
Franco-Pakistan Nuclear Deal (1976): An Analytical Study

_____ Humaira Dar
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Abstract

Two events in 1970s had changed the global nuclear politics drastically: Indian nuclear explosion (1974) and the Franco-Pakistan nuclear deal (1976). The Western world had accepted the Indian nuclear status after a reluctant reaction as a counter power to that of China within Asia. But the Franco-Pakistan nuclear deal had become a challenge for the whole nuclear world led by United States of America. This deal challenged the monopoly of the nuclear powers in that field which was relatively a source of their great power status. If the nuclear power proliferates in the developing world, it might change the power hierarchy of the global politics which was not acceptable to the leaders of the global politics. So they combined their whole efforts for the cancellation of the deal. They succeeded to cancel it and consequently restricted the proliferation at certain extent but failed to control the proliferation fully in the Developing World.

Different aspects of the Franco-Pakistan deal and the American approach during the whole affair become a reason for this research. Pakistan signed a nuclear deal with France under international guarantees, the question is: Why was America so

determined to cancel the deal? This study also analyzed that France and Pakistan not only manipulated the nuclear politics of 1970s through this deal, it also won some other benefits. This deal was the excellent example of international double standard diplomacy (Machiavellian diplomacy) from signing to cancellation.

The Story of a Nuclear Deals

In the nuclear world, the tussle between non-proliferators' state and proliferators' state¹ was on high note in mid 1970s. Anglo-Saxon led the first group and France had become the champion of the second group for the time being. The initial weak response towards the non-proliferation all of sudden accelerated with the Indian Nuclear Blast in 1974². The threat of nuclear power extension in the developing world was so overpowering that the non-proliferators group had decided to target those signed contracts which France and Germany that were made in early 1970s. The clash between these two groups was not only for the global security but for political and commercial dominance in the nuclear market, too. The group of non-proliferators had effectively manipulated the situation and succeeded to cancel those signed contract one by one till mid 1970s. The last and most rigorous resistance was met from the Franco-Pakistan deal which was signed in 1976 and cancelled in 1978. Besides this, other deals which were cancelled during this period were those which were made by Germans with Brazil³ and France with the South Koreans⁴, Iranians⁵ and South Africans⁶.

France and Pakistan Signed a RPP Deal

Pakistan and France had enjoyed warm cordiality in relations from mid 1960s which resulted in a lot of bilateral agreements and high level visits⁷. These links and visits proved productive and both states decided to move forwards in nuclear cooperation. France decided to help Pakistan to set up a Nuclear Reprocessing Plant⁸ (RPP) at Chashma on the banks of Indus River to meet its energy needs in early 1976.

The practical nuclear cooperation between France and Pakistan can be traced back in early 1960s, when Dr. Usmani, Chairman PAEC, had visited France in early 1962 and the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PEAC) and the French Atomic Energy Commission (Commissariat Energie Atomique, CEA) had negotiated for the future cooperation. The exchange of nuclear technology and expertise also discussed and the Franco-Pakistan Atomic Accord signed on 14 December 1962.⁹ Agreement provided for the exchange of nuclear technology and knowhow, the delivery of fissile material for peaceful uses, and the training of Pakistani scientists and engineers in French atomic establishment.¹⁰ Another agreement was signed between the Pakistani Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Committee (SUPARCO) and Centre National D' Etudes Spatiales (CNES) of France in 1964 provided an opportunity to Pakistani students to study and got training in French nuclear centres.¹¹

The level of development in collaboration between the two countries in the field of peaceful uses of Atomic energy was satisfactory at the end of 1960s because during this period France offered two different project of nuclear cooperation to Pakistan. One was linked to the power plant in Roopur (East Pakistan)¹² and second was with PAEC for an RPP.¹³ Both projects could not be materialized due to lack of interest from Pakistani leadership because it was the time when conventional military equilibrium approach (with India) dominated the political hierarchy of Pakistan.

Political upheaval of 1970 in Pakistan not only changed the administration but also the approach towards the nuclear development within country. The new Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto had a nuclear obsession since 1960s, so after embracing the full decisional authority, he escalated the slow pace of nuclear progress. Consequently, Pakistani authorities had started negotiation with France for the purchase of a reprocessing power plant in early 1970s at Chashma.¹⁴

SGN was the main French company which was responsible for the provision of design and construction of reprocessing plant; a

contract signed between SGN and PAEC on 18 October 1974.¹⁵ Negotiations continued for years due to French vulnerabilities - against nuclear proliferation - at last completed in 1976. Pakistani Government had accepted all French demands concerning the RPP including the control of IAEA on the French facility within Pakistan. Even though, both states were non-signatory of the NPT until then.¹⁶

The question arise: why did Pakistan make a nuclear deal with France? - While it had a long-standing alliance with America and assured commitment, which appeared in Ayub's statement – "we will buy [it] from the shelf"¹⁷. There were many factors, which led Pakistan to decide to buy an RPP from France, i.e.

- France was a non-signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).¹⁸
- It was one of the most advance in civil nuclear technology.¹⁹
- It wished to share nuclear technology as a trade commodity.²⁰
- It wanted a sphere of influence in third world.
- There was also a strong feeling in France to compete Americans in the nuclear field.
- De Gaulle's stand in 1960s, an independent and sovereign foreign policy for France - still had its impression on Z.A. Bhutto (Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1971-1977) and he believed that France would sustain against American pressure.²¹
- Lastly, Pakistan had no other existed option – Anglo-Saxon were sponsor of non-proliferation movement, Soviets were fully attached with India,²² Germany was also under American influence – so logically there was only one state was there to sell its technology and it was France.

Keeping these indicators in mind when Pakistan approached France for a nuclear reprocessing plant in early 1970s, its response was quite encouraging *initially*. The process of negotiations started in 1973 and continued till 1976. During that period, France and Pakistan had signed multiple contracts; one was signed between Pakistan and French Saint Goban Nucleaire (SGN) in March 1973,²³ another was linked to the formalities of the deal were completed and signed in 1974²⁴ and last and final was inked with IAEA in 1976 for the implementation of international safeguards.

This delay in the completion of deal was, in fact the result of international atmosphere after Indian explosion in 1974 and consequent international hype for non-proliferation generally and Anglo-Saxon particularly, French attitude turned harder and harder towards the deal and its clauses. Consequently French were ready to sell nuclear technology to Pakistan but with lot of reservations which turned French negotiators extra conscious and they had begun to demand some additional international safeguards from Pakistan. The objective behind these international safeguards was to eliminate any international criticism and any opportunity that helped Pakistan to fabricate a nuclear bomb like India.

The French were so conscious about the international reaction that in spite of all the international safeguards which they had imposed, they were reluctant to announce the presence of the deal with Pakistan officially. It was Pakistan who took the stand and its Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto had disclosed during his German visit on 20 February 1976 that Pakistan would purchase a \$150 million RPP with all required French conditions which it laid down for its purchase including the safeguards of international Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).²⁵ France took four more months to announce the existing of a deal between the two states. It did it on 8 July 1976 through an official journal.²⁶ According to the deal, France provides Pakistan 600 MW power plant and a reprocessing plant. This announced deal had become a source of international controversy in the coming years.

Major Clause of the Franco-Pakistan Deal

France had added many severe clauses consciously in the deal to make it acceptable for the global nuclear non-proliferators but its effort did not comply with the politics of non-proliferation of 1970s so controversy further accelerated and ended with the cancellation of the deal. Major clauses of the deal were

- A bilateral agreement between Pakistan and France was signed for the purchase of RPP
- A trilateral agreement also signed in Vienna among France, Pakistan and IAEA, followed by the first one on 18 March, on the application of (international) safeguards on the plant.²⁷
- Pakistan committed to France that it will not manufacture nuclear weapon or other military weapons or any other explosive device from the plant, equipments or the nuclear material which France transferred to Pakistan. Unlike other nuclear treaties which was done in the past, it has a number of constraints on the use of any
 - ◆ Facility of any equipment or derivatives.
 - ◆ French copy of the plant was purely civilian, further any nuclear material which was copied from the original also could not be used for military purpose.
- IAEA was in charge to control the implication of the treaty and the information originate from two sources, French and Pakistani governments.
- For the construction of a retreatment plant on Pakistani territory, France provides nuclear material and equipments of retreatment from France.
- French and Pakistani governments after consultation made known to IAEA about all retreatment installations

or all other specific equipments of retreatment which are found on Pakistani territory and are designed, constructed or operated later from French relevant technical information. The last choice was being made by Paris.

- The treaty aims to avoid any possibility of Pakistan that could use the installation for military purposes either its equipment or material. IAEA would hold an inventory of equipments, reprocessing materials; the plutonium and also could penetrate in those areas where plant derivative to be copied. It also would have an inventory of "any nuclear facility which contains specific equipment for reprocessing". This authority was also used to another establishment or a laboratory which contained therein, manufactured, used to be treated the nuclear material of French reprocessing plants.
- Pakistani government will inform all the quantity of fissile material to the IAEA
- Treaty did not prohibit Pakistan for the transfer of equipment or material to third country but article 2 of the treaty also indicate that clearly that equipment and material which France provided was also under the control of IAEA.²⁸

French official journal while indicating the size of that nuclear reactor was unknown, mentioned that the plutonium which extracted during the process of retreatment could be used to make a bomb. France wished to stop the military use of the plutonium that's why it involved IAEA for check on the facility.²⁹

Franco-Pakistan Deal and American Diplomacy

Official announcement of the Franco-Pakistan deal hit severely the American/Canadian non-proliferation activities. Their underlined opposition turned into a rigorous international campaign against the deal because being the initial supplier of

nuclear energy to Pakistan and cold war ally to France, they (Canada –America) were confident about the efficiency of their direct pressures on Pakistan and France for the cancellation of the deal. Yet Pakistan was the focus for pressure at the initial stage.

Canadian Opposition

Canada was the first country which practically reacted on the Franco-Pakistan nuclear deal and cancelled its nuclear cooperation with Pakistan on 23 December 1976, demanding, "Pakistan had to decide either they wanted to have Canadian cooperation for peaceful objective or French cooperation which has military ends".³⁰ Pakistani Government termed Canadian decision, as "unreasonable, unfair and unwarranted... and arbitrary" and refused to accept its unreasonable demand to extend its safeguards to entire Pakistani nuclear program.³¹ Acceptance of that Canadian demand means for Pakistan, to, "be tied down body and soul" (Bhutto).³²

Canadian attitude after the initial offer of cooperation in 1950 was a bit rigid towards Pakistan's nuclear program.³³ Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP) under IAEA surveillance was the plant which Pakistan built with Canadian cooperation in 1974.

Indian nuclear test (1974) and Franco-Pakistan RPP deal (1976) had become a barometer for judging the international approach towards Pakistani nuclear program. Being the first country for providing a heavy water plant to Pakistan, Canada did not wish to be a source of the emergence of another nuclear power in the world. Indian treachery and its violation of agreement³⁴ with Canada turned it more rigid in its nuclear export policies. Its first victim was that plant which it had provided to Pakistan.

Canadian apprehension about the misuse of the residue from KANUPP, after Franco-Pakistan RPP deal, enhanced³⁵ so first, it had begun to negotiate on the supply of Canadian fabrication fuel to Pakistan and additional safeguards for the utilization of the residue of the KANUPP immediately after the Indian explosion. Pakistani government tried to concede the Canadian

government's apprehensions and provided as much as safeguards, which it insisted, but they were not satisfied. Next, they tried to pressurize Pakistan and France for the cancellation of the deal, when failed they cancelled their cooperation with Pakistan as a pre-emptive action. The fact was that according to the agreement, Canada could stop the supply if Pakistan used its supplies for the military purpose and Pakistan was not a violator of the deal until then.³⁶

American Obsession for the Cancellation of RPP Deal: From President Ford to President Carter

America had taken a lot of pain to cancel Franco-Pakistan nuclear deal. Its strenuous efforts for cancellation based on only some pre-assumed reservations;

- It wished to maintain Indian regional hegemony against China
- It had fear of further extension of nuclear power in developing world. (domino theory of nuclear power)³⁷
- Presence of another nuclear power could create instability in the South Asian region which could trigger nuclear war due to the severity of Indo-Pakistan conflicts³⁸
- America could not afford a nuclear power in the Middle East periphery which has compassionate feeling for all Arab cause

American obsession to restrict the nuclear capability expansion which had its roots in McMahon Act in 1946³⁹ was at full swing in 1970s. Nixon's scandalous resignation after the Watergate issue⁴⁰ had provided the Gerald Ford, his vice president to serve for the rest of the period. Ford wanted to use this opportunity to make his selection sure for next presidential candidature. For that, he had to focus on the burning issue of American politics - it was nuclear non-proliferation at that time.

Pakistan and its emerging efforts to have nuclear energy resources had become the target for non-proliferators group after Indian nuclear explosion which was headed by America. As the proceeding for a nuclear deal between Pakistan and France moving ahead, the level of American pressure was also increasing. Ford administration, was openly pressurizing both states for withdrawing the deal. In 1975, before the final signature of the deal, first practical initiative was made, Ford indicated to Z. A. Bhutto, Pakistani Prime Minister, during his American visit in May 1975 that America could lift ten years old sanctions with "active consideration" if Pakistan did not move forward with the RPP deal with France.⁴¹ Pakistani response was not positive. Next in 1976, he wrote a letter to both head of the states to persuade them for not to go ahead with the deal. For Pakistan, he argued that the establishment of the RPP would be financially burdensome and politically an unwise move on the part of Pakistan.⁴² But response was not positive from both sides.

Kissinger's RPP Deal Cancellation Mission

After the unsuccessful efforts of President Ford, American secretary of States, Henry Kissinger's visit to Pakistan and France was the next American step to pressurize both states for the cancellation of the deal. It was happened in August 1976. It was an official visit in Pakistan but it was "*strictly private and recreational visit*"⁴³ in France. It was an indirect way of diplomatic pressure⁴⁴ which French journal *Le point* called, "*a worst action*".⁴⁵

Henry Kissinger reached Pakistan on August 1976 and during his visit, he pleaded Pakistani Prime Minister, officially and unofficially for the cancellation of the deal because according to him, "All nations must fix their priorities", there are some things, "which ought to be processed, there are others which should better be left unprocessed (like nuclear power for Pakistan)".⁴⁶

During his meetings, first, he tried to persuade Pakistan with incentive.⁴⁷ Then he used the tool of threat and warned,⁴⁸ if Pakistan did not cancel the deal all Pakistani aid would be cancelled under Symington Law.⁴⁹

Kissinger rejected any "special" treatment to Pakistan for its nuclear efforts and emphasised that the American, "concerns is not directed towards the intentions of Pakistan", but towards the general problem of nuclear proliferation".⁵⁰ Pakistan could not assure him, after all French required and international safeguards, about its peaceful intentions and energy needs for that reprocessing plant, which was essential for its national interest.⁵¹ He left Pakistan with the speculations of a compromise formula⁵² and threats of reduction of all American military and economic assistance, which majorly linked with the proposed A-7 bomber deal to Pakistan.⁵³ Pakistani Government refused the presence of any American pressure after his departure. It was announced that, "there will be no pressure and no sanctions against us"⁵⁴ but nobody could deny the presence of veiled threat during the Kissinger's visit.⁵⁵

From Pakistan, Kissinger went to France in a "strictly private and recreational visit". He stayed in Deville, with his friend, a small town of France in the North. He spoke on telephone to the French Foreign Minister, M. Jean Sauvagnargues, on Franco Pakistan reprocessing deal, during his stay at Deville.⁵⁶

Kissinger's active involvement in the issue had created uproar in French media. It was so load that American charge d' affairs in Paris, Samuel Gammon had to explain American position. He said that Americans wished to work out on a safeguard agreement for the "controversial" RPP for Pakistan and he admitted that the deal had complied with international safeguards.⁵⁷ However, the demand for cancellation of the deal was continued.

Kissinger had proposed a tripartite conference on the Franco-Pakistan nuclear deal before leaving France. He said America was trying to look for, "a solution to take into account the concerns of all sides" and tried to seek solution after the summer vacations in France, when all three parties (Pakistan, France and US) would be available to exchange views on the issue.⁵⁸

This tripartite suggested conference was out rightly rejected by Pakistan and France and both had reacted severely. French Foreign Minister M. Sauvagnargues while explaining the situation

of Franco-Pakistan deal, said that it was signed with over conscious safeguards and he linked the American concerns with the electoral situation in the United States which undoubtedly influencing this affair.⁵⁹ Ahmed Kamal, Pakistani charge d' Affaires to Paris, called it, an error to speak of a commission or conference of the three countries.⁶⁰ The severe response of Pakistan and France forced the US Secretary of State, to negate that he ever proposed any tripartite conference, and stated that the American interest laid only in non-proliferation.⁶¹

The unsuccessful efforts of Ford and Kissinger to pressurize Pakistan, forced the coming American President to change the target. So Jimmy Carter who won election in 1977, on the issue of non-proliferation turned his focus towards France for cancellation the deal. His electoral winning based on following four objectives:-

- To focus non-proliferation efforts on the dangers of the fuel cycle, and use diplomatic means to remove political incentive;
- domestic moratorium on plutonium reprocessing used to form international regime which control the abuse of proliferation;
- American pre-dominance on the supply of nuclear material would be re-established;
- Commercial reprocessing at every level would be discouraged.⁶²

To achieve these objectives, first he established a task force at home under the guidance of Joseph Nye,⁶³ then focus on the RPP issue of France and Pakistan. He sent his envoy to France immediately after his inauguration. This change of focus for pressure (France) proved successful because France was an easy victim due to the involvement of financial incentive rather than national security like Pakistan. The result of Carter's policy could be felt after his visit to France in January 1978, when French

stance was totally changed and it had began to offer renegotiation of the deal to Pakistan.

American Media Campaign

American media was another support for its government's efforts to pressurize Pakistan because through publishing continuous material on the issue negatively, it had created an anti-deal atmosphere. Continued propaganda was made; different perceptions; assumptions mostly negative were publish.⁶⁴

There were nonstop reports and speculation in *Times*, *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* about Pakistani and French government's attitude towards the deal. Sometimes, they confirmed the French agreement with the America on cancellation, sometimes it was being reported that Pakistan had accepted the A-7 offer, particularly after the change of government in Pakistan on July 1977.⁶⁵

Times reported that French had "resented (but eventually bowed to) pressure from Washington to cancel the sale of a reprocessing plant to Pakistan". The *New York Times* also reported that the French Foreign Minister, Louis de Guiringuad had informed the visiting American Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, of his government decision to postpone the sale of reprocessing plant to Pakistan linking it with the political upheavals there and uncertainties about the Ex. Prime Minister Bhutto's future.⁶⁶ Officially, France and America both denied the reality of such reports and French Foreign Office spokesperson stressed that, "de Guiringuad did not discuss nuclear deal with M. Cyrus Vance and French position was 'unchanged' on Franco-Pakistan deal. It also rejected *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* news that France differed from its contract with Pakistan.⁶⁷

Pakistani government tried to respond these accusations through reminding continuously that the deal was undersigned by IAEA and with safeguards but to no avail. It also rejected American weekly's announcement that this project would be

failure; French Government also refused to come under American pressure and determined to continue the deal.⁶⁸

Franco-Pakistani Reaction on American Diplomacy

French reactions on American efforts for the cancellation of the deal represented the two political trends - old French "anti-American" psychology and Gaullist traditions of French independent foreign policy. Ex. Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac's statement on the tripartite proposal of Kissinger expressed the general trend of French society. He regretted on the proposal and said, "The affair is clear and linked to the question of sovereignty" of two states. An accord, which had been, signed between France and Pakistan - for the delivery of a pre-treatment plant on perfectly and satisfactorily safeguards with international controls and the component international agency - had no link with America because it concerned only France and Pakistan.⁶⁹

The French press condemned the American move to pressurise Pakistan as blackmail, a menace, and a blatant interference in the affairs of both states. The *Quotidien de Paris* saw the issue as an opportunity for France to "reassert its independence" against American interference.⁷⁰ While *France Nouvelle* titled it as "non a Kissinger, non a Giscard".⁷¹

Besides French media and opposition, French Government was also not pleased with the situation, which created due to Kissinger's presence in France. It issued a lengthy communiqué through Quai d'Orsay (French Foreign Office) on 10 August 1976. It elucidated Kissinger's position and mentioned that he recognized that deal was according to existing international demands but hardly compatible with the Symington Amendment.⁷² It also negated the image that American government was trying to pressurize France.⁷³

Pakistani Government adopted a two way policy to deal with American diplomacy towards this nuclear deal, it, not only refused to accept any type of American pressure on the deal but it also indicated American dual standard in south Asia towards non-proliferation. It was supportive to India⁷⁴ but creating hurdles for

Pakistan, i.e., pressurizing and threatening Pakistan in one side and forcing other allies also to be non-cooperative with Pakistan. It was the same situation which France faced in 1950s, when within western European nations; Americans were supportive to British but non-supportive for France in nuclear field. Is it not an old policy of "divide and rule" to maintain its hegemony?

Cancellation of the deal

France, after nearly three years of "assurances"⁷⁵ officially informed Pakistani government on 9 August 1978, they could not continue the deal. French President Valery d'Estaing in a letter to Pakistani President notified about French Government's decision that 'France will not deliver the plant' but on principal they will not end the discussion and a solution could find. He linked the decision to the proliferation risks which were highly existed if the agreement executed and suggested a 'revision' of the 1976 agreement. In his letter, he had proposed another type of reactor to Pakistan which produced a mix of uranium and plutonium and could not transformed into nuclear weapon.⁷⁶

Pakistani President while announcing the French decision of cancellation said that letter of the French President was full of polite words ... but it was lemon," he further said, "we assured everyone we have no reason to wish for nuclear proliferation, but we cannot stay behind other nations in nuclear technology".⁷⁷ French decision was not a shock for Pakistani political circles because since the beginning, France was in dilemmic situation concerning the deal. It wished to keep a balance between its friendship with Americans and its independent foreign and economic policy. According to Kolodziej, there are certain points which have created hesitation in French attitude to break RPP deal with Pakistan

- France was committed to the development of a free and open market for the sale of nuclear fuel and technology for the energy needs of non-nuclear states

- France was not ready to forgo their share in nuclear market while they were in winning position concerning the fissionable material and fuel cycle services and technology
- French approach of free market establish a champion image in developing world against the monopolized tendencies of the other developed states⁷⁸

So in spite of encircling the deal into international safeguards and guarantees it was reluctant in practice and determined in words. This reluctance further changed into determination for cancellation with the absence of French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac from the office who was the driving force behind all the nuclear deals.

After Chirac, France took some practical steps to adopt non-proliferation regime generally but these steps had created doubt about the RPP deal with Pakistan.

- A Nuclear Policy Council (NPC) was established on 1st September 1976.⁷⁹
- France announced that it would halt any future nuclear export after the meeting of Nuclear Policy Council on 16 December 1976.⁸⁰
- It had held up the supply of certain essential pieces of equipment from France after the removal of Bhutto from the Government in July 1977.
- In 1978, France had sent a special emissary to Pakistan with an alternative RPP proposal, which had the capacity to produce mix plutonium and uranium rather than the reprocessing plant which produce pure plutonium.⁸¹

Pakistan forthrightly rejected this offer⁸² and insisted the completion of original deal. It also raised technical objection on

the proposed RPP – which according to Pakistani stance was technically new and commercially impractical and incorporated with the already constructed plant.⁸³

French Government insisted on the new version of RPP, which eliminated the fear of that pure plutonium which could be used for the making nuclear weapon.⁸⁴ Because According to French President, d'Estaing, the supply of RPP was a 'very delicate problem' and irrespective of American pressure, France itself had come to conclusion, that Pakistan did not need plutonium-reprocessing plant at the present stage.⁸⁵ After Pakistan's rejection of the alternative RPP option, France was apparently *justified* to proceed toward cancellation, yet French Foreign Ministry announced, discussion between the two states not ended on the practical modalities and for the renewal of the contract.⁸⁶

This unilateral French assessment like the Canadian one in 1976, that Pakistan did not need plutonium at that stage for peaceful purposes and most importantly France would not transfer that technology which might enable Pakistan to produce weapon grade plutonium, proved fatal for Pakistan. France cancelled an international contract, which signed under all its required rather more than required safeguards. This action had blocked all the rightful ways which Pakistan wished to adopt for its security and progress.

The issue did not wrap up here; it was among the diplomatic and political circles of Pakistan and France in the next two decades. Pakistan and France had completed many projects after that successfully, but whenever any Pakistani political leader or bureaucrat visited France or vice versa, the issue of RPP or its compensation had become alive.

An envoy of Pakistani government met with French President to resume talk on the RPP deal in November 1978,⁸⁷ in August 1979, Pakistani President asked France to honour its commitment about RPP,⁸⁸ in 1980, French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Oliver Stirn told Pakistani government, "le dossier est ouvert" (file is open).⁸⁹ During the negotiation, he further assured

that the work was not interrupted⁹⁰ and French government also declared that the contract was not "interrupted" but they suggested some modifications and the rest of the decision was on Pakistani side.⁹¹

Compensation for the cancellation of the Deal

Pakistan's modest attitude towards the cancellation of the deal although saved French Government from political embarrassment at international level but the breach of an international signed agreement needed to pay compensation. French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson (1981-1984), during his visit to Pakistan discussed the possible amount of compensation for the cancellation of RPP deal.⁹² The amount of compensation had become a bone of contention between the two states. In November 1985, a Pakistan based international chamber of commerce, ruled a judgment that France should pay \$3 million, for failing to deliver 50-100 metric tons per year capacity reprocessing plant at Chashma, contracted by Pakistan engineering commission with Messer SGN of France.⁹³ But until February 1987, the amount was not settled. A major development happened in May 1987, when during his visit to Pakistan, Jean-Bernard Raimond, French Foreign Minister (1986-1988) offered to supply a nuclear power plant to Pakistan as out of court settlement between the two states for the solution of a long standing issue of RPP deal. The issue remained disputed due to the amount of compensation.⁹⁴ The issue was come under discussion during French President, Francois Mitterrand's (1981-1995) Pakistan visit in 1990 and he accepted the right of Pakistan for compensation and announced that Pakistan and France agreed to seek a "mutual agreed" compensation for the RPP.⁹⁵ It seemed that compensation would be more than 300 million franc⁹⁶ but nothing happened. At last in January 1992, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced that France had agreed to pay \$118 million as compensation which according to PAEC chairmen covered only the cost of civil work which PAEC had done there. But France still refused to verify the amount figure.⁹⁷

It is also a fact that the International Court of Justice in Hague ordered France to pay about 250 to 400 million for the breach of contract, a fine which never paid. Benazir had proposed Mitterrand; Paris deducted the price of the new nuclear plant from that amount of the fine and the amounts (including interest) that Pakistan had invested for the installation of the reprocessing plant. But the issue was not solved.

Politics behind the Anti-Nuclear Deal campaign

International opposition of Franco-Pakistan nuclear deal was based on the assumption that Pakistan used this plant to purify that plutonium which it had from KNUPP, which was under IAEA safeguards. Further, it could use that pure plutonium for making the nuclear bomb, the same method used by France and India to fabricate their nuclear bombs in the past. The difference was only that France had its own RPP and India had done it before the over consciousness of the developed world about nuclear proliferation.

This assumption was strengthened due to the regional situation of the Southwest Asia where Pakistan had hereditary enemy⁹⁸ - India - with nuclear capability after 1974. So the possibility of making a bomb to counter India and equalize it in this capability was higher in this region than anywhere else in the world. French RPP could provide Pakistan a chance to have equilibrium against India in future in nuclear field. *Keeping all these things in mind French tried to surround the RPP deal with the barriers of international guarantees which it considered 'sufficient' to block Pakistan to be nuclear power. But these French efforts could not stop American to be hostile towards that deal which gave them a slightest hint of further nuclear proliferation in the world.*

Feroz Khan in his book *Eating Grass* negated this assumption; writes that Pakistan wished to use foreign capabilities for its national interest. but there was not a single plan was made to "misuse the spent fuel from any foreign – supplied reactors or divert it from a safeguarded reactor to a military program" rather the aim was that to obtain experience and use that gained knowledge to build a parallel capabilities to fabricate the bomb.⁹⁹

American anti- deal politics viewed by French

American strenuous efforts for the cancellation of all the nuclear deals had forced the victim states to analysis its approach on certain perspectives. France and Pakistan had viewed American reaction in their own perceptions like in France; American efforts were seen as commercial rivalry, a show of American imperialism or a part of their presidential election tussle while for Pakistan it was linked to their south Asian and Middle Eastern politics.

Jacque Chirac alleged that behind the American efforts in the cancellation of deal, laid the *motives of commercial rivalry*, the ambition to enforce super power hegemony and the most of all the "the need of President Ford's election campaign".¹⁰⁰ It was not only Chirac's feeling but most of the French media agreed with Chirac. *Quotidian de Paris* linked American anti-deal policy with nuclear global market and regional South Asian policy. According to it, Americans were worried that its nuclear market monopoly was kidnapped by the French and Germans and its imperialist approach could not tolerate any competition in global market and it tried to impose its wish one way or the other.¹⁰¹ Even it is also said that Kissinger and Ford's nuclear diplomacy was for the American capitalism and they wished to save the interest of big American firms which had monopoly until 1970s on nuclear field. It was also said that Ford could not sell out American interest in well manner so he lost election from Carter in 1977.

American Anti Deal Politics Viewed by Pakistan

For Pakistan, American nuclear diplomacy in Asia was linked with the assumption that India should have a "dominated position" in the Sub-Continent to control the region.¹⁰² To achieve this objective, American not only favored India for its nuclear policy but also put all their efforts to oppose nuclear policy of Pakistan, although, apparently they pretended a Pro- Pakistan attitude during East Pakistan crisis against India.¹⁰³ It was the excellent piece of diplomacy on the part of Americans in South Asia which

they have learnt from British colonial experience in India - Divide and Rule.

American attitude justified these Pakistani accusations; on one hand, it forced Pakistan and France to cancel an international deal but on the other hand, its Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) decided on 2 July 1976 to resume the shipment of Uranium to India, which was used in its atomic power plants at Tarapur and Bombay.¹⁰⁴ American ambassador to India, William Saxbe was assuring the Indian Government that no conflict existed on the resumption of the supplies to the Tarapur Power plant.¹⁰⁵ For the same assurance, Henry Kissinger was telling Pakistani media that Americans were *honouring a contract made years ago with India*. He further added that it related to the reliability of American contracts. American government feared that *a decision to cancel the American fuel supplies would ruin the country's reputation and reliability as a supplier of nuclear fuel*.¹⁰⁶ However, it forced France and Germany to cancel all their signed deals. This was an outlandish attitude because the 'commercial reliability' for American matters but for other 'market rival' not. They should abandon it (commercial reliability) under its pressure.¹⁰⁷

It was a disturbing attitude for Pakistan and France. For Pakistan, the disturbing fact was - the sticking of Americans with their contract with India - which rendered, invalid due to Indian nuclear explosion,¹⁰⁸ while it continued raised outcry on the Pakistan -France RPP deal. This attitude meant that American wished a weaker Pakistan against a nuclear India.

For France, the disturbing fact was the dual policy of Americans towards non-proliferation. French were informed that, during the same period, when Americans were pressurizing France and Germany for the cancellation of their deals with other states,¹⁰⁹ they (Americans) had sold two computers to South Africa for making operational to its secret enrichment plant. The Carter Administration's opposition to European nuclear facilities and export programme resented the Europeans.¹¹⁰ Although temporarily, American succeeded to manage their monopoly and

hegemony on European but it was no longer maintained in coming decades.

French Political Approach

French political approach throughout the issue was based on "reluctant determination". It was determined to maintain its independence in foreign and commercial affairs but it was also reluctant to isolate itself within Western world - adopting anti-American policies for a state like Pakistan which was commercially less beneficial.

This attitude of reluctant determination can be clearly seen in French treatment of the whole affair after the departure of Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac from the government, in September 1976. French Government decided to 'not to provide reactor to Pakistan - as an irrevocable decision - but 'its implications had evolved gradually' according to French Foreign Office member.

Consequently, all the assurances and diplomatic guarantees which France had provided for next two years (1976-1978) "we will honour the contract" falls into the realist theory of "national interest".¹¹¹ But either it was realist national interest theory or political trickery, it has become one of the sources which left Pakistan ten years behind technologically in positive nuclear energy use which caused, power shortfall and failure to meet energy crisis in future.¹¹²

French President Jacques Chirac who was the instigator behind Franco-Pakistan nuclear deal also found the cancellation unjustified. Kissinger's visit to Deauville (10-11 August), Chirac's resignation (26 August) and the establishment of nuclear policy council (1st September) might be "co-incidences" but they were the Omens for the future of the deal. Chirac was Prime Minister when the nuclear deal was signed and with the knowledge and approval of President Giscard d'Estaing, for him the decision to break the contract was 'improper' and absurd' and not justified with any of French interest. Because all plans and drawings of the plant had already delivered to Pakistan and Pakistan could go ahead with those designs with its own scientist or with the help of

Chinese who defiantly felt happiness finding advanced French technology.¹¹³ If French opposition parties pointed out the 'unreasonableness' of world attitude towards two South Asian states, which allowed India to have a bomb but not Pakistan, its Secretary General of Foreign Ministry, George Henri-Soutou, justified French assessment about the RPP deal, declaring it as, "difficult decision for France in political and economic terms". At the same time admitting that at least, France had 'broken' its contract with Pakistan. He linked it with the intense pressure from the America /Canada/Australia due to troika being the major holders on global uranium resources.¹¹⁴ He tried to reject any special treatment to Pakistan by telling that France also stopped the supply of sensitive material to Iraq and India.¹¹⁵

France also exploited this Pakistani weakness (dependency on foreign material for nuclear development) in the coming years whenever they wanted to create warmth in the relations, highlighted and began to announce the provision of civil nuclear technology to Pakistan; Mitterrand did it in 1990 and Sarkozy in 2011. But what a French journalist said in 1978 that no plant for Pakistan at any cost was still haunting Pakistan and France civil nuclear cooperation.

Pakistani Political Approach

The process from signing to cancellation of the RPP deal between Pakistan and France was covered nearly a full decade. The purchasing discussion and conditions finalized during the first half of 1970s and the official announcement of the deal to official cancellation stretched in the second half of 1970s.

Contrary to the rhetoric nuclear politics of Bhutto, military government of Pakistan reacted *modestly* on the cancellation of the deal. It declared its commitment with the nuclear energy repeatedly but did not create a global uproar on French unethical unilateral decision. Rather after a couple of months, Agha Shahi, during his visit to Paris presented a counter proposal to French government, relating to safeguards. This was to associate France with the management of any separated plutonium to third

countries. President Giscard was excited to that proposal and offered to discuss it among experts of two countries.¹¹⁶ But it was again a diplomatic delaying tactic. In spite of appreciating Pakistani proposal and having discussing it among expert, France was determined that 'plant could not built' at any cost.¹¹⁷

French Government was at relief at the 'moderate and low key manner' response of Pakistani government¹¹⁸ because Pakistan could have pilloried existing French Government both in the French courts through using Gaullist opposition and nuclear industry's lobby and in the world by using international court and UNO forum. Pakistan saved France for these awkward situations and used this opportunity to make France grateful by maintaining the rest of the contracts linked to television system, truck manufacturing and defence purchase.¹¹⁹ It was future "investment" on the part of Pakistan. For Pakistan, this opportunity would become a long-term link with France in defence cooperation, which would decrease its old dependency of American weapon system. Pakistan could get Mirage 2000 and its local assembling and manufacturing facilities. Giscard, himself, talked about the "political implications of a long-term arrangement between the two countries".¹²⁰

Concluding Analysis

There are three prominent approaches which can be seen during the whole affair of Franco-Pakistan nuclear deal: American aggressive nuclear approach, French diplomatic approach and Pakistan's determined yet need, based approach

Pressure tactic, delaying diplomacy and diplomatic assurances were the significant features which continuously used during the whole affair. American dual standards appeared throughout the affair - Americans insisting Pakistan not to jump into nuclear pool but continuing help the Indians for their nuclear program and forced European to cancel their deals and ready to fulfil their commitments with India and south Africa.

This deal brought into light the commercial and political rivalry within the Atlantic alliance. French wished to use its

nuclear expertise as a source to increase its influence in the world and strengthen its financial balance met with severe resistance from Anglo-Saxon circles. The presence of another nuclear supplier - who was ready to provide nuclear technology without harsh terms – was definitely challengeable for American monopoly in the field.

French independent decisions, if followed by the other alliance partners of the cold war could damage the cohesion of the Atlantic alliance in comparison with the WARASAW pact. This political challenge also linked to the international commercial rivalry of developed world. The objective behind this rivalry was - to capture the nuclear market and maintain monopoly in this field.

This politico-economic threat from France also attached with American internal politics and its politics of non-proliferation at international level after Indian nuclear blast. This politico-economic link was not limited to America only –Pakistani and French politics also affected with it. Within Pakistan – a general needed legitimacy for his rule at international level – while in France, Giscard used this “deal politics” to control Gaullist opposition in his favour.

Besides American, Pakistani and French were also playing nuclear diplomacy. France propagating the independence of its foreign policy but the fear of isolation in western world forced it to revoke its commitment with less commercially attractive region. Pakistan was continuously announcing its wish - for peaceful nuclear program but - when France offered it another type of plant, which could not produce pure plutonium it outrightly, rejected its offer.

International organizations were tool for developed world for their international diplomacy - they could evoke it whenever they wished. IAEA established to control nuclear proliferation but Americans who were among its initiator – not willing to show confidence on its authority. So the failure of this deal made it clear for the rest of the world that there was no outlet they had for the transfer of technology legally.

This deal if it had succeeded could have been helpful to change the politics of South Asia and Europe because— being ‘semi-leaders’ of two different cultures and continents, their common approach could influence the politics of relevant regions – and they could bridge the gap between the civilizations. Regrettably, it could not be materialized due to American pressure.

RPP deal was the excellent example of realist international politics where certain states having the authority to manipulate the decision using all means to do it and the victim states were trying to save face in front of opposition politician and the public through lingering on the issue and with flowery words of hope and assurances.

Notes and References

- 1 The states which favored the policy of restricting the nuclear power within a limited group falls under the category of non-proliferators like USA, UK and Canada etc, while the states which supports the extension of nuclear peaceful use like France in 1970s declares as proliferators by the first group.
- 2 The foundations of Indian nuclear research can be derived from the efforts of Dr.Houmi Bhabha in late 1940s. It was further strengthened when it had acquired a heavy water plant from Canada in 1951. America was also a great help and it had provided advantageous information under Atom for Peace program. It also helped to install a power reactor at Tarapur. In 1950s,india was regionally in commanding position and had friendly relations with China so. Nehru refused to turn its enmities into nuclear field. George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (University of California Press, 2002), 13. But the regional situation until mid 1960s had forced the Indian politicians to change their policy of peaceful use of nuclear power. A border clash with China and an open war with Pakistan which was ended with Sino-Pakistan undeclared alliance played a significant role in it. Chinese nuclear blast had stamped the last nail in Indian determination. After the successful effort to minimize Pakistan's threat from eastern border in 1971, India focused

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- on to be a nuclear power to further add colors in its prestige at regional and global level. The result was the "peaceful nuclear explosion" on 18 May 1974 named as "smiling Buddha"
- 3 In 1974, Indian nuclear explosion and a halt of American provision of enriched uranium forced Brazil to search for other options and consequently, they signed the biggest and costliest nuclear agreement with West Germany in 1975. It envisaged the construction of two new plants at the Angra site (Angra II and III) as well as the establishment of uranium fuel enrichment and plutonium reprocessing facilities. American pressure successfully manipulated the deal and forced Germany to change its stance and withdraw from the deal.
 - 4 *Korean sale was canceled in early 1976 after Washington intervened. "Paris Said to Ease Insistence on an A-Sale," Herold Tribune, October 30, 1976.* German deal was much lucrative and consisted of eight power reactors, a uranium enrichment facility and a plutonium reprocessing plant. According to Ijaz Khan the cancellation of this deal has created an uneasiness and frustration among the German supplier due to selective use of the policy non-proliferation. While Europeans were deprived American nuclear industries such as Westinghouse and General Electric thrived. Feroz Khan, *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb* (Stanford University Press, 2012), 165.
 - 5 French and Iranian nuclear cooperation started in 1974 and Iran signed a contract of one billion US dollars for pure enriched uranium but the contract was not honored and the issue of compensation was solved in 1991. Schneider, Mycle, "Nuclear France Abroad," May 2009, 20, <http://www.nirs.org/nukerelapse/background/090502mschneidernukefrance.pdf>.
 - 6 France signed a contract for the construction of two 900 MW light water reactors in Koeberg in 1976 but after American pressure French president cancelled cooperation with South Africa.

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- 7 French prime Minister visited Pakistan in 1965, Pakistani President and Foreign Minister visited France In 1965 and 1966 often. During these visits, many agreements regarding cooperation in different fields were signed.
 - 8 The plant which is used to separate chemically and recover fissionable plutonium from irradiated nuclear fuel called a Reprocessing Plant. Initially, it was used only to extract plutonium for producing nuclear weapon but later different other options also found like the reprocessed plutonium was recycled back into MOX nuclear fuel for thermal reactors. Reprocessing due to the threat of proliferation has become politically controversial. So the countries like France when tried to sell their reprocessing technology to needy states (which wish to use it to meet their energy need as peaceful use) Anglo-Saxon had severely reacted.
 - 9 *Keesing's Contemporary Archives 1963-64: Record of World Events* (Cartermill International, 1965), 19166.
 - 10 Samina Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," *Pakistan Horizon* 31, no. 1 (March 1, 1978): 35.
 - 11 Both president reviewed the progress and showed satisfaction on the progress of the peaceful nuclear energy cooperation between the two states. "France-Pakistan: Communiqué Publié à L'issue de La Visite En France Du Marechal Ayoub Khan" (secrétariat General du gouvernement, November 10, 1967), la documentation française ministère Affaire Etrangers.
 - 12 When Pakistan was discussing with Canada for the establishment of a 137MW nuclear power plant in Karachi, and had a plan to establish the same one in East Pakistan in 1964. France had offered its technical and financial assistance for the second one. French offer was included to provide an opportunity to construct a 72-megawatt power plant at Roopur in East Pakistan (now

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- Bangladesh). Nevertheless, the project did not materialize due to the civil strife in that part of country.
- 13 Pakistan did not pursue another French offer of 100-ton nuclear fuel Reprocessing plant to PEAC, which was offered by the French nuclear engineering firm Societe Generale pour les Technique Nouvelle (SGN). Shahid-Ur Rehman, *Long Road to Chagai* (Islamabad: print wise publication, 1999), 31.
 - 14 French Foreign ministry officials reveal that the sale of the reprocessing plant was approved on 18 March under an agreement reached between France, Pakistan, and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). "New York Times," August 10, 1976.
 - 15 Schneider, Mycle, "nuclear France Abroad," 17. Steve Weissman and Herbert Krosney, *The Islamic bomb: the nuclear threat to Israel and the Middle East* (New York: Times books, 1981), 71, 175.
 - 16 Because French government did not agree with the bases of NPT and it did not consider that it would help to stop disarmament. Michel Debre said in UNGA, « ce n'est pas se contenter de interdire aux états qui n'en possèdent pas la possibilité d' acquérir des armes des destruction massive. Désarmer, c'est décider l'élimination des armes qui existent et interdire a tous d'en fabriquer de nouvelles ».translation (it is not merely prohibits states that do not possess the opportunity to acquire weapons of mass destruction. But disarmament means to decide the elimination of weapons that exist and prohibit all has to make new). Maurice Vaisse, *Documents Diplomatiques Français. 1969. Tome I, 1er janvier-30 juin* (Bruxelles: P. Lang, 2011), 81.
 - 17 Samina Ahmed and David (1946-) Cortright, *Pakistan and the Bomb: Public Opinion and Nuclear Options*, Notre Dame studies on international peace (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 90.

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- 18 Non-Proliferation Treaty was opened for the signature in 1968 and enforced in 1970. It was the only binding commitment of international community for the goal of disarmament of armament in the world. Five nuclear powers and 185 states showed their commitment for non-proliferation through signing this treaty. IAEA was its executive body which enforced its rule and regulation. Apparently, this treaty promotes the peaceful use of Nuclear energy and offered an equal access to this technology to all states but ground reality is different.
 - 19 France received 75% of its electricity from nuclear power which made it among those states which provided cheapest energy to its masses. Électricité de France (EDF), French government owned organization which is running 59 nuclear power plants within France. It is working on third generation nuclear plant. France is also in 7th among those states which provides cheapest electricity to its consumers.
 - 20 It was Chirac who initiated the financial nuclear policy – linking it with the Gaullist policy of “la vente tous azimuts de la technologie nucléaire Française”. He made deals with Iran, Iraq, South Africa and Pakistan. The only change was that rest of the deals were signed by Framatome and SGN with Pakistan. “Une Gaffe Loude De Consequences,” *Le Matin*, August 25, 1978.
 - 21 Although later, it proved that American pressure could manipulate more on developed states like France rather than those developing states like Pakistan that were fighting for their existential struggle.
 - 22 Soviet Union signed a treaty of friendship with India in 1970. They supported India during East Pakistan dismemberment issue;
 - 23 Weissman and Krosney, *The Islamic bomb*, 75. ““Ban This Bomb-To-Be,” *Economist*, April 14, 1974, 56. According to one account the initiatives date of the deal, rejected Dr. Munir Ahmed Khan’s claim that Indian nuclear blast in 1974 was an impetus for Pakistan’s nuclear program.

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- But it was sure that it strengthened that determination which roots laid in East Pakistan tragedy.
- 24 Jeffrey Richelson, *Spying on the Bomb: American Nuclear Intelligence from Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 328.
- 25 Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 36.
- 26 "Le Monde," July 16, 1976.
- 27 17 March 1976, Pakistani Government representative announced the disclosure of the agreement.
- 28 "Les Conditions D'exploitation D'une Usine Nucleaire Livré Par La France Au Pakistan Sont Publiée," *Le Monde*, July 16, 1976.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 "Valse-Hesitation Entre La France et Le Pakistan," *Les Echos*, November 12, 1976.
- 31 According to sources, Canadian Government demanded , "to extend its safeguard to entire Pakistani nuclear program, and additionally if in future Canadian cooperation terminated under the bilateral agreement, Pakistan would, bound to continue these agreements until KANUPP was in operation". "Dawn," January 4, 1977.
- 32 M. Raziullah Azmi, *Pakistan-Canada Relations, 1947-1982: a Brief Survey* (Area Study Centre for Africa, North & South America, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1982), 104.
- 33 It was in 1950s when Canada had offered India and Pakistan a heavy water plant, India had accepted the offer and Pakistan paid no attention at that time. Later when Pakistan approached Canada for the same plant, it demanded to put the plant under IAEA safeguards. Indian plant was not under IAEA safeguards but provided under that assurance it was not used for military purpose. Pakistan accepted the demand and

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- the plant had become critical in 1974. It was established in Karachi called as Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP).
- 34 According to the deal Indian were not allowed to use the irradiated material from CANDU for military purposes that's why after the explosion in 1974, Canadian Indian relations suffered and Canada announced the suspension of further cooperation.
- 35 It believed that after acquiring the French RPP, Pakistan like India used it for making the nuclear bomb.
- 36 It had written in the agreements of, 1959, 1965 and 1972 with Canada.
- 37 It is also called proliferation by reaction model, if one country acquires nuclear capability, the traditional rival would get it for the sake of equilibrium.
- 38 The director of American Arms Control Development Authority, Mr. Fred Ikle, not only informed the American Senate Foreign Relation Committee that Pakistan had no economic justification for setting up recycling plant (RPP) within its limited nuclear power program but also warned that Pakistan's real interest in acquiring the plant lay in its desire to match India's nuclear capacity. "Pakistan: Kissinger Ne Cedera Pas," *Le Point: No.207*, September 6, 1976. "Nuclear Proliferation: Future US Foreign Policy Implications," *U.s. Government Printing Office*, November 21, 1975, http://www.archive.org/stream/nuclearprolifera00unit/nuclearprolifera00unit_djvu.txt.; Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *Pakistan, China, and America* (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1980), 203.
- 39 An American Democrat, Senator Brien McMahon introduced in late 1945 some proposals in American parliament which after discussion in both house passed as an Act, named after the presenter, McMahon Act in 1946. This whole process organized the nuclear development, management and control authorities in America and to implement all this The United States

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- Atomic Energy Commission was established. The decision which turned this Act as bit *controversial* was that United States would not share Atomic Information with others not even with the wartime allies. Later years, the Act was amended due to the need of time and first sharing with UK and Canada started, then through Atom for Peace for whole world.
- 40 In 1972-1974, American political system came under a severe pressure when financial issues involved with the fact that American president had some secret recorded tapes. It opened a Pandora box of trails, convictions and incarcerations of Nixon's aides. He, himself feared to face the impeachment. His resignation and his successor's issuance of pardon saved him. Dale Anderson, *Watergate: Scandal in the White House* (Capstone, 2006).
- 41 Bhutto responded Ford to nuclear facility under international safeguard if US provides "sufficient conventional arms" for Pakistan's security needs. "The New York Times," February 6, 1975.
- 42 Pakistani prime Minister assured Mr. Ford that the plant would use only for generating electricity and not as a component in any future nuclear arm race with India. Pakistan; he also said, had agreed to all conditions imposed by the IAEA as well as those demanded by France to preclude the possibility of the construction of a bomb. Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 38.
- 43 "Pakistan Resist Pressure from Dr. Kissinger to Cancel the Purchase of French Nuclear Plant," *Times*, August 10, 1976.
- 44 Leonard S. Spector, *Going Nuclear* (Cambridge: 1987), 102.
- 45 Claude Bonjean, "Kissinger ; Une Réponse a Normand," *Le Point*, N204, Aout 1976, 18.

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- 46 Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 38.
- 47 The United States offers to sell 110 A-7 attack aircraft to Pakistan if it agrees to abandon its efforts to purchase a nuclear reactor from France. The first batch of the attack aircraft is expected to be delivered in 1978-1979.
- 48 Benazir Bhutto confirmed in her biography, that Henry Kissinger threatened his father Z.A. Bhutto. Simone, Lambon, traduit, *Benazir bhutto: Une autobiographie*, (Paris: Stock, 1988), 96. He said, "We will make a horrible example of you". Bhutto reported this statement during his trial after 1977 coup. He further told the Supreme Court that on his insistence that Pakistan needed RPP for civil nuclear technology, Kissinger told him he should not insult the American intelligence report that RPP was only for energy needs. Bhutto' reply was spontaneous and he said, Kissinger should not insult the sovereignty and self respect of Pakistan by discussing the plant at all. Munir Ahmed Munir "Jo main an dekha, Rao Abdul Rasheed sa interview, Lahore: Atish Fashan publishers (1985), p.222; Khalid Hasan's statement reported in Weissman and Krosney, *The Islamic bomb*, 44-45. "If I Am Assassinated Bhutto ZA," *Scribed*, 166, accessed September 6, 2012, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/2416783/If-I-am-Assassinated-Bhutto-ZA>.

Kissinger rejected this accusation of threatening to any Pakistani prime Minister during his meetings with Pakistani ambassador in America from 1991-1993, Abida Hussain but he conceded to have said' "further down the road, it can create problems for Pakistan". While according to Ashok Kapur he had not denied Bhutto's allegation. Ashok Kapur, *Pakistan's nuclear development* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 145.

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- 49 Symington law denied economic assistance and imposed sanction and other penalties against the country not a part of NPT and imported equipment or technology for production of plutonium or enriched uranium. According to Abdul Sattar, act targeted Pakistan in south Asia because it had a built in loophole, which exempted India and Israel from their purview. India imported technology for peaceful purpose and diverted it to nuclear explosive violated its agreement with Canada and America but it had got away scot-free. Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2009: A Concise History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, USA, 2011), 164–65.
- 50 "L'impasse Persiste Dans L'affaire de L'usine Nucleaire Pour Le Pakistan," *Le Monde*, August 10, 1976.
- 51 Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 39.
- 52 According to the compromise formula, Pakistan would not be able to divert nuclear material for building nuclear weapons. He further suggested an agreement between France and Pakistan that would give France power to veto any plans by Pakistan to divert the nuclear fuel for atomic explosives. *New York Times*, 10 August 1976
- 53 Stephanie Cooke, *In Mortal Hands: A Cautionary History of the Nuclear Age*, Reprint (Bloomsbury USA, 2010), 270. later he said, discussion between the friend were complex but no pressure no threat was there. "Un 'Diktat' Qui Date De Kissinger," *Le Matin*, August 25, 1978.
- 54 Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 40.
- 55 French media published the story of the presence of a high American official visited Pakistan with Henry Kissinger, to pressurize Bhutto, for the renunciation of the deal with France. That high functionary said that Pakistan, would not

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- "bow" but he bluntly said that it might be ' ready to think.'
 "Kissinger Somme Le Pakistan De Renoncé a Acheter a La France Une Usine Nucléaire," *Le Monde*, August 10, 1976.
- 56 Claude Bonjean, " Kissinger ; Une Réponse a Normand," 18.
- 57 :<http://www.defence.pk/forums/pakistan-defence-industry/13739-nuclear-chronology-pakistan.html#ixzz24Z935QVs>
- 58 « Nous trouvons une solution sur la base d'une discussion tenant compte des préoccupations de tous, après les vacances, lorsque tout le monde sera disponible et que les trois parties auront la possibilité d'échanger leurs opinions ». "M. Kissinger Demande a Participer a Une Négociation Sur L'accord Franc-Pakistan," *Le Monde*, August 12, 1976.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 42–43.
- 61 "M. Kissinger N'a Pas Close Le Dossier De L'accord Nucléaire Franco-pakistanaï," *Le Monde*, August 12, 1976. *New York Times*, 12 August 1976
- 62 Ram Rajan Subramanian, *India, Pakistan, China: Defense and Nuclear Tangle in South Asia* (New Delhi: ABC Pub. House, 1989), 5–6.
- 63 Joseph Nye is an American political thinker and leading name in the introduction of neo liberalism theory in international relation. He worked as Deputy to the Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance, Science, and Technology and chaired the National Security Council Group on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons .under Jimmy Carter Government.
- 64 Latif Ahmed Sherwani explained his personal experience about American media campaign in 1979 about Pakistani nuclear program, according to him, two successive days Columbia television service broadcasted program about

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- "Islamic bomb" and after some days, Times published an article about the topic. Sherwani, *Pakistan, China, and America*, 209–10.
- 65 French newspaper *le monde* published a news that first time during his American visit Bhutto agreed to talk about nuclear deal with them. "M. Bhutto Est Disposé a Une 'Véritable Discussion' Avec Washington," *Le Monde*, March 10, 1977.
- 66 "La France Déclare Que Sa Position Reste Inchangé," *Les Echos*, June 2, 1977. Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 64.
- 67 "La France Déclare Que Sa Position Reste Inchangé."
- 68 "Le Contact Franco-pakistanaï," *Le Monde*, March 10, 1977.
- 69 Claude Bonjean, "Kissinger ; Une Réponse a Normand," 18. "Un 'Diktat' Qui Date De Kissinger." "The New York Times,."
- 70 "Les Pièges Du Nucleaire," *Quotidien De Paris*, November 10, 1976.
- 71 "Non a Kissinger, Non a Giscard," *France Nouvelle*, August 16, 1976.
- 72 Arvind Virmani, *Trilateral Nuclear Proliferation: Pakistan's Euro-Chinese Bomb* (New Delhi, December 2006), 46.
- 73 French Foreign Minister had conveyed French government's displeasure to American charge d' affair for all American efforts which they were making, to hinder the deal with Pakistan. "The New York Times,."
- 74 Western support for Indian nuclear program, due to Atom for peace program, 1,104 Indian students got training in on American university from 1955-1974 while first Indian heavy water reactor was built with the help of Britain and CIRUS, a 40 MW research reactor suitable for generation of bomb grade plutonium was built with the assistant of Canada. America provided

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- heavy water plant also and Indian Phoenix plan for reprocessing was built with the combined help of Anglo-Saxon. In 1963, America also provided two reactors for Tarapur plant. Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2009*, 168.
- 75 French President and Foreign minister in each and every step assured Pakistan that there will be no breach in the deal either it was establishment of NPC or Kissinger's visit etc.
- 76 "Le Pakistan Accuse La France De Lui Refuser Une Usine a Plutonium," *Le Figaro*, August 24, 1978.
- 77 Dr. Gilles Boquérat, "France Cancels Contract on a-Plant for Pakistan," *Herald Tribune*, August 24, 1978. Milton R. Benjamin,, "Pakistan Says France Killing Controversial Nuclear Deal," *Washington Post*, August 24, 1978. "Paris Ne Souhait Pas Livrer a Islamabad L'usine De Retirement Nucleaire Promise," *Le Monde*, August 25, 1978.
- 78 Kolodziej, *Making and Marketing Arms the French Experience and its Implications for the International System*, 123.
- 79 After facing much opposition for its nuclear policy at global level, France decided to organise the various aspects of its nuclear export policy particularly linked to the export of sensitive nuclear techniques, equipments and products. To achieve that objective, a Nuclear Policy Council (NPC) established on 1st September 1976. French President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, the Defence Minister, the Minister of Economy and Finance, the Minister of Industrial Redeployment and Foreign Trade, the Minister of Energy, the Foreign Trade Minister and General Administration of Energy Commission were its members. *Le Désarmement : Limitation, Réglementation, Contrôle..*, (Problèmes politiques et sociaux... Série Politique Internationale 12 Mai 1978 ; n° 336) (Paris: la Documentation Francaise, 1978), 30. See also

Kolodziej, *Making and Marketing Arms the French Experience and Its Implications for the International System*, 121.

- 80 "La Vente D'une Usine de Retraitement Au Pakistan Confirme Par Guiringaud," *Le Matin*, September 9, 1977. French adopted two grand principles through this announcement: it stopped the new nuclear retreatment plant but accepted the third world right to have technology. So keep its way open to sell the nuclear energy. "Une Gaffe Loude de Consequences."
- 81 "La France Propose Au Pakistan Un Nouveau Type d'Usine," *Le Nouveau Journal*, August 25, 1978.
- 82 In June 1977, Pakistani Foreign secretary met with French Foreign Minister de Guiringaud in New York and conveyed him, Pakistani government's unwillingness for the modifying proposal. French Foreign Minister, showing his disappointment on Pakistan decision, questioned the "significance" of a plutonium reprocessing plant at this stage for Pakistan's nuclear program.
- 83 "France, Pakistan to Resume Talks on Changes in Nuclear Plant Deal," *The Washington Post*, November 4, 1978. "French Ask a Contract Revision," Facts on File World News Digest, 1 September 1978.
- 84 "Pakistan: France Must Hold to Nuclear Deal," *Washington Post*, January 12, 1978.
- 85 French Foreign Minister announced in September 1978, that now French policy was "parallel to the American policy in the particular issue of nuclear proliferation. Flora Lewis, "A Case Study of One Nuclear Deal: France and Pakistan," *The New York Times*, November 14, 1978.: Iqbal Akhund, *Memoirs of a Bystander: A Life in Diplomacy* (OUP Pakistan, 1997), 273.details of Pakistani ambassador discussion with French president on the issue can be seen on P.274
- 86 "Nucleaire Dialogue De Sourds Entre Paris Et Islamabad," *Le Nouveau Journal*, January 12, 1978.

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- 87 "Malgré Le Litige Nucleaire," *Le Monde*, November 5, 1978.
- 88 Broadcast by President Zia ul-Haq," BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 3 September 1979,
- 89 "Mr. Stirn in Islamabad," *Le Monde*, February 27, 1980.
- 90 Despite the decision of French government to terminate the RPP deal French technician continued to work at the Chashma construction plant till the end of 1979. "Ban This Bomb-To-Be," 56.
- 91 "Le Pakistan :le Contact Avec La France N'a Pas Été Interrompu," *Libération*, June 18, 1980.
- 92 "En Visit a Islamabad," *Le Monde*, March 30, 1983. "France Set to Sell N-Plant to Pakistan," *Financial Times (London)*, March 30, 1983.
- 93 Mehrunnisa Iqbal, "Pakistan and Western Europe (1975-86)," *Pakistan Horizon* 39, no. 2 (June 1, 1986): 60.
- 94 "La Visit De M.raimond Au Pakistan »," *Le Monde*, May 9, 1987.
- 95 According to Shahryar Ahmed Khan during that period Pakistan received one part of the reimbursement. Personal interview with the Ambassador in Lahore at LUMS on January 2011
- 96 "Pakistan: La Decision Francaise de Vendre Une Centrlre Nuclearire", " *Le Monde*, February 23, 1990.
- 97 "Pakistani Says France Will Pay \$118-Million for Supply Breach," *Nucleonic Week*, January 16, 1992, 14–16, http://www.nti.org./media/pdfs/pakistan_nuclear.pdf?_=1316466791.
- 98 "Pakistan: Le Dedit Francais," *L'express*, September 4, 1978.
- 99 Khan, *Eating Grass*, 105.

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- 100 Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 42.
- 101 "Chirac Se Fait Tout Petit Face a Kissinger," *Lutte Ouvriere*, August 14, 1976.
- 102 Since 1950s when Pakistan had joined hand with America against its regional insecurity, it did not agree with Pakistan's concern. Whenever it had opportunity, it tried to balance India as regional power against China. Same mindset divulged during nuclear deal issue.
- 103 "La Commerce Nucleaire a La France," *Quotidien De Paris*, August 9, 1976.
- 104 A shipment of 9 tonnes of enriched uranium approved. Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 59.
- 105 The provision of nuclear fuel to Indian reactors was in fact the violation of American Law of 1978, which prohibit America to export material to any country which did not accept the full scale inspection and IAEA safe-guards.
- 106 Ahmed, "Franco-Pakistan Relations-II: The Issue of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant," 59. The provision of nuclear fuel to Indian reactors was in fact the violation of American Law of 1978, which prohibit America to export material to any country which did not accept the full scale inspection and IAEA safe-guards.
- 107 The opposition of nuclear deal made clear the commercial rivalry between American-European partners. Until 1970s, Americans dominated approximately 70 percent of the world market on nuclear material and equipments. The situation was changed during 1970s and other industrialized nations, including France, were begun to challenge American monopoly on the transfer of advance technology including the transfer of nuclear technology. The export of nuclear reactor and plants has gained significant

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- economic importance, too, especially for the Europeans. Sommer, Theo, "The Great Proliferation Hassle," *Newsweek, New York* (October 11, 1976): 7.
- 108 Henry Kissinger rejected Pakistani accusation of supporting India in nuclear field during his visit in August 1976. But the omens indicating something other, and after initial refusal, Kissinger, himself admitted that American played an important role in Indian nuclear explosion. He disclosed that there was a 'high probability' that American supplied heavy water was used by Indian in producing plutonium for its 1974 nuclear explosion. Dennis Kux, *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991* (DIANE Publishing, 1992), 341. "Kissinger Somme Le Pakistan De Renoncé à Acheté à La France Une Usine Nucléaire."
- 109 Deals were cancelled by Germany with Brazil and France with Pakistan and South Korea
- 110 Sommer, Theo, "The Great Proliferation Hassle," 7.
- 111 According to Realist and Constructivists, National Interest, is a foreign policy tool. Scott Burchill argues that beyond the narrow aspect of security policy, the national interest has little residual value as an insight into the motivations of state policy in the external realm. For the detail of the concept see Scott Burchill, *The National Interest in International Relations Theory* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- 112 Iqbal, "Pakistan and Western Europe (1975-86)," 60.
- 113 The authors of *Islamic bomb* and *The Pakistan military consortium*, also claimed that: all (nearly 95%) the blue prints of design of the plant including the chopping machine are handed over by SGN to PEAC, prior to the cancellation of the agreement", Weissman and Krosney, *The Islamic bomb*, 167. The supply of material was asserted by the PEACE the validity of 95% supply. Khan, *Eating Grass*, 426.
- 114 Akhund, *Memoirs of a Bystander*, 275.

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- 115 India was not buying any sensitive material from France and Iraq, which reactor after a lot delays when put to Toulon for shipment was put into fire in spite of heavy security. Flora Lewis, Herald Tribune correspondent reported, 'someone very high in the French government' had secretly ordered the sabotage.
- 116 "Pakistan Reprocessing Plant" (Department of State, November 1978), <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb352/doc18.pdf>.
- 117 A Gaullist journalist explained French approach to Pakistani ambassador, in, France by saying, there had been no change in the French position because of Pakistani proposal, and they were just playing along at having a dialogue. Giscard met Carter at Guadeloupe recently and assured him; French firmness on the repudiation of Pakistani contract. In response US eased its stand against France's own breeder reactor programme which was based on reprocessed plutonium. Akhund, *Memoirs of a Bystander*, 279.
- 118 There was another explanation which although related to Bhutto's attitude but the continuity of the nuclear program on the same manner could justify it on later approach also. Kauther Naizi, *Aur Line Kat Gay* (Lahore:: Jung publishers, 1987), 78–79. After A.Q. Khan's arrival, Bhutto lost interest in RPP from France but to divert world attention from the original plan, he decided to keep on insisting to France for the completion of contractual obligations.
- 119 Akhund, *Memoirs of a Bystander*, 278.
- 120 Ibid. 278.