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(2 of 2)

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: TAHIR-KHELI, SHIRIN R.: Files

Archivist: mjd

File Folder: PAKIS: Presidential Determinations '88 (2)

Date: 7/1/98

Box 91880 4

OCUMENT . AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
nemo	Robert Oakley to Colin Powell re Determination, 1p—	n.d.	P 1
1 '	Oakley to Powell re-Determination, 2p " #239	5/13/88	-P1
1	Powell to the President re UNGOMAP Operations, 2p 11 #240	n.d.	P1
	Michael Armicost to the President re Foreign Assistance Act, 2p & 3/2/06 F76-/25/1 4	1	P1
icmo	Oakley to Powell re Presidentail Waivers for Pakistan, 1p R, 6 1400 NLSF96-12811 # 24Z	1/7/87	P1
nemo 1	Powell to the President re Determination, 2p	1/12/87	P1
nemo	George Shultz to the President re Determinaton, 3p	1/11/88	P1
nemo	Powell to President re Determination [annotated], 1p	1/12/88	P1
nemo]	Powell to President re Determination, [annotated], 2p 7, 6/14/00 NUSF96-128/1 #246	11/12/88	P1
	same as item # 7, 3p P 3/2/4 F-96-128/1# 247	1/11/88	P1
memo l	Powell to President re Determination, 1p	n.d.	P1
memo s	same as item #11, 1p Pr 6/14/00 MISF96-128/1 #249	n.d.	P1
memo (Dakley to Powell re Waivers, 1p R, 6/14/00 NLSF96-1281, #250	1/7/87	P1
memo l I	Powell to the President re Determination, 2n	n.d.	P1
	Shultz to the President re Determination, 3p P 3/2/06 F76-125/1 # 252	1/11/88	P1
memo I	Powell to the President re Determination, 2p P, 6/14/00 NL5F96-/28/1 #25/ Shultz to the President re Determination, 3p	n.d.	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
 P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRAI.
- Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

of the FOIA].

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
 F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statue [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
 F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of
- the FOIA].
 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
 F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9)

PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name TAHIR-KHELI, SHIRIN: FILES

Withdrawer

LOJ

5/21/2007

File Folder

PAKIS: PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATIONS 1988 (2)

FOIA

F96-128/1

Box Number	91880		
ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date
4 MFMO	MICHAEL ARMACOST TO TH	_{1E} MVH 3/5/08 ₂	-5/12/1088
T 17151710	PRESIDENT RE FOREIGN ASS	SISTANCE -	-3/12/17/00
7—MEMO	-ACT- SHULTZ TO THE PRESIDENT DETERMINATION	RE MVH 3/5/08 3	<u> 1/11/1988</u>
10 MEMO	SHULTZ TO THE PRESIDENT DETERMINATION	BE WAH 3/2/08 3	- 1/11/1988-
1 5 MEMO	SHULTZ TO THE PRESIDENT DETERMINATION	RE MUU 3/5/083	-1/11/1988

MSG FROM: ROSTOW --VAXC TO: NSBJB --CPUA 05/13/88 16:1

To: NSBJB --CPUA

Subject: UNGOMAP CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

13-May-1988 16:11 EDT

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S) WON GISIS

MEMORANDUM FOR:

B. J. Burson

(BURSON)

FROM:

Nicholas Rostow

(ROSTOW)

SUBJECT:

UNGOMAP

A Document is attached to this message

I E.

.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM:

ROBERT B. OAKLEY

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determination for UNGOMAP

Attached at Tab B is a memorandum from Acting Secretary of State Armacost requesting that the President authorize U.S. transportation of observers and equipment to Islamabad so that the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) may commence on schedule its mission pursuant to the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. This assistance will cost \$224,000, and would be authorized pursuant to section 552(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, 22 U.S.C. 2348(a)(c). The section provides for such assistance "

NLS F96-128 1 # 238

NLS F96-128 1 # 238

NARA, DATE 6/15/00

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

May 13, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM:

ROBERT B. OAKLEY

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determination for UNGOMAP

Attached at Tab B is a memorandum from Acting Secretary of State Armacost requesting that the President authorize U.S. transportation of observers and equipment to Islamabad so that the United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) may commence on schedule its mission pursuant to the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. This assistance will cost \$224,000, and would be authorized pursuant to section 552(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, 22 U.S.C. 2348(a)(c). section provides for such assistance "[i]f the President determines that, as the result of an unforeseen emergency, the provision of assistance under this part in excess of funds otherwise available for such assistance is important to the national interests of the United States". State informs us that other, normally available funds for "Peacekeeping Operations" already are earmarked for other purposes. In this instance, assistance would take the form of a "drawdown of commodities and services" from the Department of Defense.

Though this provision has never been used before, it is well understood in Congress and the State Department that "unforeseen emergency" in fact means a requirement for assistance that was unanticipated when the Administration made its previous request for foreign assistance appropriations.

Prior to making the necessary determination, the President must notify the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in writing of his intention to make a section 552(c) determination and his reasons for it. Accordingly, your memorandum (TAB I) asks the President to sign a memorandum to the Secretary of State directing him to make the necessary notification. Once such notification has been made, signature of a presidential determination is required to authorize the assistance.

GONFIDENTIAL
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

NLS F98-128 1 # 239

NARA, DATE (6/15/00)

Nicholas	Rostow,	Alison	Fortier,	and	Robert	Dean	concur.
			ST.K	fo			

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum for the President at Tab I.

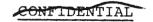
Approve	 Disapprove	

Attachments:

TAB I Memorandum for the President

TAB A Memorandum to The Secretary of State TAB I Justification

TAB B Incoming Memorandum from Acting Secretary Armacost



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

COLIN L. POWELL

SUBJECT:

Furnishing of Transport Services for UNGOMAP Operations in Support of the

Geneva Settlement

Issue

Whether to authorize using Department of Defense services to provide air transport for observers and equipment of the United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) under Chapter 6 of Part II of the Foreign Assistance Act.

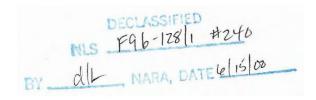
Facts

State has requested authorization for use of \$224,000 under Section 552(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act to provide transportation to UNGOMAP.

Discussion

UNGOMAP has formally asked for USG assistance. Normally, such assistance could be funded under the "Peacekeeping Operations" account of the Foreign Assistance Act. However, all funds for the current fiscal year have already been earmarked. You can, however, direct the provision of these services under section 552(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act for an "unforeseen emergency" if it is important to the national interest. The need to provide such emergency services was unforeseen and unforeseeable at the time Congress last appropriated funds for foreign assistance, and assisting UNGOMAP, which is a key part of the Geneva settlement, is in the national interests of the United States.

CONFIDENCIAL DECLASSIFY ON: OADR





For these reasons, section 552(c)'s peacekeeping and related operations drawdown authority can and should be used for this purpose. Under section 652, the process is initiated by notifying the Speaker of the House and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of your intention to exercise the drawdown authority. Once this notification has been made, it will be appropriate for you to sign a determination.

Recommendation

OK NO

NO Sign the memorandum to the Secretary of State (TAB A) directing him to notify the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on your behalf of your intention to exercise your authority under Section 552(c) and to transmit the attached Justification.

Thereafter, I will inform you that notification has taken place and recommend that you sign a presidential determination under Section 552(c) authorizing the assistance.

Attachments:

TAB A Your Memorandum to the Secretary of State
TAB I Justification

TAB B Incoming Memorandum from Acting Secretary Armacost

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT:

Furnishing of Transport Services for UNGOMAP Operations in Support of the Geneva Settlement

In accordance with section 652 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (the "Act"), I authorize you to notify the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on my behalf that, pursuant to section 552(c) of the Act, I intend to authorize the Department of Defense to provide transportation assistance to the United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) in connection with UNGOMAP's duties under the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. In making this notification, you should use the attached written justification. As soon as the notification has been made, I shall sign an appropriate determination authorizing such assistance.

Attachment:

TAB I Justification

TAB

Ι

Justification for Presidential Determination to Authorize the Furnishing of Air Transport for UNGOMAP

Section 552(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, authorizes the provision of services from the resources of any United States Government agency if the President determines that (1) an unforeseen emergency requires the immediate provision of assistance in support of a peacekeeping operation or other programs carried out in furtherance of the national security interests of the United States by an international organization in amounts in excess of funds available under Chapter 6 of Part II, and (2) such provision of assistance is important to the national interests of the United States.

The signing of the Geneva Settlement was a pivotal event in the effort to free Afghanistan from Soviet military occupation and domination. The fruition of this struggle during fiscal year 1988 was unforeseen and unforeseeable until very recently. It is essential for the United States to lend assistance without undue delay, along with our friends and allies who have pledged to assist, where called upon by the United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP).

The United Nations has now formally requested US assistance to transport some of its UNGOMAP observers and support equipment to the area. They must be in place by May 15, the date of entry into force of the settlement. We are thus contronted with an emergency situation. UNGOMAP is a key part of the Afghanistan settlement, and our support for it is therefore clearly in the national interests.

UNGOMAP lacks available resources to pay for these services (which are estimated to cost approximately \$224,000). We, too, lack available fiscal year 1988 "Peacekeeping Operations" funds (all of which are inalterably earmarked). For these reasons, I have concluded that use of the emergency authorities provided by Section 552(c) are warranted and I am directing that the Defense Department provide the United Nations with the necessary services to transport by air UNGOMAP observors and equipment to Islamabad via London, Tel Aviv and perhaps another stop.

T A B

В

DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

May 12, 1988

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Michael H. Armacost, Acting MX

SUBJECT:

Foreign Assistance Act Drawdown: Providing Air Transport Assistance to the UN's Afghanistan

Settlement Good Offices Mission

The United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) has formally requested USG assistance to transport observers and equipment to the area to expedite implementation of the Geneva Settlement through which the Soviet troops will be withdrawing. In particular, we have been asked to fly UNGOMAP observors and equipment to Islamabad via London, Tel Aviv and perhaps another stop. The Defense Department estimates the cost at \$224,000.

Normally, such assistance could be funded under the "Peacekeeping Operations" account of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. Unfortunately, all funds appropriated to this account for the current fiscal year have been earmarked (and exempted from any extraordinary earmark breaking authority). You can, however, direct the provision of these types of services under the authority of Section 552(c) of the FAA if you find that

- (1) there is "an unforeseen emergency" which requires "the provision of assistance under this chapter in amounts in excess of funds otherwise available for such assistance,"
- (2) providing such assistance is important to the national interest.

I believe that such a finding is warranted in this case. As more fully explained in the attached memorandum of justification, the effective implementation of the Accords of the Settlement requires that UNGOMAP be in place as soon as possible before May 15, when the instruments enter into force. Given the limited available time, it is essential that UNGOMAP

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CONFIDENTIAL DECL:OADR

-CONFIDENTIAL

find a simple and expeditious means to get its personnel in place. The need to provide such emergency services was unforeseen and unforeseeable at the time Congress last appropriated funds for foreign assistance, and UNGOMAP, which is a key part of the pivotal Geneva settlement, is clearly in the national interests of the United States.

For these reasons, I believe that the peacekeeping and related operations drawdown authority can and should be used for this purpose. Under Section 652 of the FAA, the process would be initiated by informing the Speaker of the House, and the Chairmen of the Foreign relations and Appropriations Committees of each House of your intention to exercise the drawdown authority. Once consultations with Congress are concluded, I will inform you whether to sign the attached draft Determination.

Section 654(c) of the FAA requires that your Determination be published in the Federal Register, unless you conclude that such publication would be harmful to the national security. I do not believe that publication of this Determination would have harmful national security consequences.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve my formal written notification to Congress that you intend to exercise your authority under Section 552(c) of the FAA, including transmittal of the attached justification.

Thereafter, I will inform you of Congressional reaction in anticipation of recommending that you sign the attached Determination under Section 552(c).

The Department of Defense supports this recommendation.

Attachments:

Tab 1 - Draft Presidential Determination.

Tab 2 - Memorandum of Justification.

DECL: OADR

DRAFT

Pres	side	ntial	Det	erm	ina	ti	on
No.							

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT:

Determination to Authorize the Furnishing of Transport Services for UNGOMAP Operations in Support of the Geneva Settlement

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by Section 552(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended ("the Act"), I hereby determine that:

- (1) an unforeseen emergency exists which requires the provision of assistance in amounts in excess of funds otherwise available for such assistance; and
- (2) providing such assistance by immediate drawdown of resources of the Department of Defense is important to the national interest.

Therefore, I hereby authorize using Department of Defense services to provide air transport for observers and equipment of the United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) under Chapter 6 of Part II of the Act.

This determination shall be reported to Congress immediately and published in the Federal Register.

Justification for Presidential Determination to Authorize the Furnishing of Air Transport for UNGOMAP

Section 552(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, authorizes the provision of services from the resources of any United States Government agency if the President determines that (1) an unforeseen emergency requires the immediate provision of assistance in support of a peacekeeping operation or other programs carried out in furtherance of the national security interests of the United States by an international organization in amounts in excess of funds available under Chapter 6 of Part II, and (2) such provision of assistance is important to the national interests of the United States.

The signing of the Geneva Settlement was a pivotal event in the effort to free Afghanistan from Soviet military occupation and domination. The fruition of this struggle during fiscal year 1988 was unforeseen and unforeseeable until very recently. It is essential for the United States to lend assistance without undue delay, along with our friends and allies who have pledged to assist, where called upon by the United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP).

The United Nations has now formally requested US assistance to transport some of its UNGOMAP observers and support equipment to the area. They must be in place by May 15, the date of entry into force of the settlement. We are thus confronted with an emergency situation. UNGOMAP is a key part of the Afghanistan settlement, and our support for it is therefore clearly in the national interests.

UNGOMAP lacks available resources to pay for these services (which are estimated to cost approximately \$224,000). We, too, lack available fiscal year 1988 "Peacekeeping Operations" funds (all of which are inalterably earmarked). For these reasons, I have concluded that use of the emergency authorities provided by Section 552(c) are warranted and I am directing that the Defense Department provide the United Nations with the necessary services to transport by air UNGOMAP observors and equipment to Islamabad via London, Tel Aviv and perhaps another stop.

Redon

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Presidential	Determination
No.	

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT:

Determination Pursuant to Section 670(a) and Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act, as Amended

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including Sections 620E(d) and Section 670(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended ("the Act"), I hereby:

- (1) determine pursuant to Section 670(a)(1) of the Act that material, equipment, or technology covered by that provision was to be used by Pakistan in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device; and,
- (2) determine and certify, as a result of the determination in paragraph (1) above and pursuant to Section 670(a)(2) of the Act, that not providing assistance referred to in Section 670(a)(1) of the Act to Pakistan would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of United States nonproliferation objectives and otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security; and,
- (3) determine, pursuant to Section 620E(d) of the Act, that the provision of assistance to Pakistan under the Act through April 1, 1990, is in the national interest of the United States and therefore waive the prohibitions of Section 669 of the Act with respect to that period.

You are hereby authorized and directed to report immediately this determination and certification, together with the statement setting forth specific reasons therefor, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Presidential	Determination
No.	

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT:

Determination Pursuant to Section 670(a) and Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act, as Amended

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including Sections 620E(d) and Section 670(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended ("the Act"), I hereby:

- (1) determine pursuant to Section 670(a)(1) of the Act that material, equipment, or technology covered by that provision was to be used by Pakistan in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device; and,
- (2) determine and certify, as a result of the determination in paragraph (1) above and pursuant to Section 670(a)(2) of the Act, that not providing assistance referred to in Section 670(a)(1) of the Act to Pakistan would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of United States nonproliferation objectives and otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security; and,
- (3) determine, pursuant to Section 620E(d) of the Act, that the provision of assistance to Pakistan under the Act through April 1, 1990, is in the national interest of the United States and therefore waive the prohibitions of Section 669 of the Act with respect to that period.

You are hereby authorized and directed to report immediately this determination and certification, together with the statement setting forth specific reasons therefor, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Presidential	Determination
No.	

SECRETARY OF STATE
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ
The Secretary of State

SUBJECT:

Determination Pursuant to Section 670(a) and Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act, As Amended

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including Sections 620E(d) and Section 670(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended ("the Act"), I hereby:

- (1) determine pursuant to Section 670(a)(1) of the Act that material, equipment, or technology covered by that provision was to be used by Pakistan in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device; and,
- (2) determine and certify, as a result of the determination in paragraph (1) above and pursuant to Section 670(a)(2) of the Act, that not providing assistance referred to in Section 670(a)(1) of the Act to Pakistan would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of United States nonproliferation objectives and otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security; and,
- (3) determine, pursuant to Section 620E(d) of the Act, that the provision of assistance to Pakistan under the Act through April/30, 1990, is in the national interest of the United States and therefore waive the prohibitions of Section 669 of the Act with respect to that period.

A this determination and certification, together with the statement setting forth specific reasons therefore shall be submitted to the Congress immediately. To the Congress immediately.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

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TO PRESIDENT PROBLEM SHULTZ, CONCERN SHULTZ, COMMENTS RECEIVED 11 JAN 88 15 OAKLEY DOCATE 11 JAN 88 16 OAKLEY O7 JAN 88 POWELL 12 JAN 88 RECYWORDS: PAKISTAN SECURITY ASSISTANCE ECONOMICS CONCRESSIONAL CM SUBJECT: PD AUTHORIZING SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR PAKISTAN / 88-5 ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR PRES DUE: 13 JAN 88 STATUS C FILES SII FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO TAHIR-KHELI SAUNDERS JENKINS STEVENS TICE FORTIER DANZANSKY COMMENTS REF# 8800221 LOG 8690716 8690743 NSCIPID (A / T : ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO C MIS PRESSOR PD 88-5 SRT. Chrom-		SYST	EM II PROFILE	SECRET/SEN	SITIVE	ID 8890026
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National Security Council The White House

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National Security Council The White House

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OMB per shone convensationis will follow - up un writing. I recommend be none tu package

Thanks.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

1/13/88

C.B.,

Here's a copy of the redo of the Presidential Determination under Tab A of System II, 90026. The changes (as indicated on the other copy) were at the request of the Executive Clerk.

Pam

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 1988

Pres	sidential	Determination
No.	88-5	

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT:

Determination Pursuant to Section 670(a) and Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act, as Amended

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including Sections 620E(d) and Section 670(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended ("the Act"), I hereby:

- (1) determine pursuant to Section 670(a)(1) of the Act that material, equipment, or technology covered by that provision was to be used by Pakistan in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device; and,
- (2) determine and certify, as a result of the determination in paragraph (1) above and pursuant to Section 670(a)(2) of the Act, that not providing assistance referred to in Section 670(a)(1) of the Act to Pakistan would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of United States nonproliferation objectives and otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security; and,
- (3) determine, pursuant to Section 620E(d) of the Act, that the provision of assistance to Pakistan under the Act through April 1, 1990, is in the national interest of the United States and therefore waive the prohibitions of Section 669 of the Act with respect to that period.

You are hereby authorized and directed to report immediately this determination and certification, together with the statement setting forth specific reasons therefor, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

Rovald Reagon

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SYSTEM II 90026

January 7, 1987

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM:

ROBERT B. OAKLEY RGO

SUBJECT:

Presidential Waivers for Pakistan

Attached at Tab A is a memorandum from the Secretary of State asking that the President: (1) determine that Pakistani procurement activities in the U.S. have triggered the Solarz Amendment restrictions on assistance; (2) waive the Solarz Amendment; and (3) waive the Symington Amendment.

Congress recently approved a 30-month waiver of the Symington Amendment. Therefore, there is every expectation in Congress that the President will waive the Amendment quickly in order to start the new security assistance program for Pakistan. Furthermore, given the Afghan situation, once the program is started, no one expects our assistance to end. Therefore, State felt it important that both amendments be waived simultaneously. This strategy is appropriate. OMB also concurs.

Rich Armitage will be in Islamabad January 10-13 for meetings of the Consultative Group (CG). Mike Armacost already pledged that, following signature by the President, we will send the paperwork to Congress prior to the CG so that discussion of specifics can take place.

Nick Rostow and Alison Fortier concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign and forward the attached memo at Tab I to the President.

Approve_____

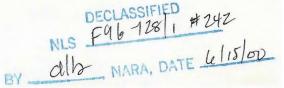
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Attachment

Tab I Memo to the President
Tab A Shultz Memo to the President

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THE WHITE HOUSE

SYSTEM IÍ

WASHINGTON

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January 12, 1987

ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM:

COLIN L. POWELL

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determination to Authorize

Security Assistance for Pakistan

Issue

Whether to authorize security assistance for Pakistan under the 1988-92 program.

Facts

Security Assistance to Pakistan for FY 88 requires you (1) to determine that Pakistani procurement activities in the U.S. have triggered the Solarz Amendment restrictions on assistance; (2) waive the Solarz Amendment; and (3) waive the Symington Amendment restrictions on assistance that apply because Pakistan has received uranium enrichment equipment not under IAEA safeguards.

Discussion

Recent Pakistani procurement activity represents the first time we have had to consider invoking Solarz Amendment sanctions. Determination that the Solarz Amendment has been triggered is based on the recent conviction of Arshad Pervez on five charges. Pervez was attempting to export maraging steel and beryllium to Pakistan. Four conditions that trigger the Solarz Amendment have been met in this case. These are: (1) that there was an

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Under Section 670(a)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act, you may waive the Solarz prohibitions on assistance if you certify to Congress that the termination of such assistance would seriously prejudice nonproliferation objectives or jeopardize the common defense and security. Both standards for the waiver are met in this case. Certification must be accompanied by a statement of specific reasons for the waiver. Congress has thirty days to disapprove.

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The Symington Amendment (section 669 of the Foreign Assistance Act) prohibits assistance to Pakistan because it has received uranium enrichment equipment without appropriate IAEA safeguards. Based on the required statutory finding that continued assistance to Pakistan was "in the national interest," in 1982 you waived the Symington Amendment for the 1982-87 package of security assistance to Pakistan. The recent continuing resolution extended your authority to waive the amendment until April 1990. The reasons for your 1982 waiver remain valid because of our long-standing security relationship with Pakistan, Pakistan's strategic role, and the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

OMB concurs.

Recommendation

 $\frac{OK}{O}$

No

That you sign the determination at Tab A.

Prepared by: Shirin Tahir-Kheli

Attachment

Tab A Secretary Shultz' Memo to the President

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SYSTEM II . 90026

THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

January 11, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

DECLASSIFIED IN PART NLS =96-128/1 = 244 George P. Shultz 400 NARA, Date 3/2/06

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determinations Authorizing

Security Assistance for Pakistan

Three Presidential determinations are relevant to a resumption of most U.S. assistance to Pakistan.

1. The Solarz Amendment (Section 670(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act) prohibits most assistance to a country which exports illegally or attempts to export illegally from the United States material which would contribute significantly to the ability of such a country to manufacture a nuclear device if it is determined that the material was to be used by such country in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device.

I believe that recent Pakistani nuclear procurement activities warrant a determination by you that this provision has been triggered.

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2. Under Section 670(a)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act, you may waive the Solarz prohibitions on assistance if you certify to Congress that the termination of such assistance would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of U.S. proliferation objectives or otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security. This certification must be transmitted along with a statement setting forth the specific reasons therefor. Your certification is effective when received by Congress, which has thirty days to disapprove the furnishing of assistance pursuant to your certification.

FOIA(b) (1)

I believe both standards for a waiver are met in this

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3. Under the Symington Amendment (section 669 of the Foreign Assistance Act), most assistance cannot be provided to Pakistan because it is a country which has received enrichment equipment without placing it under IAEA safeguards. You waived that provision in 1982, based on the required statutory finding that assistance to Pakistan was "in the national interest". The statutory term of that waiver expired on September 30, 1987, but the recent CR grants new authority to make the same waiver, which would remain in effect until April 1990.

The reasons for your 1982 waiver remain valid. U.S. assistance to Pakistan is in the national interest because of the long-standing security relationship with Pakistan, its strategic regional role, and the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

We will brief Congress on your decisions and their background.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That you sign the Solarz and Symington determinations at Tab 1.

JUSTIFICATION FOR PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION TO AUTHORIZE SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR PAKISTAN

The United States has a longstanding security relationship with Pakistan. The importance of this relationship has been underscored by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Pakistan plays a vital role in supporting the people of Afghanistan in their eight-year struggle against Soviet occupation. Because of its resistance to Soviet efforts to acquire a dominant regional military position, Pakistan has been subjected to intense pressure from the Soviet Union, including military attacks and Soviet-inspired terrorist attacks on Pakistani territory. Under these circumstances, Pakistan has turned to the U.S. for aid.

A five-year program of U.S. military and economic assistance to Pakistan was instituted in 1982, following Congressional authorization to waive the Symington Amendment sanctions which would otherwise have been in effect. Our aid has bolstered Pakistan's ability to withstand Soviet efforts at intimidation by strengthening its conventional military capabilities and by supporting its economic development. Continuation of this assistance, as the Administration has proposed under a six-year integrated program, is vital to demonstrate U.S. resolve to resist Soviet aggression and to underline our ongoing commitment to the security and stability of the strategically significant Southwest Asian region. Failure to do so would undermine efforts to bring about a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, place in doubt the credibility of established U.S. security comitments, and jeopardize important U.S. security interests throughout the region.

The U.S. continues to have serious concerns about Pakistan's unsafeguarded sensitive nuclear activities. The Government of Pakistan is well aware that nuclear restraint is an essential condition for U.S. assistance, and the Administration will continue to make clear to Pakistan the importance attached to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. In waiving the restrictions on assistance under Section 670(a)(l) of the Foreign Assistance Act, we have taken into account Pakistan's assurance that it will halt the illegal procurement of U.S. goods for its nuclear program. Pakistan has taken administrative steps to implement these assurances. The Administration will monitor the situation closely, keeping the Congress fully informed, to ensure that these steps are effective in preventing future illegal procurements.

Continued U.S. assistance to Pakistan supports our nonproliferation objectives by providing Pakistan with a conventional alternative to nuclear weapons to meet its legitimate security needs, and by strengthening the U.S.-Pakistan political and security relationship. Failure to maintain our assistance program would increase Pakistani incentives to pursue nuclear weapons, and thereby undercut efforts to obtain our nonproliferation goals.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SYSTEM II 90026

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ACTION

January 12, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM:

COLIN L. POWELL

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determination to Authorize

Security Assistance for Pakistan

Issue

Whether to authorize security assistance for Pakistan under the 1988-92 program.

Facts

Security Assistance to Pakistan for FY 88 requires you (1) to determine that Pakistani procurement activities in the U.S. have triggered the Solarz Amendment restrictions on assistance; (2) wai on Amendment res n has safeguards.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

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SYSTEM II 90026

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ACTION

January 12, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM:

COLIN L. POWELL Q

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determination to Authorize

Security Assistance for Pakistan

Issue-

Whether to authorize security assistance for Pakistan under the 1988-92 program.

Facts

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cc: Vice President Chief of Staff (2)



Under Section 670(a)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act, you may waive the Solarz prohibitions on assistance if you certify to Congress that the termination of such assistance would seriously prejudice nonproliferation objectives or jeopardize the common defense and security. Both standards for the waiver are met in this case. Certification must be accompanied by a statement of specific reasons for the waiver. Congress has thirty days to disapprove.

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The Symington Amendment (section 669 of the Foreign Assistance Act) prohibits assistance to Pakistan because it has received uranium enrichment equipment without appropriate IAEA safeguards. Based on the required statutory finding that continued assistance to Pakistan was "in the national interest," in 1982 you waived the Symington Amendment for the 1982-87 package of security assistance to Pakistan. The recent continuing resolution extended your authority to waive the amendment until April 1990. The reasons for your 1982 waiver remain valid because of our long-standing security relationship with Pakistan, Pakistan's strategic role, and the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

OMB concurs.

Recommendation

OK No

That you sign the determination at Tab A.

Prepared by: Shirin Tahir-Kheli

Attachment

Tab A Secretary Shultz' Memo to the President

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SYSTEM II. 90026

THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

January 11, 1988

STODET/SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

DECLASSIFIED IN PART NLS <u>F96-/28/ (*247</u>

FROM:

George P. Shultz 4 P

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determinations Authorizing

Security Assistance for Pakistan

Three Presidential determinations are relevant to a resumption of most U.S. assistance to Pakistan.

1. The Solarz Amendment (Section 670(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act) prohibits most assistance to a country which exports illegally or attempts to export illegally from the United States material which would contribute significantly to the ability of such a country to manufacture a nuclear device if it is determined that the material was to be used by such country in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device.

I believe that recent Pakistani nuclear procurement activities warrant a determination by you that this provision has been triggered.

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2. Under Section 670(a)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act, you may waive the Solarz prohibitions on assistance if you certify to Congress that the termination of such assistance would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of U.S. proliferation objectives or otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security. This certification must be transmitted along with a statement setting forth the specific reasons therefor. Your certification is effective when received by Congress, which has thirty days to disapprove the furnishing of assistance pursuant to your certification.

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I believe both standards for a waiver are met in this

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3. Under the Symington Amendment (section 669 of the Foreign Assistance Act), most assistance cannot be provided to Pakistan because it is a country which has received enrichment equipment without placing it under IAEA safeguards. You waived that provision in 1982, based on the required statutory finding that assistance to Pakistan was "in the national interest". The statutory term of that waiver expired on September 30, 1987, but the recent CR grants new authority to make the same waiver, which would remain in effect until April 1990.

The reasons for your 1982 waiver remain valid. U.S. assistance to Pakistan is in the national interest because of the long-standing security relationship with Pakistan, its strategic regional role, and the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

We will brief Congress on your decisions and their background.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That you sign the Solarz and Symington determinations at Tab 1.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Presidential	Determination
No.	

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ
The Secretary of State

SUBJECT:

Determination Pursuant to Section 670(a) and Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act, As Amended

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including Sections 620E(d) and Section 670(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended ("the Act"), I hereby:

- (1) determine pursuant to Section 670(a)(1) of the Act that material, equipment, or technology covered by that provision was to be used by Pakistan in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device; and,
- (2) determine and certify, as a result of the determination in paragraph (1) above and pursuant to Section 670(a)(2) of the Act, that not providing assistance referred to in Section 670(a)(1) of the Act to Pakistan would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of United States nonproliferation objectives and otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security; and,
- (3) determine, pursuant to Section 620E(d) of the Act, that the provision of assistance to Pakistan under the Act through April 30, 1990 is in the national interest of the United States and therefore waive the prohibitions of Section 669 of the Act with respect to that period.

This determination and certification together with the statement setting forth specific reasons therefore shall be submitted to the Congress immediately.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

JUSTIFICATION FOR PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION TO AUTHORIZE SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR PAKISTAN

The United States has a longstanding security relationship with Pakistan. The importance of this relationship has been underscored by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Pakistan plays a vital role in supporting the people of Afghanistan in their eight-year struggle against Soviet occupation. Because of its resistance to Soviet efforts to acquire a dominant regional military position, Pakistan has been subjected to intense pressure from the Soviet Union, including military attacks and Soviet-inspired terrorist attacks on Pakistani territory. Under these circumstances, Pakistan has turned to the U.S. for aid.

A five-year program of U.S. military and economic assistance to Pakistan was instituted in 1982, following Congressional authorization to waive the Symington Amendment sanctions which would otherwise have been in effect. Our aid has bolstered Pakistan's ability to withstand Soviet efforts at intimidation by strengthening its conventional military capabilities and by supporting its economic development. Continuation of this assistance, as the Administration has proposed under a six-year integrated program, is vital to demonstrate U.S. resolve to resist Soviet aggression and to underline our ongoing commitment to the security and stability of the strategically significant Southwest Asian region. Failure to do so would undermine efforts to bring about a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, place in doubt the credibility of established U.S. security comitments, and jeopardize important U.S. security interests throughout the region.

The U.S. continues to have serious concerns about Pakistan's unsafeguarded sensitive nuclear activities. The Government of Pakistan is well aware that nuclear restraint is an essential condition for U.S. assistance, and the Administration will continue to make clear to Pakistan the importance attached to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. In waiving the restrictions on assistance under Section 670(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act, we have taken into account Pakistan's assurance that it will halt the illegal procurement of U.S. goods for its nuclear program. Pakistan has taken administrative steps to implement these assurances. The Administration will monitor the situation closely, keeping the Congress fully informed, to ensure that these steps are effective in preventing future illegal procurements.

Continued U.S. assistance to Pakistan supports our nonproliferation objectives by providing Pakistan with a conventional alternative to nuclear weapons to meet its legitimate security needs, and by strengthening the U.S.-Pakistan political and security relationship. Failure to maintain our assistance program would increase Pakistani incentives to pursue nuclear weapons, and thereby undercut efforts to obtain our nonproliferation goals.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Presidential	Determination
No.	

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ

The Secretary of State

SUBJECT:

Determination Pursuant to Section 670(a) and Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act, As Amended

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including Sections 620E(d) and Section 670(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended ("the Act"), I hereby:

- (1) determine pursuant to Section 670(a)(1) of the Act that material, equipment, or technology covered by that provision was to be used by Pakistan in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device; and,
- (2) determine and certify, as a result of the determination in paragraph (1) above and pursuant to Section 670(a)(2) of the Act, that not providing assistance referred to in Section 670(a)(l) of the Act to Pakistan would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of United States nonproliferation objectives and otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security; and,

(3) determine, pursuant to Section 620E(d) of the Act, that the provision of assistance to rakistan under the through April 20, 1990; is in the national interest of the United States and therefore waive the prohibitions of the Act with respect to that period.

You are hereby authorized and directed to report immediately This determination and certification, together with the statement setting forth specific reasons therefor, shall be submitted to-

the Congress immediately.

To the Specker of the House of Reps. and to the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relation

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

H. J. Res. 375

the Continuing

91

1 RECIPROCAL LEASING 2 SEC. 556. Section 61(a) of the Arms Export Control 3 Act is amended by striking out "1987" and inserting in lieu

4 thereof "1988".

5

ASSISTANCE FOR PARISTAN

6 SEC. 557. Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance

7 Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "September 30,

8 1987" and inserting in lieu thereof "April 1, 1990".

9 LIMITATION ON DEFENSE EQUIPMENT DRAWDOWN

10 SEC. 558. Defense articles, services and training drawn

11 down under the authority of section 506(a) of the Foreign

12 Assistance Act of 1961, shall not be furnished to a recipient

3 unless such articles are delivered to, and such services and

14 training initiated for, the recipient country or international

15 organization not more than one hundred and twenty days

16 from the date on which Congress received notification of the

17 intention to exercise the authority of that section: Provided,

8 That if defense articles have not been delivered or services

19 and training initiated by the period specified in this section,

20 a new notification pursuant to section 506(b) of such Act

21 shall be provided, which shall include an explanation for the

22 delay in furnishing such articles, services, and training,

23 before such articles, services, or training may be furnished.

24 NOTIFICATION ON EXCESS DEFENSE EQUIPMENT

25 SEC. 559. Prior to providing excess Department of De-

26 fense articles in accordance with section 516(a) of the For-

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TIME STAMP

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL Pole

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

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Return to Secretariat



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503 January 12, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

FROM:

PHILIP A. DUSAULT

DEPUTY ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT:

Proposed Presidential Determinations for

6/76 2 1007C

Pakistan

OMB concurs in the proposed Presidential determinations for Pakistan.

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the correct page
in this copy

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

SYSTEM II 90026

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM:

COLIN L. POWELL

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determination to Authorize

Security Assistance for Pakistan

Issue

Whether to authorize security assistance for Pakistan under the 1988-92 program.

Facts

Security Assistance to Pakistan for FY 88 requires you (1) to determine that Pakistani procurement activities in the U.S. have triggered the Solarz Amendment restrictions on assistance; (2) waive the Solarz Amendment; and (3) waive the Symington Amendment restrictions on assistance that apply because Pakistan has received uranium enrichment equipment not under IAEA safeguards.

Discussion

Recent Pakistani procurement activity represents the first time we have had to consider invoking Solarz Amendment sanctions. Determination that the Solarz Amendment has been triggered is based on the recent conviction of Arshad Pervez on five charges. Pervez was attempting to export maraging steel and beryllium to Pakistan. Four conditions that trigger the Solarz Amendment have

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JONATHAN R. SCHARFEN

Shirin gave this original to us per your request for your final approval.

OMB will call in their OK to our ofc.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL 10: 10 a .a.

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Shirin

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THROUGH:

WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM:

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SUBJECT:

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

90026

January 7, 1987

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM:

ROBERT B. OAKLEY REO

SUBJECT:

Presidential Waivers for Pakistan

Attached at Tab A is a memorandum from the Secretary of State asking that the President: (1) determine that Pakistani procurement activities in the U.S. have triggered the Solarz Amendment restrictions on assistance; (2) waive the Solarz Amendment; and (d) waive the Symington Amendment.

Congress recently approved a 30-month waiver of the Symington Amendment. Therefore, there is every expectation in Congress that the President will waive the Amendment quickly in order to start the new security assistance program for Pakistan. Furthermore, given the Afghan situation, once the program is started, no one expects our assistance to end. Therefore, State felt it important that both amendments be waived simultaneously. This strategy is appropriate. OMB also concurs.

Rich Armitage will be in Islamabad January 10-13 for meetings of the Consultative Group (CG). Mike Armacost already pledged that, following signature by the President, we will send the paperwork to Congress prior to the CG so that discussion of specifics can take place.

Nick Rostow and Alison Fortier concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign and forward the attached memo at Tab I to the President.

Approve Disapprove

Attachment

Tab I Memo to the President Tab A Shultz Memo to the President

SECRET

Declassify on: OADR

SECRET MIS F96-128/1 #250

ON 2/15 NARA, DATE 6/15/00

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WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM:

COLIN L. POWELL

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determination to Authorize

Security Assistance for Pakistan

Issue

Whether to authorize security assistance for Pakistan under the 1988-92 program.

Facts

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SECKE X

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Under Section 670(a)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act, you may
waive the Solarz prohibitions on assistance if you certify to
Congress that the termination of such assistance would seriously
prejudice nonproliferation objectives or jeopardize the common
defense and security. Both standards for the waiver are met in
this case. Certification must be accompanied by a statement of
specific reasons for the waiver. Congress has thirty days to
disapprove.

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The Symington Amendment (section 669 of the Foreign Assistance Act) prohibits assistance to Pakistan because it has received uranium enrichment equipment without appropriate IAEA safeguards. You waived the Symington Amendment for the 1982-87 package for security assistance to Pakistan on February 10, 1982 based on the required statutary finding that assistance to Pakistan was "in the national interest." The recent continuing resolution extended your authority to waive the amendment until April 1990. The reasons for your 1982 waiver remain valid because of our long-standing security relationship with Pakistan, Pakistan's strategic role, and the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

OMB concurs.

Recommendation

OK

No

That you sign the determination at Tab A.

Prepared by: Shirin Tahir-Kheli

Attachment

Tab A Secretary Shultz' Memo to the President

SPARE

A

SYSTEM II . 90026

THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

January 11, 1988

SECPET/SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

DECLASSIFIED IN PART NLS <u>F96-/25/(*25)</u> NARA, Date <u>3/2/06</u>

FROM:

George P. Shultz & P.

SUBJECT:

Presidential Determinations Authorizing

Security Assistance for Pakistan

Three Presidential determinations are relevant to a resumption of most U.S. assistance to Pakistan.

1. The Solarz Amendment (Section 670(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act) prohibits most assistance to a country which exports illegally or attempts to export illegally from the United States material which would contribute significantly to the ability of such a country to manufacture a nuclear device if it is determined that the material was to be used by such country in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device.

I believe that recent Pakistani nuclear procurement activities warrant a determination by you that this provision

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2. Under Section 670(a)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act, you may waive the Solarz prohibitions on assistance if you certify to Congress that the termination of such assistance would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of U.S. proliferation objectives or otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security. This certification must be transmitted along with a statement setting forth the specific reasons therefor. Your certification is effective when received by Congress, which has thirty days to disapprove the furnishing of assistance pursuant to your certification.

FOIA(b) (1)

I believe both standards for a waiver are met in this

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3. Under the Symington Amendment (section 669 of the Foreign Assistance Act), most assistance cannot be provided to Pakistan because it is a country which has received enrichment equipment without placing it under IAEA safeguards. You waived that provision in 1982, based on the required statutory finding that assistance to Pakistan was "in the national interest". The statutory term of that waiver expired on September 30, 1987, but the recent CR grants new authority to make the same waiver, which would remain in effect until April 1990.

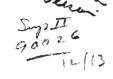
The reasons for your 1982 waiver remain valid. U.S. assistance to Pakistan is in the national interest because of the long-standing security relationship with Pakistan, its strategic regional role, and the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

We will brief Congress on your decisions and their background.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That you sign the Solarz and Symington determinations at Tab 1.

THE WHITE HOUSE



Presidential	Determination
No.	

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT:

Determination Pursuant to Section 670(a) and Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act, as Amended

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including Sections 620E(d) and Section 670(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended ("the Act"), I hereby:

- (1) determine pursuant to Section 670(a)(1) of the Act that material, equipment, or technology covered by that provision was to be used by Pakistan in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device; and,
- (2) determine and certify, as a result of the determination in paragraph (1) above and pursuant to Section 670(a)(2) of the Act, that not providing assistance referred to in Section 670(a)(1) of the Act to Pakistan would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of United States nonproliferation objectives and otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security; and,
- (3) determine, pursuant to Section 620E(d) of the Act, that the provision of assistance to Pakistan under the Act through April 1, 1990, is in the national interest of the United States and therefore waive the prohibitions of Section 669 of the Act with respect to that period.

You are hereby authorized and directed to report immediately this determination and certification, together with the statement setting forth specific reasons therefor, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

JUSTIFICATION FOR PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION TO AUTHORIZE SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR PAKISTAN

The United States has a longstanding security relationship with Pakistan. The importance of this relationship has been underscored by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Pakistan plays a vital role in supporting the people of Afghanistan in their eight-year struggle against Soviet occupation. Because of its resistance to Soviet efforts to acquire a dominant regional military position, Pakistan has been subjected to intense pressure from the Soviet Union, including military attacks and Soviet-inspired terrorist attacks on Pakistani territory. Under these circumstances, Pakistan has turned to the U.S. for aid.

A five-year program of U.S. military and economic assistance to Pakistan was instituted in 1982, following Congressional authorization to waive the Symington Amendment sanctions which would otherwise have been in effect. Our aid has bolstered Pakistan's ability to withstand Soviet efforts at intimidation by strengthening its conventional military capabilities and by supporting its economic development. Continuation of this assistance, as the Administration has proposed under a six-year integrated program, is vital to demonstrate U.S. resolve to resist Soviet aggression and to underline our ongoing commitment to the security and stability of the strategically significant Southwest Asian region. Failure to do so would undermine efforts to bring about a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, place in doubt the credibility of established U.S. security comitments, and jeopardize important U.S. security interests throughout the region.

The U.S. continues to have serious concerns about Pakistan's unsafeguarded sensitive nuclear activities. The Government of Pakistan is well aware that nuclear restraint is an essential condition for U.S. assistance, and the Administration will continue to make clear to Pakistan the importance attached to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. In waiving the restrictions on assistance under Section 670(a)(l) of the Foreign Assistance Act, we have taken into account Pakistan's assurance that it will halt the illegal procurement of U.S. goods for its nuclear program. Pakistan has taken administrative steps to implement these assurances. The Administration will monitor the situation closely, keeping the Congress fully informed, to ensure that these steps are effective in preventing future illegal procurements.

Continued U.S. assistance to Pakistan supports our nonproliferation objectives by providing Pakistan with a conventional alternative to nuclear weapons to meet its legitimate security needs, and by strengthening the U.S.-Pakistan political and security relationship. Failure to maintain our assistance program would increase Pakistani incentives to pursue nuclear weapons, and thereby undercut efforts to obtain our nonproliferation goals.