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## India's Nuclear Test: Worldwide Reverberations

*The Daily today presents an initial reading of the likely impact India's entry into the nuclear club will have at various points around the world.*

### India

Initial domestic reaction to India's nuclear explosion on May 18 has been euphoric. The event has been enthusiastically received across the political spectrum, with the exception of the Marxist communists who assert the blast was a smokescreen to obscure the nation's economic crisis.

In fact, public enthusiasm is likely to be short-lived. It will be overtaken by the

hardships imposed by rampant inflation and food shortages.

India's economic problems may even be intensified, if because of the test, the country runs into difficulties in securing new aid. New Delhi hopes to receive more than \$1 billion in additional aid this year to meet the soaring costs of imported petroleum, grain, and fertilizer. Members of the Aid India Consortium may also balk at India's expected request for debt rescheduling.

### Pakistan

The slow movement in recent months toward improved Indo-Pakistani relations

may well be halted, at least temporarily, as a result of the test. Prospects for an early resumption of trade and diplomatic relations probably have receded.

Islamabad has stated that it will ask the permanent members of the UN Security Council to provide Pakistan with a "nuclear umbrella," but it will probably concentrate its efforts on Peking and Washington. Because of Pakistan's relations with a number of conservative Middle Eastern states and Peking's own reservations, Islamabad presumably will not seek a formal defense treaty with China. It will, however, press Peking to reiterate in as strong terms as possible China's support of Pakistan's territorial integrity.

Pakistan will probably urge CENTO members, who are meeting in Washington today and Wednesday, to condemn New Delhi's action, but Islamabad is unlikely

## After Nuclear Test, Soviets Foresee Loss of Influence in India...

to place much reliance on this regional organization.

### Iran

Iran is likely to reassess the recent warming of its relations with India. The Shah is determined to develop Iran into the region's paramount power, and he is probably miffed at having been upstaged by India.

Even before the Indian test, the Shah had expressed interest in cooperating with the US to develop major nuclear energy facilities in Iran. The head of the US Atomic Energy Commission, Dixie Lee Ray, arrived in Tehran on May 19 to discuss the establishment of a nuclear complex.

So far, Iran has shown no interest in developing weapons-related technology, and unlike India, Iran has signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

### USSR

Moscow's desire to maintain close relations with New Delhi will color the way it handles India's decision to join the nuclear club, but the Soviets are just as concerned as are others.

On the surface, it would appear that India's move was a net advantage for the

USSR. Moscow and New Delhi are close, and the move will enhance India's standing vis-a-vis China in the Third World.

Soviet leaders, however, accept the notion that as more nations acquire the capacity to develop nuclear weapons, there is a greater danger these weapons may some day be used. They lobbied hard to get India to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty and kept on trying to dissuade India from going nuclear. Some evidence suggests the Soviets even went so far as to promise India "protection" should the Chinese ever attempt to engage in nuclear blackmail.

The Soviets very likely recognize that, since India is now in the nuclear club, in time, the USSR's position in New Delhi will be eroded. That position has owed much to India's fear of the Chinese, and now that India has demonstrated an ability to match the Chinese in terms of nuclear development, the Indians have to be more confident about their ability to handle the Chinese themselves.

Such concerns probably will get only scant treatment in the Soviet press; the USSR will keep trying to put the best possible face on India's move. The Soviets doubtless will make their concerns known

privately to the Indians, however, and seek reassurances that India meant what it said when it announced that India would not develop nuclear weapons.

### China

Peking will probably conclude India is now not only able to compete on more even terms, but has also become an important security problem for China. An India, hostile to China, close to the USSR, and perhaps developing a nuclear weapons delivery capability would in the long run face Peking with an all but intolerable situation.

Early last week, Chou En-lai told Pakistani Prime Minister Bhutto that Peking intended to improve relations with both India and Bangladesh. China probably now hopes that Delhi, more confident of its defense capabilities, will be less prone to rely on the USSR for security against China. The Chinese no doubt hope this could lead to a looser Soviet-Indian relationship, making improvement in the Sino-Indian diplomatic climate possible.

The Indian test ironically may enhance Peking's position among India's smaller neighbors in South Asia. These states now have more reason to want to engage

China in South Asian affairs as a counterweight to India.

China strongly believes it shares with the US a common interest in restraining the Soviets in South Asia and has framed its policies accordingly. After the test, Peking may also come to see Washington's presence in the region in terms of restraining India's influence.

Chinese instincts in favor of a US naval presence in the Indian Ocean and warmer US-Indian ties are likely to be strengthened. Peking almost certainly would also welcome the kind of US assurances that would satisfy Pakistan's quest for security guarantees against India.

### Japan

Tokyo has openly criticized India's test and will probably deliver an official protest shortly. The Japanese are concerned that other countries, particularly in the Middle East, will be tempted to go nuclear.

Many Japanese believe Moscow encouraged India's move to "challenge China." The Japanese also suspect the move was designed, in part, to divert attention from India's domestic woes, and are openly skeptical of the "peaceful"

## ... China May Welcome US Aid to Contain Delhi

purposes of India's nuclear plans.

Proponents of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in the Japanese government may now argue that failure to ratify the treaty will arouse even greater foreign suspicion of Japan's intentions. It is likely, however, that the Indian test will strengthen opponents of the treaty in Japan. These opponents will see the Indian action as encouraging other nations to follow suit, and will not, therefore, want Japan to foreclose its options.

### Israel

The Indian action is unlikely to persuade Israel (or South Africa, or Brazil, for that matter—both have a nuclear capability) to reconsider its decision not to ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Israel's nuclear intentions are shaped by its concept of security in the Middle East, and Tel Aviv will be only marginally influenced, if at all, by India's test.

### Canada

Last summer, Canada informed India that Ottawa would no longer provide technology, heavy water, fuel, or any equipment designed for use in power reactors that are not covered by safeguard arrangements. Ottawa took this action

because New Delhi had refused to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Canada is still committed to assist in the construction of a second nuclear power plant in Rajasthan, which is scheduled to go into service in late 1976. Both Canadian-built reactors use natural uranium and are under safeguard arrangements that preclude their use in a weapons program.

External Affairs Minister Sharp said yesterday that Canada views India's test with special concern because his government had cooperated with India in the nuclear field only for peaceful purposes. He commented that the explosion was a severe setback to efforts to prevent nuclear testing. Despite Sharp's words, Ottawa has given no indication that it will terminate its construction contract.

### CCD

The focus of today's meeting of the Geneva disarmament committee will be on India's nuclear test.

At a conference meeting last week, the Indian delegate, one of the most vocal participants, argued that the Non-Proliferation Treaty was a "discriminatory instrument" that would not alone reduce the danger of nuclear

conflict. He noted that "the treaty has not had the effect of even moral restraint" on development of nuclear weapons by the nuclear powers. He may repeat these arguments today.

