

**March 4, 1981**

**Telegram from South African Ambassador in  
Washington Donald Sole on Prospective Reagan  
Administration Non-Proliferation Policy**

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**Summary:**

South African Ambassador Donald Sole reports on the possible effect of Reagan non-proliferation policy on South African/US nuclear relations.

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WASHINGTON 4 MARCH 1981/1815  
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DIRECTOR GENERAL FROM SOLE

REPUBLICAN REPUBLIC VAN BURENIA 05 -03- 931 R h o c REPORT OF FROM AFRICA DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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1. MR MUNTZING, A PARTNER IN THE LEGAL FIRM OF DOUB AND MUNTZING WHICH REPRESENTS ESCOM IN THE USA, THIS MORNING CALLED ON ME TO CONVEY CERTAIN INFORMATION PERTAINING TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION POLICIES OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE POSSIBLE EFFECT ON US/SA NUCLEAR RELATIONS. MUNTZING MET, EARLIER TODAY, WITH MR JAMES L. MALONE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY DESIGNATE FOR THE BUREAU OF OCEANS, INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL AND SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS OF THE STATE DEPT. MALONE IS EXPECTED TO PLAY A KEY ROLE IN THE FORMULATION OF A NEW SA/USA NUCLEAR RELATIONS POLICY AND HE HAS ALREADY SUBMITTED RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT ON A NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY.

2. AMONGST THE KEY ELEMENTS SUGGESTED BY MALONE ARE THE FOLLOWING :

(A) "THE US SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO RESTORE ITS CREDIBILITY AND RELIABILITY AS A NUCLEAR SUPPLIER AND ... THEREBY STRENGTHEN ITS ABILITY TO ACHIEVE ITS NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES THROUGH AND WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF OTHER NATIONS."

(B) AGENCIES WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY SHOULD BE RESTRUCTURED TO THE EXTENT NECESSARY TO PROVIDE FOR CENTRALIZED FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH POLICY."

THE AGENCIES IN QUESTION ARE UNDOUBTEDLY THE NUCLEAR REGULATORY COMMISSION (WHICH SHOULD LOSE ITS EXPORT LICENSING FUNCTION TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT) AND THE DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

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(C) WITHIN THE STATE DEPARTMENT A BUREAU LED BY AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY REPORTING DIRECT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED WITH SOLE RESPONSIBILITY FOR NUCLEAR AFFAIRS.

(D) OFFICIAL APPOINTEES IN THE NON-PROLIFERATION FIELD SHOULD SHARE THE VIEW OF PRESIDENT REAGAN THAT NUCLEAR ENERGY IS VITAL NOT ONLY TO THE USA'S ENERGY SECURITY, BUT ALSO TO THAT OF US TRADING PARTNERS,

(E) THE POLICY OF DENIAL OF US NUCLEAR SUPPLY SHOULD BE APPLIED ONLY TO COUNTRIES POSING A THREAT TO US INTERNATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS.

3. MALONE APPARENTLY INDICATED TO MUNTZING THAT HE CONSIDERED AN EARLY MEETING WITH A SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION TO BE A PRIORITY MATTER - SUCH A MEETING TO TAKE PLACE IF POSSIBLE BEFORE THE END OF THIS MONTH. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE MEETING WOULD BE TO REVIEW THE CURRENT POSITION EXISTING BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AND BUILD UP PERSONAL CONTACT WITH KEY FUNCTIONARIES. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT IF PROGRESS IS TO BE MADE THERE SHOULD BE A WILLINGNESS TO TRUST, AND CO-OPERATE WITH, THE OTHER PARTIES AND IT IS ONLY WITHIN SUCH A FRAMEWORK THAT THE QUESTIONS OF ASSURED SUPPLY, SAFEGUARDS, PERSONNEL TRAINING ETC. CAN BE APPROACHED.

4. BECAUSE OF DIFFICULTIES WITH CONGRESS AND OTHER NATIONAL BODIES AS WELL AS SENSITIVITY VIS-A-VIS BLACK AFRICA THE ADMINISTRATION MAY PROPOSE THAT THE INITIAL CORE AND THE FIRST TWO RELOADS FOR KOEBERG BE SUPPLIED BY FRANCE, WITH US SUPPORT, UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE US CAN ONCE AGAIN ASSUME ITS CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS.



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THIS WOULD, HOWEVER, BE A MATTER FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE TWO DELEGATIONS.

5. MALONE'S PROPOSALS AS SUMMARISED IN PARAGRAPHS 3 AND 4 HAVE NOT BEEN APPROVED AS YET AND APPROVAL MAY BE DELAYED PENDING APPROVAL OF CROCKER'S PROPOSALS ON OVERALL POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA (SEE MY NO Y201 OF TODAY).

6. MALONE IS EXPECTED TO START CONFIRMATION HEARINGS ON 13 MARCH, WHICH COULD LEAD TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF OFFICE ON 20 MARCH. I WOULD THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT YOU INDICATE WHETHER A REPRESENTATIVE DELEGATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA, SIMILAR IN COMPOSITION TO THAT PROPOSED AT THE END OF 1980 WILL BE ABLE TO VISIT THE USA. THERE IS AT PRESENT NO SPECIFIC AGENDA FOR THE PROPOSED MEETING, BUT SHOULD YOU APPROVE THE MATTER IN PRINCIPLE WE COULD BEGIN WITH DISCUSSIONS AT A LOWER LEVEL TOWARDS DEVELOPING AN AGENDA.

7. A COPY OF THE HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FROM MR MALONE TO THE TRANSITION OFFICE ON 18 DECEMBER 1980 WILL BE SENT IN THIS WEEK'S BAG, BUT IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE US ADMINISTRATION NOT BE MADE AWARE THAT WE ARE IN POSSESSION OF THIS DOCUMENT.

YOUR COMMENTS ON THE PROPOSAL FOR A MEETING IN THE LAST WEEK OF MARCH WOULD BE APPRECIATED. IF POSITIVE WE WOULD THEN MAKE SOUNDINGS DIRECT TO MALONE TO ESTABLISH MORE PRECISELY WHAT THE PROSPECTS ARE, WITHOUT DISCLOSING ANYTHING ABOUT THE TIP OFF WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM MUNTZING

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