

**Report from North Korea
February 2009**

Siegfried S. Hecker

**Delegation led by John Lewis
(with Bob Carlin, David Straub
Paul Carroll and Marjorie Kiewit)**

Center for International Security and Cooperation

Directors Seminar

CISAC

March 10, 2009

The new face of Pyongyang



It is visible from everywhere



Modern Pyongyang





The 3-26 Wire Factory



3-26-69 Alignment of the constellations

Both Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il visited the factory





KimJongilia



Busy Pyongyang





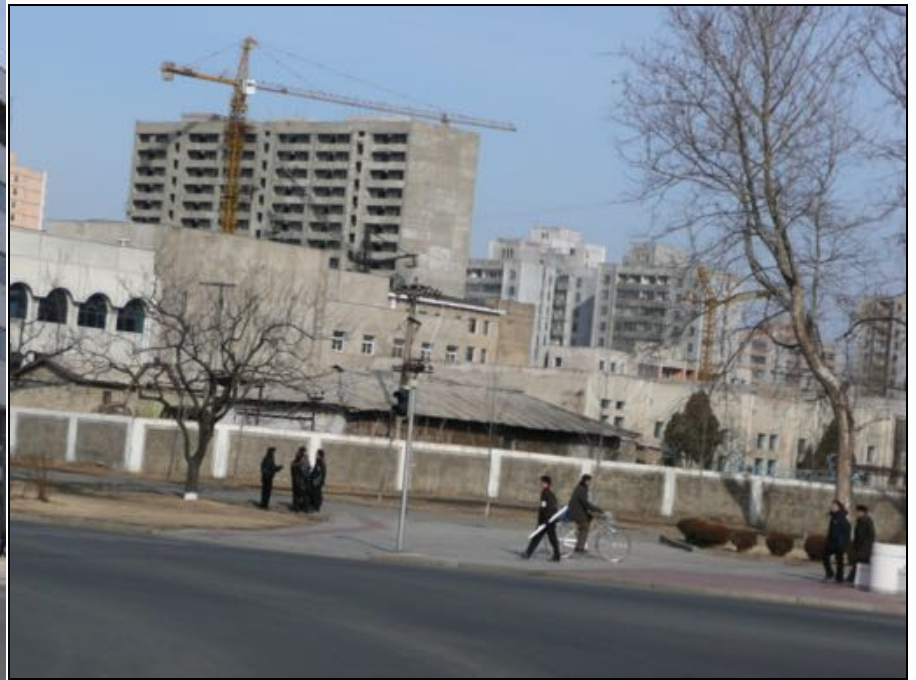
Lots of action at the food kiosks



Kiosks everywhere



Lots of cranes



Dressed quite well and warm





Busy at the phone booths (cell phones emerging slowly)



Lots of tractors and trucks - outside Pyongyang



City of Sariwon ~ 60 km SE of Pyongyang







Housing at the farm Co-op outside Sariwon



John Lewis, Co-op housing and soybeans



Student housing at the farm Co-op outside Sariwon





March 8 elections to the Supreme People's Assembly



Kim Jong Il still in power



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Confidence is increasing



A specific message during each visit



Jan. 2004 Yongbyon



Aug. 2005 Pyongyang



Nov. 2006 Pyongyang



August 9, 2007, Yongbyon



Feb. 14, 2008, Yongbyon

Remarkable access allowed us to make a good assessment

Pyongyang, Feb. 24 to 28, 2009



Tell the press we are suspending disablement

DPRK grievances during our meetings

- South Korea
- U.S. - ROK military exercises this week
- Obama Administration early signs
- U.S. complaints about space launch
- Six-party members not meeting Oct. 3 obligations

We plan to launch and
we will suspend disablement of Yongbyon

What's happened since Feb. 2008 visit?



DPRK nuclear program status (3/1/09)

- Weapons-grade plutonium
 - Estimated at 40 to 50 kilograms (6 or 8 bomb's worth)
 - DPRK declared 26 kg "weaponized"
- Nuclear weapons
 - One nuclear test with limited success
 - Most likely have a few simple bombs
 - Unlikely to have confidence to mount on missiles
- Uranium enrichment
 - Still denies effort in spite of strong evidence
- Nuclear technology export
 - Syria - yes
 - Iran and others - possible

Nuclear developments since Feb. 2008

- Handed over copies of 18,800+ pages of operating records
 - Reactor and Reprocessing facilities (not Fuel Fab)
 - Appear thorough - but had trace HEU contamination
- Destruction of the 5 MWe cooling tower

Symbolic destruction of 5 MWe cooling tower



June 27, 2008 (one day after declaration delivered to six party talks)

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- Evidence of DPRK involvement in Syria quite clear - many questions

Six-party steps to denuclearization

- Disable facilities - proceeding slowly
- Declaration - disagreement on verification
- Dismantle facilities, redirection of workers
- Eliminate nuclear weapons and plutonium
- Remediation of nuclear sites

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- **Remediation of nuclear sites**
 - Not even on the horizon (would take years and billions)

Verification

- Plutonium verification is doable
 - 18,000+ pages of production record copies delivered
 - HEU traces and publicity - DPRK allergic to sampling
- Uranium verification - not doable without cooperation
 - Aluminum tubes - visit and sample
 - Very small footprint, limited signatures
- Export verification - need cooperation

Battles inside Bush Administration resulted in
DPRK halt in disablement, U.S. retreat and
ineffective verification protocol

Nuclear export concerns

- **Syria reactor - destroyed by Israel, Sept. 6, 2007**
 - Gas-graphite reactor - highly likely from DPRK
 - DPRK connection - including personnel, highly likely
 - Reactor not built for electricity, heat or research
- **Sophisticated cover-up**
- **Questions remain**
 - How much did DPRK do? Others involved?
 - Where did the fuel come from?
 - No reprocessing facility found so far
 - Who was the customer?

China Ministry of Foreign Affairs



Visited on March 1, 2009 after return from DPRK

China Nuclear Specialists at IAPCM



Comparing notes and differences of assessments

DPRK has upper hand in six-party process

In spite of:

- 2003 Expelled IAEA and withdrew from NPT
- 2003 Restarted reactor and reprocessed fuel rods
- 2005 Second reprocessing campaign (claimed to have a deterrent)
- Oct. 2006 Tested a nuclear device
- Post Sept. 2007 Shown to have built a plutonium-producing reactor in Syria
- Have dragged out disablement, put a heavy price on Yonbbyon dismantlement, and told us to get used to dealing with a nuclear weapon state

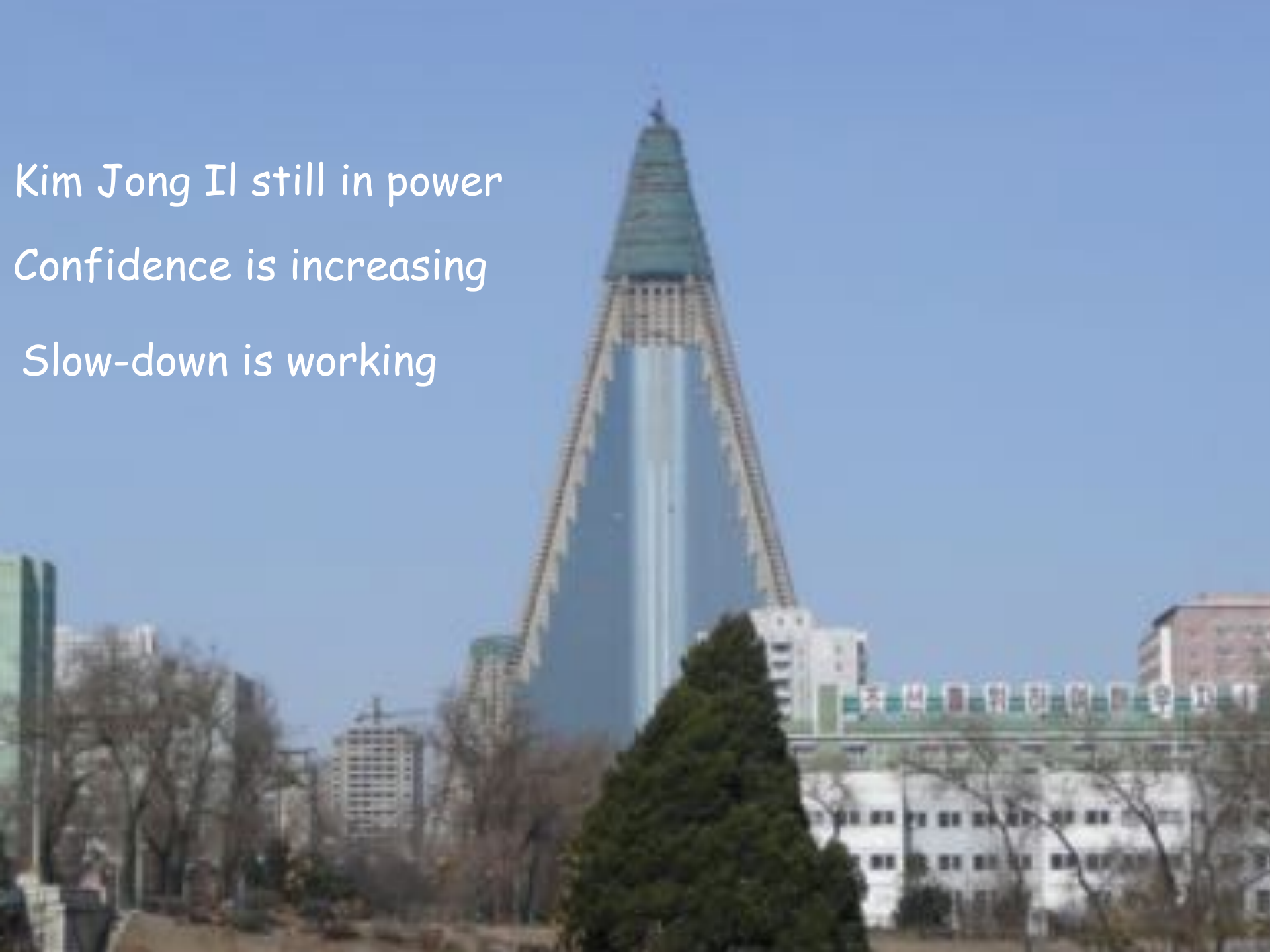
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Slow-down is working



U.S. Special Envoy Stephen Bosworth has his job cut out



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Developments since April 5, 2009 rocket launch

- April 14
 - Denounced and rejected UNSC actions
 - Expelled IAEA and U.S. technical team
 - Walked away from Six-Party talks and agreements
 - Threatened to strengthen its deterrent
 - Restore normal operations of Yongbyon
 - Reprocess spent fuel rods
- April 29
 - Restarted reprocessing facility
 - Threatened to conduct more nuclear tests
 - Test fire intercontinental missiles
 - Decide to build a light-water reactor
 - Technological development for fuel production