

Current Class: ~~SECRET~~
Current Handling: NODIS
Document Number: 1994MOSCOW21443 **RELEASE IN FULL**

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Channel: n/a

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6026

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E.O. 12356: DECL/OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, KNNP, KS, KN, CH, JA, RS
SUBJECT: A/S GALLUCCI'S DISCUSSIONS OF NORTH
- KOREA WITH RUSSIAN OFFICIALS: DEPUTY
- FOREIGN MINISTER PANOV

1. ~~SECRET~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN A MEETING WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN
MINISTER PANOV ON JULY 27, A/S GALLUCCI REVIEWED
U.S. STRATEGY FOR UPCOMING TALKS WITH NORTH
KOREA, EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPING A
CREDIBLE U.S. GUARANTEE THAT THE DPRK WILL OBTAIN
LWR ASSISTANCE IN EXCHANGE FOR MEETING OUR NON-
PROLIFERATION REQUIREMENTS. PANOV SAID THAT
RUSSIA WAS APPROACHED DIRECTLY BY NORTH KOREA
CONCERNING LWR'S, WHICH RUSSIA WAS PREPARED TO
PROVIDE IF FUNDING WAS AVAILABLE FROM OTHER

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SOURCES. CONCERNING SPENT FUEL, PANOV CONFIRMED
RUSSIAN WILINGNESS TO REPROCESS THE SPENT FUEL,
SAYING HE THOUGHT THE WASTE COULD BE STORED IN
RUSSIA INDEFINITELY. SUMMARY.

3. RUSSIAN PARTICIPANTS: DEPUTY FOREIGN
MINISTER FOR EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC ALEKSANDER
PANOV; MIKHAIL BELIY, DIRECTOR, MFA FIRST ASIA
ADMINISTRATION (NORTH ASIA AND INDOCHINA); AND

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**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Marvin Russell, Senior
Reviewer**

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VALENTIN MOISEYEV, MFA KOREA DIVISION CHIEF.

USG PARTICIPANTS: A/S ROBERT GALLUCCI, DASD
KENT WIEDEMANN, AMBASSADOR PICKERING, PM/RNP
DEPUTY DIRECTOR GARY SAMORE, POLOFF GREG FERGIN
(NOTETAKER).

4. A/S GALLUCCI BRIEFED PANOV ON THE LAST
USG/DPRK MEETING IN GENEVA AND HIS DISCUSSIONS ON
NORTH KOREA IN SEOUL, BEIJING, AND TOKYO. HE
DESCRIBED THE U.S. APPROACH TO THE NEXT SESSION
WITH THE NORTH KOREANS AND THE UNDERSTANDING
REACHED BETWEEN SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND FOREIGN
MINISTER KOZYREV IN BRUSSELS. IF THE NORTH
KOREAN SIDE WILL NOT MEET WELL KNOWN NON-
PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES AND THE ISSUE RETURNS TO
THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, HE SAID, THE USG VIEWS
THE RUSSIAN PROPOSAL OF AN INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE AS A USEFUL PART OF THE SANCTIONS
PROCESS FOLLOWING PASSAGE OF A UNSC RESOLUTION
BUT BEFORE IMPLEMENTATION OF SANCTIONS. HE
EMPHASIZED THAT ANY SUCH RESOLUTION MUST HAVE
TEETH, INCLUDING REFERENCE TO SECOND-STAGE

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SANCTIONS.

5. PANOV ASKED ABOUT THE TIME FACTOR IN THE
NEGOTIATING PROCESS, OBSERVING THAT THE TIME
FRAME FOR ACTION ENVISAGED BY THE U.S. IS REALLY
SHORT. GALLUCCI RESPONDED THAT THE TIME FRAME IS
BASED ON A TECHNICAL IMPERATIVE; THE NORTH
KOREANS COULD HAVE SERIOUS SAFETY PROBLEMS SOON
IF THEY CANNOT EXTEND THE LIFE OF THE SPENT
NUCLEAR FUEL IN THE YONGBYON COOLING POND. THE
US HAS OFFERED TO SEND A TEAM OF EXPERTS TO SEEK
WAYS TO EXTEND THE LIFE OF THE FUEL, SO AS TO BUY
TIME TO PURSUE DPRK AGREEMENT TO SHIPMENT OF THE
SPENT FUEL FOR REPROCESSING IN A THIRD COUNTRY.

6. PANOV OBSERVED THAT BEFORE THE G-7 SUMMIT
YELTSIN WAS READY TO ANNOUNCE THAT RUSSIA IS
WILLING TO PROVIDE LIGHT WATER REACTOR TO NORTH
KOREA IF RUSSIA RECEIVED FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR
THE TRANSFER. PANOV ADDED THAT TWO DAYS AGO
NORTH KOREA INFORMED THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT THAT
IT DID NOT NEED FOUR 440 REACTORS BUT THREE

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LARGER VVR 635 REACTORS. NUCLEAR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAD STOPPED IN 1992, BUT BY THEN RUSSIAN SPECIALISTS HAD ALREADY MADE A FEASIBILITY STUDY AND DONE GEOLOGICAL RESEARCH NORTH KOREA KNOWS RUSSIAN TECHNOLOGY, AND NORTH KOREAN SPECIALISTS GOT THEIR TRAINING IN RUSSIA. PANOV SAID THAT ROK SUPPLY OF THE LWR IS "UNACCEPTABLE" TO THE DPRK FOR POLITICAL REASONS. THE MAIN REMAINING ISSUE, HE ASSERTED, IS

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THEREFORE FINANCING FOR RUSSIAN PROVISION OF A LWR.

7. NOTING THE RESULTS OF HIS CONSULTATIONS IN SEOUL AND TOKYO ON POSSIBLE FUNDING, GALLUCCI RESPONDED THAT WE NEED TO UNDERSTAND THE RUSSIAN PROPOSAL AND MODEL BETTER. HOWEVER, WE MUST KEEP IN MIND OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE TO RESOLVE THE DPRK NUCLEAR PROBLEM, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHICH COUNTRY SUPPLIES THE LWR TECHNOLOGY TO REPLACE THE DPRK'S GRAPHITE-MODULATED SYSTEM. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE USG HAD TOLD THE NORTH KOREANS TO KEEP AN OPEN MIND ABOUT THE SOURCE OF LWR TECHNOLOGY. NORTH KOREA WANTS IRONCLAD GUARANTEES THAT IT WILL GET LWR'S, BUT THE U.S. CANNOT PROVIDE A CREDIBLE GUARANTEE UNLESS IT IS SOLIDLY BACKED BY FINANCING AND A RELIABLE, SAFE TECHNOLOGY SOURCE.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6027

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8. AMBASSADOR PICKERING ASKED PANOV TO CLARIFY WHETHER RUSSIA NEEDS FULL FINANCING OF AN LWR, AND COULD NOT ITSELF BE A SOURCE OF FUNDING. PANOV NOTED THAT RUSSIA'S LABOR COSTS WOULD BE CHEAPER, AND IT COULD CONTRIBUTE ONLY TO THAT EXTENT.

9. ON THE ISSUE OF SPENT FUEL, PANOV SAID RUSSIA WAS PREPARED TO COOPERATE, BUT WOULD NEED FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THIS, TOO. A/S GALLUCCI NOTED THAT THE REPROCESSING CONTRACT WOULD

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GENERATE TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR THE CONTRACTOR. HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE POLITICALLY MORE ACCEPTABLE FOR NORTH KOREA TO SHIP THE SPENT FUEL TO RUSSIA THAN SOME OTHER POSSIBLE DESTINATIONS.

10. PANOV ASKED ABOUT CHINA'S REACTION TO THE SPENT FUEL QUESTION. A/S GALLUCCI RESPONDED THAT CHINA HAD TAKEN A POLITICAL POSITION. IT WILL MAKE NO COMMITMENTS UNTIL DPRK INTENTIONS ARE CLEAR.

11. PANOV SPECULATED THAT, SHOULD RUSSIA TAKE THE SPENT FUEL, ONE OPTION WOULD BE TO KEEP THE FUEL OR WASTE IN STORAGE. ALTHOUGH THIS WOULD BE CRITICIZED BY ENVIRONMENTALISTS, RUSSIA MIGHT BE ABLE TO STORE THE FUEL INDEFINITELY. PANOV SAID STORAGE OF PLUTONIUM WOULD NOT BE A PROBLEM. A/S GALLUCCI SAID RUSSIA COULD ALSO CONSIDER PLACING THE PLUTONIUM UNDER IAEA SAFEGUARDS UNDER RUSSIA'S VOLUNTARY OFFER WITH THE IAEA. AMBASSADOR PICKERING ADDED THAT THE USG IS BUILDING STORAGE PITS FOR PLUTONIUM IN RUSSIA, AND MIGHT RESERVE A SPACE FOR NORTH KOREAN PLUTONIUM.

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12. ASKED ABOUT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN NORTH KOREA, PANOV SAID RUSSIA'S INFORMATION CAME MAINLY FROM NORTH KOREAN MEDIA. ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE, THE DPRK FOCUSED ON TWO POINTS: NORTH KOREA'S DESIRE TO CHANGE ITS NUCLEAR POWER

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PROGRAM TO AN LWR PROGRAM, AND THE QUESTION OF WHAT TO DO WITH THE SPENT FUEL FROM THE YONGBYON REACTOR. IN ADDITION, THE DPRK HAD MADE CLEAR THAT IT WOULD NOT MOVE FORWARD ON RELATIONS WITH SOUTH KOREA UNTIL NORTH KOREAN RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. IMPROVED; THERE IS NOW ONE TRACK INSTEAD OF TWO.

13. ON NORTH KOREA'S INTERNAL POLITICS, PANOV NOTED THAT KIM JONG IL HAD NOT YET BEEN ELECTED PRESIDENT OF NORTH KOREA OR SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PARTY. PANOV CONSIDERED IT STRANGE THAT THREE WEEKS AFTER THE DEATH OF KIM IL SUNG HIS SON HAD NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY CONFIRMED AS HIS SUCCESSOR. PANOV OFFERED TWO POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS: 1) THAT THE COUNTRY WAS STILL IN MOURNING; AND 2) THAT THERE WAS SOME FRICTION, AND POSSIBLY A STRUGGLE, INSIDE THE NORTH KOREAN LEADERSHIP, ESPECIALLY WITHIN THE KIM FAMILY.

14. PANOV SAID KIM JONG IL WAS NOT LOOKING WELL ON NORTH KOREAN TELEVISION, AND WAS NOT SHOWING HIMSELF TO BE A STRONG LEADER. HE MIGHT AGREE TO ABANDON THE PRESIDENCY AND TAKE ONLY THE SECRETARY GENERAL POSITION, GIVING THE PRESIDENCY TO SOMEONE WITH MORE EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH FOREIGN AFFAIRS. PANOV THOUGHT THE NORTH KOREAN LEADERSHIP WAS AFRAID TO SEND KIM JONG IL TO SEOUL AT THIS TIME. PANOV GUESSED THE YOUNGER KIM'S INEXPERIENCE WITH FOREIGNERS WAS ONE REASON FOREIGN LEADERS WERE NOT INVITED TO THE ELDER

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KIM'S FUNERAL.

15. MOISEYEV, WHO SPENT 12 YEARS AS A DIPLOMAT IN

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PYONGYANG, SAID HE HAD MET KIM JONG IL SEVERAL TIMES, MOST RECENTLY 5-6 YEARS AGO. AT THAT TIME KIM APPEARED HEALTHY, LIVELY, AND EVINced NONE OF THE NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTICS DESCRIBED IN INTERNATIONAL MEDIA (SPEECH DEFECTS, EPILEPSY, MENTAL INSTABILITY). MOISEYEV SAID KIM KNOWS HIS OWN COUNTRY WELL, BUT NOT FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

16. A/S GALLUCCI NOTED THAT THE LEADER OF THE NORTH KOREAN DELEGATION TO THE GENEVA TALKS KAN SOK JU, SAID HE REPORTED DIRECTLY TO KIM JONG IL ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE. MOISEYEV SAID IT IS CUSTOMARY FOR DPRK OFFICIALS TO CITE DIRECTIONS FROM THE TOP LEADERS, TO UNDERSCORE THEIR AUTHORITY, BUT THEY DO NOT TYPICALLY REPORT FACE

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6028

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TO FACE. MOISEYEV THOUGHT KIM JONG IL POSSESSED COMPLETE POWER IN THE STRUCTURES ESTABLISHED BY HIS FATHER, AND THERE WAS NO NEED FOR HIM TO BUILD CONSENSUS. MOISEYEV THOUGHT A POWER STRUGGLE WAS POSSIBLE BUT BELIEVED KIM JONG IL COULD REIGN, AND PERHAPS EVEN RULE FOR UP TO FIVE YEARS. IF THERE IS A POWER STRUGGLE, IT WOULD BE WITHIN KIM'S FAMILY.

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17. PANOV COMMENTED THAT THERE WERE MANY OPINIONS AMONG RUSSIAN ANALYSTS AND HE WAS NOT SURE KIM WILL LAST FIVE YEARS. ~~HOW THE DPRK~~

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ARRANGED THE SUCCESSION TO KIM IL SUNG WOULD BE AN INDICATION OF THE YOUNGER KIM'S POWER. IF HE TAKES BOTH THE PRESIDENCY AND THE SECRETARY GENERALSHIP, THIS WOULD BE AN INDICATION OF STRENGTH. PANOV NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT HISTORY SHOWS THAT IN ANY AUTHORITARIAN SOCIETY AFTER THE FALL OF A GREAT LEADER, THE SUCCESSION PROCESS DID NOT WORK. WE WOULD KNOW IN SEVERAL MONTHS HOW THE SUCCESSION WILL PLAY OUT IN NORTH KOREA.

18. PANOV SAID THAT WHAT WAS IMPORTANT WAS TO SHOW THE NORTH KOREANS THAT THEY HAVE A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY TO CHANGE, TO BE COMPENSATED, AND TO DEVELOP ECONOMICALLY.

19. THE DISCUSSION MOVED TO KIM'S RELATIVES. HIS UNCLE HAD BEEN ABSENT FOR 17 YEARS. MOISEYEV POINTED OUT THAT THE UNCLE HAD SPENT SEVEN YEARS IN RUSSIA, SPOKE FLUENT RUSSIAN, AND MIGHT HAVE BEEN ARRESTED ON SUSPICION OF BEING TOO CLOSE TO RUSSIA. KIM PYONG IL, THE SON OF KIM IL SUNG'S SECOND WIFE, WAS SAID TO BE A REASONABLE MAN, AND HAD PROVED CAPABLE AS AMBASSADOR TO BULGARIA AND FINLAND.

20. PANOV ALSO SUGGESTED LOOKING AT THE ARMY. KIM JONG IL HAS SOME POWER BASE IN THE MILITARY, HAVING PROMOTED 600 GENERALS, BUT HE WAS NOT RESPECTED BY THE OLDER GENERATION. ANOTHER GROUP, SAID PANOV, WAS THE TECHNOCRATS, LED BY THE PRIME MINISTER, WHO KNOW THE OUTSIDE WORLD

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AND MIGHT OPPOSE KIM JONG IL.
PICKERING

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