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FROM: VIENNA

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TO: Secretary of State

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PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 2081, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 111.

EMBTEL 2065, LONDON 4448 TO DEPT.

USREP BELIEVES THERE IS NO CHANCE OF SATISFACTORY PROGRESS ON SAFEGUARDS IN APRIL BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING UNLESS STRONG, UNWAIVERING SUPPORT IS GIVEN BY COMMONWEALTH GOVERNORS. HE THEREFORE CONCERNED ABOUT UK SAFEGUARDS POSITION INDICATED BY MICHAELS IN LONDON'S 4448 TO DEPARTMENT BECAUSE MINISTERIAL LEVEL DECISION TO APPROACH US ON QUESTION QUOTE WHETHER SAFEGUARDS HAVE A FUTURE UNQUOTE WOULD INHIBIT MICHAELS IN BOARD OF GOVERNORS SAFEGUARDS DISCUSSIONS AND HIS PROBABLE PASSIVE ATTITUDE THEREIN UNQUESTIONABLY WOULD BE FOLLOWED PROMPTLY BY SOUTH AFRICA AND AUSTRALIA AND POSSIBLY BY CANADA. IN FACT, THERE WOULD ALSO BE STRONG PROBABILITY THAT SOLE WOULD SPREAD WORD THAT WESTERN POWERS WERE PREPARING ABANDON SAFEGUARDS AS HOPELESS IN LIGHT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. IF CAMPAIGN FOR INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS COLLAPSES OR IS SHELVED INDEFINITELY, ONUS FOR SUCH RESULT SHOULD BE PLACED SQUARELY ON DOORSTEPS SOVIETS AND INDIANS. IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THE RECORD SHOW THAT WESTERN POWERS BE THROWN IN THE TOWEL WITHOUT ONE MORE ALL-OUT EFFORT OBTAIN BY APPROVAL AMENDED GOV/510. THEREFORE, TIMING OF REEXAMINATION OF WESTERN POSITION ON ENTIRE RANGE OF SAFEGUARDS PROBLEM IS IMPORTANT. USREP BELIEVES SUCH REEXAMINATION IF AT ALL POSSIBLE SHOULD BE DEFERRED ABOUT TWO MONTHS.

HOWEVER, ON BASIS INFORMATION NOW AVAILABLE TO MISSION WE BELIEVE CHANCES EXCEEDINGLY REMOTE FOR FINAL BG APPROVAL THIS YEAR PROPOSED SAFEGUARDS AND EVEN LESS CHANCE FOR FAVORABLE ACTION IN SOME FORM

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BY FOURTH GENERAL CONFERENCE. FURTHER, WE BELIEVE IF PENDING DOCUMENTS WERE SUFFICIENTLY REVISED TO OVERCOME SOVIET AND INDIAN OBJECTIONS, RESULTING SAFEGUARDS WOULD BE COMPLETELY INEFFECTUAL AND THEREFORE LITTLE BETTER THAN NO SAFEGUARDS AT ALL. IN RECAPING THESE JUDGMENTS MISSION HAS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT FOLLOWING ADVERSE FACTORS:

- A. SOVIET POSITION OUTLINED MOSCOW'S 2228 TO DEPARTMENT.
- B. PENDING INDIAN PURCHASE URANIUM ORES FROM BELGIUM OR CONGO.
- C. REPORTED USSR-INDIAN AGREEMENT FOR REACTOR PROGRAM WITHOUT SAFEGUARDS.
- D. REPORTED USSR-INDONESIAN AGREEMENT PRESUMABLY SIMILAR AGREEMENT WITH INDIA, EVEN THOUGH LARGE POWER REACTOR NOT RPT NOT MENTIONED IN PRESS.
- E. COMMERCIAL PRESSURES IN PRODUCER COUNTRIES FOR UNCONTROLLED SALES SOURCE MATERIALS.
- F. COMMERCIAL PRESSURES IN LARGE WESTERN POWERS FOR UNCONTROLLED SALES REACTOR PARTS SIMILAR TO BRITISH BOARD OF TRADE'S CURRENT CAMPAIGN.
- G. PROGRESS IN GERMAN DEVELOPMENT ULTRA CENTRIFUGE AND SO-CALLED JET EFFUSION METHOD FOR SEPARATING URANIUM ISOTOPES, THEREBY INCREASING PROSPECTS FOR COUNTRIES TO PROCESS SOURCE MATERIALS FOUND WITHIN THEIR OWN BORDERS FOR PRODUCTION NUCLEAR FUELS FOR POWER REACTORS AND FOR WEAPONS PURPOSES WITHOUT NECESSITY HUGE FINANCIAL OUTLAYS INVOLVED IN BUILDING GASEOUS DIFFUSION PLANT.
- G. WORLDWIDE BELIEF THAT INCREASING DEPLOYMENT ATOMIC WEAPONS WILL RESULT IN ELIMINATION OF DIVERSION PEACEFUL ATOMS AS ONLY MEANS THROUGH WHICH COUNTRIES IN FUTURE COULD, IF DETERMINED TO DO SO, POSSESS ATOMIC WEAPONS.

IN LIGHT SAFEGUARDS SITUATION AS IT NOW APPEARS TO MISSION,

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USREP RECOMMENDS FOLLOWING COURSE OF ACTION FOR CONSIDERATION BY DEPT AND AEC:

1. ARRANGE MEETING VIENNA DESPITE MICHAELS PREFERENCE LONDON, ABOUT MARCH 24, FOR DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN US, UK, CANADIAN, AUSTRALIAN, SOUTH AFRICAN AND FRENCH GOVERNORS ON SUBSTANCE GOV/510, AND DETAILED TACTICS FOR USE IN BG MEETING.
2. AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED THAT GOV/510 BE BASIS BG CONSIDERATION.
3. AMENDMENTS TO GOV/510 TO BE RESTRICTED TO MINIMUM IN GENERAL HARMONY US AND UK SUGGESTIONS NOW UNDER REVIEW.
4. ABANDON ATTEMPTS OBTAIN COMPROMISE AMENDMENTS GOV/510 ACCEPTABLE SOVIET AND INDIAN BLOCS.
5. CONCURRENTLY DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE SHOULD BE EXERTED TO OBTAIN PROVISIONAL BG APPROVAL IN APRIL.
6. WESTERN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD UNDERTAKE FULLSCALE RECONSIDERATION ENTIRE SAFEGUARD PROBLEMS SUBSEQUENT TO APRIL BOARD MEETING IN LIGHT SUMMIT DEVELOPMENTS WHICH CONCEIVABLY COULD HAVE IMPACT ON SAFEGUARDS.

MATTHEWS

TR/23

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