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Recommendation:

That you sign the attached letter to President Zia.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

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Dear Mr. President:

I was gratified to read the statement you made on May 31 that Pakistan has been proud of its good and cordial relationship with the United States since the founding of Pakistan in 1947, but that sometimes like old friends we have something to quarrel about. I want you to know that I share those feelings and have been deeply concerned over the state of the relationship between our countries in recent months. In that spirit I wish to exchange with you some thoughts about the relationship between our two countries.

Secretary Vance has told Foreign Adviser Shahi that we share the serious concerns you have over developments in Afghanistan and Iran. We want to see what we can do to enhance your security in the face of this new and disturbing situation. We are keenly aware of the consequences for stability in the region.

I would hope that steps by both of us could lead to a rekindling of our relationships and a forging of bonds of even greater friendship.

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Secretary Vance also explained to Adviser Shahi our deep concern over the possibility of a nuclear arms race developing in the subcontinent. I know you share this concern, but as Ambassador Hummel has explained to you certain activities of your government, including enrichment and reprocessing and their relationship to explosives research, have raised questions about Pakistan's peaceful intentions in this area. It is to my great regret that our inability so far to resolve these questions has led to an unfortunate deterioration in our normally good relations. I was most encouraged, therefore, to hear of your conversation with Peter Constable, our Charge, in which you offered to write to us your assurance that Pakistan does not intend to conduct a nuclear explosion and that Pakistan's definition of a peaceful nuclear program excludes a nuclear explosion for any purpose. I would be gratified if you wished to convey these assurances to me directly in the course of our correspondence. I believe it could be an important first step in resolving the uncertainties which have arisen between us. More importantly, it may give us a basis for further steps we might both be able to take to restore our relations to a more constructive state.

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I look forward to your response and thoughts
on how we might proceed.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

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Authority AND 78957



RECEIVED DIRECTLY 30-1-79
REVIEWED BY *MB*
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

7-1-1985
P790152-0277

ACTION MEMORANDUM

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June 13, 1979

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TO: The Secretary

THROUGH: T - Mrs. Benson *LNB*
P - Mr. Newsom *MB*

FROM: NSA - Harold H. Saunders *HHS*
OBS - Thomas Pickering *LNB, TP*

Presidential Letter to President Zia
of Pakistan

Discussion:

President Zia has offered to put in writing assurances that Pakistan does not intend to conduct a nuclear explosion and that Pakistan's definition of a peaceful nuclear program excludes a peaceful nuclear explosion. We think this is an important departure from our otherwise negative nuclear dialogue with Zia and that we should follow up on his offer. Our purpose would be to get an unconditional statement that Pakistan does not intend to conduct a nuclear explosion of any kind. This would be parallel to assurances India has given publicly. Although this could not solve our fundamental non-proliferation problem with Pakistan, it could help provide the basis for improving our strained relations with Pakistan and could set the stage for further steps which could enhance our regional and global non-proliferation objectives.

At this stage we would propose a Presidential letter to Zia. This would be the first direct communication by the President to the Pakistanis solely on nuclear issues. In such a message we could restate our deep concern over the deterioration in our relations and our desire to reverse this trend. While we would not be specific in the letter, we would indicate that we are willing to discuss means of meeting Pakistan's security needs. We could also

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suggest a willingness to consider other steps to restore our relationship to a healthier, more mutually beneficial state. We would expect Congress to be more receptive to military sales and economic aid proposals for Pakistan if we have received the above assurances. Nevertheless, we will have to consider how far we go and how strongly we approach Congress since the reliability of Zia's assurances, even if he is prepared to put them in writing, are open to serious doubt given our cumulative evidence on Pakistan's nuclear plans over the last nine months.

Gerard Smith believes that assurances, while desirable, should not be an end in themselves, but a start of a renewed effort to get Pakistan to stop its nuclear explosive programs. Otherwise, he believes that this move would foreshadow likely acceptance of an Israel-type situation for Pakistan where a nuclear weapons potential is legitimized as long as there are no tests -- a far cry from the President's policy of trying to stop the spread of fissile material production -- even for peaceful purposes.

Recommendation:

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President which encloses a proposed letter to Zia.

Approve Disapprove

Handwritten notes:
...
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...
...
...

Drafted: NEA/PAB:MHornblow:JCMiklos
6/12/79 x-22441 x-21030

Cleared: NEA:JMiklos PM:MHumphreys
NEA/PAB:HLucius ACDA:RRochlin
S/AS:RKelley

Handwritten signature: JJA for

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