

July 21, 1978

NY-78-400

UNITED STATES  
NUCLEAR REGULATORY COMMISSION

## CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION REPORT

For: The Commissioners

From: James R. Shea, Director, Office of International Programs

Thru: Executive Director for Operations *L. J. DeLo*

Subject: INFORMATION ON QUESTIONS REGARDING INDIA RAISED AT RECENT CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS

Purpose: To provide the Commission with information regarding the subject items.

Discussion: During the Commission's testimony on the export of low-enriched uranium to India Congressman Lagomarsino (California) asked the Commission for comments on reports

EO 13526  
Sec 3.3(h)(1)

[REDACTED]  
(presumably the one near Dalat which was closed and fuel removed by the U.S. during the Vietnam war).

With regard to the first item, [REDACTED]

EO 13526  
Sec 3.3(h)(1)

[REDACTED]  
data available at the station. This assessment then leaked to the press in Thailand and was subsequently picked up by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service. The report is incorrect and there is no evidence of recent Indian underground nuclear explosions.

With regard to the second matter, the attached cables (Enclosure 1) indicate that India was asked by Vietnam to assist with reactivation of the Dalat reactor, but said this was not possible; instead, Vietnam was offered training opportunities for nuclear scientists in India to assist in meeting Vietnam's desires for help in isotopes work and uranium ore assessments.

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# U.S. NRC Declassification Review

1<sup>ST</sup> REVIEW - DATE: 20250604

REVIEWER 3591  
 AUTHORITY: ☐ DC ☒ DD

2<sup>ND</sup> REVIEW - DATE: 20250609

REVIEWER 3470  
 AUTHORITY: DD

DETERMINATION [CIRCLE NUMBER(S)]

1. CLASSIFICATION RETAINED
2. CLASSIFICATION CHANGED TO:
3. CONTAINS NO NRC CLASSIFIED INFO
4. COORDINATE WITH:

☒ 5. DECLASSIFIED Redacted 1st

6. CLASSIFIED INFO BRACKETED

7. OTHER (SPECIFY): DOS-NORSE determination

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The Commissioners

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Discussion:  
(Continued)

Also included as Enclosure 2 for your information are four cables on the transfer of Dr. Ramanna, Director of BARC and its possible relation to the full scope safeguards issue in India. This matter was mentioned recently in an article in Nucleonics Week.

If the Commission wishes, OCA could notify Congressman Lagomarsino's office that, after checking further, we understand the press reports about which he inquired are not accurate, and in particular (1) there is no evidence of recent Indian nuclear explosions and (2) India has agreed to provide only limited training opportunities in peaceful uses of atomic energy for Vietnamese scientists under its long-standing international cooperation program.

  
James R. Shea, Director  
Office of International Programs

Enclosures:

- State Cables New Delhi 3468, 3855, and 3875
- State Cables New Delhi 4362, 4363, 4480, and 4518

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ACTION RTA-12

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SS-15 USIA-22 IO-13 AID-22 TRSF-22 OMF-21 EB-28  
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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
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E. O. 11652: NA

TAGS: FDIP, IN, VN

SUBJECT: VISIT OF VIETNAMESE PRIME MINISTER TO INDIA

REF: (A) DELHI 3173 (R) DELHI 3193

SUMMARY: VIETNAMESE PRIME MINISTER PHAM VAN DONG WAS  
WARMLY RECEIVED IN INDIA DURING HIS FEBRUARY 24 - MARCH 2  
VISIT. HE LAVISHLY PRAISED THE INDIANS FOR THEIR  
PAST SUPPORT AND CURRENT ASSISTANCE TO VIETNAM AND TO ALL  
APPEARANCES PUSHED THE INDIANS FOR FURTHER COMMITMENTS.  
THE INDIANS WERE EQUALLY EFFUSIVE ABOUT VIETNAM'S  
REUNIFICATION AND CURRENT EFFORTS AT RECONSTRUCTION.  
FOUR AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED, ON AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.

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TRADE, CREDIT AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; INDIA ALSO

OFFERED A LOAN OF 300,000 TONS OF WHEAT (REFTELS).

IN HIS PUBLIC REMARKS DONG STRESSED VIETNAM'S DESIRE FOR  
IMPROVED RELATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND WITH ALL FRIENDLY  
COUNTRIES AND UNDERScoreD THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NON-ALIGNED  
MOVEMENT. IN A PRESS CONFERENCE, HE CALLED RELATIONS WITH  
CHINA GOOD AND THE PROSPECTS FOR NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS  
WITH THE US AS "DEVELOPING". THE OFFICIAL TALKS COVERED  
BILATERAL COOPERATION AND THE USUAL INTERNATIONAL TOUR  
D'HORIZON. WE EXPECT TO SEE VEA CONTACTS NEXT WEEK FOR AN  
OFFICIAL READING ON THE VISIT. END SUMMARY.

1. VIETNAMESE PRIME MINISTER PHAM VAN DONG VISITED INDIA  
FEBRUARY 24-MARCH 2, DURING HIS THREE DAYS IN NEW DELHI.  
DONG HAD THE NON-STANDARD VIP PROGRAM OF PRIVATE SESSIONS WITH  
PRIME MINISTER DESAI AND FOREIGN MINISTER VAJRAYEE. TWO  
FOUNDS OF OFFICIAL TALKS. A SPEECH TO THE INDIAN PARLIAMENTARY

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ENCLOSURE 1

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GROUP, AND A CIVIL RECEPTION AT THE RED FORT. DONG THEN WENT TO BOMBAY WHERE HE VISITED A PETROLEUM REFINERY, THE BHAPPA ATOMIC RESEARCH CENTER AND THE DOCKS, AND TO MADRAS WHERE HE VISITED A RAILWAY COACH FACTORY AND A HEAVY VEHICLE FACTORY. 2. IN HIS PUBLIC REMARKS, PHAM VAN DONG EMPHASIZED SEVERAL THEMES: (A) INDIA AND VIETNAM'S "PROFOUND FRIENDSHIP" ROOTED IN THEIR "GLORIOUS STRUGGLES" FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE; (B) THE DRV'S WARM GRATITUDE FOR INDIA'S CONSISTENT SUPPORT DURING VIETNAM'S "WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS" AND FOR INDIA'S CURRENT "PRECIOUS" ASSISTANCE; (C) VIETNAM'S RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS; (D) ITS DESIRE FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH SOUTH-EAST ASIAN NEIGHBORS AND ALL FRIENDLY COUNTRIES; AND (E) THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IF THE MAJORITY OF THE WORLD'S COUNTRIES ARE TO OBTAIN TRUE INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

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IN HIS SPEECH TO THE PARLIAMENTARIANS, DONG SPOKE IN GENERAL TERMS. HE DID NOT REFER TO THE UNITED STATES BY NAME, BUT SPOKE OF THE "VICTORY OF IPON VILL" OVER "AN AGGRESSOR WHO WAS THEN CONSIDERED INVINCIBLE." ASIDE FROM THE FUTURE REFERENCES TO THE PALESTINIANS AND THE SOUTHERN AFRICANS, VIETNAM SINGLED OUT ONLY CAMBODIA FOR SPECIFIC MENTION, EXPLAINING VIETNAM'S PROPOSAL FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT AND EXPRESSING THE DEEP CONVICTION THAT IN THE END JUSTICE AND THE GENUINE FRIENDSHIP OF THE TWO PEOPLES WOULD PREVAIL. ALTHOUGH EMPHASIZING THE NON-ALIGNED AND VIETNAM'S DESIRE FOR EXPANDED RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES, DONG GAVE PRIDE OF PLACE TO ESTABLISHING COOPERATION WITH "ALL FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES" AND ALSO SAID THAT NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES MUST ELICIT NOT ONLY MASS SUPPORT DOMESTICALLY BUT ALSO "MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO EXPAND ALLIANCES WITH PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN THE WORLD."

3. MORARJI DESAI WAS EQUALLY EFFUSIVE IN HIS REMARKS ABOUT VIETNAM. IN HIS BANQUET SPEECH, DESAI SAID THAT THE VIETNAMESE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND RECONSTRUCTION HAD TOUCHED A "SYMPATHETIC CHORD IN THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA" BECAUSE OF SHARED ASPIRATIONS FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE. IN HIS BANQUET TOAST HE SAID THAT VIETNAM'S NEEDS WERE GREAT BECAUSE OF ITS WAR-RAVAGED ECONOMY AND THE REMAINS OF "SENSELESS DESTRUCTION" AND THE PEOPLE INDIANS "STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST JOIN HANDS" WITH VIETNAM IN ITS QUEST FOR DEVELOPMENT. REFERRING TO SUCH ASSISTANCE IN HIS INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AT THE PARLIAMENTARY MEETING, DESAI SAID THAT IT WAS "THE MORAL OBLIGATION OF ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE TO EXTEND UNASKED ALL POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM". MORARJI IN HIS REMARKS, HOWEVER, ALSO POINTED AT TIMES TO THE FACT THAT INDIA AND VIETNAM HAD CHOSEN DIFFERENT PATHS TO DEVELOPMENT. IN HIS

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HE TALKED ABOUT THE TRADITION OF UNITY IN

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DIVERSITY IN INDIA, AND SAID THAT "INSTINCTIVELY, WE REJECT

FORCE AND COMPELSION AND ANY ATTEMPT AT IMPOSITION OF

DOMINANCE OR EVEN AT CREATING ARTIFICIAL CONFORMITY.

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H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 RA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 PSIA-00 IO-13 AID-05 TPSE-00 OVB-01 TP-08  
CONF-00 AGPE-00 OES-00 115 W

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0307

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

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4. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE FEBRUARY 25, PHAM VAN DONG ANSWERED QUESTIONS OF THE US, CHINA, CAMBODIA, ASIA, AND INDIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY. ASKED ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH THE US, TONG SAID THAT THE "SITUATION IS DEVELOPING". HE ALSO REPORTEDLY SAID THAT EFFORTS TO GET THE US TO FULFILL ITS OBLIGATIONS FOR RECONSTRUCTION AID WOULD CONTINUE AND WERE "ADVANCING GRADUALLY TO A BETTER POSITION". VIETNAM'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA, HE SAID, WERE GOOD IN THE PAST, ARE GOOD AT PRESENT AND WILL BE GOOD IN THE FUTURE. VIETNAM IS INTERESTED IN DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH THE ASIAN COUNTRIES AND PROSPECTS ARE GOOD, HE SAID. HE REPEATED THE SPV'S DESIRE FOR PEACE WITH CAMBODIA AND DENIED THAT ANY VIETNAMESE TROOPS WERE FIGHTING IN CAMBODIA. THEY WERE DEFENDING VIETNAM'S BORDERS.

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HE ALSO SAID THAT INDIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY WAS A CORRECT ONE AND DESERVED TO BE SUPPORTED.

5. ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS, ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN THE OFFICIAL TALKS. WITH DESAI REITERATING THE STANDARD INDIAN POSITION OF DESISTING FROM VIETNAM AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITHIN INDIA'S LIMITED CAPABILITIES. PRESS ATTENTION WAS SEIZED BY THE GOI'S AGREEMENT TO PROVIDE THE VIETNAMESE WITH NUCLEAR ASSISTANCE, IN TRAINING SCIENTISTS AND GIVING OTHER ASSISTANCE "WITHIN THE TERMS OF INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS".

THIS LED ONE EDITORIALIST TO CONCLUDE THAT VIETNAM PREFERRED INDIA'S COOPERATION TO THAT OF THE SOVIETS BECAUSE THE SRV RECOGNIZES THAT THE NUCLEAR DEVELOPED STATES DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THAT THE LDC'S MUST

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REFLY UPON EACH OTHER. "HINDU" CORRESPONDENT G.K. REDDY, HOWEVER, SAID THAT REPORTS ON NUCLEAR COOPERATION WERE MISLEADING AND THAT THE ASSISTANCE WOULD BE CONFINED TO TRAINING VIETNAMESE SCIENTISTS AT BHABHA ATOMIC RESEARCH CENTER AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS WHERE MANY FOREIGN STUDENTS ARE ALREADY STUDYING. REDDY

WHO HAS EXCELLENT GOVERNMENT CONTACTS, ALSO CLAIMED THAT THE GOI HAS NO INTENTION OF SUPPLYING MATERIAL OR TRANSFERRING TECHNOLOGY TO THIRD COUNTRIES EVEN FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES UNTIL RELIABLE INTERNATIONAL NORMS ARE ESTABLISHED.

6. REDDY, WHOSE REPORTING ON THE TALKS WAS MORE DETAILED THAN THAT OF OTHER NEWSPAPERS WHICH RELIED ON GENERAL OFFICIAL BRIEFINGS, SAID THAT THE INDIANS HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY PHAM VAN DONG'S POLITICAL PRAGMATISM AND ABSENCE OF A DOGMATIC APPROACH. ACCORDING TO REDDY, A NOTABLE FEATURE OF THE TALKS WAS DONG'S CAREFUL IN EXPLAINING SPV'S ASPIRATIONS AND APPREHENSIONS ABOUT REGIONAL COOPERATION AFTER LONG YEARS

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OF ISOLATION. DONG REPORTEDLY WAS NOT APPREHENSIVE ABOUT CHINESE DOMINANCE IN THE AREA AND TOLD THE INDIANS THAT HE DID NOT DOUBT THE PRC WAS UNHAPPY OVER THE VIETNAMESE-CAMBODIAN BORDER CONFLICT AND WANTED AN EARLY SETTLEMENT. REDDY AND OTHERS REPORT, HOWEVER, THAT DONG ALSO SPOKE OF THE DESIRABILITY OF NOT PERMITTING OUTSIDE FORCES TO COMPLICATE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE REGION. TOWARD ASEAN, DONG IS SAID TO HAVE INDICATED THAT VIETNAM WAS PREPARING TO DEAL WITH THESE COUNTRIES AS A GROUP, AS WELL AS BILATERALLY, PROVIDED THERE WERE NO MILITARY OVERTONES TO ASEAN. ON RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, ACCORDING TO REDDY, DONG SAID THAT THERE COULD BE NO NORMALIZATION UNTIL THE US PAYS UP, AND THAT THIS WAS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE FOR THE SPV, NOT SIMPLY A QUESTION OF COMPENSATION.

7. THE CEREMONIAL HIGHLIGHT OF THE VISIT WAS THE FORMAL SIGNING OF FOUR AGREEMENTS: A RS. 120 MILLION (\$12.5 MILLION) LOAN AGREEMENT; A TRADE AGREEMENT; AN AGREEMENT ON AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH; AND AN AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT ALSO ANNOUNCED ITS AGREEMENT TO "LEND" VIETNAM 322,000 TONS OF WHEAT (REF. A). LASTLY, THE TWO SIDES ALSO APPROVED A CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM. THE TERMS OF THE GOVERNMENT LOAN AND THE ACCOMPANYING RS. 300 MILLION (\$37.5 MILLION) COMMERCIAL EXPORT CREDIT AS THEY ARE KNOWN AT THIS TIME ARE REPORTED IN REF. B. IN THE TRADE AGREEMENT, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AGREED TO EXTEND MOST-FAVORABLE-NATION TREATMENT TO EACH OTHER AND TO SETTLE PAYMENTS IN HARD CURRENCY (THE LATTER IN KEEPING WITH THE GOI'S CURRENT TREND AWAY FROM RUPEE PAYMENT AGREEMENTS, WITH

WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES). THE TREATY IS VALID FOR THREE YEARS WITH AUTOMATIC ANNUAL EXTENSIONS IN THE ABSENCE OF NOTICE TO TERMINATE BY EITHER PARTY. INDICATIVE OF INDIA'S STATUS AS AN EXPORTER OF MANUFACTURED GOODS THE LIST OF INDIAN PRODUCTS SPECIFIED IN THE TREATY INCLUDES: RAILWAY ROLLING STOCK,

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AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY, PHARMACEUTICALS; ELECTRIC APPLIANCES;  
ELECTRIC WIRES AND CABLES; PIG IRON-STEEL AND STEEL PRODUCTS;  
VIETNAMESE GOODS IDENTIFIED WERE RICE, VEGETABLE OILS, AGATITE

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AND OIL SEEDS.

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ACTION SEA-13

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INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

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8. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED MARCH 2 AS DONG LEFT MADRAS FOR COLOMBO OPENED WITH AN EXCHANGE OF WARM FELICITATIONS ON THE RESPECTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. PRIME MINISTER DESAI "HAILED THE SUCCESS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE IN ACHIEVING THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM". AND BOTH WELCOMED THE NEW SPIRIT OF COOPERATION IN SOUTH ASIA AND AGREED THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA HAD TO ACCELERATE THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE COMMUNIQUE CONTAINED STANDARD NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA. AND ON THE INDIAN OCEAN HOPED THAT THE GREAT POWERS AND MAJOR MARITIME STATES WOULD COOPERATE WITH THE LITTORAL STATES TO ACHIEVE THE ZONE OF PEACE. IN PARTICULAR IN HOLDING THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN.

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ON THE BORDER CONFLICT. THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS EXPRESSED THE CONFIDENCE THAT "VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA WOULD RESOLVE THE PROBLEM PEACEFULLY THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS." SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS WERE DEVOTED TO THE KAM AND TO THE KAM'S DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMON STRATEGY FOR THE SSOD SO THAT THE SESSION WOULD PRODUCE CONCRETE RESULTS TOWARD UNIVERSAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT. "WHICH WOULD RELEASE ENORMOUS RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT" AND FREE MANKIND FROM THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR ECOCUAST. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO STRESSED THE NEED FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE RESULTS OF THE LAST CIRC MEETING. THE BILATERAL ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNIQUE SUMMARIZED THE FOUR AGREEMENTS SIGNED DURING THE VISIT.

G. PHAM VAN DONG RECEIVED AN EXCELLENT PRESS RECEPTION

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WHICH HIGHLIGHTED HIS FREQUENT AND LIVELY EXHIBITIONS  
OF THANKS FOR INDIA'S SUPPORT AND HIS PRESS CONFERENCE  
DESCRIPTION OF INDO-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS AS BEING AS  
"PURE AS THE CLOUDLESS SKY." THE INDIAN EXPRESS EVEN  
REFERRED TO DONG'S "WINSONG SWISS". EDITORIALISTS THOROUGHLY  
APPROVED OF INDIA'S OFFERS OF ASSISTANCE TO VIETNAM. SEVERAL,  
IN FACT, COMPLAINED THAT THE OFFERS WERE TOO LONG IN COMING  
AND AT TOO LOW A LEVEL. EDITORIALS ALSO NOTED THE IMPORTANCE  
OF VIETNAM IN SOUTH EAST ASIA AND THE CONSEQUENT NECESSITY  
OF INDIA TO DEVELOP BETTER POLITICAL RELATIONS AS WELL.  
10. WE EXPECT TO SEE GOI OFFICIALS NEXT WEEK TO OBTAIN THEIR  
VIEWS ON THE VISIT.

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INCOMING  
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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 110  
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING  
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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDIP, IN, VN

REF: NEW DELHI 3468

1. WE HAD EXPECTED TO MEET YESTERDAY WITH S. SHAHABUDDIN, NEA JOINT SECRETARY WHO DEALS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIAN MATTERS, TO DISCUSS THE RECENT VISIT TO INDIA OF PHAM VAN DONG. SHAHABUDDIN HAD ACCOMPANIED PHAM VAN DONG DURING HIS VISIT HERE, HAD ALSO GONE WITH NEA MINISTER OF STATE KUNDU TO HANOI EARLIER, AND IS OUR BEST SOURCE IN NEA ON THE AREA. HE BECAME ILL YESTERDAY MORNING, HOWEVER, AS A TEMPORARY FALLBACK, WE ARE PASSING ON AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER CURTIS' (PROTECT) DETAILED REPORT TO US OF HIS OWN SESSION WITH SHAHABUDDIN EARLIER THIS WEEK.

2. ACCORDING TO SHAHABUDDIN, THE PHAM VAN DONG VISIT HAD GONE WELL. ONE REASON WAS THAT THERE HAD ALWAYS BEEN CONSIDERABLE GOOD WILL IN INDIA TOWARDS VIETNAM. THIS WAS FELT AT ALL LEVELS, AND CUT ACROSS POLITICAL LINES. ANOTHER FACTOR, ACCORDING TO SHAHABUDDIN, WAS PHAM VAN DONG'S STRAIGHTFORWARD AND MODEST APPROACH. HE SPOKE FRANKLY AND ESTABLISHED GOOD RAPPORT WITH PM DESAI. HE ALSO, IN SHAHABUDDIN'S VIEW (AND OURS), SHOWED A GOOD DEAL OF SKILL IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS. THESE WERE MODEST IN TONE, INCLUDED REFERENCES TO GANDHI, PRAISE FOR INDIAN CIVILIZATION, REFERENCES TO THE SHARED COLONIAL EXPERIENCES OF INDIA AND VIETNAM.

3. SHAHABUDDIN NOTED THAT THE ECONOMIC PACKAGE WAS THE LARGEST EVER OFFERED BY INDIA TO ANY COUNTRY OTHER THAN SUCH CLOSE NEIGHBORS AS NEPAL AND BANGLADESH. WITH THE WHEAT LOANS, ITS TOTAL VALUE WAS CLOSE TO \$100 MILLION. THIS WAS A MAXIMUM EFFORT BY INDIA WITH ITS PRESENT RESOURCES. THE VARIOUS AGREEMENTS SIGNED DURING THE VISIT WOULD PROVIDE A BROAD FRAMEWORK FOR COOPERATION IN DIFFERENT AREAS. SHAHABUDDIN NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WERE SOME CONSTRAINTS ON HOW FAR THIS COOPERATION WOULD EXTEND, MAINLY BECAUSE OF WHAT HE TERMED DIFFICULTY OF COMMUNICATIONS.

4. IN REPLY TO CURTIS' SPECIFIC QUESTION, SHAHABUDDIN

CONFIRMED THAT VIETNAM HAD EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN SOME ASPECTS OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. THE INITIATIVE HAD COME FROM THE VIETNAM SIDE. INDIA HAD AGREED TO PROVIDE A FEW TRAINING PLACES IN SELECTED AREAS BUT THIS WAS NOT A MAJOR FEATURE OF THE PACKAGE.

5. THE GOI HAD MADE IT CLEAR AT THE OUTSET THAT IT WAS NOT NEW DELHI'S PRACTICE TO ISSUE A COMMUNIQUE IN THE STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF THE DRAFT SUBMITTED BY HANOI. THE VIETNAMESE RESPONDED WELL TO THIS POSITION. THE RESULT, IN SHAHABUDDIN'S VIEW, WAS A COMMUNIQUE MODERATE IN TONE AND CONTENT. HE SAID THAT EXCEPT FOR A FEW PLACES THERE WAS NO DIFFICULTY IN COMING TO AGREEMENT. THE COMMUNIQUE WAS CAREFUL IN DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND SOUTH ASIA. SHAHABUDDIN FELT THAT THE LANGUAGE USED MIGHT HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN A JOINT COMMUNIQUE BETWEEN INDIAN AND ONE OF THE ASEAN COUNTRIES.

6. SHAHABUDDIN TOLD CURTIS THAT PHAM VAN DONG HAD SHOWN NO HOSTILITY TOWARD ASEAN. PHAM VAN DONG SEEMED TO THINK THAT VIETNAM HAD GONE SOME WAY TOWARDS ALLAYING ASEAN SUSPICIONS AND FEARS ABOUT HANOI. HE APPEARED INTENT ON DEVELOPING GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ASEAN MEMBERS. THOUGH IT WAS NO PART OF HANOI'S PRESENT THINKING TO SEEK ANY FORMAL ASSOCIATION WITH ASEAN.

7. THE VIETNAMESE WERE "VERY WORRIED" ABOUT CAMBODIA. CURTIS GOT THE IMPRESSION FROM SHAHABUDDIN THAT THE VIETNAMESE SEEMED TO FEEL THAT THE TROUBLE STEMMED FROM PHNOM PENH'S UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE EXTENT OF ITS SUPPORT AMONG THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE. SHAHABUDDIN'S FEELING WAS THAT HANOI DID NOT EXPECT THE PRESENT CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT TO NEGOTIATE BUTH THAT VIETNAM WAS PREPARED TO BE PATIENT.

8. SHAHABUDDIN REPORTED THAT MORARJI DESAI WAS IMPRESSED BY THE WAY PHAM VAN DONG SPOKE ABOUT THE US. PUBLIC REFERENCES TO VIETNAM-US RELATIONS DURING THE VISIT WERE RESTRAINED. PHAM VAN DONG NO DOUBT FELT THAT THE USG HAD GONE BACK ON A PROMISE MADE TO VIETNAM BY PRESIDENT NIXON. HE DID NOT SEEM CONCERNED ABOUT WHETHER THE TERM "REPARATIONS" WAS USED OR NOT. HE INDICATED TO THE INDIANS THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO EMBARRASS THE AMERICANS AND THAT HE WAS WILLING TO "GIVE CARTER A CHANCE".

9. THE VIETNAMESE PLACED MUCH EMPHASIS DURING THE VISIT ON THEIR "NON-ALIGNED" STATUS. GOWEN

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Department of State

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

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ACTION QES-07

111032Z

9934

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 EA-10 EUR-12 ACDA-12 CIAE-00  
INR-10 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08 NRC-05  
SOE-02 DODE-00 DOE-11 SS-15 SP-02 CEQ-01 /127 W  
-----071985 121511Z /53

R 0706Z  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 126

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NEW DELHI 3875

FOL IS BOMBAY TEL 0622 TO NEW DELHI MARCH 10, 1978 SIGNED COURTNEY  
RPTD

QUOTE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BOMBAY 0622

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MNUC, IN

1. DURING TALK ON ANOTHER SUBJECT THIS MORNING SETHNA GAVE ME THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH VIETNAM. DURING RECENT VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER PHAN VAN DONG, SETHNA SAID THAT VIETNAMESE BASICALLY MADE THREE REQUESTS A) ASSISTANCE FOR A REACTOR WHICH WE HAD LEFT THERE BUT FOR WHICH THEY HAD NO FUEL. INDIA SIMPLY REPLIED AS FUEL REQUESTED WAS ENRICHED URANIUM THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF INDIA'S HELP BECAUSE INDIA HAS NO ENRICHED URANIUM OF ITS OWN. IN RESPONSE TO VIETNAMESE QUERIES SETHNA TOLD VIETNAMESE ONLY SOURCE OF FUEL THAT HE KNOW OF WAS U.S. OR USSR. B) VIETNAMESE ASKED HELP WITH ISOTOPES FOR USE IN HYDROLOGY, MEDICINE AND RICE CULTURE. C) VIETNAMESE WANTED HELP IN ASSESSING AND EVALUATING URANIUM ORE.

2. SETHNA SAID THAT IN RESPONSE TO B AND C ABOVE HE OFFERED VIETNAMESE THREE OR FOUR FELLOWSHIPS THAT HE PROPOSED BE PLACED UNDER IAEA PROGRAM, THAT IS, THEY WOULD BE FUNDED WITH RUPEES WHICH INDIA SETS ASIDE EACH YEAR FOR TRAINING OF FOREIGN SCIENTISTS AND TECHNICIANS IN INDIA UNDER THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION PROGRAM WHICH HAS BEEN GOING ON HERE FOR OVER 20 YEARS. HE HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT THE VIETNAMESE INTEND TO ACCEPT THIS OFFER EVEN THOUGH THERE IS UNRESOLVED QUESTION AS TO WHERE VIETNAMESE WOULD GET ISOTOPES TO CONTINUE THE PROGRAM IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. SETHNA SAID THAT HE GAVE NO ENCOURAGEMENT THAT INDIA WOULD BE ABLE TO SUPPLY ISOTOPES FOR THIS PURPOSE BUT POINTED OUT THAT THIS IS AN AREA WHERE THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT MAY WELL HAVE FURTHER WORDS. HOWEVER HE EMPHASIZED THAT INDIA HAS BEEN MORE RESTRICTIVE THAN PRACTICALLY ANY OTHER COUNTRY WITH SIZEABLE NUCLEAR PROGRAM IN SHARING SCIENTIFIC TECHNOLOGY OR MATERIALS. HE NOTED THAT INDIA HAS NEVER GIVEN ANY ASSISTANCE OF ANY KIND CONNECTED WITH REPROCESSING PLANTS OR RADIO CHEMISTRY.  
COURTNEY  
UNQUOTE  
GOHEEN



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Department of State

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

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ACTION ACDA-12

5945

NEW DE 8430Z 281338Z

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-08 ACDE-08 CIAE-08 INR-10 IO-13  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08 HRC-05 OES-07 SOE-02  
DOOE-00 DOE-15 SS-15 SP-02 CEC-01 DOEE-00 PA-01  
/110 W

-----061038 281334Z /72

P 01219Z  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0319

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NEW DELHI 4362

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT ACTION NEW DELHI AND INFOR  
CALCUTTA AND MARRAS 28 MARCH 1970 AND IS REPEATED FOR YOUR  
ACTION/INFORMATION.

QUOTE:

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BOMBAY 0556

E.O. 11652 N/A  
TAGS: MNUG, IN  
SUBJ: INDIAN NUCLEAR AFFAIRS

1. [REDACTED] TIMES  
STATES THAT DR. RAJA RAMANNA, DIRECTOR OF BARC, HAS BEEN REMOVED  
FROM HIS "PRESENT PRESTIGIOUS POST" AND TRANSFERRED TO NEW DELHI AS  
SCIENTIFIC ADVISER TO THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND DIRECTOR GENERAL  
OF DEFENSE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT WITH THE RANK OF SECRETARY  
TO THE GOI.

2. TIMES NOTES WHILE THIS IS TECHNICALLY A PROMOTION IT IS IN  
FACT THE OPPOSITE AND THERE IS CONSTERNATION IN THE ATOMIC  
ENERGY ESTABLISHMENT. AS CONGEN CAN CONFIRM, THE STORY REPORTS  
THAT TWICE IN THE PAST RAMANNA TURNED DOWN THIS POSITION IN THE  
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE.

3. STORY GOES ON TO SAY THAT THERE HAVE BEEN SERIOUS  
DIFFERENCES OF OPINION BETWEEN SETHNA AND RAMANNA  
ESPECIALLY SINCE A CONTROVERSY STARTED OVER THE PEACEFUL  
NUCLEAR EXPLOSION AT POKHARAN. THE TIMES ALSO SAYS THAT  
THE "PRESSURES AND PULLS RELATING TO NPT AND FULL-SCOPE  
SAFEGUARDS HAS ALSO HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH DR. RAMANNA'S  
SUDDEN TRANSFER." NO OTHER ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PAPER CARRIED STORY.

4. COMMENT: RAMANNA HAS HAD HIS HANDS FULL IN MODERATING THE  
GROUNDWELL OF OPPOSITION IN THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY TO  
FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. HIS SCIENTISTS HAVE BEEN ALMOST  
UNANIMOUSLY OPPOSED TO SAFEGUARDS WHICH THEY VIEW AS A THREAT TO  
THEIR DAILY BREAD. IN TRYING TO FIND A MIDDLE PATH BETWEEN  
HIS ROLE AS A PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIAL CONCERNED WITH  
NUCLEAR AFFAIRS AND LEADER OF THE INDIAN SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY.  
(PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL SCIENCE ACADEMY - INSA)  
RAMANNA HAS AT TIMES RUN INTO DIFFICULTIES WITH SETHNA. THE  
LATTER HAS WANTED TO AVOID PRESS CONTROVERSY AND ANY PUBLIC  
AIRING OF DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN THE NUCLEAR ESTABLISHMENT.  
HE HAS BEEN UPSET BY SEVERAL ARTICLES RAMANNA HAS PUBLISHED ON  
SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS REALTED TO THE PEACEFUL USE OF THE ATOM.  
GIVEN SETHNA'S AUTOCRATIC PRACTICES IN ADMINISTRATION IT HAS NOT  
BEEN POSSIBLE FOR CONGEN TO PROBE DEEPLY INTO THESE  
DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE IACG. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS ATTEMPTS ALONG  
THESE LINES HAVE DRAWN REBUKES FROM SETHNA WHO HAS THREATENED TO  
CUT OFF OUR DIRECT LINES OF COMMUNICATION WITH HIM IF WE ATTEMPT  
TO BROADEN OUR SOURCES WITHIN THE IACG. SINCE SETHNA HAS BEEN SO  
COOPERATIVE ON OPERATIONAL MATTERS, WE HAVE FELT IT WISE AND  
PRUDENT TO HEED HIS WARNINGS. NEVERTHELESS, THERE HAVE BEEN  
MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION WITH RAMANNA AND OTHER

NUCLEAR SCIENTISTS. FROM THESE IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THERE ARE NO  
PHILOSOPHICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SETHNA AND RAMANNA REGARDING  
INDIA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM. THEY BOTH BELIEVE THAT INDIA MUST HAVE  
AN EXTENSIVE PROGRAM COVERING ALMOST ALL FIELDS OF NUCLEAR ENDEAVOR  
DEVOTED TO PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE ATOM. THEIR DIFFERENCES  
HAVE BEEN OVER TACTICS. WHILE SETHNA IS POSITIVE AND DIRECT  
ONCE A COURSE OF ACTION HAS BEEN CHOSEN HE IS NEVERTHELESS GIVEN  
TO VERY COMPLICATED TACTICAL MANEUVERING WHICH SURPRISES MANY  
OBSERVERS WHO SEE ONLY THE FORCEFUL AND DECISIVE ADMINISTRATOR  
IN ACTION. RAMANNA, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS MORE THOUGHTFUL AND  
CONSIDERATE AND IS GIVEN TO TAKING WIDER LATITUDE IN CARRYING  
OUT AGREED UPON POLICIES. AS LONG AS HIS ACTIONS DO NOT  
CONTRADICT BASIC POLICIES, RAMANNA SEES NO REASON NOT TO  
CONSIDER HUMAN ELEMENTS AND ACCOMMODATE THE PROFESSIONAL VIEWS  
OF HIS COLLEAGUES.

5. RAMANNA IS THE ONLY OTHER INDIAN OFFICIAL IN BOMBAY TO WHOM  
SETHNA PAYS ANY DEFERENCE IN MAKING DECISIONS IN THE NUCLEAR  
AREA AND EVEN IN THIS REGARD HE WILL CONSULT RAMANNA ONLY ON  
MATTERS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE. BUT IN SUCH AFFAIRS WHICH  
HAVE INCLUDED BUY-BACK AND FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS, SETHNA HAS TOLD  
CONGEN THAT HE CANNOT MOVE WITHOUT RAMANNA'S ASSENT. RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THESE TWO GIANTS OF INDIA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM HAVE ALWAYS  
APPEARED ON THE SURFACE AT LEAST TO BE CORDIAL AND CONGENIAL.  
IT IS OBVIOUS THAT PERSONALLY THESE TWO MEN HAVE THE HIGHEST  
RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER. HOWEVER, IT HAS ALSO BEEN CLEAR THAT  
SETHNA HAS BEEN UNHAPPY THAT RAMANNA HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO DO A  
BETTER JOB IN CHECKING THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY'S OUTBURSTS  
AGAINST FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. SINCE THERE IS NO ONE ELSE IN  
INDIA WITH RAMANNA'S INFLUENCE IN THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY,  
IT IS HARD TO SAY HOW ANY SUCCESSOR COULD BE ANY MORE  
SUCCESSFUL THAT RAMANNA IN MODERATING THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY'S  
OPPOSITION TO NPT AND FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. CONSEQUENTLY  
CONGEN WOULD DOUBT THAT SETHNA ENGINEERED RAMANNA'S REMOVAL.

6. THERE WILL CERTAINLY BE AN ENORMOUS HUE AND CRY IN BOMBAY AGAINST  
RAMANNA'S TRANSFER TO DELHI. RAMANNA HIMSELF TOLD THE CONGEN  
A FEW WEEKS AGO THAT HE WAS VERY HAPPY IN BOMBAY AND LOOKED  
FORWARD TO CONTINUING HIS 20-YEARS STAY IN THIS CITY. CONGEN  
WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED BUT WHAT A SERIOUS EFFORT IS MOUNTED  
BY RAMANNA'S MANY FRIENDS HERE TO KEEP HIM IN BOMBAY. THERE WILL  
CERTAINLY BE STRONG PRESSURES ON SETHNA TO LEND HIS NAME TO SUCH  
AN EFFORT.  
COURTNEY UNQUOTE  
GONEEN

ENCLOSURE 2

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Department of State

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

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ACTION NEA-10

7806

NEW DE 04480 221835Z

GONEEN

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PH-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USJA-06  
ACDA-12 IO-13 EB-03 NRC-05 OES-07 SCE-02 DOE-15  
CEG-01 /122 M

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R 22911Z  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0367  
INFO AMCONSUL CALCUTTA  
AMCONSUL MADRAS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NEW DELHI 4480

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SENT ACTION NEW DELHI 21 MARCH 1978  
AND IS REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION/INFORMATION.

QUOTE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BOMBAY 0715

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MNUG, IN  
SUBJECT: INDIAN NUCLEAR AFFAIRS

REF: BOMBAY 696, REPEATED DEPARTMENT AS NEW DELHI 4362

1. MARCH 21 EDITIONS OF BOMBAY'S LEADING ENGLISH-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS CONTINUED TO GIVE BIG PLAY TO ~~THE~~ THE TIMES OF INDIA FOLLOWED UP ITS FRONTPAGE STORY OF MARCH 20 WITH EDITORIAL URGING RECONSIDERATION OF DECISION TO TRANSFER RAMANNA "IN THE LARGER INTERESTS OF SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS." INDIAN EXPRESS CARRIED TOP OF FRONTPAGE SIX COLUMN PHOTO STORY ENTITLED "BARC AGHAST: RAMANNA TRANSFER." NEITHER PAPER VENTURED ANY EXPLICIT EXPLANATION FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION BUT BOTH SUGGESTED THAT TRANSFER STEMMED FROM DISAGREEMENT WITH GOVERNMENT OVER HANDLING OF FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS ISSUE. INDIAN EXPRESS ADDED "IT IS RUMORED IN KNOWLEDGEABLE CIRCLES THAT THERE ARE 'STRONG DIFFERENCES ON POLICY MATTERS BETWEEN DR. SETHNA AND DR. RAMANNA.' HOWEVER, EXPRESS ALSO NOTED THAT "DR. RAMANNA'S TRANSFER... HAS COME AT AN UNPLEASANT SURPRISE BOTH TO HIM AND TO DR. H.N. SETHNA..." BOTH PAPERS HIGHLIGHT RAMANNA'S ENORMOUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS. THEY EMPHASIZE THAT SUCH AN INVOLUNTARY TRANSFER IS BOUND TO HAVE A DEEPLY DEPRESSING EFFECT ON INDIA'S SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY.

2. COMMENT: IN GOING OVER NOTES OF MY CONVERSATIONS WITH SETHNA ON SUBJECTS WHERE RAMANNA'S VIEWS WOULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO BE IMPORTANT, I FIND ONLY ONE INDICATION OF A DIFFERENCE OF VIEW BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS OF THE INDIAN NUCLEAR ESTABLISHMENT. SHORTLY AFTER MY RETURN FROM LEAVE IN THE U.S. EARLY THIS YEAR, I DREW TO SETHNA'S ATTENTION AN ARTICLE RAMANNA HAD AUTHORED FOR BLITZ, THE ANTI-AMERICAN, OFTEN SCURRILIOUS, WEEKLY WHICH HAS INDIA'S LARGEST CIRCULATION (ISSUE OF 1/21/78). I OBSERVED THAT THIS WAS AN ODD OUTLET FOR A SERIOUS PIECE, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT DEALT LARGELY, ALTHOUGH INDIRECTLY, WITH AN ISSUE UNDER ACTIVE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE USA AND INDIA. SETHNA OBSERVED THAT RAMANNA HAD WRITTEN ARTICLE IN HIS CAPACITY OF PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL SCIENCE ACADEMY (INSA), AS WAS MADE CLEAR IN THE BYLINE. HE ALSO SAID THAT WE HAD TO UNDERSTAND THAT IN ADDITION TO BEING HEAD OF BARC, RAMANNA WAS ALSO THE LEADER OF THE INDIAN SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY AND IN THAT ROLE HE HAD TO GIVE PUBLIC EXPRESSION TO ISSUES THAT WERE ACTIVE IN THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY. HE ENDED THAT CONVERSATION BY NOTING THAT SUCH ARTICLES IN PAPERS LIKE BLITZ RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT IAEI THAT ARE BETTER KEPT IN PROFESSIONAL CIRCLES.

COURTESY UNQUOTE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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201759Z

TELEGRAM  
7082

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 INR-10 IO-13 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08 NRC-05 OES-07 SOE-02 DDOE-00  
DOE-15 SS-15 SP-02 CEQ-01 PA-01 USIA-06 PM-05  
/121 W

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R 1218Z  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0320  
INFO AMCONSUL BOMBAY  
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA  
AMCONSUL MADRAS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NEW DELHI 4363

E. O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: MNUC, IN  
SUBJECT: INDIAN NUCLEAR AFFAIRS

REF: BOMBAY 696

1. WE ARE REPEATING BOMBAY 696 WHICH ASSESSES  
TO NEW DELHI AS SCIENTIFIC ADVISER TO MOD AND DIRECTOR GEN-  
ERAL OF DEFENSE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT WITH THE RANK OF  
SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

2. WE WOULD NOTE AS AN ADDENDUM TO BOMBAY'S MESSAGE THAT  
THERE ARE SOME HERE, INCLUDING BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER  
THOMSON AND HINDU CORRESPONDENT G.K. REDDY, WHO HAVE LONG HELD  
IN DISCUSSION WITH US THAT RAMANNA IS A LEADER OF THE SCIEN-  
TIFIC COMMUNITY'S "HAWK" FACTION ON SUCH ISSUES AS PNE'S AND  
FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. THERE IS SOME HINT OF THIS IN THE  
TREATMENT THE "TIMES OF INDIA" GAVE THE STORY. IF THIS ASSESS-  
MENT IS MORE WIDELY HELD, AND RAMANNA'S TRANSFER IS PER-  
CEIVED AS HIS HAVING BEEN "KICKED UPSTAIRS" FOR HIS VIEWS,  
WE CAN EXPECT THAT SOME POLITICAL FIREWORKS WILL FOLLOW.  
GOHEEN

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INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

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8798

NEW DE 04518 222248Z

INFO OCT-01 150-00 DOE-15 SOE-02 OES-07 AIB-05 ID-13  
ACDA-12 NRC-05 CIAE-08 DODE-00 PH-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-08 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
TRSE-00 /118 W

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R 1229Z  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 385

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NEW DELHI 4518

FOLLOWING CABLE SENT ACTION NEW DELHI INFO CALCUTTA MADRAS  
MAR 22 FROM BOMBAY REPEATED TO YOU

QUOTE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BOMBAY 0727

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: HNUC, PINT, IN  
SUBJECT: INDIAN NUCLEAR AFFAIRS

1. THE FREE PRESS GROUP OF NEWSPAPERS ADDED THEIR VOICE TO THE HAND WRINGING AND SPECULATION OVER [REDACTED] FROM BARC TO THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IN NEW DELHI. THE FREE PRESS BULLETIN, THE AFTERNOON TABLOID OF THIS GROUP, GAVE A NEW TWIST TO SPECULATION OVER RAMANNA'S TRANSFER IN ITS MARCH 21 EDITION. IN AN ACCROSS THE TOPE OF THE FRONTPAGE PHOTO STORY ENTITLED "SETHNA TOO GOING?" THE FPB SUGGESTED THAT THE IAC CHAIRMAN'S HEAD WOULD ROLL NEXT. THE FREE PRESS BULLETIN SAID "HIGHER UPS IN NEW DELHI ARE BENT ON REMOVING BOTH RAMANNA AND SETHNA FROM THE NUCLEAR FIELD."

2. PARADOXICALLY, THE FREE PRESS BULLETIN STORY THEN PLAYS UP ALLEGED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN INDIA'S TWO TOP NUCLEAR SCIENTISTS. SETHNA IS TO BE AXED BECAUSE OF HIS SUPPORT FOR THE EMERGENCY WHICH THE FREE PRESS BULLETIN BELIEVES RAMANNA OPPOSED. SETHNA'S FLAGRANT DELICTO IS SAID TO BE HIS SPEECH AT A GATHERING ORGANIZED BY THE LOCAL CONGRESS PARTY COMMITTEE TO CELEBRATE "TEN YEARS OF SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS" AT THE COMPLETION OF INDIRA'S FIRST DECADE AS PRIME MINISTER. COMMENT: CONGEN ATTENDED THIS EVENT AND RECALLS THAT BOTH SETHNA AND RAMANNA HAD EQUALLY PROMINENT ROLES ALONG WITH SOME OF INDIA'S OTHER TOP SCIENTISTS, E.G. PROFESSOR M.G.K. MENON, SECRETARY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRONICS. END COMMENT.

3. THE MARCH 22 MORNING PAPER OF THE FREE PRESS GROUP, THE FREE PRESS JOURNAL, ALSO HAS A FRONTPAGE STORY ON THE RAMANNA TRANSFER. IT GIVES AS THE MAIN REASON FOR HIS TRANSFER "HIS REPORTED INSISTENCE THAT NO INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION OF NUCLEAR FACILITIES IN BARC SHOULD BE ALLOWED, AS FUNDAMENTAL BASIC RESEARCH WAS GOING ON IN SOME OF THE KEY FACILITIES IN BARC." THE FREE PRESS JOURNAL SPECULATES THAT RAMANNA'S SUCCESSOR AT BARC WILL BE EITHER DR. P.K. IYENGAR, DIRECTOR OF PHYSICS AND MEDICINE AT BARC OR DR. S. FAREEDUDDIN, DIRECTOR OF THE HEAVY WATERS PROJECT. THE FREE PRESS JOURNAL NOTES THAT IYENGAR IS A PHYSICS SCIENTIST AND FAREEDUDDIN IS AN ENGINEER WHO, IN THE PAPER'S VIEW, WOULD BE LESS ACCEPTABLE TO THE BARC SCIENTISTS.

4. THE BOMBAY EDITION OF THE INDIAN EXPRESS AGAIN GAVE HEAVY PLAY TO NUCLEAR MATTERS IN ITS ISSUE OF MARCH 22. IT REPRODUCES THE "ECONOMIST" OF LONDON REPORT ON WINDSCALES WHICH OF COURSE RECOMMENDS THAT THE UK GO AHEAD WITH PLANS FOR REPROCESSING AT THAT FACILITY.

TODAY'S EXPRESS ALSO REPORTS IN AN NEGATIVE LIGHT THE NRC HEARINGS OF MARCH 20 ON XSHM 1960, IN A NEW DELHI DATE LINE STORY WHICH ALLEGES THAT FURTHER DELAYS WILL INTENSIFY EXISTING PROBLEMS IN URANIUM SUPPLY.

5. COMMENT: RAMANNA'S TRANSFER AND THE ATTENDANT RUMORS OF OTHER CHANGES IN INDIA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM HAVE TOP-LEVEL ATTENTION IN THE LOCAL BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL COMMUNITIES AS WELL AS AMONG SCIENTISTS. MANY LEADERS OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY REGARD THE HANDLING OF THE RAMANNA TRANSFER AS ANOTHER SIGN OF AWKWARDNESS IN THE JANATA GOVERNMENT. THEY HAVE FREELY COMPARED IT WITH THE DISMISSAL OF J.R.D. TATA AS HEAD OF AIR-INDIA. RAMANNA ENJOYS GENUINE RESPECT AND ADMIRATION HERE. HE IS CONSIDERED TO BE A SCIENTIST WHO HAS KEPT HIMSELF ABOVE POLITICS AND PETTY BUREAUCRATIC SQUABBLES. IN ADDITION, HE IS A PATRON OF THE ARTS (MUSIC) AND IS AN ACKNOWLEDGED EXPERT ON INDIAN'S CULTURAL TRADITIONS. PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT A MAN WITH THIS BACKGROUND SHOULD HAVE BEEN TREATED WITH GREATER CONSIDERATION IN SUCH A BASIC CHANGE.

6. MANY PEOPLE HERE WOULD GIVE SOME CREDENCE TO THE FREE PRESS BULLETIN ALLEGATION THAT SETHNA WAS OFTEN TOO CLOSE TO INDIRA AND MANY OF HER REPRESSIVE POLICIES. THEY SEE HIS CURRENT CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT AS INDIRECTLY SUPPORTIVE OF INDIRA. HE HAS FREQUENTLY IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS ATTEMPTED TO GET THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND SOME OF THE STATE GOVERNMENTS TO CRACK DOWN ON UNIONS IN THE ATOMIC ENERGY ESTABLISHMENT THAT HAVE CAUSED MAJOR DISRUPTIONS IN OPERATIONS AT KOTA AND HYDRABAD AND PERHAPS ELSEWHERE. HE HAS BEEN SCATHINGLY CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S REFUSAL TO TAKE ENERGETIC ACTIONS AGAINST UNION ACTIONS WHICH HE BELIEVES ARE DISRUPTING PROGRAMS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO THE NATION. NEVERTHELESS, THE CONGEN HAS NEVER HEARD ANYONE ALLEGE THAT SETHNA HAD ACUTALLY TAKEN A POLITICAL STAND FAVORING INDIRA. RATHER MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT HE HAS GOTTEN HIMSELF TOO CLOSE TO THE LINE ON MANY OCCASIONS.

7. SETHNA ENJOYS BROADER AND MORE ACTIVE SUPPORT IN THE BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL COMMUNITIES THAN RAMANNA. SETHNA HAS BROUGHT PRIVATE INDUSTRY INTO THE SUPPLY BUSINESS FOR INDIA'S ATOMIC PROGRAM ON A LARGE SCALE.

MANY BUSINESSMEN HERE HAVE COMPLIMENTED HIM TO HE FOR HIS EFFORTS TO GIVE THE PRIVATE SECTOR A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN INDIA'S ATOMIC PROGRAM. THESE PEOPLE WOULD CERTAINLY DO WHAT THEY CAN TO KEEP SETHNA IN HIS PRESENT OPPOSITION, IF HE WISHES TO STAY THERE AFTER THE DEBRIS SETTLES.  
COURTNEY UNQUOTE  
GONEEN

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