OPTIMISM ON POSITIVE FORWARD MOVEMENT IN REGARD TO THIS LONG STANDING PROBLEM.

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THERE IS COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION IN THAT BOTH DESIRE AN INDEPENDENT, NONALIGNED AND STABLE GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN. BOTH WISH TO AVOID A SITUATION WHICH WOULD LEAD TO LARGE-SCALE BLOODSHED AND CIVIL STRIFE. THESE ARE ALSO OUR GOALS. WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF CONTACTING VARIOUS AFGHAN GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THAT COUNTRY. WE HOPE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO WORK FOR THE FORMATION OF A BROADBASED COALITION GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN WHICH REFLECTS THE REALITIES ON THE GROUND. WE HAVE TO LOOK FOR AN ARRANGEMENT IN WHICH THE LIBERAL, MODERATE AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES ARE IN AN INFLUENTIAL POSITION. WE DO THINK THAT IT IS IN OUR INTEREST AS WELL AS YOURS TO AVOID A SITUATION WHERE THE FUNDAMENTALIST ELEMENTS GAIN AN UPPER HAND IN AFGHANISTAN.

OUR EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE AND STABILITY IN OUR AREA WOULD BE INCOMPLETE WITHOUT DIRECTLY ADDRESSING THE DANGER ARISING FROM PAKISTAN'S DETERMINED QUEST FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. I AM DISTRESSED AT THE TENOR AND FOCUS OF LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS RECENTLY PROPOSED IN A COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. SENATE. I AM AFRAID THIS KIND OF APPROACH DISTORTS BASIC ISSUES, WITHOUT SERVING THE OBJECTIVE OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION. I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE LIKELY ADVERSE IMPACT OF SUCH UNFORTUNATE MOVES ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, WHICH WE ARE BOTH COMMITTED TO STRENGTHENING FURTHER. I AM ASKING AMBASSADOR DEAN TO CONVEY TO YOU SOME OF THESE CONCERNS.

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE REGARDING THE IDEAS I HAD PUT FORWARD ON A THREE-TIER APPROACH TO THE ISSUE OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION. I APPRECIATE THE THOUGHT YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THESE IDEAS.

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THE BASIS OF MY APPROACH IS OUR COMMONLY HELD OBJECTIVE OF ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS ALTOGETHER. THIS IS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE GENEVA TALKS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. THE TREATY WHICH YOU AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV WILL BE SIGNING SHORTLY WILL BE A TRUELY MOMENTOUS ONE, AND AN HISTORIC FIRST STEP IN THIS DIRECTION. IT IS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THIS OBJECTIVE THAT THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION CAN BE BEST TACKLED ON A LONG-TERM AND DURABLE BASIS.

THE APPROACH SUGGESTED BY ME IS A GLOBAL AND NOT A REGIONAL ONE. I HOPE THAT THE SUMMIT MEETING BETWEEN YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV WILL REITERATE YOUR COMMITMENT TO THE COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND CALL FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES AND ALL "NUCLEAR CAPABLE" STATES IN A TIME-BOUND PROGRAMME FOR ACHIEVING THIS OBJECTIVE.

WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS.

YOURS SINCERELY,

RAJIV GANDHI

THE HON'BLE RONALD REAGAN
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON

END TEXT. DEAN

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