

Subject copy filed over -

OPS. Pakistan: Pakistan's Nuclear Programme.

HAUT-COMMISSARIAT DU CANADA,  
MACDONALD HOUSE,  
1 GROSVENOR SQUARE,  
LONDON, W1X 0AB.



CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSION,  
MACDONALD HOUSE,  
1 GROSVENOR SQUARE,  
LONDON, W1X 0AB.

CONFIDENTIAL  
(with attachments)

February 18, 1980  
**PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. .... T 30/80 .....**

Dear Prime Minister,

I have been asked to convey to you a message from Prime Minister Clark, dated February 15, 1980, the text of which is attached. Texts of Prime Minister Clark's exchange of correspondence with President Zia, to which he refers in his message to you, are also attached.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Jean Casselman Wadds'.

Jean Casselman Wadds,  
High Commissioner.

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,  
Prime Minister,  
No. 10 Downing Street,  
London, S.W.1.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM  
PRIME MINISTER CLARK TO PRIME MINISTER THATCHER  
DATED FEBRUARY 15, 1980

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Quote

Dear Prime Minister,

Over the past year, reports and assessments available to us about Pakistan's nuclear policies gave rise to concerns which I know were widely shared. In early November, I decided that the time had come to reiterate the Canadian government's sense of disquiet in a letter to President Zia, which was conveyed to him by a senior Canadian official acting as my special emissary.

I have now received a reply, and in view of your government's special interest in Pakistan generally (especially in the present circumstances) and in its nuclear policies in particular, I thought that you might welcome an opportunity to review this exchange. I am therefore enclosing copies of the text of my letter of November 7 to President Zia, and of his letter to me of January 30.

While President Zia's response to the concerns I outlined for him no doubt requires further elaboration in certain respects, I find it encouraging, especially as it comes at a time when Pakistan's role in the security of South Asia has been highlighted as never before. It will be for us to see whether we cannot build on the basis of this exchange in our further contacts.

I look forward to a continuing dialogue between our two governments on these matters.

Yours sincerely,

Joe Clark.

Unquote

C O N F I D E N T I A L

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER CLARK'S LETTER TO  
HIS EXCELLENCY ZIA-UL-HAQ, PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN  
dated at Ottawa, November 7, 1979

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Quote

Dear Mr. President,

My predecessor wrote to you on May 22 about the reports which were then current that Pakistan was in the process of developing a nuclear explosive capability.

These reports have, if anything, gained in prominence in the intervening period. I write to you today, therefore, to associate my government with that of my predecessor in expressing concern about the danger of nuclear proliferation.

I believe that Canada has a fair claim to speak on this issue. We are concerned about nuclear proliferation because we see it as a development that would have a profoundly negative effect on both global and regional stability. We do not believe that it is the answer to Pakistan's preoccupations with security which we recognize as legitimate.

Canada is a significant exporter of nuclear materials, equipment and technology. We have no wish, as Pakistan knows, to deny access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes to a country in need of it to satisfy genuine energy requirements. But Canadians have been and will continue to be concerned that our nuclear cooperation with other countries proceeds under conditions that will give us effective assurance against the use of Canadian nuclear exports for purposes of proliferation.

In setting the stringent requirements that govern our nuclear exports and in conducting our nuclear dealing with other countries, we have endeavoured to be non-discriminatory. Above all, we have not asked any country to submit to conditions on our part which we have not ourselves freely accepted for all our nuclear establishments.

It is against this background that I would ask you to judge my government's concerns about reported developments in Pakistan. I appreciate the public assurance you have given in your speech of August 30 that Pakistan has no intention of using nuclear technology "for manufacturing or acquiring atomic weapons". I should be less than frank, however, if I did not tell you that your assurance falls short of meeting Canadian concerns.

What concerns us is that Pakistan may nevertheless have it in mind to set off a nuclear explosive device. I believe that such a development would have incalculable consequences. Given the fact that the only nuclear power reactor currently operating in Pakistan is of Canadian origin, I am particularly concerned about reactions in Canada. There is no doubt in my mind that these reactions would be bound to

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Quote

have a highly adverse effect on the good and mutually beneficial relations that successive governments on both sides have sought to promote between our two countries. But I am also afraid that such a development in Pakistan, following upon our experience in 1974, could seriously erode the support of Canadians for any policy of nuclear cooperation with the countries of the Third World.

Canada and Pakistan have participated in the international nuclear fuel cycle evaluation which is due to complete its work in February of next year. It is my hope that we can carry this collaboration over into the development of a new international system that will take due account of the needs for access to nuclear technology while, at the same time, foreclosing the increasing proliferation risks that are implicit in the wider availability of fissile materials of weapons grade. I attach the utmost importance to this process and to the contribution it can make in creating a reasonable international consensus as a basis for future nuclear exchanges. I regard nuclear restraint on Pakistan's part as being critical to the achievement of such a consensus.

To underline my deep concern about these matters, I have asked Mr. Klaus Goldschlag to act as my personal emissary in conveying this letter to you. I know that you will give him a serious hearing.

With my best personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd) Joe Clark.

Unquote

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN TO  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA, IN RESPONSE TO MR. CLARK'S  
LETTER TO HIM OF NOVEMBER 7, 1979

Quote

I was happy to be able to receive your personal emissary, Mr. K. Goldschlag, who handed over to me your letter of November 7. I also profited from Mr. Goldschlag's able presentation and elaboration of the contents of your letter and the detailed exchange of views with him. He would have conveyed to you my immediate reactions which I trust have allayed your concerns.

It was my intention to follow up my conversation with Mr. Goldschlag with an early reply to your letter but to my great regret many things have intervened to prevent me from doing so. I feel, however, that despite my current preoccupation with the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan which poses a direct threat to our security, I must reply to you without further delay in view of the importance I attach to the subject matter of your letter.

I fully share your concern over nuclear proliferation and am vividly aware of the danger it poses to regional and global stability.

Our profound concern with the negative effects of nuclear proliferation are fully reflected in our concerted efforts over the years to strengthen a non-proliferation regime in every possible way. For more than a decade we have been concentrating our efforts in the United Nations and other forums towards mobilising support for the provision of nuclear guarantees to non-nuclear weapon states. The Indian nuclear explosion in 1974 prompted us to urge the United Nations to take the initiatives for establishing a South Asian nuclear weapons free zone. Again in our quest to save the region from nuclear proliferation, we initiated a dialogue with India offering to accept any safeguards within or without the purview of the non-proliferation treaty either multilaterally or bilaterally on a non-discriminatory basis. We have also carried out a dialogue on this subject both with the United States and France, not to speak of the past exchanges with your government. We have given to the United States categorical assurances which I have no hesitation in extending to you also that we have no intention of manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons or of transferring to other countries any sensitive nuclear technology we may possess. Our own nuclear programme is entirely peaceful and shall continue to be devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes.

I am fully aware of your preoccupation and that of the United States of America, with the explosion of a nuclear device by Pakistan. Foreign media have conducted a slanderous campaign against Pakistan and have gone to the extent of inciting India to make a pre-emptive strike against our facilities. We are aware of the inspiration behind this mischievous and hostile propaganda and have made our position abundantly clear on this issue.

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Quote

There is no truth whatsoever in the allegation voiced by foreign media that an explosion by Pakistan is imminent. Presently, we do not possess the capability of setting off a nuclear device. Any discussion of this issue at this stage is, therefore, both premature and irrelevant.

You may recall, Mr. Prime Minister, that in the 1960's Pakistan repeatedly urged Canada to apply safeguards on the massive nuclear assistance and know-how which was being supplied to India. Our pleas were disregarded and the result was the shock of India's nuclear explosion in 1974 which did enormous damage to the prospects of international cooperation in the peaceful application of nuclear energy. Curiously enough, Pakistan, which had not violated any agreement or understanding, was penalized for what India had done when Canada decided in December 1976 to abrogate unilaterally its 1959 agreement on nuclear cooperation with Pakistan. We were deeply disappointed at the Canadian decision since we would have welcomed continued cooperation with Canada in the further development of our nuclear power programme. Mr. Goldschlag placed considerable stress on Canadian concern about the possible use of plutonium from Kanupp for non-peaceful purposes. You should have no such concern. The only way to recover plutonium from Kanupp would be through the Franco-Pakistan reprocessing plant project which is still under negotiations and which is subject to the most stringent IAEA safeguards. Pakistan has strictly honoured its obligations under existing international agreements and treaties and you may rest assured that it will continue to do so in the future. We would be very happy to continue to cooperate with Canada in the evolution of a new international system governing future nuclear exchanges and developing arrangements under which the developing countries can have access to peaceful nuclear technology under appropriate safeguards together with credible assurances that security of the non-nuclear weapon states will not be threatened by the nuclear weapon states.

I would like to express my appreciation for the support which Canada has given in the UN General Assembly to Pakistan's resolution for the establishment of a nuclear free zone in South Asia. I would request you to continue to use your good offices to ensure the denuclearisation of this region not only in the interest of the eight hundred million people of this area but of all mankind.

As you would know, Mr. Prime Minister, the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan has brought the Soviet threat to our door, endangering the security not only of Pakistan but of the whole region. We are concentrating all our energies and resources to meet this development from the consequences of which even your country cannot remain immune. We have had some useful exchanges in this regard with the United States and the United Kingdom governments which have perceived the need to delink the nuclear issue from the imperative of meeting Pakistani security needs. It is my earnest hope that Canada will, likewise, overcome its nuclear prejudice and resume its mutually beneficial cooperation with Pakistan in various fields.

Unquote