

## Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:RBARRY/HFO  
APPROVED BY THE ACTING SECRETARY  
T/D: J.NYE (DRAFT)  
AF: WEDMONDSON  
S/ PKREISBURG (DRAFT)  
IO: GHELMAN (DRAFT)  
P: GMOOSE (DRAFT)  
ACDA: RWILLIAMSON (DRAFT)  
S/S:DANDERSON

-----121422 202216Z /65

O 202153Z AUG 77 ZFF6  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT IMMEDIATE  
USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE  
INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 199063 TOSEC 090013

NODIS  
CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, TECH, US, SF

SUBJECT: CONTINGENCY STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR  
PROGRAM FOR LAGOS CONFERENCE

1. THE FOLLOWING IS A CONTINGENCY STATEMENT FOR ANDY  
YOUNG'S USE AT THE LAGOS CONFERENCE, PREDICATED ON THE  
ASSUMPTION THAT SAG HAS NEITHER GIVEN THE ASSURANCES WE HAVE  
REQUESTED NOR FLATLY REFUSED TO GIVE THEM BY THE TIME THE  
ISSUE ARISES AT THE LAGOS CONFERENCE. AS YOU KNOW, THIS IS

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THE WAY THE SITUATION STANDS AT PRESENT.

2. IF YOU AND THE WHITE HOUSE CONCUR IN THIS TEXT, WE  
PROPOSE SENDING IT TO BOWDLER IN PRETORIA WITH INSTRUCTIONS  
TO TELL SAG THAT IF WE DON'T HAVE THE ASSURANCES WE  
REQUESTED BY MONDAY, ANDY WILL MAKE THE STATEMENT TO THE  
LAGOS CONFERENCE.

3. BEGIN TEXT: PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MADE THE CURBING OF THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ONE OF HIS TOP FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES BECAUSE OF HIS DEEP CONVICTION OF ITS IMPORTANCE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITIES TO INCREASING NUMBERS OF COUNTRIES

WOULDTHREATEN REGIONAL STABILITY, ENDANGER WORLD SECURITY AND DRAMATICALLY INCREASE THE RISK OF A GLOBAL NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

4. WE HAVE ADOPTED NEW POLICIES IN THE FIELD OF NON-PROLIFERATION AND NUCLEAR EXPORTS DESIGNED TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITIES WHILE MEETING THE WORLD'S LEGITIMATE ENERGY NEEDS, BUT WE CANNOT ACHIEVE THIS GOAL ALONE. ALL NATIONS, REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL PERSUASION OR IDEOLOGY, MUST REFRAIN FROM CONTRIBUTING TO OTHER NATION'S EFFORTS TO ACQUIRE A NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. THIS IS A KEY PROVISION OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY TO WHICH 102 NATIONS HAVE ADHERED. THE UNITED STATES HAS AND WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE ALL STEPS IT CAN, TOGETHER WITH OTHERS OR INDEPENDENTLY, TO URGE THE WIDEST POSSIBLE ADHERENCE TO THIS TREATY.

5. IT HAS LONG BEEN A SOURCE OF CONCERN TO US THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT A PARTY TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND  
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HAS HAD FOR SOME TIME A PILOT URANIUM ENRICHMENT PLANT NOT UNDER INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS. IN ORDER TO USE OUR INFLUENCE AS A SUPPLIER TO CREATE AND STRENGTHEN SAFEGUARDS AGAINST NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, WE CONTINUED, UNDER STRICT INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS, A LIMITED PROGRAM OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA. WHILE IT IS OUR FIRM DETERMINATION TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD, WE WOULD VIEW WITH PARTICULAR CONCERN SOUTH AFRICA'S ACQUISITION OF A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITY. THE INTRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES INTO THE ALREADY TENSE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD HAVE TO BE REGARDED WITH UTMOST SERIOUSNESS.

6. RECENTLY, OUR CONCERN OVER SOUTH AFRICA'S NUCLEAR PLANS HAS GREATLY INCREASED.

7. WE HAVE BEEN CONDUCTING INTENSIVE AND URGENT DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN RECENT DAYS. IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY, WE HAVE SOUGHT FIRM ASSURANCES WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO US AND MADE PUBLIC TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY. WE HAVE ASKED THE SOUTH AFRICANS, AT A MINIMUM, TO:

--PROVIDE FIRM ASSURANCES THAT THEY ARE NOT MAKING PREPARATIONS TO TEST NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES;

--MAKE A SOLEMN PLEDGE THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE OR INTEND TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES FOR ANY PURPOSE, PEACEFUL OR OTHERWISE;

--ASSURE US THAT THERE WILL BE NO NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE TESTING OF ANY KIND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

WE HAVE ALSO INTENSIFIED OUR EFFORTS TO GET SOUTH AFRICA TO PLACE ALL ITS NUCLEAR FACILITIES UNDER FULL INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND TO DECLARE PUBLICLY ITS INTENTION TO  
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ADHERE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY WITHOUT DELAY.

8. AT THIS STAGE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED THE ASSURANCES THAT WE HAVE REQUESTED. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THEY WILL BE FORTHCOMING AND THAT THERE WILL BE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT FROM SOUTH AFRICA THIS WEEK. WE ARE MONITORING SOUTH AFRICAN PERFORMANCE CLOSELY. WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE CONSEQUENCES OF SOUTH AFRICAN VIOLATION OF SUCH PLEDGES WOULD BE EXTREMELY GRAVE, BOTH IN TERMS OF U.S.-SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS AND SOUTH AFRICAN TIES WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD.

9. IF ADEQUATE SOUTH AFRICAN ASSURANCES ARE NOT FORTHCOMING IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, WE SHALL UNILATERALLY SUSPEND ALL FORMS OF NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA FORTHWITH AND INSTITUTE OTHER IMMEDIATE STEPS, UNILATERALLY AND IN CONCERT WITH OTHER NATIONS (INCLUDING AN URGENT MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL).

10. SOUTH AFRICA NOW HAS A SERIOUS CHOICE TO MAKE. IT CAN CHOOSE TO DEFY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND TO REFUSE TO RESOLVE QUESTIONS ABOUT ITS PEACEFUL NUCLEAR INTENTIONS, OR IT CAN TAKE THE FAR MORE PROMISING PATH OPEN TO IT: PROVIDE THE URGENT ASSURANCES WE HAVE REQUESTED, FOLLOWED BY PROMPT ADHERENCE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, RAPID PROGRESS IN THE NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS, AND AN END TO THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID. THIS WOULD MARK A DECISIVE TURNING POINT IN SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH US AND THE WORLD.

11. THIS IS THE OUTCOME WE PRAY FOR. END TEXT.

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12. PROPOSED TEXT: APPROVE ..... DISAPPROVE .....

BRACKETED PORTION, PARA 9: APPROVE .....

DISAPPROVE .....

13. WE HAVE DELIBERATELY OMITTED FROM THE STATEMENT ANY MENTION OF OUR INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA'S NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES. SHOULD YOU CONSIDER IT DESIRABLE, HOWEVER, WE COULD ADD A SECOND SENTENCE TO PARAGRAPH 6 ABOVE AS FOLLOWS:  
"WE HAVE OBTAINED EVIDENCE THROUGH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS THAT CERTAIN RECENT SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE KALAHARI DESERT BEAR SOME OF THE EARMARKS OF PREPARATION FOR A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE TEST."  
APPROVE ..... DISAPPROVE .....

14. AFTER FOREGOING WAS DRAFTED WE GOT TELEPHONED STATUS REPORT FROM BOWDLER IN PRETORIA SAYING THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED CRYPTIC CALL FROM BRAND FOURIE TO EFFECT THAT THERE WAS NO PROBLEM WITH THE FIRST THREE POINTS (I.E., THE THREE REQUESTED AFFIRMATIONS) WE HAD PUT TO HIM AND THAT, REGARDING THE LAST PARAGRAPH (CONCERNING NPT ADHERENCE) FOURIE WANTED TO TALK TO BOWDLER ON SUNDAY. FOURIE THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SAY SOMETHING PUBLIC EARLY NEXT WEEK. BOWDLER ESTIMATED HE WOULD SEE FOURIE SOMETIME BETWEEN 0900 AND 1300 GMT AUGUST 21. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, POLICIES, TOSEC, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS, NUCLEAR TESTS, CAT-B, CHEROKEE 08/20/77  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**SAS ID:** 1537653  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CONTINGENCY STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM FOR LAGOS CONFERENCE  
**TAGS:** PGOV, TECH, MNUC, PARM, PPDC, US, SF, (CARTER, JIMMY)  
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**Type:** TE  
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