

John Gunther Dean's introductory comments to the 21 files on India and complete inventory of the individual folders [54 pages] donated to the National Archives of the USA [The Jimmy Carter Library in Atlanta, Georgia]. [1985 – 1988].

India Inventory : 1985 – 1988

Introduction to the material on India donated by John Gunther Dean to the Jimmy Carter Library in Atlanta, Georgia, administered by the National Archives and Records Administration

The material on India consists of the following 21 files:

- File 1:** John Gunther Dean is assigned as US Ambassador to India (1985-1988)
- File 2:** J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy New Delhi: September – December 1985
- File 3:** J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy New Delhi: January – June 1986
- File 4:** J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy New Delhi: July – December 1986
- File 5:** J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy New Delhi: January – June 1987
- File 6:** J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy New Delhi: July – December 1987
- File 7:** Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the White House and Washington: October 20, 1987
- File 8:** J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy New Delhi: January – May 1988
- File 9:** J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy New Delhi: June – August 1988
- File 10:** President Zia of Pakistan perishes in plane crash: August 17, 1988
- File 11:** J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy New Delhi: September 1988 only
- File 12:** J.G. Dean's consultation in Washington after the crash of President Zia's aircraft: September 1988
- File 13:** Exchange of letters between President Reagan and Prime Minister Gandhi of India: 1985 – 1988

- File 14:** J.G. Dean's departure from India, including letter of resignation, Gandhi's letter of farewell: November 1988
- File 15:** Briefing papers for Ambassador Dean's meetings with key Indian officials
- File 16:** Letters to and from J.G. Dean: 1985 – 1988
- File 17:** Information on Michael Deaver's trip to India: Spring 1986
- File 18:** What role did the House of Hinduja play in advancing US-Indian relations? 1985 – 1988
- File 19:** Chapter on India in J.G.D.'s Oral History: 81 pages
- File 20:** Does J.G. Dean have a mental problem? 1988-89
- File 21:** Photographs 1985 – 1988

Introduction to the material on India

Perhaps this is the place to ask the question why did J.G.D. keep many papers in his possession, rather than destroying them or leave them in the embassies where duplicates already existed. The answer is protecting oneself against unjustified accusations or outright lies. An example will demonstrate this action.

In the files devoted to J.G.D.'s role in bringing the Vietnam Peace talks/negotiations to Paris in 1968, a section conveys the visit to Paris of the late Senator Robert Kennedy in late January 1967. In his meetings in Paris, Senator Kennedy received a "peace signal" from Hanoi that the North Vietnamese would engage in negotiations with Washington if the US stopped the bombing of North Vietnam. When this message was given to Senator Kennedy, J.G.D. was the note-taker.

When Senator Kennedy returned to Washington and met with President Johnson on this issue it led to a fall-out between these two political leaders. The message reporting on the "peace signal" appeared on the front page of the New York Times. President Johnson is quoted in the article of America's number one newspaper as wanting "to fire that....John Gunther Dean." Somebody had to be blamed for leaking the message to the press, and the lowest ranking man and the not-taker was a convenient scapegoat. Fortunately, J.G.D.'s boss, Ambassador Chip Bohlen, was in Washington on consultation and explained to the President that it could not have been J.G.D. and he helped find the culprit for the leak in Washington. From that time onward, J.G.D. kept his papers to protect himself against unjustified accusations, lies or smears. Many senior diplomats and statesmen have engaged in the same practice.

In September 1988, J.G.D. (while serving as Ambassador to India) was accused by the State Department Medical Service of having "mental" problems when he returned to Washington on consultation to inform key officials of who might have been behind the assassination of the Pakistan President Zia-al-Huq [File 10 and 12]. Further more, J.G.D. was not allowed to return to India after consultation in Washington but sent to his chalet in Switzerland to "take a rest". The "rest cure" lasted 7 weeks. He left his post on November 7, 1988 [File 14]. In April 1989, J.G.D. left the Foreign Service. The materials in J.G.D.'s possession never surfaced until he was asked by former President Carter to deposit them at the Presidential Library in Atlanta.

To fully understand the files on India, it is suggested that one reads first File 19 which is the chapter on India in J.G.D.'s Oral History. This chapter consists of 81 pages. The typed text of the entire Oral History comes to 419 pages and consists of interviews conducted over 7 years with J.G.D. by the Director of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, institution located in Arlington, Virginia.

A number of themes emerge from the papers on India donated to the Jimmy Carter Library. For example the problem of nuclear proliferation. Why did certain elements in the US close their eyes to Israel's efforts to attain a nuclear bomb capacity but actively worked against other countries' efforts in that direction? Hypocrisy? How many people

know that India's President in 2004 was head of India's nuclear program and is a Moslem?

Other papers on India should help people to understand the problems of Afghanistan today. Was it cold-war thinking that prevailed in choosing Afghans supported by the US after the Soviets decided to pull out of Afghanistan? Fear of neutralism?

The documents on India should also help to explain the mess today in Pakistan and how certain friends of the US some fifteen years ago are today America's number one enemy.

The purpose of the donation of the files on India – as for all the other material on J.G.D.'s career given to the National Archives – is only one: to help those with responsibility or interest in international affairs to understand the past and use this information to make sound decisions today and in the future to avoid suffering, misery, injustice around the world. As Wendell Wilkie wrote in 1940 when he ran against Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Presidency of the United States, we live in "One World".

Comments by John Gunther Dean on the material in File 1 on India:

1. American and Indian Press reaction to J.G.D.'s nomination as Ambassador to India:

The New York Times article, which is also reproduced in the International Herald Tribune by Mr. Bernard Weinraub, was described in a separate piece by the New York Times as "a hatchet job". There is no doubt that there was considerable jealousy among Foreign Service Officers that J.G.D. would get another ambassadorial appointment. He was accused of not having served sufficiently long time in Washington. Ambassador Spain wanted the job in New Delhi but was sent instead to Sri Lanka. As for J.G.D., the decision by the White House to send J.G.D. to India was communicated to Dean in Bangkok by telephone from Washington shortly before Christmas 1984 and came as a complete surprise to him. [This episode is spelled out in detail in J.G.D.'s Oral History] There is also no doubt that J.G.D. was perceived by some Senators, Congressmen, State Department colleagues, journalists, as "an active ambassador" [See Vice President Bush's letter in J.G.D. Oral History.], as an "interventionist" (as Senator Javits called him in the hearing on J.G.D.'s nomination as Ambassador to Cambodia), as a "fighter" as demonstrated by his performance in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Others saw J.G.D. as "a negotiator" in Laos, or as not sufficiently anti-communist as in Laos or Cambodia. Some criticized J.G.D. for being too close to CIA as for example in Thailand. What matters is that at the end of his tour of duty in India, both American and Indian top officials and the media thought that J.G.D. had done a good job in promoting over-all, long range US-Indian common interests.

2. Comments on Secretary Schultz's letter to Ambassador Dean dated October 16, 1985:

In this 5 page document, Secretary Schultz writes: "As Ambassador, your authority flows from the President to me, and from me through the Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs to you. I look to the Assistant Secretary to issue instructions in my name. He will serve as the primary communications link between us. You should channel all messages dealing with policy proposals, policy implementation, program activities and post operations to or through him."

J.G.D. would like to point out that on many important issues, the ambassador appeals directly to other key players in Washington in order to advance the position he has been instructed to take. For example, an ambassador to a country in the limelight sends messages directly to the National Security Advisor, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of CIA which is not necessarily repeated to the Secretary of State. This was the case quite often in Thailand and later in India. Finally, there is no substitute to having a direct link to a person close to the President in the White House who can give an unofficial read-out on the President's views on a particularly important issue. As J.G.D.'s Oral History relates, difference among departments and agencies in Washington on important issues have existed for decades. Can the Secretary of State or the National Security Advisor smooth out all differences among departments or agencies? Does Washington really speak with one voice?

It was only some 40 years ago that President J.F. Kennedy found it necessary to write a letter to the newly-appointed ambassador making him "the boss" – the coordinator – overseas of all US employees and activities in the mission. J.G.D. can think of no better way of making this point than by quoting from President Reagan's letter to him dated October 1, 1981 when J.G.D. was appointed ambassador to Thailand:

"I give you my full personal support as Chief of the United States Mission in Thailand in the exercise of your strong statutory mandate under section 207 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. I charge you to exercise full responsibility for the direction, coordination, and supervision of all United States government officers and employees in the country or organization to which you are accredited, except for personnel under the command of a United States area military commander, personnel under the authority of the Chief of another United States Mission (for example, one accredited to an international organization), or personnel detailed to duty on the staff of an international organization. I expect you to oversee the operation of all United States government programs and activities within that responsibility. I have notified all heads of departments and agencies accordingly and have instructed them to inform their personnel in the United States and abroad.

“So that you can ensure effective coordination of all United States Government activities within your responsibility, I ask you to provide strong program direction and leadership of operations Mission-wide. Please instruct all personnel under your charge: it is their duty to keep you fully informed at all times about their activities so that you can effectively direct, coordinate, and supervise United States programs and operations under your jurisdiction and recommend policies to Washington.”

The many messages J.G.D. sent to specific individuals in Washington on the files donated by J.G.D. to the National Archives document the need for ambassadors to have direct communications with officials in different departments and agencies in Washington and not exclusively with the Secretary of State through the Department of State.

File 1: John Gunther Dean is assigned as US Ambassador to India (1985-88)

Content of this file:

- President Reagan's letter appointing J.G.D. ambassador to India, and letter of recall of Harry G. Barnes
- Hearings before the subcommittee on Near East and South Asian Affairs of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
- Initial press coverage of nomination in the US and in India
- Exchange of speeches on the occasion of presenting credentials to the President of India.
- Letter from Secretary Schultz to J.G. Dean dated August 2, 1985 giving advice on the procedure if the ambassador taking up his duties. (Probably a form letter sent to all newly appointed ambassadors)
- Letter (copy) of President Reagan to the President of India notifying that J.G.D. is the new American ambassador. A second letter (copy) is the letter of recall of the previous ambassador, Harry G. Barnes. (All three letters cited above were probably prepared by the protocol section of the State Department.)
- Copy of the hearings before the subcommittee on the Near East and South Asian affairs of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (31 pages). In the hearings, Senator Boschwitz stated how the Senate was impressed with Prime Minister Gandhi when he visited Washington earlier in the year. Senator Boschwitz asked Mr. Dean whether the Indian-Soviet Union relationship should be seen as a threat to the bilateral relationship between the US and India. Mr. Dean's reply was as follows: "The relationships of India to the Soviet Union I must assume are based on the interests as perceived by the Indians." After citing examples for Indian-Soviet links, J.G.D. continued: "I see my role as one of trying to build up a bilateral relationship with India." J.G.D. continues: "The more successful we are in having a bilateral relationship, the more options this will give to our Indian friends."
- Press on J.G.D.'s appointment: American and Indian:
 - American press:** New York Times, January 11, 1985 article by Bernard Weinraub reported that "State Department was upset at the unusual lobbying effort by a career officer to gain diplomatic post through White House – and not State Department – channels". The New York Times in a bulletin (Number 423) stated that the article "was a hatchet job" and the N.Y. Times states "we seemed to be serving as a blind for an anonymous sniper". The International Herald Tribune, January 12-13, 1985 page 5 carries a similar version of the Weinraub story.
 - Indian press:** Mati Hari, January 24-30, 1985 reports on J.G.D.'s activities in Thailand "in upholding the Prem administration over the conflict with the military which is believed to have marked a significant

turning point in Thai politics.” New Delhi cable 03205 dated February 7, 1985 given lengthy text of the pro-Soviet newspaper Patriot making J.G.D. an interventionist, tough militarist. Indian newspapers also speculated that J.G.D. is White House choice, not State Department. New Delhi 18669 dated August 1, 1985 gives a favorable image of J.G.D.’s appearance before the Senate in the “Statesman”. The “Telegraph” of Calcutta in its August 2 edition repeated the allegation that “reportedly J.G.D. sought the coveted post, lobbying heavily for it through his friends in the White House.” [New Delhi 18801 date August 2, 1985] [Please also consult J.G. Dean’s Oral History on his nomination as well as his comments on File 1 in this folder]

- Ambassador Dean’s speech on the occasion of presenting Credentials [New Delhi 21818 dated September 6, 1985]
- Text of the reply of the President of India in accepting Letters of Credentials
- ❖ Letter from Secretary Schultz to Ambassador Dean dated October 16, 1985 in which the Secretary of State discusses US objectives in India and outlines specific areas for priority attention. (This is an interesting document, which in addition to discussing substantive issues, also sets forth how to channel messages to Washington, i.e. through the Secretary of State. Please read J.G.D. comments on a separate page because it is a major issue for those interested in the policy process in the US.)

**File 2: J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy
New Delhi: September – December 1985**

- New Delhi 22304 to Bangkok dated September 12, 1985: J.G.D.'s personal message to Prime Minister Prem of Thailand
- New Delhi 23377 to Washington dated September 23, 1985: Nuclear Weapons Declaration for Naval Ship Visits
- New Delhi 23948 to Washington dated September 27, 1985: Ambassador Dean's message for Secretary Schultz entitled "Initial Impressions of India".
- Message from White House to Ambassador Dean regarding possibility of selling high tech computer from US to India. The message is from Donald Fortier in the White House. Dated October 5, 1985.
- Message from Donald Fortier in the White House for Ambassador Dean [WH 0873] regarding nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan.
- State 346187 dated November 9, 1985 giving instructions for Ambassador Dean's meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi. Meeting should focus on nuclear matters and Afghanistan.
- Message from Ambassador Dean to Donald Fortier in White House, October 19, 1985 regarding Indian-Pakistan's nuclear rivalry.
- Message from Ambassador Dean to Donald Fortier in White House, October 21, 1985 reporting Indian invitation to Pakistani officials to visit Atomic Energy facility in Bombay, and projected visit to India by Commander CINCPAC Hawaii, Admiral Watkins.
- New Delhi 026315 dated October 28, 1985 reporting on Prime Minister Gandhi's visit to Moscow. (Gandhi discussed Pakistani effort to obtain nuclear capability, and Afghanistan)
- New Delhi 027723 dated November 13, 1985 reporting on Ambassador Dean's meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi. Discussed Technology transfers, Sikh terrorism, Afghanistan and nuclear matters.
- ❖ New Delhi 30409 dated December 13, 1985 to Washington entitled: "Licensing of High Technology to India". How to wean Indians away from Russian technology: US support Indian efforts to manufacture these items themselves in India."
- New Delhi 30471 dated December 13, 1985 to Washington entitled: "Meeting with Minister of State for Defense R + D, Arun Singh". A positive meeting on specific high technology items.

**File 3: J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy
New Delhi: January – June 1986**

- Message from Donald Fortier in the White House to Ambassador Dean dated January 18, 1986 [WH 00277]
- ❖ Message from Ambassador Dean to Donald Fortier in the White House dated January 18, 1986 complaining about being “cut out” on issues on which he has been working. (Reply from Fortier is message listed above)
- New Delhi 02165 to Washington dated January 27, 1986 entitled: “Scope paper for the Secretary”.
- New Delhi 2673 dated January 31, 1986 entitled “Meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi regarding allegations of US Espionage activity”.
- ❖ New Delhi 2701 to Washington dated January 31, 1986 reporting on meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi. In this meeting, Ambassador Dean reported that Gandhi wanted an American assessment of the Gorbachev proposal regarding arms reduction and test ban.
- New Delhi 6485 to Washington dated March 13, 1986 in which Ambassador Dean transmitted to Prime Minister Gandhi President Reagan's reaction to the Gorbachev proposal. [See message above]
- Message from Don Fortier in the White House to Ambassador Dean dated April 21, 1986 [WH 02367] regarding the sale of a super computer to India.
- Message of Ambassador Dean to Don Fortier in the White House dated April 25, 1986 [0929 from New Delhi] which deals with supercomputer negotiations. Ambassador Dean also reports that he just returned from Eastern India to help Commander computers to establish an assembly plant. (Message also discusses Richard Perle's desire to come to India to discuss supercomputer safeguards.)
- Message of Ambassador Dean to Don Fortier in the White House dated April 28, 1986 in which Ambassador Dean repeats to Fortier message Dean sent to Secretary Schultz regarding supercomputer negotiations and arms for Pakistan [New Delhi 9042 dated April 11, 1986]
- New Delhi 10759 dated April 29, 1986 to Washington regarding “Indian concern about Security Assistance package for Pakistan and impact on Indo-US relations”.
- ❖ New Delhi 11760 dated May 13, 1986 to Washington on Ambassador Dean's meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi devoted to “Terrorism”. Meeting was at Gandhi's request. This message is very important in that Gandhi questions the use of armed force by a foreign country to go after terrorists. Can India use its armed force against Pakistan if Pakistani terrorists get caught in India?
- New Delhi 12013 dated May 15, 1986 addressed to Secretary State Schultz, Secretary Defense Weinberger, Secretary Baldrige from Ambassador Dean in which American Embassy New Delhi urges Washington to improve the working of the Indo-US memorandum of understanding on the transfer to India of properly protected US high technology.
- A memorandum from Assistant Secretary Murphy to under Secretary Armacost dated May 24, 1986 entitled: “Where we stand in our relationship with India”. The memorandum has several attachments and total number 13 pages.

- New Delhi 13391 dated May 30, 1986 sent to Washington, entitled: “Nuclear: Solarz conversation with Director Indian Institute of Defense Studies on how to improve Indo-Pak nuclear relationship”.
- ❖ ** New Delhi 13278 dated May 30, 1986 sent to Washington entitled “Congressman Solarz’ meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi, May 28”. In this 16 page telegram, Ambassador Dean reports on the subjects discussed: (1) The Pakistani Domestic Political Scene; (2) US-Pakistan relations; (3) US Arms sales to Pakistan; (4) The Nuclear Dimension; (5) US-Soviet Nuclear Negotiation; (6) Indo-US relations; (7) Pakistani support for Sikh separatists in the Punjab; (8) Sri Lanka
- ❖ * SECSTATE 172374 dated June 2, 1986 from Washington entitled “Sales of M1A1 tanks and other advanced weapon systems to Pakistan: Some policy issues”. (Message states that in addition to the policies of “countering the Soviets and heading off the proliferation of nuclear weapons” there are at least two other policy reasons for the US Security Assistance relationship with Pakistan: “Pakistan’s self-defense” and “US Southwest Asia strategy”. Even “if the Soviets leave Afghanistan, the relationship will most likely continue”...”As long as Iran burns with Islamic Radical revolutionary fervor and instability in the gulf is heightened by the Iran Iraq war, we have a strong interest in supporting a limited modernization of Pakistan’s defense establishment.
- New Delhi 12904 dated May 23, 1986 in which Defense Attaché New Delhi raises the question of how sale by US of M1A1 tanks and other advanced weapons systems to Pakistan is perceived by India and whether it could have adverse long-range consequences. (Message just above from Washington is response, just as Islamabad 12371 is response from US Ambassador to Pakistan to New Delhi worries.
- Islamabad 12371 dated June 6, 1986 is reply to New Delhi and Sec State’s messages about US supplying M1A1 tanks to Pakistan.
- New Delhi 14247 dated June 6, 1986 to Washington entitled: “How to reduce AID’s staff in India while maintaining the Programs effectiveness.”
- New Delhi 15164 dated June 21, 1986 entitled “The Indo-Soviet relationship” is a good analysis and offers ideas of how to reduce India’s reliance on the Soviet Union”.
- ❖ New Delhi 15412 dated June 24, 1986 entitled “Balasore National test range utilization” is basic reading on different approaches to assurances requested by US of Indians regarding long range missile development. (6 pages)
- New Delhi 15464 dated June 25, 1986 entitled: “Launching of Indian Satellite”. India is miffed that Indonesia, not India would be given the next launch on a Delta vehicle, probably early 1987.

**File 4: J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy
New Delhi: July – December 1986**

- Message dated September 19 from Ambassador Dean to Richard Armitage in Defense preparing Secretary Weinberger's visit to India.
- ❖ New Delhi 23827 dated September 29, 1986 reporting on the impact Secretary Weinberger's visit will have on Gandhi's next meeting with Gorbachev and India's links with the Soviet Union. The analysis was provided by French Ambassador Merimé to Ambassador Dean.
- An article from the Indian press on the Weinberger visit.
- New Delhi 24754 dated October 8, 1986 giving the text of the US-India Fund Agreement given to the American Embassy by the Indians "after many years of hard work."
- New Delhi 25660 dated October 21, 1986 entitled: "Indo-US cooperation in business and industry – Ambassador Dean's October 20 press conference".
- New Delhi 26205 dated November 12, 1986 entitled: "Government of India concerned over latest US Defense Department's declaration on Airborne Early Warning Capability for Pakistan".
- ❖ New Delhi 27536 dated November 12, 1986 entitled: "Designation of Secretary of the Air Force as contact point with Indian Authorities on working together in the Indian Light Combat Aircraft".
- Message dated November 14, 1986 from Ambassador Dean to Donald Gregg. Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs calling attention to message from New Delhi of designating Secretary of the Air Force as contact point for Indians on working together on advanced aircraft design.
- ❖ New Delhi 28503 dated November 24, 1986 reporting on a discussion Ambassador Dean had with Indian Foreign Secretary Venkateswaran on President Reagan's letter to Indian Prime Minister regarding Afghanistan. The Indian Foreign Secretary criticizes US for talking a good line but not "doing" enough to reduce Indian reliance on the Soviet Union.
- New Delhi 29249 dated December 2, 1986 entitled: "An initial assessment of Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to India November 25-28".
- SecState 375025 dated December 3, 1986 giving a detailed read-out by Washington on the visit to the US of G.S. Saxena, Security Advisor to the Indian Prime Minister. Washington considered the meetings "a key step in the ongoing counter terrorism dialogue with the government of India".
- Message from Ambassador Dean to CIA Director Casey regarding visit to US of PM Gandhi's decision to sent his security advisor for meetings in Washington [New Delhi 28311 dated December 5, 1986?] [see item above]
- New Delhi 29709 dated December 8, 1986 reporting on a broad conversation Ambassador Dean had with Prime Minister Gandhi.
- New Delhi 29777 dated December 9, 1986 reporting on Ambassador Dean's meetings with Indian Foreign Secretary and Indian Secretary for Research and Development. Both officials criticize US for kindling hope of Indians during Secretary Weinberger visit, but US has not produced anything or changed its unflinching support for Pakistan.

- ❖ New Delhi 29960 dated December 10 reporting on Foreign Secretary Venkateswaran's read out on the Gandhi-Gorbachev discussions on Afghanistan. (The beginning of India's involvement as intermediary on Afghanistan)
- ❖ New Delhi 30583 dated December 17, 1986 reporting on Congressman Solarz' meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi on December 15. Subjects discussed: (1) Sale of AWACS to Pakistan; (2) Afghanistan; (3) Regional Nuclear Issues; (4) Sri Lanka; (5) Punjab. In discussing Afghanistan, Gandhi said that one condition for a Soviet pull out of military forces was that "there must not be a US dominated government in Kabul." Another condition for Gorbachev was that "the leadership in Afghanistan must not be fundamentalist oriented like the Khomeini fundamentalism in Iran."
- ❖ SecState 389897 dated December 17, 1986 and New Delhi's reply 30879 dated December 22, 1986 regarding Department's message entitled "Chain of command and Instructions". Message is "From the Secretary for Ambassadors." (Note by J.G Dean: The only reason I can see for this long message including a letter from the President to all ambassadors around the world, is the in-fighting in Washington among State, CIA, Defense, Commerce, National Security Council, NSA, etc.)
- ❖ New Delhi 30979 dated December 23 is a message from Ambassador Dean to undersecretary Armacost entitled: "US Aid to Pakistan and its impact on India". It includes a number of recommendations which would permit the US "to carry water on both shoulders" (work with India and Pakistan without adverse effect.)
- ❖ New Delhi 31147 dated December 23, 1986 reporting on Congressman Solarz' meeting with Indian Minister for Defense Arun Singh on December 20. In the meeting Indians voiced opposition to transfer of AWACS to Pakistan by US. At the same meeting Solarz proposed a number of nuclear-related confidence building measures to India which would ease tension with Pakistan. The Indian Defense Minister stated that "Pakistan has consistently followed a policy of nuclear acquisition since Bhutto's day, no matter who was in charge." The Indian Defense Minister also accused Pakistan of training Sikh terrorists in Pakistan.
- Message from Ambassador Dean to Director of Intelligence Mort Abramowitz in Washington calling attention to "significant intrusion of the US Defense Department into the shaping of US foreign policy in South Asia." (Message 401 dated December 24, 1986)
- New Delhi 31143 dated December 24, 1986 from Ambassador Dean to US commander in Pacific, Admiral Hay. Message is entitled: "US-Indian Relations" and is designed to prepare the admiral for his visit to India in mid-February.

**File 5: J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy
New Delhi: January – June 1987**

- New Delhi 1887 dated January 23, 1987 entitled: "Pak-Indian border". Tension grows on the Indo-Pakistan border: Ambassador Dean is summoned to meet with Minister of Defense on the matter. In New Delhi 2035 dated January 24, 1987 Ambassador Dean calls on India Minister of Defense to convey Washington's suggestions on lowering tension. New Delhi's 2108 dated January 27, 1987 give the text of Ambassador Dean's letter handed to Indian Minister of Defense on Indo-Pak border tension.
- New Delhi 3368 dated February 5, 1987 is entitled: "The 1987 Indo-Pak border crisis – a first retrospective."
- ❖ New Delhi 7518 dated March 19, 1987 entitled: "Assessment of Indian views on Nuclear weapons Development". The report states: "The government of India takes seriously the A.Q. Khan interview and Zia's admission that Pakistan has the capacity to make the bomb. India recognizes that Pakistan has now reached the stage that India had reached in 1974. The Indians believe that US policy has failed to prevent this and discounts our protestations of continual commitment to non-proliferation with respect to the Pakistanis."
- ❖ New Delhi 7506 dated March 26 entitled: "Meeting with Prime Minister, March 25". Ambassador Dean informs Prime Minister that US is ready to sell super-computer to India. Most of the meeting was devoted to discussion of Afghanistan. Prime Minister Gandhi especially noted that President Reagan in his latest letter to him had expressed the hope that Gandhi "will intensify his dialogue with the Soviet Union to urge the Soviet leadership to address realistically the difficult issues it faces in Afghanistan." Gandhi also focused on the issue of a transition government and Ambassador Dean pointed out that the Soviet idea of making Najibullah the pivot around which other elements could be added had already been rejected by the resistance." Ambassador Dean stressed "the need for the Indians to get involved in a helpful way with the Soviet leadership in searching for a genuine settlement in Afghanistan."
- New Delhi 9271 dated April 14, 1987 entitled: "Indo-US relations on "hold" for the next few weeks."
- New Delhi 9361 dated April 14 entitled: "Afghanistan". Ambassador Dean informs Under Secretary Armacost that apparently our discussions in New Delhi are bearing fruit because Foreign Minister Tiwari of India is traveling to Kabul early next month.
- Message from under Secretary Armacost to Ambassador Dean suggesting that Washington dispatch an emissary to Pakistan and India to discuss the nuclear issue and implications for South Asia. (April 19, 1987 from Washington) Reply to this message by Ambassador Dean was sent on April 20, 1987.
- New Delhi 4601 dated April 13, 1987 entitled: "Indian Perception of US policy directions in South Asia" which explains that Indians begin to conclude that US closes its eyes to Pakistani effort to obtain a nuclear capability.
- New Delhi 11342 dated May 6, 1987 entitled: "Regularizing US/Japanese consultations on India in Delhi."

- New Delhi 11582 dated May 7, 1987 entitled: "Indian Foreign Minister postpones visit to the US". Same subject covered in SecState 139456 dated May 8 from Washington.
- Tokyo 08279 dated May 12, 1987 entitled: "US/Japanese consultations in New Delhi". Welcomed by US Embassy Tokyo.
- New Delhi 13308 dated May 28, 1987 entitled: "Indo-US relations: Prospects for continued criticism of the US during next few months". (8 pages)
- SecState 174357 dated June 6, 1987 is a state reply to Embassy Delhi's suggestion that Multilateral Development Bank loans to India be increased as a sign of US good will toward India. Washington's reply is not supportive of this initiative.
- New Delhi 14287 dated June 19, 1987 entitled: "Sri Lankan-Indian relations"
- New Delhi 14385 dated June 11, 1987 entitled: "Need to get Indo-US cooperation moving again."
- New Delhi 14397 dated June 11, 1987 entitled: "The Foreign Hand". Prime Minister makes public statements on the deleterious role of the "Foreign Hand" in India, meaning the US. Part of the problem appears to be a Department of Justice group visiting India to obtain witnesses for trial in New Jersey of some Sikh terrorists.
- An in-house squabble about classification of some messages from Ambassador Dean to the Department. The differences are between the Executive Secretary of the Department and Ambassador Dean. [5 messages]
- SecState 170632 dated June 4, 1987 regarding suggestion made to Dick Murphy by Mr. Hinduja that speaker of Indian National Assembly and US House of Representatives annually exchange visits to bring two countries closer together.
- New Delhi 14095 dated June 8, 1987 endorses the proposal for an exchange of visits between the speakers of the US House of Representatives and the Indian National Assembly.
- New Delhi 14790 dated June 16, 1987 entitled: "Indian Army Chief of Sri Lanka". General Sundarji explains to Ambassador Dean the problems of the Tamils fighting the Sri Lankan army in northeastern Sri Lanka. (Note: The friendship between the Indian Army Chief and Ambassador Dean was to play a role later in trying to explain the assassination of Pakistan's President Zia-ul-Huq in the summer of 1988. See Ambassador Dean's Oral History which is part of the India files donated to the National Archives of the US.)

**File 6: J.G. Dean's chronological files of messages to and from American Embassy
New Delhi: July – December 1987**

- ❖ ** New Delhi 16893 dated July 11, 1987 entitled: "Discussion with Rajiv Gandhi on Afghanistan". It states among other points: "In his conversations with Gorbachev on Afghanistan, Rajiv found the Soviet leader to be more concerned about the strengthening of fundamentalism than about increased influence of moderate Afghan leaders who enjoy the support of the war." "Gandhi could not realistically envision a coalition-type government in Afghanistan acceptable to all sides." Ambassador Dean explained to Prime Minister Gandhi how he helped to bring about a solution to the Lao problem by establishing a coalition government in Laos with a neutral Prime Minister accepted by all parties.
- New Delhi 22755 dated September 15, 1987 entitled: "Japanese Assistance for Indian Drought".
- New Delhi 22919 dated September 17, 1987 entitled: "Japanese funding of US exports to India".
- Memorandum on the status of the US/India drought relief package agreed to during Prime Minister Gandhi's visit to the US. (October 20, 1987)
- New Delhi 23231 dated September 21, 1987 reporting a discussion with the cabinet Secretary regarding the supercomputer to be made available to India by the US.
- New Delhi 24913 dated October 13, 1987 entitled: "PM Gandhi's stop in Tokyo: Japanese Loan for Drought Relief". [Gandhi's visit to Washington is set forth in separate file: File 7]
- ❖ SecState 361806 dated November 20, 1987 reporting on Under Secretary Armacost pre-summit discussion with First Foreign Minister Vorontsov of Soviet Union. (9 pages) Discussion devoted to Afghanistan. Vorontsov puts emphasis on a "political settlement", Vorontsov also accused the American Ambassador in Pakistan of meeting with Afghan resistance (including Hetkmatyar) to discuss "carrying out propaganda and military measures directed at compromising the policy of national reconciliation."
- New Delhi 28246 dated November 23, 1987 report on a message from President Reagan on nuclear issues which arrived just as Soviet Prim Minister Ryzhkov arrived in New Delhi. Hence it was difficult to deliver message to Indians who were all tied up with Soviet Prime Minister.
- New Delhi 28906 dated December 1, 1987 for NSC Advisor Colin Powell deals with Senate appropriation committee and language proposed on South Asia Nuclear issue by Senator Inouye. American Embassy Delhi believes that the language proposed by Senator Inouye would seriously undermine US-Indian relation because: (1) it equates Pakistan and India; (2) takes no note of the differences in the Indian and Pakistani nuclear programs; (3) language provides only the thinnest camouflage for resuming military aid to Pakistan; (4) proposed language would impose strictures on high-technology transfers to India, etc.
- Sec State 374785 dated December 3, 1987 reports on Under Secretary Armacost's meeting with Indian Ambassador to Washington who says that Inouye legislation would "reduce to zero all the work we have been doing in bilateral relations."

Armacost says USG would seek changes in the language in conference committee.”

- Memorandum dated December 4, 1987 from the Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency addressed to the Secretary of State in which he states that “the Senate Appropriation Committee adopted language says Pakistan’s nuclear bomb program is justified since India has one and vice versa”. He urges the State Department to oppose this language.
- ❖ New Delhi 29305 dated December 4, 1987 report on meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi on the proposed language in the Senate appropriations Committee dealing with US aid to Pakistan. Cable is a sharp criticism of the Senate subcommittee “to use India as a vehicle to obtain appropriations for the US aid program to Pakistan.” Gandhi said he has publicly stood up for an improvement in Indo-US relations. But every country has its own political environment and if the US Congress chooses to equate India with Pakistan, there it would be impossible for him or anybody else to pursue this goal.”
- New Delhi 29183 dated December 3, 1987 addressed to Washington setting forth the differences in India’s and Pakistan’s nuclear policies in opposing Senate appropriation Committee language linking the nuclear programs of these two countries.
- New Delhi 29425 dated December 5, 1987 entitled: “Indians cooling to US cooperation?”
- New Delhi 29368 dated December 7, 1987 reports on a meeting with Minister of State for External Affairs, Natwar Singh, on how the Indian Parliament plans to deal with the planned action in the US Congress.
- SecState 378339 dated December 7, 1987 reporting on Under Secretary Armacost’s meeting with Indian Ambassador in which Indian Ambassador said that Prime Minister Gandhi plans to make a statement in Parliament on the Senate Appropriation Committee language on the South Asia nuclear issue. Armacost says that USG will go into conference on the Appropriations Bill with a good deal of flexibility, and Gandhi should be careful not to make both sides more rigid. USG will make major effort to change language.
- New Delhi 29427 dated December 7, 1987 reporting on meeting with Rajiv Gandhi’s diplomatic advisor Ronen Sen in which latter stresses need to “delink India from legally authorizing US aid to Pakistan”.
- New Delhi 29408 dated December 7, 1987 on Indian Minister for External Affairs, Natwar Singh’s statement in Parliament in response to the US Senate resolution equating India and Pakistan. (unclassified)
- New Delhi 29424 dated December 7, 1987 entitled: “Keeping Indo-US relations and non-proliferation alive”.
- New Delhi 29846 dated December 11, 1987 making suggestions to Washington on the next steps to be taken by the US with India.
- ❖ SecState 385221 dated December 12, 1987 in which Secretary of State sends text of letters sent to Senators Inouye and Kasten regarding support for their language in Senate bill, but “promising constructive suggestions in conference” (Note: An interesting example of the difficulty State Department has in keeping in mind foreign reactions and working with domestic legislators voting funds.)

- New Delhi 30033 dated December 14, 1987 entitled: “Special Media Reaction Report: Regarding Congressional proposal on South Asian relations”. (unclassified)
- Islamabad 25808 dated December 13, 1987 entitled: “Pakistan’s deep concern about Senate action on Aid Bill”. (The Pakistani point of view on the aid issue.)
- SecState 386774 dated December 14, 1987 in which Washington agrees to Ambassador Dean making a public statement to express US desire to pursue improvement in Indo-US relations.
- USIS’s press release of the statement made by Ambassador Dean on this subject. December 15, 1987. Text is also sent to Washington in New Delhi 30110 dated December 15. In New Delhi 30322 dated December 16, the Embassy reports on the editorials and press coverage given in the Indian media to Ambassador’s statement.
- SecState 386519 dated December 14 gives language adopted by full Senate on South Asian Nuclear question which is an alternative to the Inouye-Kasten language. The State Department is pleased that this Senate action provides for a six-year waiver for aid to Pakistan and removes the sanctions linkage between India and Pakistan on the nuclear issue.”
- New Delhi 30846 dated December 23, 1987 reporting on meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi about a possible meeting of the Indian leader with the head of the Kabul government, Najibullah.
- New Delhi 30862 dated December 23, 1987 reporting on meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi on delivering messages from President Reagan and Vice President Bush. Gandhi told Ambassador Dean that “he had instructed the Ministry of External Affairs to be more active in making known to others the Indian evaluation of the situation in Afghanistan and that Najibullah’s approach to national reconciliation will not lead to a settlement.” Prime Minister also said that he considered President Reagan and Vice President Bush real personal friends.
- New Delhi 30972 dated December 25, 1987 is a personal Christmas letter from Prime Minister Gandhi to Vice President Bush.

File 7: Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the White House and Washington: October 20, 1987 – A high point in Indo-US relations in period of stress and contradictions in South Asia

- A series of 4 messages from American Embassy New Delhi designed to be helpful in preparing briefing papers for the meeting between President Reagan and Prime Minister Gandhi
 - New Delhi 22525 dated September 14, 1987
 - New Delhi 22537 dated September 14, 1987 entitled: "Why is he coming?"
 - New Delhi 22630 dated September 14, 1987 entitled: "What's in it for India and the US?"
 - New Delhi 22754 dated September 14, 1987 entitled: "The Issues".
- Draft memorandum of Assistant Secretary Murphy to Secretary Schultz on the visit of Prime Minister Gandhi to Washington (4 pages).
- Schedule for Ambassador Dean in preparation of Prime Minister Gandhi's visit and during the actual visit. [Washington, October 15 and 16 and October 21-23] (Ambassador Dean attended all meetings in the White House)
- One page memorandum on US contribution to Indian drought relief, October 20, 1987.
- Remarks by the President upon departure of Prime Minister Gandhi of India: Release from the office of the Press Secretary – October 20, 1987
- Unofficial transcript of the remarks by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at the White House, Washington D.C., October 20, 1987
- State Department message 330473 dated October 23 giving a briefing to American embassies concerned about Gandhi's "official working visit" to Washington.
- State 333517 dated October 27, 1987 addressed to American Embassy New Delhi giving a checklist of possible follow-up actions resulting from Gandhi visit and Ambassador Dean's meetings in Washington.
- New Delhi 28322 dated November 11, 1987 entitled: "Indo-US relations a month after the visit".

File 8: J.G. Dean's chronological files of incoming and outgoing messages from American Embassy New Delhi (January – May 1988)

- New Delhi January 4, 1988 reports on Indian Press article which claims Morton Abramowitz will be the next American Ambassador to India.
- New Delhi 00099 dated January 4 addressed to Senator Patrick Moynihan re: request for some Indian press clippings.
- ❖ * New Delhi 02865 dated February 4, 1988 reports on Ambassador Dean's meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi. Peter Galbraith, son of former US Ambassador to India, had requested the meeting. Gandhi said that on Afghanistan, the bottom line was to avoid Afghanistan become a "fundamentalist state". Regarding the Soviet nuclear-powered submarine on lease to India, it is for four years and has no nuclear weapons on board. On Afghanistan, Gandhi said: "Lately he had received the impression that American officials are somewhat worried about the Indian involvement and that some officials would want the Indians to talk to some Afghan leaders but not to others." Gandhi said "Iran already is fundamentalist. If Afghanistan should go the same way, then pressure on Pakistan to follow suit would be great and then we would have fundamentalism on our border." Gandhi continued: "At the same time we also don't want the Soviets on our border. Hence from the Indian point of view, the only option is to support an Afghanistan which will be truly non-aligned, leaning neither toward the US, nor the Soviet Union." Gandhi concluded his discussion by "expressing doubt whether this objective is actually achievable."
- ❖ New Delhi 3247 dated February 8, 1988 entitled: "Gandhi-Vorontsov discussions on Afghanistan". Indians are keeping Pakistanis informed on what they are doing on Afghanistan: "Indians have talked with (1) reps from all seven resistance groups in Peshawar; (2) with Afghan resistance in Iran; (3) with Afghan groups in Western Europe; (4) with PDPA; (5) with Afghan resistance inside Afghanistan."
- ❖ * New Delhi 03390 dated February 8, 1988 reports that Prime Minister Gandhi believes that "the United States government resents increased Indian activism on the Afghan issue." The PM's diplomatic advisor indicated that "the Prime Minister believes his involvement in past months has helped wit Gorbachev's decision to go forward with an early withdrawal of Soviet Forces within a set time-frame. The Indian Prime Minister "interprets Gorbachev's early special notification to Gandhi of his announcement (of withdrawal from Afghanistan) as evidence of the importance the Soviets give to this Indian role. Without any hesitation the Prime Minister immediately conveyed the Soviet information to President Reagan in the personal letter which (Ambassador Dean) received yesterday.
- ❖ * New Delhi 3394 dated February 9, 1988 reports on Soviet leader Vorontsov's meeting in New Delhi in which the Soviet Minister gave Mr. Gandhi a detailed preview of the speech Gorbachev planned to deliver on television that same evening (February 8) re Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.
- New Delhi 3393 dated February 9, 1988 entitled "Indian Minister of State of r Foreign Affairs, Natwar Singh's meeting in Rome with former King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan."

- New Delhi 03619 dated February 11, 1988: “Afghanistan: Indian role” The Minister said that “he found it most astonishing that the US would tell the Indians whom they should and should not see in their efforts.”
- State 043713 dated February 11, 1988 entitled: “Recent demarches on Afghanistan and Indian Ambassador to Washington, P.K. Kaul’s reaction”.
- ❖ Message dated February 24, 1988 giving a thoughtful analysis of the US-Indian relationship in all areas. [New Delhi 04589 dated February 24 is a State Department version of the same message sent through other channels]
- State 058887 dated February 25 in which Washington reports on a Hinduja initiative to get President Zia and Prime Minister Gandhi together for a meeting. Washington does not wish “to get involved” in pushing for or against meeting.
- New Delhi 05728 dated March 7, 1988 transmitting article in the National Herald entitled: “Praises for Indo-US relations”.
- New Delhi 05807 dated March 8 entitled: “Follow up to Armacost meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi”.
- New Delhi 06377 dated March 14, 1988 entitled: “Indian position on UN High commission refugees Cuban debate”.
- New Delhi 06604 dated March 16, 1988 reports on Ambassador Dean’s meeting with PM’s Diplomatic advisor Ronen Sen re: AWACS for Pakistan and how Indian can compensate.
- New Delhi 07001 dated March 21, 1988 transmitting text of article in The Statesman reporting President Reagan is planning to name Jack Hubbard as next US Ambassador to India.
- New Delhi 07300 dated March 23, 1988 reporting on Indian interest in AEW Technology and avoiding arms race with Pakistan.
- ❖ New Delhi 07335 dated March 23, 1988 is a report of Ambassador Dean’s conversation with Ronen Sen on Afghanistan. The Indian Diplomatic Advisor to the PM said that “local Afghan commanders who are being courted by the Russians are more important to the outcome in Afghanistan than the resistance groups in Peshawar.”
- New Delhi 07366 dated March 24, 1988 entitled: “Meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi on the status of the Pak nuclear program. Gandhi said: “India had been given some samples from the Kahuta facility in Pakistan which would indicate that the uranium enrichment level at Pakistan’s Kahuta facility is very high.”
- New Delhi 07365 dated March 24, 1988: “Meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi on the status of Indian interest in Soviet AWACS aircraft”.
- New Delhi 08169 dated April 1, 1988: Indian Minister for Foreign Affairs warned “that the arms provided either by the US or the Soviet Union to elements in Afghanistan would be used by fanatical fundamentalists against Indians in the Punjab, against Pakistan dissident elements in Pakistan or against Saudi or other moderate Muslims.”
- New Delhi 8169 dated April 1, 1988 entitled: “Schultz-Shevardnadze discussion on Cambodia: Indian Minister of Foreign affairs shares view that Sihanouk is the only official to bring about a political solution to the Cambodian problem”.
- New Delhi 09509 dated April 15, 1988 subject: “Changing treatment of the US in the Indian media”.

- New Delhi 09906 dated April 20, 1988 entitled: "Gandhi's visit to Tokyo: Japanese Ambassador debrief."
- ❖ New Delhi 07276 dated March 23, 1988 entitled: "Handling Relations with Israel". Diplomatic advisor to PM says "that Prime Minister Gandhi is caught between his desire to improve gradually relations with Israel and the strong reaction at home against perceived Israeli repression of Palestinians in the occupied territories." PM Gandhi has decided that Indian Davis Cup team in tennis would not travel to Israel to play Israel, but if situation improves in Palestine, PM would in May: (1) authorize upgrading of Israeli Vice Counsel in Bombay to full consular rank; (2) Israeli's jurisdiction could be extended beyond its current limits in Maharastra to the Indian state of Karalla, where an ancient Jewish community exists in the city of Cochin."
- ❖ * New Delhi 10393 dated April 25, 1988 entitled: "Najibullah's visit to India: conversation with Ronen Sen". Ronen Sen spoke of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the leader of the seven party Mujaheddin Alliance in Peshawar, in the following manner: "He is a fundamentalist but also a zealot who would ruthlessly impose his brand of fundamentalist Islam on Afghanistan should he gain power." "If he took power, Hekmatyar's gratitude to the countries which had supported him in exile might disappear as quickly as Khomeini turned against his former French hosts."
- ❖ * New Delhi 10698 dated April 27, 1988 entitled: "Indian concerns in Afghanistan". "In the long run, India will not permit exclusive Pakistan influence in Kabul...Rather the government of India is deeply concerned over the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism of the Gulbuddin variety and what impact this may have on India's Muslims, on the Pakistani regime and the rest of the region, and therefore seeks a more balanced government in Kabul."
- New Delhi 10608 dated April 27, 1988 gives text of significant editorial in the Times of India on Indian thinking about the future of Afghanistan which is similar to the message set forth just above.
- ❖ * State 138777 dated May 3, 1988 repeats to Delhi an Islamabad message which reports on President of Pakistan Zia-al-Huq's thinking on "Pakistan, Afghanistan and India". He is reported to have said: "Pakistan does not want the same Afghanistan that existed from 1947-1978". "Pakistan believes that an important pay-off for the last eight years could be a secure border with Afghanistan and a government that looks more to Pakistan and its friends than to Moscow and Delhi for support."
- Washington State 156903 dated May 16, 1988 reports on Ambassador Dean's meeting in Washington on US Aid program to India with Deputy Administrator of AID. (Dean back on consultations)
- State 157332 dated May 17, 1988 reports on Ambassador Dean's meeting with the Deputy US Trade Representative on Trade matters. (J.G.D. in Washington on consultation).
- State 164504 dated May 21, 1988 reports on Ambassador Dean's meeting with the Secretary of Agriculture and on major increase of US agricultural exports to India in 1987/88. (J.G.D. in Washington on consultation).

- ❖ A January 1988 memorandum setting forth the State Department's Assessment of Fundamentalism and Islam in the Afghan Resistance.

File 9: J.G. Dean's chronological files of incoming and outgoing messages from American Embassy New Delhi (June – August 1988)

- New Delhi 13912 dated June 1, 1988 entitled: "Indo-Pakistani Relations". Ambassador Dean discusses (1)Zia's dismissal of the Junejo government; (2) AWACS or the M-1 tank for Pakistan; (3)The Science and technology initiative with India; (4) Zia thinks he can install a "friendly" government in Kabul.
- ❖ * New Delhi 14168 dated June 3, 1988 reports Ambassador Dean's meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi. Gandhi said: "Both the US and India shared a common goal of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. What follows in Afghanistan should be left to the Afghans to sort out for themselves." Rajiv said he had met with Najibullah because Najib is committed to keeping the fundamentalists like Hekmatyar from taking control of the government in Kabul. India can live with any kind of government in Kabul which is not run by the extreme Islamic fundamentalists. He wondered whether the American position wasn't quite similar." On the Pak-nuclear program, Gandhi said: "Isn't the progress made by Pakistan in the nuclear weapon program an achievement towards an "Islamic Nuclear Force"?"
- Islamabad 12034 dated June 5, 1988 American Embassy Islamabad's report on the visit to Pakistan of US Commander central, General George Crist and meetings with Pakistani Generals. (The fear of the "Russian bear". Example: Pak Generals state: "An Islamic Afghan Republic could be expected to join with Pakistan, Turkey, and "an Iran come to its senses" in an Islamic league to oppose southward Soviet expansion."
- Islamabad 12133 June 6, 1988: A message why President Zia moved against Junejo and forced his dismissal.
- New Delhi 14536 dated June 8, 1988: Ambassador Dean's meeting with Indian Defense Minister Pant at which following subjects were discussed: (1)Possible travel of Indian Defense Minister to the US; (2) Indo-US cooperation in Defense Production; (3) Gandhi's commitment to working with the US; (4) Sri Lanka; (5) AWACS; (6) Indo-Chinese relations; (7) Additional Indo-US cooperation in Defense Production.
- Islamabad 12246 dated June 8, 1988 in which Ambassador Raphael in Islamabad agrees with Ambassador Dean in Delhi that US sees Afghanistan strictly in terms of Soviet withdrawal, but India and Pakistan sees it in terms of meaning of an Islamic Bloc facing India.
- Islamabad 12110 dated June 6, 1988 entitled: "Zia decides against M-1 tank purchase". Zia prefers to purchase AWACS instead.
- From US Defense attaché message dated June 8, 1988 giving a report on the warm reception Ambassador Dean's speech received at the Indian National Defense College.
- Washington State 184610 dated June 8, 1988 reporting on meeting of Indian Ambassador Kaul with Under Secretary Armacost regarding AWACS for Pakistan.
- New Delhi 14557 dated June 8, 1988 regarding sale of AWACS to Pakistan.

- Bombay 2852 dated June 15, 1988 entitled: “Arrest of retired Indian Naval officer for attempting to smuggle classified documents on India’s Nuclear Submarine Project”.
- New Delhi 15508 dated June 20, 1988 reporting on meeting with Gopi Arora, considered the Grey eminence of the Gandhi government. Conversation centered on Afghanistan.
- New Delhi 18214 dated July 20, 1988 is a thorough study by the Embassy on the Indo-Soviet military Relations.
- Washington State 233140 dated July 20, 1988 reports on Indian Ministry of Defense Advisor Arunachalam’s meeting with Under Secretary Derwinski in Washington. Mr. Arunachalam (an important Indian player in New Delhi) said that “India would not export missile technology to other countries.” Arunachalam expressed concern that “US differences with India over missile technology could exacerbate our relations in the same way that fuel supply for the Tarapur reactor had been a sore point.”
- ❖ New Delhi 17560 dated July 14, 1988 entitled: “Israeli consular mission upgraded in Bombay.”
- New Delhi 18883 dated July 29, 1988 reports on Soviet Ambassador’s farewell call on Ambassador Dean. (It was the first time that a Soviet Ambassador ever came to the chancery in New Delhi.)
- ❖ State 231096 dated July 19, 1988 sets forth the text of President Reagan’s letter to President Zia of Pakistan. Letter concludes: “I know you recognize the positive effect in this country of the progress Pakistan has made under your leadership in developing durable, broad-based democratic political institutions.”
- Islamabad 17288 dated August 16, 1988 reports on President Zia’s press interview discussing Afghanistan, Indo-Pakistan relations and domestic politics. (Note: a rather strong attack on India’s policy in Afghanistan.)
- New Delhi 19965 dated August 10, 1988 entitled: “Iranian Envoy in New Delhi”.
- Islamabad 16982 dated August 10, 1988 entitled: “Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirms priority to AWACS”.
- State 258349 dated August 10, 1988 reporting on Under Secretary Armacost’s meeting with Indian Foreign Minister Rao in New York.
- New Delhi 20258 dated August 12, 1988 entitled: “US Policy regarding India and the Asian Development Bank”.
- 3 page unclassified paper reporting on President Zia’s August 13 press conference which was quite anti-Indian policy in Afghanistan.
- Washington State 281205 dated August 27, 1988 states that Washington “never found any convincing evidence of Indo-Soviet collusion against Pakistan.”
- New Delhi 21499 dated August 27, 1988 reports that Delhi press carried stories that 2 Soviet Helicopters captured in Pakistan. Same story is sent from American Consul Peshawar 2026 dated August 26, 1988. The press clipping (attached) claims Indians were in the helicopters. Other Pakistani newspapers deny that there ever was such an incident!!
- New Delhi 21502 dated August 27, 1988 is a message from Ambassador Dean to the Secretary of State urging the US government to turn good intentions and

- position public declarations into action. Gandhi needs visible US actions in response to Gandhi's opening toward the US.
- New Delhi 21570 dated August 29, 1988 gives the text of an article by the distinguished former Indian Foreign Secretary Jagat Melita which appeared in the August 29 edition of the Indian Express. It is entitled: "Toward better Indo-Pak relations." (Jagat Melita was a fellow at the Center for Foreign Affairs with John Gunther Dean at Harvard 1969-70 and remained friends with him and his family.)
 - New Delhi 21709 dated August 29, 1988 is entitled: "India moves into the World Financial Market: Goldman Sachs reaches an agreement with the State Bank of India to launch the Indian Bank into the US commercial paper market with an initial \$200 million offering. A first for India!"
 - New Delhi 21678 dated August 30, 1988 entitled: "Invitation to Prime Minister from President for Bilateral meeting at UN General Assembly". Dated suggested is September 27 but on that day Gandhi will be in Bhutan.
 - ❖ * Islamabad 18370 dated August 30, 1988 is entitled: "Ambassador Oakley's meeting with General Beg." Ambassador Oakley pledges continued US support for Pakistan. General Beg asked Ambassador Oakley to convey to the US media that the Pakistan military fully supported his decision not to take power" (after Zia's assassination). Beg said "there was a triangular conspiracy consisting of the USSR, Afghanistan and India aimed at destabilizing Pakistan". Beg said: "Pakistan and Afghanistan are now one. Two nations but one people. Beg denied the importance of the upsurge in Islamic fundamentalism and said that there would be no fundamentalist government in Afghanistan." Beg said "he looked forward to a 'strategic consensus' of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey which he termed a 'Grand Design'. No formal pact would be necessary, but such a consensus would create a new regional power equation and provide the US with new options for dealing with India, the Soviet Union, and the Mid-east." Meeting also discussed arms Iraq, Iran.
 - New Delhi 21865 dated August 31, 1988 is entitled: "Possible M1A1 Tank sale to Pakistan?" American Embassy Delhi questioned whether the tank sale is the correct way for US to show support for Pakistan.
 - Doha 02261 dated August 31, 1988 entitled: "Qatari's may reduce Pakistani contingent." Article states that Qatar is looking to India and possibly to Brazil for advisors and equipment in the military field to balance Pakistan.
 - ❖ Message dated August 31, 1988 from New Delhi points out that President Zia had decided NOT to buy M1A1 tank and now Pakistan and the US have decided to expedite the sale. India had made it clear that M1A1 tank is weapon to be used against India because in Afghanistan Soviets have decided to withdraw.
 - ❖ * USIS message from Washington repeating an article by Stuart Auerbach which appeared in the Washington Post on August 31, 1988. Article is entitled: "US shifts deliveries to Afghans." This is a key news item because it reports that US will deliver arms directly to forces inside Afghanistan and largely bypass factions based in Peshawar. Hekmetyar's star is dimming and Massoud and other internal commanders star is rising!

File 10: President Zia of Pakistan perishes in plane crash (and with him US Ambassador Raphel and US General Wassom): August 17, 1988

- State 268743 sets forth US knowledge or version of the facts of the accident in Pakistan. It is dated August 17 or 18, 1988 and hence is not based on any inquiry or investigation.
- New Delhi 20647 dated August 18, 1988 is Ambassador Dean's meeting with Indian Diplomatic advisor to PM on Zia's air crash.
- New Delhi 20535 dated August 18, 1988 is condolence message to widow of General Wassom in Islamabad. (Note: Ambassador Dean had received Ambassador Raphel and wife in New Delhi for a 3 day holiday in New Delhi 3 weeks earlier.)
- New Delhi 20606 dated August 18, 1988 gives names of Indian Delegation to Zia's funeral. President of India will lead a very large Indian delegation.
- Part of a telegram left with Indian Diplomatic Advisor on August 18, 1988 giving US reaction to Zia's death. [See item 2 above].
- New Delhi 20644 dated August 18, 1988 entitled: "Indian reaction to President Zia's death".
- New Delhi 20796 dated August 19, 1988 reports on Ambassador Dean's meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi at latter's request. Gandhi said: "We had differences with Zia but we also had a very good relationship." The Prime Minister noted that he had confidential contacts with Zia and hoped he could build this relationship with whoever follows him. On the cause of the crash, Gandhi said it was too early to tell. One report Indian intelligence had was that those responsible might have been some Shiites with access to the Air maintenance facilities at the airfield in Bahawalpur, who acted in retaliation for the assassination of the Shia leader Al-Hussaini in Peshawar. But Gandhi said he would keep J.G.D. informed.
- State 271603 dated August 19, 1988 and New Delhi's 20806 dated August 20, 1988 discuss possibility of an increase in tension between India and Pakistan. Washington worried that if the Indian government hears that General Beg and other Pakistani are making remarks that "a cell backed by India assisted in sabotaging Zia's aircraft" it could "envenom the atmosphere between the two countries."
- A handwritten note by J.G.D. that he has been informed that "4 coffins are being shipped for the victims of the crash." J.G.D. wonders: Ambassador Raphel and General Wassom = 2 dead. Why 4 coffins? Because the other 2 coffins are for the body guards of Ambassador Raphel (who only went on President Zia's plane in the last minute, instead of returning on the Embassy plane).
- ❖ ** A USIS message (unclassified): Ms. Sciolino's article which appeared in the October 19, 1988 issue of the N.Y. Times is sent to New Delhi. The article is entitled: "Zia crash: Two Views". Ms. Sciolino, writing from Washington, wrote: "In private, Pakistani officials criticized the US for making the maintenance of stable relations with Moscow a higher priority than getting to the bottom of the August 17 Pakistani Air Force Crash, in which all 30 people aboard died." Pakistani officials pointed to Soviet inspired sabotage. The US stressed the lack

- of evidence to support a sabotage theory and leaned toward mechanical failure. Washington “concluded that in the absence of technical explanations, the crash was most probably caused by a ‘criminal act of sabotage’.” The Pakistani report on the investigation “pointed to unusual quantities of various elements and chemicals that may be fashioned to make an explosive initiator-detonator that could have set off a secondary charge or activated a mechanical device.” The report also said “that it was a “distinct possibility that an odorless, colorless, undetectable chemical agent such as carbon monoxide may have been used to incapacitate the flight crew, even though the summary presented no concrete evidence to support that assertion.”
- A USIS message giving the text of A.M. Rosenthal’s article in the November 1, 1988 issue of the New York Times on the assassination of President Zia. He praises the Sciolino article [see above] and writes: “The State Department and the White House were plainly nervous about a crisis suddenly blowing up that could touch the Soviet Union.” Rosenthal writes: “American diplomats believe that the Russians will eventually pull out of Afghanistan, but not without trying to install a new and more respectable puppet government in Kabul. That would leave the resistance in control of the mountains and valleys but the Soviet Union and its Afghan supporters still strong in the fortified capital.”
 - New Delhi 21080 dated August 23, 1988 reporting Indian Foreign Secretary’s views on Afghanistan after Zia’s death.
 - US Defense Attaché, Islamabad, August 31, 1988 – Islamabad PK 18451 (interesting)
 - International Herald Tribune clipping dated October 6, 1988 from the *front page* reporting on “Two Orders said to have Freed CIA”. It discusses the intelligence authorizations signed by President Reagan in 1984 and 1985 for aggressive covert operations against terrorists that said any action taken under the orders would be “deemed lawful” if conducted in ‘good faith’.
 - Clipping from the San Francisco Examiner dated June 4, 1989 page A-11 entitled: “FBI probes Pakistan air crash sabotage.”
 - Bangkok Post article in June 26, 1989 carries headline: “Arafat offers to mediate in Afghan conflict”.
 - International Herald Tribune article in June 26, 1989 issue in which “State Department officials now admit they made a mistake in deciding to bar the FBI from Pakistan.” Heading of article is: “FBI will investigate crash that killed Zia” (*one year later*)
 - New York Times article in August 18, 1989 issue, entitled: “Defiant Pakistani crowd marks first anniversary of Zia’s death”. (page 8)
 - International Herald Tribune, August 24, 1989 article by Robert Kaplan entitled: “About Zia, US goals are served.”
 - International Herald Tribune, August 18-19, 1990, clipping, entitled: “Son Claims a cover-up in Zia’s Death”.
 - Washington Times editorial in December 6, 1989 issue entitled: “An FBI failure in Pakistan.”
 - International Herald Tribune, February 2-3, 1991 page 5 entitled: “The (Gulf) War’s Jarring Effect on Pakistan: Fissures with Unpredictable consequences”. It

writes: “On Monday, General Beg, the army chief of staff, made a speech in which he said that the Gulf War was part of the “Zionist” strategy that also guided Washington.”

- International Herald Tribune, June 8, 1991 entitled: “Evidence in Zia crash inconclusive, US says”.
- International Herald Tribune, September 4, 1989 pages 1 and 6 entitled: “Crowding the skies with Spying Eyes”. (Note: at time of Zia assassination, only US and Soviet Union had spy satellites in the air over South Asia).
- International Herald Tribune, September 4, 1989 page 1 and 6 entitled: “US and Pakistan shift Afghan Tactics.”
- International Herald Tribune, October 19, 1989 editorial by Jim Hoagland entitled: “America, the old days of covert action are gone”.
- International Herald Tribune, October 26, 1989 entitled: “Bush said to criticize rules on covert action”.
- International Herald Tribune, October 28-29, 1989 article is entitled: “US Senators yield on covert actions”.
- International Herald Tribune, October 18, 1989 article entitled: “Leeway sought for CIA – US is weighing new procedures regarding coups”. On the article CIA director Webster is interviewed and says “the Executive order barring involvement in assassinations had been interpreted as prohibiting US assistance in any coup that could lead to the death of a country’s leader.” Webster said he wanted the interpretation “relaxed”.
- International Herald Tribune, November 6, 1989 page 3 article is headed: “CIA chief says new legal view allows aid to coup plotters”.
- International Herald Tribune, September 29, 1989 p.1 entitled: “Palme case spin-off: why was Soviet Diplomat Bugged” (Note: This article is included in this file because Palme approved the sale of BOFORS guns to India which became a big scandal under Gandhi in which also US bank “Manufacturers Hanover” in Geneva, the Hinduja brothers, and the Indian Congress party were involved.) [See J.G.D.’s Oral History]
- Times of India, July 4, 1990, New Delhi. Article is entitled: “Pakistan’s Afghan Policy on Hold”.
- International Herald Tribune, February 6, 1990 page 4. Editorial entitled: “Wrong on Afghanistan”.
- The New York Times International, September 25, 1990 Article is entitled: “Bhutto’s Hunted Brother hoping to return”.
- Le Monde, Paris, August 13, 1992 entitled: “Le nouveau borbier afghan”. Article claims that after bringing about the collapse of the communist regime in Afghanistan, the country is now a struggle between clans and war lords.
- ❖ **Article in the Pakistan Defense Journal published in the late 1990’s by Khalid Hassan on Zia-al-Huq plane crash. It makes many of the points in Epstein’s article on Vanity Fair.
- ❖ ** Vanity Fair, June 1989 issue – article by Edward Jay Epstein, 18 pages on the “Great Cover-up” on who killed Zia. It is the most complete analysis and is key to trying to understand the August 17, 1988 event. [Also see J.G.D.’s Oral history in which he quotes freely from this important document.]

**J.G.D.'s comments on File 11 devoted to messages to and from American Embassy
New Delhi: September 1988**

By September 1988, according to State 289546 dated September 3f, 1988, the situation in Afghanistan had changed. (1) A close ally of the US, President Zia of Pakistan was dead. (2) The Soviet Union had agreed to a time table for a pull out from Afghanistan, and some of their forces had already left; (3) "the over-all trend in Afghanistan is clearly in the Mujahidia's favor"; (4) "the final Soviet pull-out will put the communist Najibullah regime in Kabul in a near impossible position"; (5) Washington continues to believe the regime in Kabul "will fall within 6 months of the withdrawal of Soviet forces and quite possibly sooner". (All these predictions did not materialize in 1988 or 1989, but much later.) (6) "Rather than squabbling among themselves, the Mujahadin, particularly the commanders inside Afghanistan, have shown unprecedented ability to work together. This has been a major facto in their success". (Subsequent events have proven the contrary to the predictions set forth in State 289546 dated September 3, 1988).

Since Washington no longer believed that a coalition government in Kabul was likely, it meant that Washington, New Delhi and Moscow were no longer in agreement as to who would govern Kabul. [See File 13]. A neutral or neutralist government in Kabul was no longer needed in Kabul, according to Washington. This meant that Gandhi felt that the US had changed course in Afghanistan and was no longer amenable to accommodate Indian complaints about the level of sophistication of arms delivered by the US to Pakistan (AWACS, M1A1 tanks, etc.).

If one adds to all these considerations US opposition to an official American inquiry into the plane crash on August 17, 1988 in which President Zia and his generals, the US Ambassador to Pakistan and an American general perished, the Indian and Pakistani establishments probably had reason to be concerned about American policy toward the area. US lip service to India's concern about Pakistan's efforts to acquire a nuclear capability added to Indian alarm. The steadfast support of certain elements in Washington for the Afghan Islamic fundamentalists – through the Pakistani Intelligence Service – was another reason for Prime Minister Gandhi's concern over US policy toward South Asia.

It is not within the realm of these papers to analyze the impact of US policy toward Afghanistan and South Asia in the 1980's on over-all US-Russian relations. These relations evolved after the total withdrawal from Afghanistan by the Soviets, and the destruction of the wall dividing Germany into a pro-western and pro-Marxist sphere of influence. Yet, it was the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan that led to basic changes in the Soviet Union in 1989 from which emerged the Federation of Russian States and the end of the Cold War.

File 11: J.G. Dean's chronological files of incoming and outgoing messages from Embassy New Delhi: September 1988 only

- Islamabad 18626 dated September 1, 1988 entitled: "Possible M1A1 Tank notifications". This message is in reply to New Delhi's August 31 message pointing out that Zia had opted for AWACS rather than M1 Tank. American Embassy writes that "we had received a letter of request from the GOP for an LOA covering 115 M1A1 tanks after June 5 conversation Ambassador Raphel had with Zia on that day" (Note: both men are dead as of September 1, 1988) Message continues: "finally, US reluctance to put M1A1 tank purchase to congress was before Zia's death, and increased Soviet pressure out of Afghanistan has changed the political equation."
- State 288773 dated September 3, 1988 entitled: "Invitation from President Reagan to Pakistan President Ghulam Ishaq Khan for meeting at the UN General Assembly".
- ❖ Washington State 289546 dated September 3, 1988 is a Washington assessment of the political-military situation in Afghanistan after the August 15 withdrawal of half of Soviet Forces. Message concludes: "Mujahidin cohesiveness in military and political planning has been impressive. Rather than squabbling among themselves, the Mujahidin particularly the commanders inside Afghanistan have shown an unprecedented ability to work together. This has been a major factor in their success." "In sum, the overall trend is clearly in Mujahidin favor. The final pullout of the Soviets will put the (Najib communist) regime in a near impossible position. We (US-Washington) continue to believe the regime will fall within six months of the withdrawal of Soviet forces, and quite possibly sooner."
- New Delhi 22180 dated September 3, 1988 entitled: "Soviet Defense Minister to visit Delhi."
- ❖ New Delhi 22176 dated September 3, 1988 entitled: "Storm clouds?" (half page)
New Delhi 22252 dated September 6, 1988 reports on Mr. Unna's article in the Indian newspaper "Statesman" from Washington. Article is on Afghanistan and also mentions possible Senate confirmation hearing for Ambassador-designate Hubbard to follow Ambassador Dean in New Delhi. New Delhi 22334 dated September 6, 1988 gives full text of Mr. Unna's analysis as it appeared in the "Statesman". It covers all aspects of US-Indian relations, including the naming of Professor Hubbard to replace Ambassador Dean in New Delhi. Article states: "State Department officials are puzzled over recent reports in the Indian press that the nomination of Professor John Hubbard of the University of Southern California to succeed Mr. John Gunther Dean as US Ambassador to India represents a change in Reagan Administration policy. It was explained that Mr. Dean's three year posting as a career Foreign Service officer has expired. Therefore, a replacement had to be made, even if Professor Hubbard, like all US Ambassadors, would be required to submit his formal resignation when a new US President takes over on January 20."
- Sec State 283155 dated August 30, 1989 discusses the Washington official's statement about "Three year rule" for ambassadors. It was a Deputy Assistant Secretary, Howie Schaefer, who talked to Warrant Unna who wrote the article in

the “Statesman”. The telegram from the Department said: “Howie put the matter in the context of the so-called “three year rule” and made clear that any suggestion this reflected a policy change was absolutely incorrect. Indeed, Washington is satisfied with our policy and the success of the embassy under the ambassador’s strong leadership, in carrying it out.”

- New Delhi 22279 dated September 6, 1988 entitled “Political pressures on Gandhi and Indo-US relations”.
- Kabul 02257 dated September 7, 1988 entitled “Soviet Ambassador denies attacks on Pakistan”. Soviet Ambassador Yegorychev said that the alleged Soviet bombings on Pakistan soil is “a provocation”, and pictures were produced “in Hollywood” to blacken Soviet image. (Note: J.G.D. served with Soviet Ambassador Yegorychev in Copenhagen, Denmark. From time to time, he sent messages through US chargé Glassman in Kabul to Ambassador Dean).
- Kabul 02260 dated September 7 reports further on Soviet denial of Soviet bombing in Pakistan. (Note: Propaganda war heats up!)
- New Delhi 22514 dated September 8, 1988 entitled: “Ambassador’s meeting with American business representatives.
- Nicosia 04611 dated September 9, 1988 entitle: “Government of Cyprus President George Vassiliou’s opening speech at the non-aligned conference. In his speech, which is similar to what Rajiv Gandhi would say, the head of the non-aligned group of nations says: “We hope that the heroic uprising of the Palestinian people has convinced everybody that the problem cannot be resolved with repression and violation of fundamental freedoms. A peaceful settlement in the Middle East, guaranteeing the security of all states in the region, can be reached through an international conference, involving all interested partners, including the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.”
- Kabul 02276 dated September 9, 1988 reports on Chargé Glassman’s conversation with the Indian Ambassador to Kabul.
- Two memoranda by Ambassador Dean dated September 11, 1988 written prior to leaving for consultation in Washington. One memorandum is entitled: “What we can do to send the right signals to India”. The second one is entitled: “Some random thoughts of Ambassador Dean on South Asia.”

J.G.D.'s comments on File 12 entitled "Consultation in Washington after the crash of President Zia's aircraft: September 1988

This file needs to be read in conjunction with the chapter on India in J.G.D.'s Oral History [see File 19]. Numerous pages in the Oral History are devoted to J.G.D.'s "consultations" in Washington in September 1988 and why it led to J.G.D.'s definitive departure from the US Foreign Service.

Instead of meeting with the policy makers in Washington, as indicated by the cables, thereby giving J.G.D. an opportunity to present views expressed in India on who killed the President of Pakistan on August 17, 1988 and for what reason, J.G.D.'s appointments in Washington never materialized. His sanity was questioned and his medical clearance was revoked. [See File 20]. He was not allowed to return to his pot in New Delhi. Instead, after consultation in Washington, J.G.D. was asked to proceed to Switzerland (where his family owns a property) and where he remained for 7 weeks for "recuperation". In early November, just before Election Day in America in 1988, J.G.D. was authorized to return to Washington.

Five months later, J.G.D. left the Foreign Service after receiving another prestigious State Department award for his service in India. The US government delayed an investigation into the crash of President Zia's plane until one year after the event. The findings of the Pakistani authorities carried out shortly after the crash did not meet with Washington's approval.

File 12: J.G. Dean's consultation in Washington after the crash of President Zia's aircraft: September 1988

- New Delhi 7860 dated September 6, 1988 is a message from Ambassador Dean to Assistant Secretary Richard Murphy in which J.G.D. asks to fly to Washington for a couple of days of consultation. J.G.D. writes: "it is essential for J.G.D. to return to Washington for meetings with the Secretary, Judge Webster (Director of CIA) and perhaps the Chief of NSA."
- State 291136 dated September 7, 1988 confirms that Secretary Murphy will be placing secure call to Ambassador on September 6.
- This is a memorandum from the communications office of the American Embassy in New Delhi informing J.G.D. that Assistant Secretary Murphy tried to place a secure telephone call to Ambassador Dean but the phone did NOT go secure. Three attempts failed. (September 7, 1988)
- Memorandum to Ambassador Dean from the communications officer dated September 7, 1988 explained that secure phone has been fixed but there is no need for phone call; a message is forthcoming from Assistant Secretary Murphy to Ambassador Dean on his consultations in Washington.
- Sec State 292980 dated September 8, 1988 informing J.G.D. that secure phone is not working but Washington wants to know J.G.D.'s arrival date.
- Sec State 297537 dated September 10, 1988 approving Ambassador Dean's consultation in Washington. Message states: "We look forward to seeing you in Washington early next week for high-level consultations. I know the Secretary shares the admiration we all have for your sense of service discipline in agreeing to return quickly to provide directly to him, Judge Webster, and other key figures here your assessment of the situation at this important time when so many critical questions affecting Indo-US relations and our sub-continent policy as a whole are rapidly evolving. I have taken all necessary measures to provide for your personal security during your visit."
- ❖ ** New Delhi 22523 dated September 8, 1988 from Ambassador Dean to Secretary Schultz. Following are excerpts from this message: "It is on the basis of my Asian career that I have come to the conclusion that our relationship with India is in a nose dive unless there are some changes made. On a different subject only marginally related to the broader issue at stake, I was sad to note that the White House decided to proceed on the nomination of Mr. Hubbard to succeed me as Ambassador to India. It is not that he is the wrong man or that he is not worthy of this honor. I know Jack Hubbard personally and am aware of his previous long association with India. It is just that the timing of the nomination is poor. I also find it bizarre that at a time we find ourselves in a particularly tragic situation in South Asia and Southwest Asia, at a time we need to have a recess appointment to fill the empty slot in Islamabad, that we proceed with nominating a political appointee to lead the embassy in New Delhi. It is essential for you to know that I (J.G.D.) am willing to give the President my resignation immediately. Above all, I feel genuine sadness at how the American public looks at Foreign Service Officers and what their role should be in the defense of our national interests.

I (J.G.D.) have appreciated the opportunity offered to me to serve my country as ambassador to India. As you and former Deputy Secretary Dam know, I (J.G.D.) never asked to be sent to India, despite the stories in the American newspapers at the time. I sincerely believed in the mission I was given when I left Washington in the summer of 1985 which was to improve Indo-US relations. I think there has been a significant improvement in that relationship over the last three years.

I (J.G.D.) fear, however, that the road ahead will be extremely bumpy. American policy towards India and Pakistan must have maximum bipartisan backing in the United States, if we are to succeed. Unless Republicans and Democrats can agree on some long-term policy, South Asia will know more turmoil. But then, Mr. Secretary, I (J.G.D.) believe that India is “a side show” to a much larger issue and that is how regional conflict fit into US-Soviet relations in the years to come. The American people will have to decide that problem.

I (J.G.D.) have devoted 40 years of my life to serving my country and I have tried to live according to a certain code of morality and ethics. I (J.G.D.) think you and I share this outlook.”

- Two memoranda dated September 11, 1988 by J.G.D. prepared for discussion in Washington. One is entitled: “What can be done to send the right signals to India” and the other “Some random thoughts of Ambassador Dean on South Asia”.
- New Delhi 25768 dated November 3, 1988 entitled: “Armed Attack on Government of Maldives”.
- State 362197 dated November 5, 1988 entitled: “Your efforts during the Maldives coup attempt”. It praises the American Embassy in India for the work on this issue. (J.G. Dean left his post on November 6 or 7 for Washington)
- US Foreign Service Evaluation Report on John Gunther Dean for the period April 11, 1988 to November 7, 1988.
- Three personal notes of letters addressed to John Gunther Dean:
 - a. Hand written note from the wife of Ambassador Raphael killed in the plane crash with President Zia. (dated August 19, 1988)
 - b. Type written note from Col. Douglas Cairns dated November 10, 1988 in which he expressed his pleasure for his working for J.G.D. Col. Cairns was the Air Attaché at the Embassy.
 - c. Handwritten note by George Sherman, 1st Secretary in the Political Section, dated January 18, 1989 congratulating J.G.D. for receiving the Distinguished Service Award and for thanking J.G.D. for his leadership in New Delhi.

John Gunther Dean's comments on File 13 containing the letters and messages exchanged between President Reagan and Prime Minister Gandhi: 1985-1988

As many other files bear out, US policy toward India was often based on American concern over India's reliance on the Soviet Union for supplying weapons and manufacturing them in India. Since Indian independence in 1948 until the Bangladesh War of Independence from Pakistan, the US had been the source of most weapons for the Indian Armed Forces. What happened to bring about this change? When the Indian Armed Forces asked for spare parts and ammunition from the US during the Bangladesh War (against Pakistan), the US refused to supply them, claiming such action would undermine its neutrality in this conflict. In addition, the US sent an aircraft carrier to Calcutta, apparently to show its displeasure over Indian intervention in the Bangladesh War. The Indians interpreted this as a slight of their sovereignty. From that day onward, India turned to the Soviet Union for the purchase or manufacturing in India of Russian weapons. As Rajiv Gandhi put it: "When we buy weapons, we don't want the supplier to tell us how and when we can use them." For the Indian leadership, denying India spare parts and ammunition for American weapons was an American political decision which India could not accept.

India's reliance on Soviet weapons obviously helped to strengthen India's links with the Soviet Union in other fields: economic, commercial, military and political. For example, the Soviet Union had no quarrel with India's policy of neutrality during the Cold War. As the correspondence in this file brings out, Mr. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union and Mr. Gandhi of India favored a non-aligned government in Kabul once the Soviet military had withdrawn. The Reagan administration did not like non-alignment or neutralism. And in the end, the Reagan administration backed away from the idea of a coalition government in Kabul as favored by the Soviet Union and India.

Another factor that could make for an uneasy relationship between the Reagan administration and the Gandhi government was the US supplying sophisticated arms to Pakistan. The US justified this relationship in part by the need to support the Afghan resistance fighting the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The Indians claimed that certain sophisticated weapons supplied to Pakistan are not really useable in Afghanistan (for example naval equipment), but are given by the US to arm Pakistan against India.

Another issue often raised in Mr. Gandhi's letters calls attention to Pakistan's efforts to acquire a nuclear capability. When the US authorities (Congress) tried to equate India's existing nuclear capability with Pakistani effort to attain that goal, Mr. Gandhi and the entire Indian establishment objected to the US planned legislation "twinning" Pakistan and India. The Reagan administration succeeded in convincing Congress to change the planned legislation.

In short, the correspondence between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gandhi turned around a few major issues:

- a. Getting the Soviet military to withdraw from Afghanistan in a fixed time-frame.

- b. Agreeing on the type of government Kabul would have after Soviet withdrawal.
- c. Pakistan's efforts to obtain a nuclear capability.
- d. The level of sophistication of US weapons supplied to Pakistan.
- e. Trying to reduce and interdict the flow of narcotics from that part of the world.

There is no doubt that the direct relationship between President Reagan and Prime Minister Gandhi, as well as Vice President Bush's personal links to Mr. Gandhi helped to prevent problems getting out of control. Both leaders were doing their best to defend the interests of their respective countries, but India – like the United States – has a sense of its “own destiny”. Hence India, regardless of who is Prime Minister, will pursue policies which it considers to be in her long term interests, regardless of what other major powers may say.

The correspondence in this file also shows that the warm personal relationship between the US and Indian leaders helped to contain differences. With time, some of these differences may disappear, but others will remain.

Since India's independence in 1948, the approach to India by various American administrations differed. Some helped India to develop economically and supported India's leadership of the non-aligned nations. Others concentrated on “the great game”. After the Bangladesh war, and especially after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, American administrations became increasingly concerned with containing Soviet expansion in South Asia. Has this changed with the end to the Cold War?

Hopefully diplomats, politicians, journalists and scholars will be able to consult these files without delay because they remain relevant to the problems of today.

File 13: Exchange of letters between President Reagan and Prime Minister Gandhi of India: 1985 – 1988

(Many letters devoted to Afghanistan, and to Indian concern over sophistication of US arms supplied to Pakistan and the Pakistani nuclear capability)

1985:

- SecState 291625 dated September 23, 1985 is letter from Vice President Bush to the Indian Prime Minister urging the latter to include Boeing aircraft in aircraft purchases to renew Indian fleet.
- SecState 381608 dated December 15, 1985 is a letter from President Reagan to Prime Minister Gandhi. President worries about nuclear competition in the subcontinent. "US will continue to support regional efforts aimed at achieving nuclear peace in the subcontinent." In this first letter to PM Gandhi, President Reagan also refers to the need for "an early negotiated settlement to the tragic conflict in Afghanistan." The President states: "We recently informed Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in writing of our readiness to accept the draft instrument on International guarantees, provided that the central issue of Soviet troop withdrawal is resolved."

1986:

- March 7, 1986: 3 page letter from President Reagan to Prime Minister Gandhi is devoted exclusively to nuclear matters between the US and the Soviet Union.
- September 8, 1986 letter from President Reagan to PM Gandhi expressing his condolences to the Indian nation at the loss of life in the hijacking of PanAm Flight 73.
- September 15, 1986 letter from President Reagan to Prime Minister Gandhi regarding combating drug abuse and drug trafficking. (Note: this letter transmitted to the Prime Minister on September 17 but the original signed copy was only delivered on October 6, 1986).
- October 20, 1986 letter from Vice President Bush to Prime Minister Gandhi regarding the recent attempt on Gandhi's life. Vice President Bush offers to cooperate with the Prime Minister in combating terrorism.
- November 21, 1986 letter from President Reagan to Prime Minister Gandhi regarding Afghanistan. President's letter is set forth in SecState 364282 dated November 22 and was transmitted to Indian leadership same day. President writes: "A military solution (in Afghanistan) is simply not possible "...we recognize Soviet interests in a secure southern border, just as we recognize Afghan desire for self-determination." "Our (US) objective is clear, namely to restore Afghanistan's non-alignment, independence and territorial integrity through the prompt and complete withdrawal of Soviet forces." Turning to arms sales to Pakistan, President claims Soviet escalation in Afghanistan requires

Pakistan to have an Early Warning Capacity (AWACS). Letter concludes: “I (President Reagan) urge you to use your talks with the General Secretary of the Soviet Union to discuss the need to hasten resolution of this issue (Afghanistan) which is of such great concern to people everywhere.”

1987:

- ❖ January 7, 1987 letter from Prime Minister Gandhi to President Reagan delivered by Indian ambassador to the State Department on January 28. The Department of State informed American Embassy New Delhi of the text in State 025803 dated January 30, 1987. Main points were: “Our (India’s) position in Afghanistan is that the country should be allowed to chart an independent, non-aligned course, free from intervention and interference.” Gandhi continues: “The Soviet Secretary General Gorbachev left me with the impression that the Soviet Union would like to withdraw its forces in a realistic time frame from Afghanistan which would be non-aligned and not unfriendly to the Soviet Union.” Regarding the US supplying AWACS to Pakistan, Gandhi writes: “The supply of AWACS aircraft to Pakistan would trigger a qualitative new phase in the arms race in our area and enhance tensions to dangerous levels.” Regarding Pakistan’s nuclear capability, Gandhi writes: “We (India) remain very seriously concerned at Pakistan’s nuclear weapons program. Pakistan’s military controlled and clandestinely acquired nuclear weapons capability cannot be seen in a bilateral context with India. The risk of nuclear weapons proliferation in our region is posed by Pakistan and that is where it must be addressed.”
- President Reagan’s letter addressed to Prime Minister Gandhi was hand delivered by Ambassador Dean on *March 25, 1987*. (Assume President’s letter is a couple of days earlier in date). President devotes most of the letter to Afghanistan. President writes: “What is needed is a short withdrawal time frame which would permit the Afghans themselves to resolve the question of a new government. Alternatively, a transitional government acceptable to all concerned could be established.” Reagan expressed “the hope that you (Mr. Gandhi) will intensify your dialogue with the Soviet Union.” On the nuclear issue, the President notes briefly that “the US will continue to do everything to press Pakistan on the nuclear program.”
- September 16, 1987: Prime Minister Gandhi’s letter to President Reagan thanking him for his message of felicitation on the agreement reached between Sri Lanka and India.
- October 4, 1987: Prime Minister Gandhi’s letter to President Reagan in which he thanks the President for approving the sale of the super-computer to India, and the early launch for the INSAT 1 satellite.
- November 2, 1987: President Reagan’s letter after PM Gandhi’s visit to the White House on October 29, 1987. (Note: a courtesy letter)
- December 4, 1987: Prime Minister Gandhi’s letter to President Reagan written after Prime Minister Ryzhkov’s visit to India. Mr. Gandhi writes: “Equally important, the Soviet Union shared our assessment that only a realistically

- balanced and representative coalition government in Afghanistan would contribute to stability in the region.” He continues: “There is common ground between the US and the Soviet Union in that both desire an independent, non-aligned and stable government in Afghanistan.” “We do think that it is in our interest as well as yours to avoid a situation where the fundamentalist elements gain an upper hand in Afghanistan.”
- December 18, 1987 set forth in State 391049: letter from President Reagan to Prime Minister Gandhi after President Reagan’s meeting with Mr. Gorbachev. President Reagan writes: “Mr. Gorbachev seems wedded to Najibullah’s unrealistic coalition approach rather than accept the need for a fresh start which would have the full support of the Afghan people.”
 - December 21, 1987: Vice President Bush’s letter to Prime Minister Gandhi. In addition to New Year’s greetings, the Vice President writes “that with the final revision of the Foreign Assistance Amendment, balance has been restored to our policy for South Asia.”
 - December 24, 1987: Handwritten letter from Mr. Gandhi to Vice President Bush thanking him for efforts in the Senate appropriation Committee on Foreign Assistance.
 - December 24, 1987: Letter from Prime Minister Gandhi to President Reagan. He writes: “I (Gandhi) had a meeting in Delhi today with Mr. Najibullah. He explained that the commitment made by the Soviet Union on the withdrawal of their troops has created conditions for a peaceful settlement of the problem. In his view, processes should now be set in motion for ensuring that the forthcoming proximity talks in Geneva result in a settlement that can ensure a non-aligned and an independent Afghanistan. I gave him our assessment of the over-all situation in Afghanistan that a broad-based government embracing all sections of opinion was needed for stability and orderly political evolution.” Mr. Gandhi also wrote: “We have contacted King Zahir Shah in Rome and proposed continued discussions with him.” Prime Minister Gandhi also expressed appreciation in his letter for intervention in the Senate Appropriation Committee to avoid linkage of the nuclear programs of India and Pakistan.

1988:

- ❖ ** February 8, 1988 Prime Minister Gandhi’s letter to President Reagan (also sent by message by Embassy to Washington, New Delhi 03213 dated February 8). Prime Minister writes: “This morning, I (Gandhi) received a message from General Secretary Gorbachev through first Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov that the Soviet Union would be willing to begin the withdrawal of their troops from May 15 and complete these withdrawals within a period of ten months on the understanding that agreements on the settlement would be arrived at by March 15. I have also been told that the Soviet Union will withdraw around half their troops during the first phase. This is a positive development. I (Gandhi) hope that the relevant agreement which have been discussed in the Geneva Process will be finalized soon.” I am confident that our two countries will remain in close

touch with regard to further developments for ensuring our common objective of an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan.”

After discussing Sri Lanka, Mr. Gandhi turns to the nuclear submarine on loan to the Indian Navy. He writes: “I (Gandhi) understand that some concern has been voiced with regard to the Soviet Union providing us (India) with a nuclear-powered submarine on lease. This submarine is essentially for training of our naval personnel. The reactor unit is sealed and the spent fuel is to be returned to the Soviet Union. There is a clear understanding that the submarine shall not be used in any manner in the event of any hostilities. There is thus no ground for any apprehensions.”

- February 16(?), 1988 President Reagan’s letter to Prime Minister Gandhi handed to Mr. Gandhi by Ambassador Dean on February 18, 1988. Letter is set forth in State 46565. Letter makes following points, among others:
 - 1) “The President very much appreciated your (Gandhi’s) advance notice of the Gorbachev announcement in your letter;
 - 2) He particularly appreciated your (Gandhi’s) emphasis to the Soviets on accepting modalities of withdrawal, including front loading.
 - 3) “We (the US) are convinced, as you apparently are, that the Najibullah regime cannot hold power without the Soviet Army. We (US) share the Soviet interest that post-settlement Afghanistan be independent, neutral, and non-aligned.”
 - 4) “We (the US) understand your concern that no Khomeini-like fundamentalist regime takes over in Kabul. Afghanistan historical and cultural experiences, along with the fact of a small Shi’a minority, argue strongly against such a development. The moderate political orientation of the Afghan resistance, as well as its strong ties to conservative Islamic governments and movements should be reassuring.”
- February 26, 1988: Letter from Prime Minister Gandhi to President Reagan mostly on narcotics problems.
- March 10, 1988 SecState 075829 is reply of President Reagan to narcotics problems raised in Gandhi’s February 26 letter.
- June 9, 1988 SecState 188405 dated June 11, 1988 is a letter from President Reagan to Prime Minister Gandhi hand-delivered by Acting Secretary Armacost at the United Nations. Letter deals with concern over proliferation of long range missiles (ballistic) and over nuclear arms control.
- ❖ July 20, 1988: Prime Minister’s letter to President Reagan in reply to June 9 message from president Reagan: Prime Minister Gandhi writes: “Afghanistan needs a broad-based government of national consensus, which is independent and non-aligned. This will be assured if the people of Afghanistan are left free to their own destiny, without outside intervention and interference. Nothing could upset this prospect more than the encouragement of fundamentalism. A fundamentalist regime in Kabul would not be in the interest of India or the United States. By its very definition, fundamentalism cannot be reconciled with the basic values which both of our countries cherish: democracy, equal rights for all citizens, equal status for women and other such human rights.” (This message is set forth in State

- 249966 dated August 3, 1988 and was passed in Washington to the State Department.)
- August 25, 1988: Short message from President Reagan to Mr. Gandhi expressing sympathy about the natural calamity which struck eastern India and Nepal.
 - August 30, 1988: Sec State 283286 asking New Delhi to transmit invitation to PM Gandhi from President Reagan to have bilateral meeting at UN General Assembly in New York. New Delhi: 21678 reports on text of invitation. Invitation is for September 27. Diplomatic Advisor Sen tells Ambassador Dean that Gandhi will be in Bhutan on September 27 but Foreign Minister Rao will attend UN General Assembly and would be honored to meet with US President.
 - September 3, 1988: New Delhi 22253 dated September 6 is PM Gandhi's reply that he can not attend September 27 meeting.
 - September 30, 1988 letter from President Reagan to Prime Minister Gandhi in which he refers to differences on intellectual property rights which has held up completing the extension of the Science and Technology Initiative.
 - Aide Memoire of the Indian Government – undated – concerning US-Pakistan Assistance Program. Indians are concerned about the Copperhead, a short range 165mm laser-guided anti-armor projectile which US government has decided to supply to Pakistan.

File 14: John Gunther Dean's departure from India (November 1988) (J.G.D.'s letter of resignation addressed to President Reagan; letter from Secretary Schultz in recognition of J.G.D.'s contribution to Indo-US relations; Prime Minister Gandhi's letter of farewell; etc.)

- Ambassador Dean's letter of resignation as US ambassador to India dated November 2, 1988. "I hope that I leave behind a legacy that will endure."
- Letter from Secretary Schultz to Ambassador Dean dated November 5, 1988 [State 361893]: "As you conclude your mission to India, I wish to take this opportunity to comment you for your role in the unprecedented success in improving relations between the US and India, a significant achievement of the Reagan Administration." "I wish to take this occasion to convey my personal appreciation and congratulations for your superb work in India, and for your outstanding contribution to the conduct of US foreign relations throughout your career."
- Letter from Under Secretary Armacost to J.G.D. dated September 23, 1988: "It is a monumental legacy that I am sure will endure."
- Letter from Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi dated November 1, 1988 to Ambassador Dean thanking him for his contribution to Indo-US relations. (sent to Washington New Delhi 27500 dated November 3, 1988) "Your efforts, in the interests of both our countries contributed in a large measure to these positive developments. We look forward to building our relationship further on these foundations."
- Letter from Indian Ambassador P.K. Kaul to the US dated January 4, 1989 addressed to J.G.D.: "Your stay in India coincided with a dramatic improvement in Indo-US relations; I am convinced of your seminal contribution to this process."
- Text of message received from Embassy New Delhi to be read at the ceremony in Washington when Ambassador Dean received the Distinguished Honor Award in the Department of State in February 1989.
- Press clippings (3) announcing the appointment of John Hubbard as US Ambassador to India – September 9, 1988.
- Clipping from the Newspaper "India abroad" published in the US dated November 18, 1988 page 14 entitled: "Dean says farewell to India".
- Farewell letter from J.G.D. in Span magazine, November 1988 with pictures of J.G.D. with Prime Minister Gandhi and another one with Mother Teresa.

**File 15: Briefing papers for Ambassador Dean's meetings with key Indian officials:
1985 – 1988**

- Briefing paper prepared in Washington in 1985 before J.G.D. traveled to India to assume his posting. Ten page document is entitled “US policy toward India in the field of security”.
- Briefing paper for meeting with Indian Ambassador-designate to Washington, P.K. Kaul, dated July 14, 1986. Fifteen subjects are covered in 15 pages.
- Briefing paper for meeting with Foreign Secretary Venkateswaran dated November 21, 1986. Five pages.
- Briefing paper for meeting with C.K. Arora, September 23, 1986. Mr. Arora is reported to be an influential policy advisor to the Prime Minister.
- Briefing paper for meeting with Ronen Sen, Dated September 24, 1986. Mr. Sen was Diplomatic Advisor to the Prime Minister.
- Briefing paper for meeting with Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Natwar Singh, dated February 20, 1987. Seven pages.
- Briefing paper for meeting with Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Natwar Singh, dated April 2, 1987. Nine pages for 6 subjects.
- Briefing paper for meeting with Minister for Foreign Affairs Tiwari dated April 9, 1987. Six pages.
- Briefing paper for meeting with Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Natwar Singh dated March 31, 1988. Two pages.

File 16: India: Letters to and from John Gunther Dean: 1985 – 1988

The letters in this file are divided into separate categories:

- 1) Correspondence with a prominent person with whom Ambassador Dean maintained a continuous relationship (specifically Mother Teresa and one of J.G. Dean's predecessors John Kenneth Galbraith)
- 2) Senior American Officials writing to J.G. Dean or through him to the Indian Prime Minister
- 3) Letters from Americans to J.G. Dean interested in interacting in some way with India
- 4) Letters from Indians to J.G. Dean.

Letters of particular interest have an asterisk * next the listing in the inventory.

A. Correspondence with a prominent person with whom Ambassador Dean maintained a continuous relationship:

1. * Mother Teresa: This correspondence is linked to a visa request. (Ambassador Dean had a direct relationship with her as explained at length in the Oral History of J.G.D.) [See separate file], 1988.
2. John Kenneth Galbraith: Letters from 1986 and 1988.

B. Senior American Officials writing to J.G.D. or through him to Prime Minister Gandhi:

1. Former Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher to J.G.D. dated December 21, 1984.
2. * Vice President George Bush to Rajiv Gandhi about J.G.D. dated August 1, 1985.
3. J.G.D. to the widow of Governor Harriman dated July 28, 1986.
4. Secretary Schultz to J.G.D. dated December 1, 1986.
5. Chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, US House of Representatives Walter Jones to J.G.D. dated December 9, 1986. (Congressman Jones played a role in the sale of the M1A1 tank to Pakistan)
6. * A memorandum of 11 pages by Secretary Weinberger written after his visit to India in 1986 presumably addressed to the President and a copy was sent to Ambassador Dean for his information only.
7. A letter [State 018211 dated January 21, 1987] "commending Embassy New Delhi as one of the best-managed posts in the bureau"
8. * Letter from Ambassador Dean to Prime Minister Gandhi dated January 22, 1987 on substantive issues.
9. * Copy of a letter from the Chairman and CEO of Occidental Petroleum to Vice President Bush dated February 26, 1987, with drop-courtesy copy to Ambassador Dean regarding Afghanistan.

10. Letter from Secretary Schultz to Prime Minister Gandhi dated October 8, 1987 conveyed to PM's office by Ambassador Dean.
11. Letter from Chargé Gordon Streeb to Prime Minister Gandhi conveying a letter from the Secretary of Defense, Weinberger, to Mr. Gandhi dated April 22, 1988.
12. Letter from J.G.D. to Mr. Grant Smith, Director in the State Department in charge of India, dated January 9, 1988.
13. Letter from Mr. James Whitehead to Ambassador Dean dated March 8, 1988
14. Letter from former UIS director Charles Wick to J.G.D. dated January 12, 1989.

C. Letters from Americans to J.G.D. interested in interacting with India:

1. * Letter from President of Washington and Lee University to Ambassador Dean dated March 3, 1986 (Note: The University loaned to J.G.D. the life sized painting of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart which was originally painted in the 18th century for an Indian Merchant in Calcutta. By bringing this famous painting back to India for J.G.D.'s tenure, it became a symbol of US-Indian friendship. It also became a major tourist attraction for visitors to India.).
2. Letters in the field of science and technology:
 - Captain F. Hauck, NASA astronaut to J.G.D. dated January 2, 1986.
 - J.G.D.'s letter to Professor Smullin of MIT dated June 17, 1988
 - J.G.D.'s letter to Dr. Jerome Wieser, President Emeritus of MIT dated March 14, 1988
 - Letter from the Director of International Studies at MIT to J.G.D. dated May 10, 1988.
 - Letter of J.G.D. to Mrs. Glazer dated June 6, 1988.
 - Letter of J.G.D. to Spanish scientist who came to India under auspices of the National Institute of Health, dated November 24, 1987 (and attachments).
 - Letter from the Director of the National Science Foundation, Erich Bloch, to J.G.D. dated May 19, 1988
 - Letter to J.G.D. from the Vice President for the Population Oncology (tumor studies) of the Fox Chase Cancer Center, Baruch Blumberg, dated February 11, 1988.
3. Letter from J.G.D. to the widow of Chester Bowles, one of America's early Ambassadors to India, dated June 17, 1986
4. Letter from the President of the Ford Foundation, F. Thomas, to J.G.D. dated November 20, 1986.
5. Letter to J.G.D. from or on behalf of Robert Ingersoll, dated March 31, 1988.
6. Letters in the field of business
 - Letter from and to Philip Beekman, Chairman of a drug store chain, dated December 21, 1987 and January 6, 1988
 - Letter from the Office of Trade and Investment of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to J.G.D. dated November 29, 1987.
 - Letter from the Chairman of Citicorp, Mr. John Reed, to J.G.D. dated December 1, 1986

- Letter and telegram of the Chairman of International Financial Services, G. Dudley to J.G.D. dated February 14, 1986 and March 27, 1986.
- 7. Letters in the field of Culture
 - Letter from the Librarian of Congress Emeritus Daniel Boorstin to J.G.D. dated October 29, 1987.
 - Letter from J.G.D. to Mr. and Mrs. Herwitz (re: Indian paintings) dated December 4, 1986

D. Letters to or from Indians to John Gunther Dean

1. Courtesy copy to J.G.D. from the Chairman of Arvind Mills to the Office of International Trade and Investment, Commonwealth of Massachusetts dated November 25, 1987.
2. Telegram from the Chief Minister of Karnataka (Bangalore) to J.G.D. dated October 12, 1986.
3. Letter from Dr. Kothari to J.G. Dean dated October 17, 1986.
4. Letter from the Chairman, S.L. Kirloskar, of Kirloskar Oil Engines Limited to J.G. Dean dated September 27, 1986.
5. * Letter from Mrs. Sonia Gandhi to J.G.D. dated February 28, 1986. Letter from J.G. Dean to Mrs. Gandhi dated February 25, 1986. Letter from J.G. Dean to Mrs. Gandhi dated December 30, 1985 inviting Mrs. Gandhi to view the famous Gilbert Stuart painting at the Ambassador's residence. [See C-1 above]
6. Letter from J.G.D. to Mrs. Gandhi dated August 20, 1988 and Mrs. Gandhi's reply September 3, 1988.

File 17: Information submitted by American Embassy New Delhi to the State Department's Legal Advisor regarding the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation's efforts looking into the activities of Michael Deaver in India: 1985 – 1986

- Letter from the President of the Association of Indian Engineering Industries dated October 30, 1985 thanking Ambassador Dean for arrangements made for his trip to the US.
- Letter from Michael Deaver to Ambassador Dean dated March 11, 1986 informing J.G.D. that he is coming under the sponsorship of the Indian Engineering Industries Association to India.
- Message sent by telex by J.G.D. to Michael Deaver dated March 1986 offering hospitality at the residence.
- Message from Michael Deaver to J.G.D. informing him that arrangements are being made for meetings in India by Indians. Message is dated April 1, 1986. M.R. Deaver will visit also Bombay.
- Letter from President of Indian Engineering Association to Michael Deaver expressing delight that he is coming.
- Message from Ms. Cooper to J.G.D. that she is not coming on this trip. April 7, 1986.
- Program of visit of Mr. Michael Deaver "coordinated by the Association of Indian Engineering Industry for April 9-14, 1986.
- Letter of the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations addressed to Secretary Schultz about Michael Deaver. Letter is dated June 27, 1986.
- Three messages from the Commercial Attaché to Mr. Deaver on the arrangements for the visit. (One message was only coordinated by the Commercial Attaché)
- US Info message from Washington repeating text of New York Times article dated May 5, 1986 entitled: "Deaver's trip to India and a matter of trade."
- Copy of page 12 of the July 15, 1986 edition of India Today about Deaver's trip to India.
- New Delhi 16601 dated July 9, 1986 is Ambassador Dean's 4 page reply to request for information on Deaver's trip to India and his links to Ambassador Dean.
- Message through non-state channels to Charles Hill Executive Assistant to the Secretary, to be passed to Secretary Schultz reporting on Deaver's meetings in India and how Gandhi saw the visit. Message is probably dated April 15, 1986.

**File 18: What role did the House of Hinduja play in advancing US-Indian relations?
1985 – 1988**

- Letter from J.G.D. to S.P. Hinduja dated November 15, 1985.
- Letter from S.P. Hinduja to Ambassador Dean dated April 21, 1986.
- A one page summary on “The Hinduja Group of Companies”.
- A 5 page typed paper entitled: “The Hinduja Group of Companies”.
- A 12 page typed paper setting forth the professional activities and investments of the Hinduja Group plus their extensive humanitarian activities financed by the Hinduja Foundation.
- The “Forbes” edition of December 28, 1987 which has on its cover pictures of the 4 Hinduja brothers with a heading: “The Mysterious Hinduja brothers – Where does their money come from?”
- New Delhi 13467 dated May 23, 1988 prepared by the Commercial Section entitled: “The Hinduja Group”.
- ❖ New Delhi 26726 dated October 26, 1988 addressed by J.G.D. to Under Secretary Mike Armacost. J.G.D. writes: “The last time I met with Assistant Secretary Murphy (in May 1988) he asked me about the “Hinduja Brothers”. He was only one of many in Washington who had talked to me about them. When I was in Washington last month (September 1988), I desperately tried to give you and Charlie Hill information to help you make wise decisions. Unfortunately I came away with the impression that nobody wanted to hear me out and that my sanity was questioned. I resent the latter enormously and would like to discuss this with you next month.”

File 19: The chapter on India (81 pages), part of the Oral History of Ambassador John Gunther Dean, bringing together a series of interviews conducted over a period of seven years (1996-2003) by the Director of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training in Arlington, Virginia on Ambassador Dean's life and professional career

- The 81 pages on India in the Oral History of John Gunther Dean (the entire Oral History of J.G.D. is 419 pages and is also available from the Library of Congress working together with the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training)
- A copy of Edward Epstein's incisive article in Vanity Fair, June 1989 entitled: "How General Zia went down" with subtitles: "What caused the mysterious crash?"; "Who did it?"; "and why was there a cover up?" [The same article is also part of the folder on Zia's plane crash – August 17, 1988 – File 13].

File 20: India: Does John Gunther Dean have “mental problems”? His State Department medical file for 1988 – 1989

It is unusual that the documentation on John Gunther Dean’s Service in India should end with a folder on his physical and mental state of health. And yet it does. The reason is perhaps best stated in J.G.D.’s letter dated October 19, 1988 to the President of the Association of American Medical Colleges in Washington, DC, Dr. Robert G. Petersdorf: “I (J.G.D.) would like to get you involved in an excellent medical check-up in November because I have full confidence not only in your outstanding medical knowledge but also in your unimpeachable ethical standards. I (J.G.D.) am not equally sure about the State Department’s standards.”

What happened? Dr. David Kosh, the Regional Medical officer stationed in New Delhi wrote in the late summer to the Director of the State Department’s Medical Service that J.G.D. is “under stress” and that he worried about J.G.D.’s “possible personality changes”. Therefore he urged examination of J.G.D.’s state of health. When J.G.D. returned on consultation in September 1988, instead of being received by the key US personalities in Washington about the assassination of the Pakistan President Zia-al-Huq [File 13 on India], J.G.D.’s mental health was questioned. He was sent by the Department of State to his house in Switzerland for rest and recuperation, instead of returning to his post in New Delhi! He stayed in Switzerland for 6 weeks instead of returning to his post after his consultation in Washington. [Note: The Oral history of J.G.D. sheds further light on this period.]

After J.G.D. resigned from his India assignment in early November 1988, he returned to Washington where he underwent many medical examinations, primarily examinations linked to his mental failings. His medical clearance was withdrawn, his security clearance was lifted. (Note: Both clearances were reinstated several days before J.G.D.’s definitive departure from the US Foreign Service at the end of April 1989.

The following are the medical papers in J.G.D.’s possession for that period:

- Undated letter from David Koch, M.D., Regional Medical Officer stationed in New Delhi (cited above).
- Letter from the President of the Association of American Medical Colleges to J.G.D. dated October 18, 1988.
- Letter from J.G.D. to the President of the Association of American Medical Colleges dated October 19, 1988.
- Letter from Dr. John Hughes to J.G.D. dated December 5, 1988 giving the results of the medical examination. Dr. Hughes practicing in Washington, DC, was J.G.D.’s private physician.
- Letter from the Medical Director of the State Department addressed to J.G.D. dated January 27, 1989. (Note: On January 23, 1992 J.G.D. talked to Dr. Goff who at that time was Regional Medical officer at the American Embassy in Bangkok. J.G.D. was there on private business. Dr. Goff stated on that date “that

medical clearance” 3 years earlier in Washington “had been withheld for bogus reasons.”

- Letter from Dr. Ramon Jenkins, a neurologist, to the neurologist at the State Department, Dr. Eggertsen, dated December 12, 1988 giving the results of his examination of J.G.D. (4 pages).
- January 23, 1989 report from the Academic Imaging Center on the scanning of J.G.D.’s brain to the State Department Medical Service. (1 page).
- Letter from Dr. Hughes (J.G.D.’s private doctor) to the neurologist at the State Department Medical services, Dr. Eggertsen, dated December 28, 1988 on his examination of J.G.D. (2 pages).
- State Department’s Medical File dated February 16, 1989 (25 pages) (including results of the Academic Imaging Center).
- State 253684 dated August 9, 1989 evaluating the performance of Dr. Frederick Summers, the neurologist at New Delhi, and State 284867 dated September 6, 1989 also evaluating Dr. Summers’ performance. (Dr. Summers and Ambassador Dean were tennis partners. When J.G.D.’s mental health was questioned, Dr. Summers expressed doubt about the evaluation put forward by certain neurologists in Washington about J.G.D.’s inability to carry out his functions. Dr. Summers was punished for his efforts to speak up for the truth as he saw it.)
- Addresses in the 1990’s of two people with the State Department who were involved in this issue. The Secretary General or Director General of the Foreign Service at the time, Ambassador George Vest, discussed the matter with J.G.D. in the year 2002.

File 21: Photographs

Contents

- J.G.D. presenting credentials to the President of India: September 6, 1985
- Arrival of the US envoy at the Presidential Palace in new Delhi escorted by Bengal Lancers
- President Reagan with Prime Minister Gandhi at the White House, October 20, 1987
- J.G.D. with Vice President Bush prior to taking on his assignment to India, 1985
- Three photographs with key American and Indian leaders involved in the US-Indian Commission, 1987
- Farewell pictures of J.G.D. with Prime Minister Gandhi and sister Teresa, 1988