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ACTION NO05-00

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E.O. 11652: XG05-1
TAGS: PARM ST GW
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR TEST SITE

REFS: (A) STATE 197323; (B) STATE 197411; (C) BONN 13059
(D) BONN 13580; (E) BONN 13318; (F) BONN 13570

1. IN ANOTHER MEETING WITH FONOFF STATE SECRETARY VAN WELL TODAY, I SOUGHT THE INFORMATION REQUESTED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF REF (A), AND DREW HEAVILY ON REF (B) REGARDING POSSIBLE PRESSURE FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION.
2. VAN WELL INDICATED THAT FRG CONTACTS WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR QUESTION HAD BEEN RATHER LIMITED. FONOFF HAD INFORMED THEM OF FRG'S PRELIMINARY REPLY TO SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN'S DEMARCHE (REFS C AND D), SINCE IT WAS ONLY YESTERDAY THAT THE FRG HAD LEARNED THROUGH ME OF THE POSSIBLE UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TEST SITE IN THE KALAHARI, THERE HAD NOT YET BEEN ANY ADDITIONAL CONTACTS WITH BRITISH AND FRENCH.
3. VAN WELL SAID THAT, SUBJECT TO CONCURRENCE OF GENSCHER AND FOLLOWING EXPECTED CONFIRMATION BY OTHER FRG MINISTRIES THAT THERE IS NO FRG NUCLEAR COOPERATION

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OF ANY KIND WITH SOUTH AFRICA, FONOFF WOULD MAKE NEW DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICANS ON AUGUST 22 OR 23. FRG WOULD: (A) SAY THAT "BASED ON CONSULTATIONS WITH FRG'S ALLIES," FRG FELT REASON TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM; (B) AGAIN URGE SAG TO SIGN NPT, AS GENSCHER HAD DONE DURING HIS TALKS WITH BOTHA IN FRANKFURT (REF E); (C) SPECIFICALLY ASK WHETHER SAG PLANS TO CARRY OUT A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION, EVEN A "PEACEFUL" ONE; (D) POINT OUT THAT EVEN A "PEACEFUL" EXPLOSION WOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS SUCH BY AFRICAN AND MOST OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION; AND (E) STRESS THAT ANY SAG NUCLEAR EXPLOSION COULD JEOPARDIZE EFFORTS OF WESTERN STATES TO SEEK SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

4. VAN WELL SAID FRG WOULD OF COURSE BE EXTREMELY INTERESTED IN SOUTH AFRICAN REACTION TO US DEMARCHES TO SAG BEING MADE TODAY (AUGUST 19) AND BETWEEN NOW AND TUESDAY NIGHT. IF SOUTH AFRICANS WERE TO GIVE SATISFACTORY RESPONSE (E.G., IF THEY WERE TO INDICATE WILLINGNESS TO ALLOW INSPECTION OF KALAHARI SITE), THIS WOULD AFFECT FRG'S PLANNED DEMARCHE TO SAG AND COULD RESULT IN ITS BEING CALLED OFF. EMBASSY WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE BEING KEPT INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS ON AN URGENT BASIS SO THAT WE WILL BE IN POSITION TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH FRG, ESPECIALLY PRIOR TO THEIR DEMARCHE.

5. VAN WELL TOOK NOTE OF MY COMMENTS ON POSSIBLE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION, BUT SAID HE FELT EFFORTS SHOULD

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