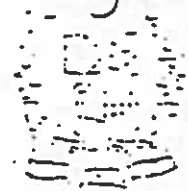


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THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

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~~2. ART~~

General M. Zia-ul-Haq

ISLAMABAD

12 Safar 1405 AH
07 November 1984

His Excellency
Mr. Ronald W. Reagan,
President of the
United States of America,
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

The people of Pakistan join me in extending our warm and sincere felicitations on your historic and unprecedented victory in the election for the Presidency of the United States of America. The renewal of your mandate by such an over-whelming majority reflects a solemn reaffirmation and a befitting acknowledgement of the faith of the people of the United States in your inspiring leadership and of the high esteem which you command.

Your re-election would undoubtedly instill yet greater confidence and strength in the peoples of the free world who, reposing trust in your uncompromising commitment to upholding and defending the cause of freedom and peace, are resolved to withstand external pressures and intimidation to defend their way of life. Faced with increasing threats of instability and aggression in our own region, we are profoundly reassured by your electoral

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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victory as it is our conviction that, in your person, the people of Pakistan have a sincere friend who is committed to their country's well-being and perceives that its security and territorial integrity - safeguard and promote the interests of the United States of America.

It was because we were looking forward to this auspicious occasion to share our joy and happiness with you, Mrs. Reagan and the American people, that my reply to Your Excellency's letter of 12 September 1984 has been somewhat delayed.

We are deeply heartened, Mr. President, by the resolute and unstinting support to Pakistan and its policies, as expressed in your letter, particularly at a time when we are confronted with an ever-increasing and palpable threat from the Soviet Union on our western borders. The mix of blandishments and pressures that characterised the Soviet approach towards Pakistan, in the past, has increasingly given way to concrete minatory acts which have already taken their toll of nearly one hundred innocent lives.

The bombing of Teri Mangal, a town near the Pak-Afghan border, on 27 September reduced a large part of this small but thriving community to rubble, caused over one hundred casualties and was the most serious of such violations. Our protests against these blatantly provocative activities have been met with bland denials. More ominously, the Karmal regime has begun lodging protests alleging that Pakistan armed forces have been firing across the border inflicting casualties and damaging their helicopters. The Soviet press has gone further by maintaining that Pakistan has sent its helicopters into Afghanistan to attack and damage Afghan helicopters. These charges are absurd. They represent a crude attempt to hold Pakistan responsible for the courageous intensification by the brave Mujahideen



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of their attacks on Soviet/Afghan garrisons. But they are a new facet of the Soviet campaign of intimidation and threat.

Another important facet of the Soviet Union's tactics appears to be to demonstrate that such violations can be carried out with impunity and to create the impression that this is a foretaste of things to come if Pakistan does not conform to Soviet diktat. Your Administration's demarche to the Soviet Union and readiness to expedite the delivery of essential military equipment to Pakistan, therefore, acquire a special significance for us. We deeply appreciate the assurance held out by Secretary Lehmann that the AIM-54 will be delivered immediately on completion of Congressional formalities. It is our earnest hope that our requirements for the "Copperhead" projectiles will receive the same urgent consideration.

The tragic assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which shocked and grieved us all, has created new uncertainties in our region. There is no doubt in our mind that the Indian decision to postpone our bilateral dialogue was prompted, in part, by the Soviet media's campaign to fan Indian suspicions about Pakistan and by more overt Soviet pressures. Their outrageous efforts, after the recent tragedy, to pin blame for this horrible act on a foreign conspiracy, in particular the CIA, is yet another element in the disinformation directed at exacerbating Pakistan-India and US-India relations. It indicates clearly the direction in which their influence in India will continue to be used.

We are determined not to be deflected from the path of principle, either because of the new uncertainties in India or the campaign of intimidation launched by the Soviet Union. We have no misgivings because we are convinced, as you have so strongly affirmed, that in its resolute defence of its territorial integrity Pakistan can count on the support of the United States of America.



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Mr. President, we fully share the concern of your Government about the dangers of nuclear proliferation globally, and particularly in our region. Apart from the resolution for establishing a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in South Asia, tabled by us in the United Nations every year since 1974, we have proposed a number of bilateral measures to India with the same objective in mind. These include, simultaneous signature of the non-proliferation treaty, the simultaneous acceptance of international inspection or full-scope safeguards, bilateral inspection of each other's nuclear facilities and a collective and therefore binding declaration by the States of South Asia renouncing the acquisition or manufacture of nuclear weapons.

During my meeting on November 4 with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who had earlier expressed India's concern about our nuclear programme to Secretary Shultz, I reiterated our readiness to accept reciprocal inspection of each other's nuclear facilities and suggested a mechanism for this purpose. I did not receive an immediate reply from the Indian Prime Minister nor, as you know, have we had any positive response to our earlier proposals. We cannot, however, be discouraged because we are convinced that the key to curbing proliferation in our region lies in a positive response from all South Asian States to these proposals which fully reflect the wishes of the international community.

I recall, Mr. President, that in our quest for a credible and durable relationship with the United States, we were able, each to satisfy the other, in all matters of common concern, including the nuclear issue. I had the privilege personally to reaffirm my Government's position during our meeting in Washington in December 1982.



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I would like, in addressing the concern you have expressed, to reiterate my assurances that Pakistan is not pursuing a nuclear weapons programme and that Pakistan will do nothing to embarrass your Administration. I have also publicly stated that Pakistan has no intention whatsoever to manufacture or explode a nuclear device.

May I also reiterate that our modest experimental uranium enrichment facility is geared to producing enriched uranium for research and fuel technology purposes. The facility is not designed to produce highly enriched weapon grade uranium, nor indeed do we have the technology needed for that purpose.

We are deeply aware of the importance your Administration attaches to the nuclear proliferation issue and I can assure you of cooperation in furthering this cause internationally and regionally. I must, however, confess to some misgivings about the value of unilateral gestures as a means of achieving our shared objective in view of the reticence of our neighbour to respond favourably to any of our proposals. Past precedents in other parts of the world are also not encouraging. Nor would such steps be countenanced by domestic public opinion in whose view a non-discriminatory approach within South Asia is not only just and equitable but a sine qua non for the attainment of the desired results. This, in fact, is the rationale for the proposals we have made in international forums and bilaterally to further the cause of non-proliferation. Nevertheless, I agree entirely that we should share with each other thoughts on ways and means of accomplishing this aim in a positive manner. May I add that Pakistan can claim with pride that it is too responsible a member of the international community to even contemplate the transfer of any sensitive nuclear technology to a third country. Certainly, Pakistan which has financed its research programme entirely from its own resources is under no obligation whatsoever to do so.



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Mr. President, we attach the highest value to our friendship with your great country. We can never forget the debt of gratitude we owe you for the personal interest you have taken in reinvigorating our ties and giving them primacy in the many successes of your foreign policy. The foundation of this relationship has been mutual trust and confidence, as also a sensitivity towards each others' concerns. We shall do nothing to undermine this trust, which we believe must, above all other considerations, continue to be the sheet-anchor of a credible and durable relationship particularly, in the perilous period that lies ahead in a region regrettably embroiled and inflamed.

With profound regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. Zia-ul-Haq

General
(M. Zia-ul-Haq)