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### 18 Department of State TELEGRAM

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 23882

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: XGDS=1, 2, 3
TAGS: PARM MNUC FR SF
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR TEST

REF: (A) PARIS 23833; (B) PARIS 23834

1. SOUTOU CALLED ME OVER TO THE QUAI TO GIVE ME THE TEXT OF THE INSTRUCTIONS BEING SENT TODAY TO THEIR AMBASSADOR IN PRETORIA. THE TEXT OF THIS MESSAGE FOLLOWS WITH INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION:

"PROJET DE COMMUNICATION POUR NOTRE AMBASSADEUR EN AFRIQUE DU SUD

A LA SUITE DES INFORMATIONS PUBLIEES PAR
L'AGENCE TASS, LE GOUVERNEMENT FRANCAIS, DANS UNE
DECLARATION PUBLIQUE EN DATE DU 10 ÂQUT, A MARQUE SANS
AMBIGUITE QU'IL CONDAMNERAIT TOUTE INITIATIVE DE
L'AFRIQUE DU SUD POUR SE DOTER D'UNE CAPACITE
NUCLEAIRE EXPLOSIVE. DEPUIS, LE GOUVERNEMENT DES
ETATS-UNIS LUI À FOURNI DES ELEMENTS D'APPRECIATION QUI
ACCROISSENT SON APPREHENSION ET LE CONDUISENT À FAIRE
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PART AU GOVERNEMENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE SUD-AFRICAINE DE SA TRES VIVE PREDCCUPATION.

J'AI RECU INSTRUCTION DE VOUS FAIR SAVOIR QUE LE GOUVERNEMENT FRANÇAIS ESTIME INDISPENSABLE QUE LE GOUVERNEMENT SUD-AFRICAIN FASSE LA PRÉUVE, SANS EQUIVOQUE POSSIBLE, QU'IL NE CHERCHÉ PAS A SE DOTER DES MOYENS DE PROCEDER A DES EXPLOSIONS NUCLEAIRES. LE GOUVERNEMENT FRANÇAIS ESPERE QUE LES AUTORITES SUD-AFRICAINES RESPONSABLES SAURONT PRENDRE A CETTE FIN TOUTES LES MESURES NECESSAIRES ET CONVAINCANTES.

IL EST A CRAINDRE, EN EFFET, QUE FAUTE D'UNE TELLE PREUVE, LA TENSION INTERNATIONALE PROVOQUEE PAR CETTE AFFAIRE AILLE EN S'ACCROISSANT. IL EXISTE UN RISQUE SERIEUX QUE CETTE QUESTION SOIT PORTEE DEVANT LE CONSEIL DE SECURITE AUX NATIONS-UNIES, ÂVEC LES CONSEQUENCES EXTRÉMEMENT GRAVES QUE CELA POURRAIT IMPLIQUER POUR L'AFRIQUE DU SUD.

UNE TELLE SITUATION METTRAIT MON GOUVERNEMENT DANS L'OBLIGATION DE RECONSIDERER SA COOPERATION AVEC LE VOTRE DANS DE NOMBREUX DOMAINES."

THE INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATIONS

"INSTRUCTION FOR OUR AMBASSADOR IN SOUTH AFRICA

FOLLOWING THE REPORTS PUBLISHED BY TASS NEWS AGENCY, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, IN A PUBLIC STATEMENT OF AUGUST 10, INDICATED UNAMBIGUOUSLY THAT IT WOULD CONDEMN ANY INITIATIVE BY SOUTH AFRICA TO ACQUIRE A CAPABILITY SECRET



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TO SET OFF A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION. SINCE THEN, THE US GOVERNMENT HAS PROVIDED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WITH INFORMATION WHICH HAS INCREASED ITS APPREHENSION AND WHICH LEADS FRANCE TO INFORM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA OF ITS VERY ACUTE CONCERN.

I HAVE RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS TO INFORM YOU THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS IT INDISPENSIBLE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT GIVE PROOF, WITHOUT ANY AMBIGUITY, THAT IT DOES NOT SEEK TO ACQUIRE THE MEANS TO PROCEED WITH NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HOPES THAT THE RESPONSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY AND CONVINCING MEASURES TO THAT END.

PROOF, INTERNATIONAL TENSION PROVOKED BY THIS AFFAIR WOULD INCREASE. THERE EXISTS A SERIOUS RISK THAT THIS

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NODIS/CHERDKEE

QUESTION MAY BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL WITH THE EXTREMELY GRAVE CONSEQUENCES WHICH THIS COULD INVOLVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

SUCH A SITUATION WOULD PUT MY GOVERNMENT UNDER AN OBLIGATION TO RECONSIDER ITS COOPERATION WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT IN MANY AREAS."

SOUTOU EXPLAINED IT WAS NECESSARY TO MAKE SOME REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT WE HAD SUPPLIED ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OR OTHERWISE SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT WONDER WHY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WAS MAKING THIS SURT OF SERIOUS HE HOPED THE REFERENCE WOULD NOT CAUSE HE ALSO PUINTED DUT THAT IN LIGHT DIFFICULTIES FOR US. OUR DISCUSSION YESTERDAY THE HURDS HAD BEEN CAREFULLY CHOSEN TO INDICATE "ANY NUCLEAR EXPLOSION" REGARDLESS ITS STATED PURPOSE AND ALSO THE MESSAGE IS POINTED "CREATING THE MEANS TO PROCEED WITH" SUCH AN EXPLOSION TO COVER THE TEST FACILITY. THE LAST PARAGRPH IS INTENDED TO INDICATE COOPERATION BEYOND THE NUCLEAR FIELD SINCE, IN SOUTOU'S OPINION, FRANCE WOULD HAVE TO STOP ALL SHIPMENTS OF SPARE PARTS IN THE MILITARY FIELD AS WELL AS CEASE NUCLEAR COOPERATION.

B. I ASKED SOUTOU WHY HE HAD PUT SUCH EMPHASIS ON THE



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FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN HIS INITIAL CONVERSATION WITH US. HE SAID HE HAD DONE THIS PRIOR TO READING AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT GENSCHER TOLD BOTHA. HE WAS NOW SATISFIED THAT THE GERMANS HAD MADE THEIR PUSITION CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS. BUT HE WENT ON TO POINT OUT, THAT WE MUST ALL RECOGNIZE THAT GERMAN EFFORTS, WHETHER OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED OR NOT, HAVE BEEN GREATEST IN THE SENSITIVE AREAS OF SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIVITY. ADDITION TO THE SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE BECKER-NOZZLE PROCESS AND THE DNE USED IN SOUTH AFRICA, SOUTOU POINTED TO THE FACT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR IN BONN FOR MANY YEARS WAS A NUCLEAR EXPERT AND THAT THE SCIENTIFIC COUNSELOR IN BONN IS A RECENTLY NATURALIZED SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZEN WHO A VERY SHORT TIME AGO HAD BEEN AN ACTIVE GERMAN NUCLEAR SCIENTIST. TOU SAID THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S FRIENDS IN FRANCE ARE VERY CONCERNED THAT INSUFFICIENT SENSITIVITY IS BEING SHOWN BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN THESE MATTERS AND THAT EVERY MEANS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO REMIND THE GERMANS TO EXERCISE SOME CARE. ONCE AGAIN HE REITERATED HIS OWN PERSONAL VIEW THAT THE WORST PART OF FRANCE'S ARRANGEMENT WITH PAKISTAN WAS THE TERRIBLE PRECEDENT THIS SETS FOR THE GERMANS TO PURSUE EVEN MORE DANGEROUS ACTIVITIES WITH COUNTRIES LIKE BRAZIL.

- 4. IT IS CLEAR TO ME THAT SOME FRENCHMEN SEE THE GERMANS AS A NON-NUCLEAR POWER WITH A GREAT CAPACITY AND POTENTIAL FOR NUCLEAR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND THAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS HELP AND SYMPATHETIC GUIDANCE IN DEVELOPING ITS POTENTIAL IN A WAY WHICH DOES NOT ENDANGER NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES.
- 5. SOUTOU SAID THAT HE LOOKED FORWARD TO A FURTHER SECRET

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EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH US ON NEXT STEPS ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN MATTER AFTER WE HAD CONSIDERED THE RESPONSE TO OUR PARALLEL DEMARCHES. HE WAS ALSO PLEASED TO LEARN THAT THE BRITISH ARE MAKING AN APPROACH AS WELL SINCE, WHILE RECOGNIZING THEIR SPECIAL PROBLEMS, HE FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THEY NOT APPEAR LESS CONCERNED THAN THE REST OF US.

6. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED AND HOPEFULLY TO MOVE THIS SUBJECT OUT OF THE PRESENT VERY RESTRICTED CATEGORY.
HARTMAN

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