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FOR THE SECRETA; Y FROM WARREN CHRISTOPHER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1,2,3,

AGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), PARM, SF

SUBJECT: PUSSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM

REF: (A) PRETORIA 4021; (B) STATE 188207 (TOSEC 050319)

WE ARE BEING STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO CONTACT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ON THE MUCLEAR DEVELOPMENTS WITHOUT DELAY. I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR APPROVAL OR COMMENTS ON THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FOR PRETORIA.

BEGIN TEXT:

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NUCLEAR TEST FACILITY. THIS EVIDENCE, WHEN COMBINED WITH PRIOR EVIDENCE OF AN UNSAFEGUARDED ENRICHMENT PLANT CAPABLE OF PRODUCING HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM, AND EVIDENCE OF WEAPONS RELATED R&D, MAKES IT APPEAR LIKELY THAT SOUTH AFRICAMS ARE EMGAGED IN NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES PROGRAM, AND ARE FURTHER ALONG THAN ME PREVIOUSLY REALIZED.

- 2. LONGER-RANGE STRATEGY FOR PREVENTING SOUTH AFRICA FROM BECOMING A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE, AS WELL AS FOLLOW-ON STEPS WE AND OTHERS MIGHT TAKE TO ACHIEVE THAT GOAL, ARE STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION HERE. HOWEVER, THE SITUATION IS SUFFICIENTLY SERIOUS TO JUSTIFY IMMEDIATE ACTIONS TO WARN THE SOUTH AFRICANS IN UNAMBIGUOUS TERMS OF THE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES OF A NUCLEAR TEST OR OTHER STEPS IN THE DIRECTION OF ACQUIRING NUCLEAR MEAPONS.
- 3. AMBASSADOR IS ACCURDINGLY REQUESTED TO DISCUSS ISSUE WITH BOTHA AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, DRAWING ON THE FULLOWING POINTS.
- (A) WE HAVE NOTED YOUR PREVIOUS ASSURANCES THAT YOUR NUCLEAR PROGRAM IS DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO PEACEPUL PURPOSES, HOWEVER, THE POSSESSION BY SOUTH AFRICA OF AN UNSAFEGUARDED ENRICHMENT PLANT, AND YOUR PERSISTENT DELAY IN ADHERING TO THE MPT, HAVE ALMAYS BEEN GROUNDS FOR CONCERN. NOW, ON THE BASIS OF OUR INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION, HE HAVE SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE WHICH APPEARS TO BE CONTRARY TO YOUR ASSURANCES.
- (B) IN LIGHT OF THE GRAVE IMPLICATIONS, THE PRESIDENT HAS INSTRUCTED HE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE DETONATION OF A HUCLEAR DEVICE--WHETHER A NUCLEAR HEAPON OR A SU-CALLED

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TELEGRAM

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PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE -- OR ANY FURTHER STEPS TO ACQUIRE

OR DEVELOP A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITY WOULD HAVE THE MUST SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS, AND HOULD BE CONSIDERED BY US AS A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE PEACE.

WE HAVE THIS MATTER UNDER URGENT CONSIDERATION, (0) AND WILL RAISE WITH YOU IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS THE STEPS WE BELIEVE ARE NEEDED TO RESULVE THIS ISSUE. HOWEVER, IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, HE BELIEVE IT IS IN YOUR DWN INTEREST TO PUT THESE CUNCERNS TO REST. ASSURANCES, SUCH AS THOSE GIVEN ON AUGUST 10 BY VAN DALSEN CANNOT RESULVE THESE DOUBTS. INSTEAD, WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD FIND MEANS TO DEMONSTRATE, IN A PUBLICLY PERSUASIVE PAY, THAT THE KALAHARI FACILITY IS NOT A MUCLEAR TEST SITE, AND THAT YOUR PILOT ENRICHMENT PLANT IS NOT AND WILL NOT BE USED TO PRODUCE ENHICHED UNANIUM FOR ANY EXPLOSIVE PURPOSE,

IF ASKED WHAT THE US PROPUSES TO DO GY WAY OF A LONGER-RANGE RESULUTION, YOU SHOULD INDICATE WE HAVE NOT YET MADE UP OUR MINUS, BUT NOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY ANY SUGGESTIONS THE SAG HAD AS TO HOW THE SITU-ATION COULD BE ERBUSHT TO A SATISFACTURY CONCLUSION.

HE EXPECT TO CONSULT IN STRICTED CONFIDENCE WITH A LIMITED NUMBER OF ALLIES IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS BEFORE DECIDING ON NEXT STEPS. I ROULD RELCOME YOUR COMMENTS AND RECUMPENDATIONS ON BOTH NEXT STEPS AND LONGER-RANGE STRATEGY. END FYI.

END TEXT.

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