SECRET SECTION 01 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 11791

ACTION
INFO ADR
INFO DRR
INFO NUC
INFO NWC
INFO PD
INFO WDC

SECRET

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. M-2008-00012 Doc No. C17626300 Date: 07/16/2013
SECRET

GOVERNMENT LEADERS MUST BE ACCEPTED IF THERE IS TO BE ANY BASIS FOR THE RELATIONSHIP. THE PROGRESS ONE STEP FURTHER DENIES IF THE WORD OF A MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR WAS GOOD ENOUGH, AN ELECTED HEAD OF GOVERNMENT'S WORD SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TOO. ZIA AND MUGHERI 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 MORGAN, PAK CHIEF MURIR 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 GOVERNMENT 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 KHATAFAH FACILITY AND OTHERS 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 WRONGS, 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 SECRET
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 SENSE, 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 GOP INTENTIONS. JUNEJO STRESSED THAT A U.S. GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD ACCEPTED THE WORD OF A PARTIAL LAW REGIME SHOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT THE WORDS OF AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THIS ARGUMENT WOULD NOT WORK ON SUCH A CRITICAL ISSUE. WHEN INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS REMAIN IN DOUBT.

PRESIDENT ZIA ON MAY 25 TOLD SOLARZ THAT GOVERNMENTS SOMETIMES GET EMOTIONAL ON CERTAIN ISSUES, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHO IS IN POWER. NO PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT WOULD ALLOW ITS SURPLUS ONLY TO BE
SECRET ACD402

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ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 ( AS-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSC-00 ACDE-00
INRE-00 DOE-00 )/000 W

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P 291211Z MAY 86
FM AMBASSADOR ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3103
INFO AMBASSADOR NEW DELHI

SECRET SECTION 02 OF 03 ISLAMABAD 11791

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL:ODR
TAGS: NUC, P, REL
SUBJECT: NUCLEAR: SALT III CONVERSATIONS WITH GOI

CHALLENGED, AND VERIFICATION BY THE WSI WOULD
CONSTITUTE SUCH A CHALLENGE. ZIA ASSERTED THE U.S. AND
PAKISTAN HAVE A MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS. IF, 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.
PAKISTAN BELIEVES INDIA DOES HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE DE nied, HOWEVER, THAT INDIA'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE NUCLEAR CLUB HAD LED TO A PAR 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.

11. MINISTER OF STATE NOORANI ON MAY 25 TOLD THE CONGRESSMAN THAT SOLANZ'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 NOW SO NONHYAL NTA 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 STRING ATTACHED. NO GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN CAN DO SOMETHING ON NUCLEAR QUESTIONS THAT INDIA DOES NOT DO.

12. MUMAIR KHAN, DURING A MAY 25 MEETING, SOLANZ HELD AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WITH SENIOR DIPLOMATS, SAID:

-- PAKISTAN HAS NOT ENRICHED URANIUM ABOVE 6 PERCENT AND HAS NO PLANS TO DO SO IN THE FUTURE.

-- ALL PAK NUCLEAR FACILITIES, INCLUDING NYAHUAT, COME UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE PAEC, AND PAEC COMES UNDER PRIME SECRET.
MINISTER JORDAN, WHO HOLDS THE PORTFOLIO OF MINISTER FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY.

-- TO SOLZAR'S QUESTION ABOUT HYPOTHETICAL USES OF URENEEENRICHED 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 2-3 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 RAMANA OR ANY OF PAKISTAN'S PROPOSALS. INDIA HAD REJECTED THE NPT AND FULL SCOPE.
SUBJECT: ACME-55

SECRET ACME-55

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ACTION: SS-22

IMRE-62 DOE-62 AC-62 9/1/86 W

P 291212 MAY 86
PA AMBASSADY ISLAMABAD
TO SEGSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3104
INFO AMBASSADY NEW DELHI

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C O: 13361 DECL:OAMR
TAGS: ENRC, NHEL, PA
SUBJECT: NUCLEAR: SOLACE CONVERSATIONS WITH GOP

Safeguards as discriminatory are 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. Solace had a further private talk a tete-a-tete with Munir Khan at residence May 25. In a broader discussion, including the British and Australian charges, the latter two both posed to Solace. In response to his question about the consequences were and terminated next year, that the GOP could seek an accommodation on Afghanistan -- perhaps not secret.
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EMERGENTLY, BUT IN SHORT ORDER.

GEO.