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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 9 NEW DELHI 18879

E.O. 12065 GDS 12/7/78 (BLOOD, ARCHER K) OR-M
TAGS: AMGT, OGEN, PEPR, XX
SUBJ: INDIA: AMBASSADOR'S GOALS AND OBJECTIVES 1979

REF: STATE 287307

1. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED
REFTEL, THE POST REVIEWED THE 1978 GORM SUBMISSION
AND PREPARED A NEW SET OF GOALS FOR 1979.
THE PORPOSED GORM TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE CHANGES
WHICH HAVE OCCURED DURING THE PAST YEAR IN INDIA,
ON THE SUBCONTINENT AS A WHOLE AND IN THE UNITED
STATES. THE COMMENTARY ON THE 1978 GOALS AND THE
1979 SUBMISSION REFLECT INPUTS FROM ALL OF THE
AGENCIES WHICH ARE PART OF THE MISION. REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE CONSULATES GENERAL ALSO PARTICIPATED IN THE REVIEW
OF THE FINAL DRAFT.

2. PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE ON CONSULATATIONS,
AMBASSADOR GOHEEN REVIEWED THE INTIAL DRAFT OF
THIS MESSAGE. THE PRESENT VERSION REFLECTS
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MANY OF HIS COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS. THE POST
SUGGESTNTHAT NEA/INS MAKE THIS CABLE AVAILABLE
TO THE AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON FOR HIS REVIEW.
IN PARTICULAR,WE WOULD BRING TO HIS ATTENTION
PARTS 1, 3, 4, AND THE INTRODUCTION TO PART2.

PART # I

BASIC U.S. INTERESTS IN INDIA

WHY IS INDIA IMPORTANT TO US? BECAUSE OF ITS SIZE, POPULATION, PARAMOUNT POSITION IN THE SUBCONTINENT AND LEADERSHIP POSITION IN THE GHIRD WORLD, INDIA POSES A UNIQUE SET OF PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE UNITED STATES AND CONSEQUENTLY ENGAGES OUR INTEREST IN ANUMBER OF IMPORTANT AREAS.

THE SUCCESS OF OUR GLOBAL NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY WILL HANG IN LARGE MEASURE ON OUR SUCCESS IN INDUCING INDIA TO ACCEPT SAFEGUARDS OVER ITS INDIGENOUS NUCLEAR FACILITIES. INDIA'S CURRENT PURSUIT OF NON-ALIGNMENT HAS RESULTED IN A CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT OF INDO-US RELATIONS. WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN DEVELOPMENTS OR A STANDOFF ON ONE OR MORE ISSUES IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE US COULD LEAD INDIA TO A RENEWED TILT TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION.

REGIONAL STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA WILL DEPEND IN NO SAMLL PART ON HOW INDIA REACTS TO DEVELOPMENTS IN AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN AND TO THE HEIGHTENED IMPORTANCE AND SUPPORT WE GIVE PAKISTAN IN THE WAKE OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS. PROGRESS TOWARD OUR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES CANNOT BUT BE AFFECTED BY THE EXTENT TO WHICH WE CAN DRAW INDIA, AN ECONOMIC MODERATE AMONG THE LDCS AND A POLITICAL MODERATE AMONG THE NON-CONFIDENTIAL

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ALIGNED, INTO COLLABORATIVE APPROACHES TO GLOBAL ISSUES. FINALLY, AND NO LESS IMPORTANT, IF WE ARE SUCCESSFULLY TO ADDRESS BASIC HUMAN NEEDS, WE CAN HARDLY BE INDIFFERENT TO WHAT HAPPENS IN NDIA, WITH HALF THE FREE WORLD'S POOR, A BURGEONING POPULATION, A CONCERN FOR DEMOCRATIC VALUES, AND AN ENORMOUS, STILL TO BE REALIZED, AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL.

PART # 2

REPORT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CURRENTLY AGREED UPON GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

IN THE INTERVAL SINCE THE PREVIOUS IMPLEMENTATION REPORT IN FEBRUARY 1978, THREE MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS HAVE CAST A SHADOW OVER OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN INDIA. THEY HAVE SEVED TO RAISE THE STAKES INVOLVED, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME COMPLICATING OUR EFFORTS TO CARRY OUR PURPOSES FORWARD.

THE COUP WHICH BROUGHT A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT TO
POWER IN AFGHANISTAN FOCUSED RENEWED ATTENTION ON THE
VULNERABILITY OF PAKISTAN, AWAKENING PAKISTANI SUSPICIONS
OF INDIA AND INDIAN SUSPICIONS BOTH OF PAKISTAN'S MOTIVES
IN REQUESTING REASSURANCE AND SUPPORT AND U.S. MOTIVES
IN MOVING TO MEET PAKISTAN'S CONCERNS.

THE ENACTMENT OF THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION ACT
BY THE UNITED STATES CREATES A NEW AND EXTREMELY SENSITIVE
ISSUE BETWEEN THE US AND INDIA. SHOULD THE US NOT BE ABLE
TO CONTINUE TO SUPPLY NUCLEAR FUEL, INDIA WOULD HAVE LITTLE
CHOICE BUT TO SEEK ANOTHER WAY TO MEET ITS NUCLEAR NEEDS.

ON THE DOMESTIC INDIAN FRONT, THE DRAMATIC UPSURGE
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IN INDIRA GANDI'S POLITICAL FORTUNES, COUPLED WITH
THE LACKLUSTER PERFORMANCE OF THE DESAI GOVERNMENT,

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RAISES THE SPECTER OF A POSSIBLE CHANGE IN THE INDIAN GOVT.

SUCH A CHANGE COULD, BUT NOT NECESSARILY, MATERIALLY IMPACT ON MATTERS IMPORTANT TO US, RANGING FROM NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TO BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. AT THE VERY LEAST, A RESURGENT MRS. GANDHI WILL PUT THE DESAI GOVT ON THE DEFENSIVE, PARTICULARLY AS TO ITS COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES.

SECTION I. GENERAL STRENGTHENING OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

A. EXPAND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE THROUGH EXCHANGES OF HIGH LEVEL VISITS AND CORRESPONDENCE.

THE VISITS OF THE PRESIDENT TO INDIA IN JANUARY 1978 AND OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES IN JUNE, REINFORCED BY A CONTINUING EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE TWO, CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOUND RELATIONSHIP BASED ON MUTUAL CONFIDENCE DURING THE PAST YEAR. THE VISITS OF SECRETARY OF COMMERCE KREPS, UNDER SECRETARY COOPER AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL ROGERS FURTHERED OUR GOAL OF EXPANDING MUTUAL CONFIDENCE THROUGH HIGH LEVEL VISITS. DEPUTY
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SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S VISIT IN EARLY 1979 WILL CONTINUE THIS DEVELOPMENT. FROM THE INDIAN SIDE, THE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE CHIEFS OF ALL THREE INDIAN SERVICES AND OF SEVERAL MPS WERE HELPFUL, AS WERE FOREIGN MINISTER VAJPAYEE'S DISCUSSIONS AT THE U.N. ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VISITS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE CHIEF JUSTICE, AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND PROMINENT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVING AN INTEREST IN INDIA DID NOT MATERIALIZE.

B. DESPITE OUR DIFFERENCES ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE, MAINTAIN AN OVERALL POSITIVE AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP.

THROUGH CONCERTED EFFORT BOTH IN NEW DELHI AND WASHINGTON WE WERE ABLE TO MAINTAIN A SUBSTANTIVE DIALOGUE WITH INDIA ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE AND TO AVOID RHETORIC AND HISTORICALS. ALTHOUGH THE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ON THIS ISSUE REMAIN UNRESOLVED, NEITHER GOVT HAS PERMITTED THIS FACT TO SOUR THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP.

C. ENCOURAGE BILATERAL COOPERATION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE JOINT COMMISSION AND ITS SUBCOMMISSIONS

THE JOINT COMMISSION STRUCTURE HAS PROVEN A VALUABLE FRAMEWORK FOR HIGH-LEVEL SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS OF PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. IT PROVIDED THE OCCASION FOR VISITS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY PICKERING (SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMISSION) AND UNDER SECRETARY COOPER (ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL). PROGRAM ACTIVITIES HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY STRENGTHENED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE S&T SUBCOMMISSION AND THE NEW INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY WORKING GROUP. THE BIGGEST ACCOMPLISHMENT ON THE SCIENCE AND

TECHNOLOGY SIDE WAS THE SIGNATURE IN AUGUST OF A DOLS 2 MILLION
GRANT TO SUPPORT THE FOREITN EXCHANGE COST OF COLLABORATIVE
SCIENTIFIC PROJECTS WHICH MEET AID'S DEVELOPMENT CRITERIA.
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IN ADDITION, A NUMBR OF NEW RUPEE PROJECTSU UNDER THE S&T
SUBCOMMISSION HAVE BECOME OPERATIONAL IN THE PAST YEAR.
PROJECTS OF THE SUBCOMMISSION ON EDUCATION AND CULTURAL SUCH AS
THE EXCHANGE OF MUSEUM PERSONNEL AND JOINT VENTURES IN TV AND
RADIO EXCHANGE ARE ESTABLISHING DIRECT AND VALUABLE LINKAGES
TO THE CENTRAL ASPECTS OF USICA INDIA'S PROGRAM.

D. SEEK TO ARRANGE VISITS TO INDIA BY APPROPRIATE
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

SINCE THE SUBMISSION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION PLAN IMMEDIATELY
AFTER THE VISITS OF OFFICIAL SENATE AND HOUSE DELEGATIONS IN
JANUARY, THERE HAVE BEEN NO CONGRESSIONAL VISITS TO INDIA AND NONE
IS CURRENTLY PLANNED.

E. NEGOTIATE BILATERAL CONSULAR CONVENTION

NEGOTIATIONS FOR A BILATERAL CONVENTION WERE UNDERTAKEN
BUT NOT CONCLUDED. THE NEGOTIATING TEAM RETURNED TO WASHINGTON
LEAVING UNRESOLVED VARIOUS BILATERAL ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS.
NO FURTHER INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN FORTHCOMING FROM EITHER SIDE.

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F. REDUCE IRRITANT EFFECT OF RESTRICTIONS
OF U.S. IMMIGRATION LAWS.

FRICITION OVER NONIMMIGRANT VISAS HAS
BEEN CONSIDERABLY REDUCED, ALTHOUGH NOT ELIMINATED,
WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF THE 4-YEAR STUDENT VISAS
AND A DROP IN THE OVERALL REFUSEAL RATE. ON THE OTHER
HAND, CERTAIN IMMIGRATION CATEGORIES HAVE RECENTLY
BECOME OVERSUBSCRIBED AND PRESSURES ARE MOUNTING
FOR EARLY OR PREFERENTIAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THESE
CASES.

G. ENCOURAGE EXTENSIVE AND FREQUENT BILATERAL
CONSULTATIONS ON REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES
OF INTEREST TO BOTH COUNTRIES

BOTH THROUGH THE EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE
AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL AND THROUGH NORMAL DIPLOMAIC CHANNELS,
THE TWO COUNTRIES DURING THE PAST YEAR HAVE CONSULTED ON
REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST. WHILE
THERE HAS BEEN A DIALOGUE, WE SHOULD NOT DELUDE OURSELVES
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INTO BELIEVING THAT THESE CONSULTATIONS HAVE NECESSARILY
RESULTED IN A MORE FORTHCOMING INDIAN POSITION. INDIA'S
REACTION TO THE U.S. POSITION ON THE DPSA IS A SIGNIFICANT
EXAMPLE OF INDIA'S DETERMINATION TO PURSUE ITS OWN INTERESTS
IRRESPECTIVE OF U.S. RESERVATIONS. ON LESSER ISSUES INDIA
IS WILLING TO LISTEN TO US VIEWS BUT ITS REACTION WILL
USUALLY BE DETERMINED BY ITS PERCEPTION OF ITS OWN
INTERESTS ON THE ISSUE AT HAND RATHER THAN BY A DESIRE TO
RESPOND POSITIVELY TO A US INITIATIVE. ENGAGING IN SUCH
CONSULTATIONS, PARTICULARLY AT THE CABINET AND SUB-
CABINET LEVEL, HAS THE VERY POSITIVE EFFECT OF MAKING
INDIA FEEL THAT ITS ROLE IS TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY THE U.S.,
EVEN IF THE TWO COUNTRIES CANNOT AGREE ON A COMMON POSITION.

H. CONDUCT ACTIVE PROGRAM OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

GIVEN THE VASTNESS AND COMPLEXITY OF INDIA AND THE SUBSTANTIAL

INDIAN MISTRUST OF AMERICAN MOTIVIES, USICA HAS TO MAKE SOME
HARD CHOICES IN ALLOCATING ITS RESOURCES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY.
USICA CONCENTRATES ITS PROGRAMMING ON A SELECTED NUMBER OF
KEY INDIVIDUALS COUNTRYWIDE AND IN NINE THEMATIC SUBJECT AREAS

DIRECTLY KEYED TO OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES. ACCESS TO INFLUENTIAL INDIANS CONTINUED TO INCREASE AS DID THE INTEREST IN USICA PROGRAMS. SOME UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS CONTINUE, SUCH AS UNFILLED INDIAN REQUESTS FOR AMERICAN CULTURAL FACILITIES, PROGRAMS AND MATERIALS WHICH WOULD APPROACH THE SCALE OF MASSIVE SOVIET PROGRAMS, DIFFICULTY OF IDENTIFYING FUTURE LEADERS AMONG THE YOUNG OF INDIA, AND OCCASIONAL OVERLAP AMONG THE VARIOUS EXCHANGE PROGRAMS.

SECTION II. INDIAN PURSUIT OF RESPONSIBLE NUCLEAR POLICIES
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A. PERSUADE INDIA TO AGREE TO FULL-SCOPE
SAFEGUARDS OR ITS DEFACTO EQUIVALENT.

WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN PERSUADING INDIA TO ACCEPT FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. THE EMBASSY HAS WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE DEPARTMENT IN THIS EFFORT, MOST RECENTLY BY PREPARING FOR AND PARTICIPATING IN HIGH-LEVEL TALKS HERE TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY PANEL ON THIS ISSUE. THE US CONTINUES TO COOPERATE WITH INDIA ON NUCLEAR MATTERS, IN PARTICULAR ASSISTING WITH A RERACKING PROJECT AT TARAPUR. A SHIPMENT OF 7.6 TONS OF NUCLEAR FUEL WAS MADE AFTER THE PRESIDENT EXERCISED HIS AUTHORITY TO OVERRIDE A NUCLEAR REGULATORY COMMISSION DECISION NOT TO APPROVE AN EXPORT LICENSE.

B. ENCOURAGE THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE
TO ESCHEW PNES AND TO PARTICIPATE IN A
COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY WHEN
IT IS NEGOTIATED.

THE DESAI GOVERNMENT HAS NOT REQUIRED ENCOURAGEMENT ON THE PNE ISSUE; ITS FIRM POSITION REMAINS TO ESCHEW ALL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, DESPITE PRESSURE IN THE PARLIAMENT TO THE CONTRARY. WE HAVE PERIODICALLY REMINDED THE INDIANS ABOUT THE PROVISIONS OF US LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD COME INTO EFFECT WERE THIS POLICY TO BE CHANGED. WE CONTINUED TO ENCOURAGE PARTICIPATION IN A CTB TREATY, THOUGH THE DELAY ON THE PART OF THE NUCLEAR STATES IN WORKING UP A DRAFT HAS PUT THAT ISSUE ON THE BACK-BURNER.

C. ENCOURAGE INDIA TO PURSUE NUCLEAR EXPORT
POLICIES PARALLEL TO THOSE OF MAJOR SUPPLIERS.

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WE HAVE CONTINUED TO URGE THIS ON THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT ON APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS AND ARE SATISFIED THAT IT CONTINUES TO BE THE POLICY OF THE GOI NOT TO EXPORT SENSITIVE NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. AS WITH THE PNE ISSUE, WE HAVE POINTED OUT FOR THE INDIANS THE PENALTIES WHICH COULD BE EXACTED UNDER US LEGISLATION WERE CERTAIN EXPORTS TO BE MADE AND HAE ENCOURAGED THE DEAPRTMENT TO CLARIFY THE LEGISLATION FOR THE INDIANS IN THIS REGARD.

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D. -- ENCOURAGE INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE INFCE PROGRAM.

THE INDIANS HAVE FULLY PARTICIPATED IN THE INFCE AND THIS GOAL IS BEING EFFECTIVELY ACHIEVED.

SECTION III. INCREASED REGIONAL STABILITY

A. ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT THE GOVT OF INDIA IN ITS EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING CHINA AND IRAN.

ONE OF THE DESAI GOVT'S MAJOR POLICY OBJECTIVES HAS BEEN TO IMPROVE INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. CHINA AND INDIA HAVE TAKEN SOME HESITANT STEPS TOWARDS INITIATING A DIALOGUE. INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH BANGLADESH, NEPAL AND SRI LANKA HAVE RARELY BEEN BETTER. INDIA HAS BEEN CONCERNED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN BUT HAS ATTEMPTED TO KEEP ITS CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH BOTH GOVTS OPEN.

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INDIA MAY WELCOME US ENCOURAGEMENT OF THESE IMPROVED RELATIONS, BUT THE UNITED STATES INFLUENCE ON INDIA IN THIS REGARD IS LIMITED.

B. ENCOURAGE REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

THE OCCASION FOR ENCOURAGING REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION SPECIFICALLY HAS NOT ARISEN. THE INDIANS CONTINUE TO BE INTENT ON KEEPING WATER DEVELOPMENT IN A BILATERAL CONTEXT AND NO ROLE HAS ARISEN FOR US IN THIS CONTEXT (SEE ALSO PART VI BELOW). THE BANGLADESHIS HAVE FRUSTRATED INDIAN INTEREST IN A REGIONAL COOPERATIVE PROGRAM ON JUTE WHICH MIGHT WARRANT U.S. SUPPORT THROUGH MULTILATERAL CHANNELS.

C. ENCOURAGE CONTINUATION OF EFFORTS BY INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES BILATERALLY AND DEVELOP GREATER CONFIDENCE IN EACH OTHER'S PEACEFUL INTENTIONS.

THE DESAI GOVT DURING 1978 PURSUED ITS POLICY OF ESTABLISHING A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN, BUT PAKISTANI SUSPICIONS OF INDIA INCREASED IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE AFGHAN COUP. THE GOI IS AWARE OF THIS, OF OUR MEASURES TO OFFER PAKISTAN INCREASED REASSURANCES AND OF OUR INTEREST IN INDIA'S DOING WHAT IT CAN TO REDUCE INDO/PAK TENSIONS. IN ITS OWN RIGHT, INDIA HAS AVOIDED STATEMENTS OR ACTIONS THAT COULD BE TAKEN BY THE PAKISTANIS AS THREATENING--WITH THE TWO BIG EXCEPTIONS OF ITS EARLY RECOGNITION OF THE NEW AFGHAN GOVT AND THE DECISION TO PROCEED WITH THE DPSA PURCHASE.

INDO-PAK TRADE NEGOTIATIONS MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN 1978 AND THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE AGREED TO ESTABLISH CONSULATES GENERAL IN ADDITION TO EXISTING EMBASSIES. BUT THE OVERALL RE-

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LATIONSHIP REMAINS A POTENTIALLY VOLATILE ONE. WE HAVE A GREATER

CAPACITY TO AVOID ADDING TO ITS STRAINS THAN TO BRING ABOUT GENUINE CONFIDENCE IN THE PEACEFUL INTENTIONS OF EITHER SIDE.

D. ENCOURAGE POLICIES WHICH WOULD LEAD TO MUTUAL RESTRAINT IN ACQUISITION OF ARMAMENTS BY INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

THE UNITED STATES EXPENDED CONSIDERABLE DIPLOMATIC CAPITAL WITH INDIA IN A STRONG BUT FUTILE EFFORT TO DISCOURAGE INDIA'S PURCHASE OF JAGUAR STRIKE AIRCRAFT. WHILE SOME ELEMENTS OF THE INDIAN GOVT MAY APPRECIATE OUR RELUCTANCE TO PROVIDE PAKISTAN WITH A-7S, OUR WILLINGNESS TO RESUME MAJOR MILITARY DELIVERIES TO PAKISTAN WILL INEVITABLY INHIBIT OUR EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE MUTUAL RESTRAINT IN ARMS ACQUISITION BY BOTH INDIA AND PAKISTAN. IN ADDITION TO THE JAGUAR, INDIA IN THE PAST YEAR HAS CONCLUDED AGREEMENTS TO PURCHASE THE HARRIER FROM GREAT BRITAIN, THE T-72 TANK FROM THE USSR AND IS SEEKING TO ACQUIRE SUBMARINES FROM A EUROPEAN COUNTRY.

E. ENCOURAGE FURTHER BILATERAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN INDIA AND NEPAL AND BETWEEN INDIA AND BANGLADESH IN THE CONTROL OF SHARED WATER RESOURCES.

INDIA HAS MADE PROGRESS IN BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONTROL OF WATER RESOURCES WITH NEPAL, AND PURSUED DISCUSSIONS WITH BANGLADESH. THE UNITED STATES ROLE ON THIS ISSUE WAS PROPERLY ONE OF LOW-KEYED ENCOURAGEMENT. THE ISSUES INVOLVED ARE SENSITIVE FOR THE GOI AND EXTENSIVE US INVOLVEMENT, UNTIL ASKED FOR, WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL. WE SHOULD, HOWEVER, STAND READY TO OFFER ASSISTANCE, POSSIBLY IN A MULTILATERAL (WORLD BANK) CONTEXT.

SECTION IV. BILATERAL COOPERATION ON GLOBAL ISSUES

A. STRENGTHEN BILATERAL COOPERATION BETWEEN INDIA AND THE US ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO THE US IN CONFIDENTIAL

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BOTH THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SPHERES, SUCH AS MTN, UNCTAD, LOS NEGOTIATIONS, ENERGY, HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES.

WE HAVE HAD A RELATIVELY STRONG PROGRAM OF DISCUSSIONS WITH INDIAN OFFICIALS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. THE DEPARTMENT HAS IN GENERAL PROVIDED US WITH GOOD BACKGROUND MATERIAL AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR THESE EXCHANGES, ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN LAPSES. THE VISITS OF UNDER SECRETARY COOPER AND AMBASSADOR WOLFE WERE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL. TO BE FULLY SUCCESSFUL IN ACHIEVING THIS GOAL, WE WOULD NEED A SOMEWHAT HIGHER NUMBER OF VISITS BY WASHINGTON OR USUN OFFICIALS DIRECTLY INVOLVED. IN THIS REGARD, WE ESPECIALLY MISSED A VISIT AT THE POLICY-LEVEL FOR PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS. USICA PROGRAMS SOUGHT TO PROJECT US POSITIONS ON GLOBAL ISSUES IN

DIALOGUES WITH KEY INDIAN INFLUENTIALS BOTH IN AND OUT OF GOVT.

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B. SEEK TO CAPITALIZE ON THE INDIAN GOVERN-
MENT'S CURRENT SUPPORT OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL
RIGHTS FOR ITS CITIZENS BY SEEKING INDIAN
COOPERATION WITH OUR POLICIES IN THIS RESPECT
IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

WE HAVE CONTINUED TO CONSULT CLOSELY ON A BROAD RANGE
OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN AN ATTEMPT TO GET INDIA TO PLAY
A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA. THE GOI, HOWEVER,
IS CAUTIOUS ABOUT INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS
OF OTHER COUNTRIES ON THIS ISSUE. INDIAN CONTINUES TO
EXPRESS INTEREST IN RATIFYING THE UN DECLARATION ON
TORTURE AND IN THE PROCESS OF OBTAINING THE NECESSARY
LEGAL OPINIONS. WE WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL IN OBTAINING
INDIAN SUPPORT ON THE APPOINTMENT OF A UN HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAMMING BY USICA
HAS BEEN WELL RECEIVED.

C. ENCOURAGE CONTINUED INDIAN COOPERATION
IN THE CONTROL OF ILLICIT INTERNATIONAL
NARCOTICS TRAFFIC, BOTH THROUGH ENFORCEMENT

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ACTIVITIES AND IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

OUR WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIAN ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES IN THE FIELD OF NARCOTICS CONTROL HAS CONTINUED TO GROW STRONGER. SEVERAL COOPERATIVE ENFORCEMENT ACTIONS HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFULLY UNDERTAKEN. A SMALL ONE-TIME TRAINING PROGRAM IS UNDER CONSIDERATION. AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL, OUR DELGATIONS COOPERATED CLOSELY ON IMPORTANT ISSUES AT THE LAST UN COMMISSION MEETING AND WE ARE CONSIDERING SUPPORTING THE ELECTION OF THE LEADING INDIAN NARCOTICS CONTROL OFFICIAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL NARCOTISCS CONTROL BOARD.

SECTION V. BETTER BALANCE IN INDIA'S SECURITY RELATIONSHIP

A. CONSISTENT WITH THE RESTRAINTS OF OUR GLOBAL AND REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER POLICIES, BE OPEN TO INDIAN INTEREST IN DIVERSIFYING ITS SOURCES FOR MILITARY SUPPLIES, INCLUDING LIMITED DIRECT SALES.

ALTHOUGH THE U.S. OBJECTED TO INDIA'S ACQUISITION OF A DPSA, THE FACT THAT THE GOI DID SELECT A WESTERN MODEL (THE BRITISH JAGUAR) INDICATES INDIA'S INTEREST IN DIVERSIFYING ITS SOURCES OF MILITARY SUPPLIES. NO MAJOR AGREEMENTS WERE CONCLUDED FOR THE PURCHASE OF US EQUIPMENT, BUT WITH STRONG EMBASSY SUPPORT THE UNITED STATES DID AGREE TO THE RELEASE OF CERTAIN INFORMATION TO INDIA CONCERNING THE TOW MISSILE. THE EMBASSY HAS ALSO ASKED THAT FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN AN INQUIRY FROM INDIA CONCERNING THE SIDEWINDER. A NEW STATEMENT OF POLICY CONCERNING ARMS TRANSFER TO THE COUTRIES OF THE SUBCONTINENT

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WAS DRAFTED AND APPROVED IN WASHINGTON. THE NEW FORMULATION GIVES US MORE FLEXIBILITY IN THIS CONTROVERSIAL AREA.

INDIA SEEMS RELUCTANT TO MAKE REQUESTS FOR ARMS IF THERE IS ANY DOUBT ABOUT OBTAINING AN EXPORT LICENSE. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE US COULD ACT MORE PROMPTLY ON GOI REQUESTS WHICH DO NOT INVOLVE THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW MILITARY TECHNOLOGY INTO THE AREA.

B. INCREASE LEVELS OF TRAINING OF INDIAN MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE U.S.

THE TRAINING OF INDIAN MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE

U.S. DURING 1978 INCREASED BOTH IN TERMS OF NUMBERS OF TRAINEES AND REAL DOLLAR VALUE. THE LEVEL OF USG-FUNDED PARTICIPATION WAS RAISED FROM \$400,000 IN FY 1978 TO \$500,000 IN FY 1979 AND IS PROJECTED TO INCREASE TO \$750,000 IN FY 1980. THE GOI PURCHASED UNDER FMS ONE COURSE IN 1977 AND A SECOND ONE IN 1978. FOR 1979 IT HAS REQUESTED PRICING AND AVAILABILITY DATA FOR 25 STUDENTS.

C. ENCOURAGE THE INDIANS TO CONTINUE TO GIVE BALANCED SUPPORT, IN PUBLIC AS WELL AS IN PRIVATE, TO U.S. - SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN.

OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE HAVE HAD MIXED RESULTS. ON THE ONE HAND, INDIA HAS ENDORSED US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS AND HAS MUTED ITS CRITICISM OF DIEGO GARCIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, INDIA'S PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COMMENTS ON SUSPENSION OF THE TALKS HAVE TENDED TO FIX RESPONSIBILITY ON THE UNITED STATES AND TO OVERLOOK THE SOVIET ACTIONS WHICH LED TO THE U.S. DECISION. INDIA HAS ALSO CONTINUED TO SEEK SUPPORT FOR ITS CONCEPT OF AN INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE.

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SECTION VI. ENHANCEMENT OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION

A. PROMOTE THE EXPANSION AND DIVERSIFICATION OF US - INDIAN TRADE

OUR COUNTRY COMMERCIAL PROGRAM, WHICH INCLUDED STEPPED UP TRADE PROMOTION EFFORT, WAS CARRIED OUT SUCCESSFULLY. A COMMUNICATION TRADE MISSION RESULTED IN SALES OF AS MUCH AS \$8 MILLION. US INTEREST IN INDIA ON THE PART OF US EXPORTERS APPEARS TO BE GROWING, PARTLY IN RESPONSE TO THE GOI'S LIBERALIZATION OF ITS IMPORT POLICY. US EXPORTS TO INDIA ARE 25 O/O HIGHER IN 1978 THAN IN THE COMPARABLE PERIOD LAST YEAR. INDIA IS BEGINNING TO DIVERSIFY ITS EXPORTS TO THE U.S. SECRETARY'S KREPS' RECENT VISIT SHOULD FURTHER STRENGTHEN TRADE TIES.

ALTHOUGH THE PERCENTAGE OF INDIAN IMPORTS FROM THE U.S. ATTRIBUTED TO AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES DECLINED IN 1977 DUE TO CESSATION OF WHEAT IMPORT, THE U.S. REMAINS INDIA'S MOST ACTIVE TRADING PARTNER IN AGRICULTURE. WE HAVE A STRONG INTEREST IN PRESERVING THIS TWO WAY RELATIONSHIP AND WILL CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARKETS FOR A BROADER RANGE OF U.S.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

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B. ENCOURAGE THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP
A MORE POSITIVE FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

OUR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN THE
PAST TEN MONTHS -- INCLUDING THE STRONGLY WORDED MESSAGE
CONVEYED BY ORVILLE FREEMAN AS U. S. CHAIRMAN OF THE
JOINT BUSINESS COUNCIL -- HAVE FAILED TO REVEAL ANY MODIFICATION
OF THE GOVERNMENT'S GENERAL RESTRICTIVE INVESTMENT POLICY. WE
FIND NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS OPENTO
FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE ISSUE. THE APPROPRIATE ROLE
WE CAN PLAY IN THE FUTURE IS TO CLARIFY IN WHAT AREAS THE
GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO ACCEPT FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND/OR
COLLABORATION AGREEMENTS AND TO HELP MAKE THAT INFORMATION
AVAILABLE TO THE AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY EITHER THROUGH THE
JOINT BUSINESS COUNCIL OR COMMERCE DEPARTMENT CHANNELS.

C. ENCOURAGE THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO RESOLVE
BILATERAL INVESTMENT. REMITTANCE AND ARBITRATION
ISSUES.

THE EMBASSY HAS DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE RESOURCES TO ASSISTING
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AMERICAN BUSINESS IN OBTAINING SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO DISPUTES WITH THE GOVERNMENT. OFFICIAL ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES IN THIS REGARD ARE MIXED AND SUCCESS COMES SLOWLY.

D. NEGOTIATE A DOUBLE TAXATION AGREEMENT.

THE UNRESOLVED ISSUE IN THE DOUBLE TAXATION AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS -- THE INDIANS WISH TO HAVE A "TAX SPARING" PROVISION -- WAS DISCUSSED AT THE MEETING OF THE ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL SUBCOMMISSION. IT APPEARS THAT THE US AND INDIAN POSITIONS ARE IRRECONCILABLE.

EM DEVELOP A BILATERAL ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP WHICH IS RESPONSIVE TO INDIAN NEEDS WHILE AVOIDING UNACCEPTABLE LEVELS OF INTERUSION.

THE U. S. SIGNED THREE AGREEMENTS WITH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IN AUGUST OF 1978 TOTALLING \$60 MILLION CONSISTING OF (I) A \$2 MILLION LOAN TO ASSIST INDIA'S ANTI-MALARIAL CAMPAIGN; (II) A \$30 MILLION LOAN TO DEVELOP MEDIUM IRRIGATION PROJECT IN THE STATE OF GUJARAT IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE WORLD BANK; (III) A \$2 MILLION GRANT APPLYING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, PRIMARILY NON-CONVENTIONAL ENERGY DEVELOPMENT, TO INDIA'S RURAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. THIS MARKED THE RESUMPTION OF BILATERAL PROJECT ASSISTANCE AFTER A GAP OF SEVEN YEARS. FOOD AID, WHICH HAD CONTINUED DURING THAT HIATUS UNDER THE PL 480 TITLE I AND II PROGRAMS, WAS ALSO MADE AVAILABLE IN 1978 IN THE AMOUNT OF \$27.8 MILLION AND \$147.3 MILLION RESPECTIVELY.

DISCUSSIONS AND APPRAISALS FOR PROJECTS IN FY 79 AND 80 AT INCREASED LEVELS CONTINUED IN SECTORS CHOSEN AS HIGH PRIORITY AREAS FOR RESOURCE TRANSFERS BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, A RECENT DECISION THAT THE FY 80

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PROGRAM MUST CONTAIN A SUBSTANTIAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE COMPONENT (AROUND 65 PERCENT) TO SATISFY CONGRESS HAS CHANGED THE COMPLEXION OF THE AID PROGRAM AND MAY DISAPPOINT THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD ANTICIPATED THE PREDOMINANT USE OF AID FUNDS TO FINANCE LOCAL COST PROJECTS.

F. ENCOURAGE NEW MULTILATERAL APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING A POSITIVE INDIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD FEASIBILITY STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF THE WATER RESOURCES OF THE GANGES AND BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER BASINS.

OTHER THAN THE PROPOSAL FOR A RIVER BASIN PROJECT,
NO NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR MULTILATERAL APPROACHES TO
DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE HAVE ARISEN. NO FORWARD MOTION
ON THE RIVER BASINS PROPOSAL HAS BEEN POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF
THE CONTINUED INDIAN INSISTENCE THAT WATER RESOURCE
DEVELOPMENT BE CARRIED OUT IN A BILATERAL FRAMEWORK.

G. EXPAND COOPERATION IN THE ENERGY FIELD,
PARTICULARLY IN COAL AND SOLAR ENERGY RESEARCH
AND DEVELOPMENT.

A NUMBER OF PROJECTS DEALING WITH SOLAR ENERGY WERE
DEVELOPED AND SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSSED IN THE S&T SUBCOMMISSION,
AND ARE LIKELY TO BE FORMALLY SUBMITTED IN THE COMING MONTHS
AS SUB PROJECTS UNDER THE AID SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY GRANT.
INDIAN AND AMERICAN COUNTERPARTS HAVE BEEN WORKING ON POSSIBLE NEW PR
OJECTS DEALING WITH COAL.

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H. EXPAND JOINT AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH EFFORTS
AND IDENTIFY JOINT AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WHERE RESEARCH
CAN BE TESTED.

JOINT AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH COOPERATION HAS BEEN INTENSIFIED
,
PRIMARILY THROUGH IDENTIFICATION OF HIGHEST PRIORITY RESEARCH

BY THE AGRICULTURAL WORKING GROUP OF THE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMISSION. IMPLEMENTATION OF INDIVIDUAL SPECIFIC SPECIAL FOREIGN CURRENCY (SFC) AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH PROJECTS HAS BEEN INCREASED. DISCUSSIONS HAVE COMMENCED TO COORDINATE RUPEE FINANCING WITH FOREIGN EXCHANGE AVAILABLE TO THE INDIAN GOVT UNDER THE DOLS 2.0 MILLION SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY GRANT.

NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEGUN WITH THE INDIAN GOVT FOR AN AID-FUNDED LOAN DESIGNED TO EXPAND THE TECHNICAL RESEARCH AND EDUCATION CAPACITY OF INDIAN AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITIES AND RESEARCH INSTITUTES WITH PRIMARY TECHNICAL INPUT FROM THE US SIDE COMING FROM US LAND GRANT INSTITUTIONS (TITLE XII).
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SECTION VII. ENHANCEMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION.

A. EXPAND COLLABORATION IN NON-MILITARY SPACE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

IN GENERAL, WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE IMPROVED PACE OF SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL INTERCHANGES. SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES AND WORKSHOPS CONTINUE TO BE WELL REGARDED BY BOTH THE SENDING AND RECEIVING INSTITUTIONS. OUR COLLABORATION IN NON-MILITARY SPACE SCIENCE HAS BEEN FOSTERED BY A WORKSHOP ON THE USES OF REMOTE SENSING LAST APRIL, IN ADDITION TO THE ACTIVITIES MENTIONED IN THE LAST REPORT. PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS HAVE CONTINUED THEIR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP CLOSER RELATIONSHIPS.

B. ENCOURAGE INDIA TO STREAMLINE COOPERATIVE SCIENTIFIC CLEARANCE PROCEDURES.

NOTABLE PROGRESS WAS MADE IN STREAMLINING GOI CLEARANCE PROCEDURES FOR COLLABORATIVE SCIENTIFIC PROJECTS. THE LONG PROPOSED SCREENING COMMITTEE TO HANDLE APPLICATIONS FROM MINISTRIES OTHER THAN HEALTH AND AGRICULTURE HAS NOW BEEN ESTABLISHED AND HAS ACTUALLY SCREENED TEN PROJECTS. HOWEVER, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE GOI INTERNAL CLEARANCE MECHANISM WILL PROBABLY REMAIN A RAIRLY CUMBERSOME ONE.

C. EXPAND USG-FINANCED EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES ,
INCLUDING ACADEMIC-SCHOLARLY EXCHANGES.

USICA INDIA BUILT UPON AND TOOK ADVANTAGE OF WELL-ORGANIZED
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INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONDUCTING EXCHANGES (USEFI, THE INDO-AMERICAN SUBCOMMISSION ON EDUCATION AND CULTURE, THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INDIAN STUDIES, AND THE AMERICAN STUDIES RESEARCH CENTRE). THE CLIMATE FOR EXCHANGE AND INTER-ACTION WAS FURTHER IMPROVED WITH THE LEVEL OF FUNDING FOR THESE ACTIVITIES INCREASING BETWEEN FY '77 AND FY'78 BY APPROXIMATELY ONE-THIRD. BUT, UNFORTUNATELY, THE FY '79 BUDGET REPRESENTS A DECLINE IN FUNDS TO BE PROGRAMMED AND, THEREFORE, A DIMINISHED ABILITY TO CAPITALIZE ON THE TREND ESTABLISHED IN 1978. SUB-COMMISSION PROJECTS SUCH AS THE EXCHANGE OF MUSEUM PERSONNEL AND JOINT VENTURES NOW STARTING IN TV AND RADIO EXCHANGE ESTABLISHED DIRECT AND VALUABLE LINKAGES TO THE CENTRAL ASPECTS OF USICA INDIA'S LONG-TERM PROGRAM. OVERLAPPING AND DUPLICATION OF SOME PROGRAMS AND A LACK OF CONCENTRATION ON AGREED PRIORITIES STILL HAMPERS OPTIMUM USE OF THE RELATIVELY MODEST RESOURCES AVAILABLE.

D. SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE JOINT ACTIVITIES AND OTHER RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PRIVATE GROUPS IN BOTH COUNTRIES

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY OUTSIDE FORMAL GOVT-TO-GOVT CHANNELS WAS ENHANCED AND ON THE WHOLE RESTRICTIONS WHICH HAD IMPEDED SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH WERE LESSENED. IN SOME CASES, HOWEVER, PROBLEMS OF OBTAINING U.S. VISAS FOR INDIAN STUDENTS AND INDIAN VISAS FOR U.S. RESEARCHERS CONTINUED TO BE AN IRRITANT.

E. PERSUADE INDIA TO LIFT OR RELAX ITS EMBARGO ON THE EXPORT OF RHESUS MONKEYS FOR MEDICAL PURPOSES.

THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA REMAINS AS ADAMANT AS EVER THAT INDIA WILL NOT PERMIT THE EXPORT OF ANY MONKEYS, INCLUDING THE RHESUS MONKEYS URGENTLY NEEDED FOR RESEARCH IN VACCINE PRODUCTION IN THE U.S. AND ELSEWHERE. THIS SUBJECT WAS TAKEN UP AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL BY BOTH THE USG AND WHO, WITHOUT POSITIVE RESULT. A RENEWED APPROACH WAS MADE AT THE TIME OF THE S&T SUBCOMMISSION MEETING AND THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.
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PART # 3

KEY POLICY LEVEL ISSUES OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS

THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT POLICY ISSUE WHICH THE UNITED STATES WILL FACE IN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA IS THE NUCLEAR QUESTION. A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION HAS BEEN MADE WITH JOINT AGREEMENT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE ON SAFEGUARDS. THE POSSIBILITY OF A COLLISION COURSE REMAINS GREAT, HOWEVER, AS THE UNITED STATES IS BOUND BY THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION ACT OF 1978 AND INDIA IS DETERMINED TO HOLD US TO THE TERMS OF THE 1963 AGREEMENT UNDER WHICH WE ARE TO SUPPLY TARAPUR THROUGH 1993.

ANOTHER SET OF ISSUES WHICH WILL BE IMPORTANT WILL STEM FROM INDIAN AND US PERCEPTIONS OF REGIONAL SECURITY REQUIREMENTS IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN, AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN.

THE GRADUAL INCREASE IN AID LEVELS ALSO OPENS UP
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POTENTIAL POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. OUR ABILITY TO DEVELOP AND MANAGE A SUCCESSFUL AID PROGRAM WILL BE CONSTRAINED BY INTENSE CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST BOTH IN INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AND IN UNRELATED ASPECTS OF INDIAN POLICY.

A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA OR THE CONTINUED INSTABILITY OF ANY OF ITS NEIGHBORS COULD, OF COURSE,

DRASTICALLY CHANGE THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AND
COULD BRING TO THE FORE OTHER ISSUES WHICH DO NOT ARISE
IN THE PRESENT SETTING.

PAR # 4

RECOMMENDED CHANGES IN GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

WE RECOMMEND SOME CHANGES IN OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES,
DESIGNED TO (A) ACHIEVE A CLOSER CORRELATION BETWEEN
STATED OBJECTIVES AND THE TIME AND RESOURCES WE ACTUALLY
DEVOTE TO THEM, (B) REFLECT THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENTS
IN THE PAST NINE MONTHS, AND (C) DISPENSE WITH "PIE IN THE
SKY" OBJECTIVES WHICH STRIKE US AS SO REMOTE OF REALIZATION AS
NOT TO WARRANT INCLUSION IN AN AGENDA FOR ACTION.
OUR REEXAMINATION BROUGHT HOME TO US THE DESIRABILITY OF
AN ANNUAL REASSESSMENT OF GOALS AND OBJECTIVES.

THE PRINCIPA RECOMMENDED CHANGES IN THE REVISED
LIST OF GOALS AND OBJECTIVES WHICH FOLLOW ARE:

(A) ADDITION OF AN OBJECTIVE UNDER "GENERAL
STRENGTHENING OF BILATERAL RELATIONS" ON CLOSE MONITORING
OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA, BOTH TO REFLECT
THE ACTUAL IMPORTANCE AND RESOURCES WE ASSIGN TO THIS
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EFFORT AND TO EMPHASIZE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SUCH
DEVELOPMENTS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR GOALS AND
OBJECTIVES.

(B) IN THE SAME SECTION, ADDITION OF AN
OBJECTIVE TO LIMIT THE ADVERSE IMPACT OF INCREASED US
SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN.

(C) ADDITION OF A CONTINGENCY OBJECTIVE UNDER
"DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN NUCLEAR POLICIES" SPECIFYING
OUR PURPOSES IN THE EVENT INDO-US NUCLEAR COOPERATION
IS TERMINATED.

(C) UNDER "ENHANCEMENT OF ECONOMIC COOPER-
ATION" DELETION OF THE OBJECTIVE CALLING UPON US TO
ENCOURAGE A POSITIVE INDIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MULTI-
LATERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WATER RESOURCES OF THE GANGES
AND BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER BASINS.

(E) TRANSFER OF OBJECTIVE ON COOPERATION IN
THE ENERGY FIELD FROM "ENHANCEMENT OF ECONOMIC OBJECTIVE"
TO "ENHANCEMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION."

(F) ADDITION OF AN OBJECTIVE TO EXPAND US
AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS TO INDIA.

AMBASSADOR'S GOALS AND OBJECTIVES --- INDIA

I. GENERAL STRENGTHENING OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

-- CONTINUE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP
THROUGH EXCHANGES OF VISITS AND CORRESPONDENCE AT
HIGH LEVELS, INCLUDING VISITS TO INDIA BY APPROPRIATE
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

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-- MAINTAIN AN OVERALL POSITIVE AND COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE
ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE AND, IF NECESSARY, LIMIT THE
ADVERSE IMPACT OF THIS OVERALL ISSUE ON INDO-US
RELATIONS.

-- MONITOR CLOSELY INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA SO
THAT THE USG CAN TAILOR PROGRAMS AND POLICIES TO
THE REALITIES OF THE INDIA SITUATION.

-- EXPAND BILATERAL COOPERATION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE
JOINT COMMISSION AND ITS SUBCOMMISSIONS.

-- LIMIT THE ADVERSE IMPACT ON INDO-US RELATIONS OF A
USG DECISION TO INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY SECURITY
ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN.

-- MOVE FORWARD ON THE NEGOTIATION OF A BILATERAL
CONSULAR CONVENTION.

- INCREASE PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF US IMMIGRATION LAWS
AND EFFORTS TO ADMINISTER THEM POSITIVELY.

-- ENCOURAGE EXTENSIVE AND FREQUENT BILATERAL CONSULTA-
TIONS ON REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES OF INTEREST TO
BOTH COUNTRIES.

-- CONDUCT ACTIVE PROGRAM OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN SUPPORT
OF THE ABOVE OBJECTIVES.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN NUCLEAR POLICIES

-- PERSUADE INDIA TO AGREE TO SAFEGUARDS WHICH WILL
MEET OUR LEGAL REQUIREMENTS.

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-- ENCOURAGE THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE TO ESCHEW
PNES AND TO PARTICIPATE IN A COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR
TEST BAN TREATY WHEN THIS IS NEGOTIATED.

-- ENCOURAGE INDIA TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN NUCLEAR
EXPORT POLICIES PARALLEL TO THOSE OF MAJOR SUPPLIERS.

- IN THE EVENT OF THE TERMINATION OF INDO-US NUCLEAR
COOPERATION, TO PERSUADE THE GOI TO (1) KEEP THE
TARAPUR ATOMIC POWER STATION UNDER CONTINUING IAEA
SAFEGUARDS, AND (2) AGREE NOT TO REPROCESS THE
SPENT US FUEL WHICH HAS ACCUMULATED THERE.

-- ENCOURAGE CONTINUED INDIA PARTICIPATION IN THE INTER-
NATIONAL FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION PROGRAM.

III. INCREASED REGIONAL STABILITY

-- ENCOURAGE THE GOI IN ITS EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS
WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING CHINA.

-- ENCOURAGE INDIA TO ADOPT AND MAINTAIN PLICIES TOWARD
IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN WHICH ARE COMPATIBLE WITH OUR
INTERESTS.

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--ENCOURAGE, IN A LOW KEY MANNER, CONTINUATION OF EFFORTS BY INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES BILATERALLY.

--ENCOURAGE MUTUAL RESTRAINT IN THE ACQUISITION OF ARMAMENTS BY INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

--ENCOURAGE BILATERAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN INDIA AND NEPAL AND INDIA AND BANGLADESH IN THE CONTROL AND UTILIZATION OF SHARED WATER RESOURCES. CONTINUE TO BE ALERT TO THE POSSIBILITIES FOR A MULTILATERAL APPROACH TO THIS PROBLEM.

IV. IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL COOPERATION ON GLOABL ISSUES

--STRENGTHEN BILATERAL COOPERATION BETWEEN INDIA AND THE US ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF PARTI ULAR CONCERN TO THE US IN BOTH THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SPHERES, SUCH ASUNCTAD, LOS NEGOTIATIONS, ENERGY, HEALTH ENVIRONMENTAL, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ISSUES.

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--CAPITALIZE ON THE INDIAN GOVT'S SUPPORT OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR ITS CITIZENS BY SEEKING INDIAN COOPERATION WITH OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

--ENCOURAGE CONTINUED INDIAN COOPERATION IN THE CONTROL OF ILLICIT INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS TRAFFIC, BOTH THROUGH ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES AND INTERNATIONAL FORA.

V. BETTER BALANCE IN INDIA'S SECURITY RELATIONSHIPS.

--CONSISTENT WITH THE RESTRAINTS OF OUR GLOBAL AND REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER POLICIES, REMAIN OPEN TO INDIA'S INTEREST IN DIVERSIFYING ITS SOURCES OF MILITARY SUPPLIES, INCLUDING LIMITED DIRECT SALES BY THE U.S.

--CONTINUE GRADUAL INCREASE IN LEVELS OF TRAINING OF INDIAN MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE U.S.

--ENCOURAGE INDIA TO GIVE BALANCED SUPPORT, IN PUBLIC AS WELL AS IN PRIVATE, TO US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN.

VI. ENHANCEMENT OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION

--PROMOTE THE EXPANSION AND DIVERSIFICATION OF US-INDIAN TRADE.

--MONITOR THE GOI'S APPLICATION OF ITS FOREIGN INVESTMENT POLICY AND PROVIDE AMERICAN BUSINESS INTERESTS WITH CURRENT INFORMATION ON NEW INVESTMENT AND COLLABORATION OPPORTUNITIES.

--SUPPORT THE EXPANSION OF COMMERCIAL TRADE IN AGRICULTURE WITH EMPHASIS ON SECURING EQUITABLE ACCESS FOR A BROADER RANGE OF US AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

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--ENCOURAGE THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO RESOLVE BILATERAL INVESTMENT, REMITTANCE, AND ARBITRATION ISSUES.

--CONTINUE A BILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AT GRADUALLY INCREASING LEVELS AS A STRONG POSITIVE COMPONENT IN OUR OVERALL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, TAKING CARE TO RESPOND TO INDIAN PRIORITIES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND TO AVOID UNACCEPTABLE LEVELS OF INTRUSION.

--EXPAND JOINT AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH EFFORTS AND IDENTIFY JOINT AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WHERE RESEARCH CAN BE TESTED.

VII. ENHANCEMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION

--EXPAND COLLABORATION IN NON-MILITARY SPACE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

--ENCOURAGE INDIA TO MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY IN CLEARING PROPOSED SCIENTIFIC PROJECTS.

--EXPAND COOPERATION IN THE ENERGY FIELD, PARTICULARLY IN COAL AND SOLAR ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

--EXPAND USG-FINANCED EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES INCLUDING ACADEMIC-SCHOLARLY EXCHANGE.

--SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE JOINT ACTIVITIES AND OTHER RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PRIVATE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND CULTURAL AND ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS.

--PURSUE A QUIET DIALOGUE WITH THE INDIAN SCIENTIFIC AND HEALTH COMMUNITY ON THE IMPORTANCE OF RHESUS MONKEYS FOR HEALTH AND MEDICAL RESEARCH PURPOSES, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF REOPENING THE QUESTION OF MONKEY EXPORTS.
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