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November 21, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT


SUBJECT: Certification on Pakistan

I understand that the Secretary of State has recommended that we now certify that Pakistan does not possess a nuclear device, as required by law for military deliveries to continue. However, no significant deliveries are expected before December at the earliest, and new assistance is prohibited until Congress provides new authority to waive other restrictions. This will not happen before January.

I recommend against any certification now. It would be seen as "business-as-usual" and take the pressure off Pakistan -- at the very time we should be trying to increase pressures on them to stop enriching uranium above 5 percent (as they earlier promised you they would do) and to stop illegal procurement activities in the US. We should do more and be seen to do more, both publicly and in the Congress, than talk about these problems with Pakistan.

Our failure to invoke the Solarz Amendment -- when the facts clearly support such a finding -- can only strengthen the "business-as-usual" perception both here and in Pakistan.

Therefore, I believe we should invoke Solarz and hold off on any certification and waiving of Solarz until aid can resume early next year. This is the only chance we have of moving Pakistan and, even if we fail to move them, we will be better off for having tried.


Kenneth L. Adelman

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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DECL: OADR