

S E C R E T/SENSITIVE 190902Z MAY 74

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HAKTO 109

MAY 10, 1974

NSC, DOS,
review
completed.

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: SECRETARY KISSINGER

1. I THINK IT HIGHLY UNWISE TO ORGANIZE A WORLDWIDE REACTION TO THE INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

FIRST, IT WOULD ANTAGONIZE INDIA TO NO BENEFIT SINCE THE TEST MUST REFLECT A LONG-TERM PROGRAM IN ANY EVENT.

SECOND, IT IS SYMPTOMATIC OF THE SELF-SERVING AND SELF-PROMOTING TENDENCY FOR THE DOMESTIC RECORD OFTEN CHARACTERISTIC OF US FOREIGN POLICY.

THE IMPACT OF OUR BREASTBEATING ON THE PROGRAMS OF OTHER COUNTRIES WILL BE MARGINAL.

2. THEREFORE, I WOULD LIKE YOU TO DRAFT A NSSM INSTRUCTION FOR A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION PROGRAM FOR ME TO CLEAR SO THAT WE CAN GET OUR THINKING ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE INDIAN TEST IN ORDER TO AVOID SHOOTING FROM THE HIP.

3. YOU SHOULD ALSO ISSUE AN INSTRUCTION SAYING THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED THAT PENDING THE OUTCOME OF THE NSSM, ALL ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN ARE TO TAKE THE FOLLOWING LINE IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ONLY; THEY ARE NOT TO VOLUNTEER ANYTHING: (A) THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG BEEN AGAINST NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION FOR THE ADVERSE IMPACT IT WILL HAVE ON WORLD STABILITY. THAT REMAINS OUR POSITION; (B) THIS LINE IS NOT TO BE USED TO ORGANIZE A WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGN BUT ONLY TO RESPOND INDIVIDUALLY TO INDIVIDUAL INQUIRIES IN A LOW-KEY MANNER, AND (C) ALL PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THIS MATTER MUST BE CLEARED BY THE WHITE HOUSE.

4. PLEASE CONTACT HAIG TO ASSURE THAT HE SUPPORTS YOU WITH DOD AND OTHERS ON THIS POLICY.

5. WARM REGARDS.

BT

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SECRET/SENSITIVE

HAK TO ~~10~~

109

May 19, 1974

19 MAY 64 00 58z

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: SECRETARY KISSINGER *MD*

1. I think it highly unwise to organize a worldwide reaction to the Indian nuclear test for the following reasons:

First, it would antagonize India to no benefit since the test must reflect a long-term program in any event.

Second, it is symptomatic of the self-serving and self-promoting tendency for the domestic record often characteristic of US foreign policy.

The impact of our breastbeating on the programs of other countries will be marginal.

2. Therefore, I would like you to draft a NSSM instruction for a comprehensive review of the non-proliferation program for me to clear so that we can get our thinking about the implications of the Indian test in order to avoid shooting from the hip.

3. You should also issue an instruction saying that the President has ordered that pending the outcome of the NSSM, all administration spokesmen are to take the following line in response to questions only; they are not to volunteer anything: (a) The United States has long been against nuclear proliferation for the adverse impact it will

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have on world stability. That remains our position; (b) this line is not to be used to organize a worldwide campaign but only to respond individually to individual inquiries in a low-key manner, and (c) all public statements and instructions concerning this matter must be cleared by the White House.

4. Please contact Haig to assure that he supports you with DOD and others on this policy.

5. Warm regards.

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May 19, 1974

HAKTO _____

FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: THE SECRETARY

think it highly unwise to organize a
 1. I ~~do not want us to organize~~ ~~and be part of a~~ world-wide
~~reaction to the Indian nuclear test.~~ *For the following reasons: P* First, it would antagonize

India to no benefit since the test must reflect a long term program
 in any event. *P* Second, it is symptomatic of the self-serving and

self-promoting tendency ~~often~~ *for the domestic market* often characteristic of US foreign
 policy *P* ~~and finally it would involve us in a very short time in the~~ *its impact on the*
~~programs of other countries whose programs will not be affected~~ *will be marginal.*

~~by our breast-beating.~~

2. Therefore I would like you to draft a NSSM instruction *for a complete review of the program* for me to
 clear so that we can get our thinking about the implications of
 the Indian test in order and ^{to} avoid shooting from the hip.

3. You should also issue an instruction saying that the President *in response to questions only; they are*
 has ordered that pending the outcome of the NSSM, all administration *not to*
 spokesmen are to take the following line: (a) The United States has
 long been against nuclear proliferation for the ~~adverse~~ *adverse* impact it
 will have on world stability. That remains our position; (b) this *without anything*

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line is not to be used to organize a world-wide campaign, but only to respond individually to individual inquiries in a low-key manner, and (c) all public statements and instructions concerning this matter must be cleared by the White House.

4. Please contact Haig to assure that he supports you with DOD and others on this policy.

5. Warm regards.