

NODIS

Declassified Case: NW# 51408 Date: 07-24-2023

~~NO DISTRIBUTION~~

FROM [Signature] NO. 174780 DATE Aug 7
TO Proctor, J. [Signature]

LOU ~~CONF~~ ~~SECRET~~ TOP SECRET [Redacted]

DISTRIBUTION AUTH. BY _____ READ BY _____ TOSEC _____
(DATE/TIME)

EXSEC _____ SECTO _____

FAST DESK _____

SLOW DESK _____

S/S DO _____ DIST. BY (S/S-I) _____

DDO _____ DATE/TIME _____

REPEAT TO _____

BY _____ DATE/TIME _____

~~SENSITIVE~~

The attached document may be seen only by the addressee and, if not expressly precluded, by those officials under his authority whom he considers to have a clear-cut "need to know".

This document has been made available only to those offices marked. It is not to be reproduced, given any additional distribution, or discussed with non-recipients without the express prior approval of the Executive Secretary.

Addressees outside the Department of State should handle the document in accordance with the above instructions and with current State instructions on ~~NODIS~~.

When this document is no longer needed, the recipient is responsible for seeing that it is destroyed and for mailing of record of destruction to the Director, S/S-I, Room 7241 NS. Originals of non-telegraphic ~~NODIS~~ material, however, should be hand carried to S/S-I for appropriate disposition.

Executive Secretary
Department of State

~~NO DISTRIBUTION~~

NODIS

S/AS

(S) 2, 3
(D) 4
(P) 5

E
T
M
C
S/IG

S/NM a.o.
S/PR
S/PR

M/CT
M/DG
OTHER S/AS

OTHER UWA
AF 9
ARA

EA
EUR a.o. Vink
NEA

TASK FORCE
WORKING GRP
S/S CHRON

S/S-S
S/S-EX
TOSEC CHRON

SECTO CHRON

A
EB
H
IGA
INR
IO
L
OES
PM
SCA
OTHER _____
OTHER _____

ACDA
AID
OMB
TREASURY
CIA LDX
CIA COURIER
SECDEF LDX
SECDEF
COURIER

WH LDX
WH COURIER
OTHER _____
OTHER _____

S/S-I A
B
C



17 AUG 77 03 04
Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM
004381

SS-100N

~~TOP SECRET~~ N00210

PAGE 01 STATE 194980
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY: S/AS: PFARLEY
APPROVED BY: THE SECRETARY
S/P: PKREISBERG
AF: WCHARROP
P: PHABIB
G/S: PTARNOFF

-----060264 170256Z /85

O 170154Z AUG 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

FOIA(b)(3) - 50 USC 3507 - CIA CIA

~~TOP SECRET~~ STATE 194980

NODIS
[REDACTED] FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

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

TAGS: PARM, SF

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM

REF: (A) PRETORIA 4021, (B) STATE 188207, (C) PARIS 23625
(NOTAL)

1. AS A RESULT OF INFORMATION PASSED TO US BY SOVIETS
(REF B), WE HAVE MADE CAREFUL INVESTIGATION OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WE BELIEVE THAT THE
SITE WE HAVE LOCATED [REDACTED] IS AN UNDERGROUND
NUCLEAR TEST FACILITY. THIS EVIDENCE, WHEN COMBINED

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

N
O
D
D
I
S

N
O
D
D
I
S

N
O
D
D
I
S



Department of State

OUTGOING
TELEGRAM

~~TOP SECRET~~

PAGE 02

STATE 194980

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 AFRICANS ARE ENGAGED IN NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES PROGRAM, AND ARE FURTHER ALONG THAN WE 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 WEAPONS.

2. THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS SHOULD BE USED BY THE AMBASSADOR IN APPROACH TO BOTHA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE FOLLOWING RPT FOLLOWING SPECIFIC SEPARATE AUTHORIZATION FROM DEPT:

(A) WE HAVE NOTED YOUR PREVIOUS ASSURANCES THAT YOUR NUCLEAR PROGRAM IS DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO PEACEFUL PURPOSES. HOWEVER, THE POSSESSION BY SOUTH AFRICA OF AN UNSAFEGUARDED ENRICHMENT PLANT, AND YOUR PERSISTENT DELAY IN ADHERING TO THE NPT, HAVE ALWAYS BEEN GROUNDS FOR CONCERN. NOW, ON THE BASIS OF OUR INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION, WE HAVE SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE WHICH APPEARS TO BE CONTRARY TO YOUR ASSURANCES.

(B) IN LIGHT OF THE GRAVE IMPLICATIONS, THE PRESIDENT HAS INSTRUCTED ME TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE DETONATION OF A NUCLEAR DEVICE -- WHETHER A NUCLEAR WEAPON OR A SO-CALLED

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NON-SECRET



Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

~~TOP SECRET~~

PAGE 03 STATE 194980

*where did that come from
Anderson (S/S)
agreed to
connection 8/14*

PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE -- OR ANY FURTHER STEPS TO ACQUIRE OR DEVELOP A DEMONSTRATED NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITY WOULD HAVE THE MOST SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS, AND WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY US AS A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE PEACE. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SOUTH AFRICA COULD CONTINUE TO COUNT ON HELP FROM THE WESTERN POWERS IN ANY FIELD. YOU SHOULD ALSO BE AWARE OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE ISSUE MAY ARISE IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON SHORT NOTICE WITH UNFORESEEABLE RESULTS.

(C) WE HAVE THIS MATTER UNDER URGENT CONSIDERATION, AND WILL RAISE WITH YOU IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS THE STEPS WE BELIEVE ARE NEEDED TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE. HOWEVER, IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, WE BELIEVE IT IS IN YOUR OWN INTEREST TO PUT THESE CONCERNS TO REST. ASSURANCES, SUCH AS THOSE GIVEN ON AUGUST 10 BY VAN DALSEN, CANNOT RESOLVE THESE DOUBTS. INSTEAD, WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD FIND MEANS TO PROVE, IN A PUBLICLY PERSUASIVE WAY, THAT YOU ARE NOT DEVELOPING [REDACTED] AS A NUCLEAR TEST SITE, AND THAT YOUR PILOT ENRICHMENT PLANT IS NOT AND WILL NOT BE USED TO PRODUCE ENRICHED URANIUM FOR ANY EXPLOSIVE PURPOSE.

4. IF ASKED WHAT THE US PROPOSES TO DO BY WAY OF A LONGER-RANGE RESOLUTION, YOU SHOULD INDICATE ONLY THAT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY ANY SUGGESTIONS THAT THE SAG MAY WISH TO MAKE IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE AS TO HOW THE SITUATION COULD BE BROUGHT TO A SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION.

5. BEGIN FYI: WE ARE CONSULTING IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE WITH LIMITED NUMBER OF ALLIES BEFORE DECIDING ON NEXT STEPS. WE WOULD WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BOTH ON NEXT STEPS AND LONGER RANGE STRATEGY.

~~TOP SECRET~~

EO25x1 CIA

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NON-SECRET



Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

~~TOP SECRET~~

PAGE 04

STATE 194980

SPECIFICALLY, WE ARE IN TOUCH WITH FRENCH WHOM WE HOPE WILL MAKE A PARALLEL DEMARCHE. WE ARE REPEATING TO YOU RELEVANT CABLE EXCHANGE WITH EMBASSY PARIS.

6. YOU CAN EXPECT TO RECEIVE MESSAGE AUTHORIZING YOU TO PROCEED ON THIS MATTER WITHIN NEXT TWENTY-FOUR HOURS. END FYI. VANCE

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY