

## **June 4, 1998**

### **Memo from Strobe Talbott to Sandy Berger**

#### **Citation:**

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#### **Summary:**

Strobe Talbott outlines international efforts against India and Pakistan following nuclear tests by both countries.

#### **Original Language:**

English

#### **Contents:**

Original Scan

**Thursday, June 4, 1998**

**To Sandy Berger – NSC**

**From Strobe Talbott** (ST)

**Sandy:**

- **Re de-linkage:** Attached is Mike's statement on May 29 that the Russians have welcomed as indicating de-linkage. As I read it, it's totally consistent with what POTUS himself said in Birmingham right after the bilateral. I'm working with Bill and Boh on a paper that should reach you by the end of the day along the lines of what you asked for.
- **Re where we go from Geneva on India-Pakistan, the key points, as Bruce and I discussed them this morning...**
  1. **Today the P5 has endorsed essentially our framework and benchmarks for what India and Pakistan have to do work their way back into the good graces of the international community.**

*That does not mean that they can, under any circumstances, become NPT-accepted nuclear weapon states. The only way they can join the NPT is as non-NWS, at that means pulling a South Africa and renouncing nukes. Short of that, they will have to be kept in a kind of purgatory. Part of our challenge is to define that state in a way that does not reward them for what they've done bad but that induces them from doing further bad things – and, in Pakistan's case, does not exacerbate their economic and political insecurity.*

*What this means in terms of our sanctions and partial or even complete relief is a nettle we have to grasp.*

2. The P5 framework becomes the internationally-blessed basis for our own re-engagement with the Indians and Pakistanis. We use the Jaswant Singh meetings next week to begin bilateral engagement (Pickering sees him in NY; Jaswant Singh then come to DC to see me and Bruce).

*The Indians are by far the tougher nut to crack because, unlike the Pakistanis, they are resisting any "internationalization" of South Asian security and political issues (except on terms so broad and global as to be meaningless).*

*Rough analogy: the P5 framework is similar to the Contact Group plan for Kosovo that provided international cover for our unilateral efforts toward Belgrade and Pristina.*

3. We use the G-8 meeting next week to bring in the Japanese and Germans (key 'could-have-been's') and to broaden international support for – and perhaps even improve upon – the P5 framework.
4. Subsequent to the G-8, we launch our own diplomatic initiative toward, and perhaps between, Delhi and Islamabad.
5. We are tolerant, even supportive, of other conferences, groupings, envoys, which will proliferate all over the place. This could include what we're calling the G-X, a U.S.-Russia-China Troika, an Asian Security Conference, or a Conference of Presidents of Major International Organizations Interested in Nuclear Peace in South Asia. "Let a hundred initiatives bloom!" That is, we don't try to

**block them, lest we get accused of monopolizing or being exclusive on behalf of the rich countries or the nuclear ‘have’s’.**

- 6. But we do *not* let the P5 or the G-8 designate, with our approval, a non-American envoy of some kind who has special standing over and above our own efforts.**

*If the G-8 wants, for example, to so designate Lloyd Axworthy, we wish him well and express the view that we’re sure he, like we, will be guided by the P5 framework being announced today (perhaps as amended for the better by the G-8). But we leave ourselves room to operate unilaterally – which is to say, bilaterally with the two parties.*

- 7. We keep in mind the target of using POTUS’s visit in November as a way of consummating whatever progress we can make during the summer and fall.**