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ACTION SS-25

Dept. of State, RPS/TPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.  
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify  
Date 4/16/04 Exemption: (B)(1)

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2140

S E C R E T TAIPEI 8564

STATE DEPT. DECLASSIFICATION REVIEW  
 Retain Class'n  Change to \_\_\_\_\_  
 Declassify in part and excise as shown  
#O 12958, 25X(1)( ) ( ) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Declassify  After \_\_\_\_\_  
 With concurrence \_\_\_\_\_ (not)(obtained)  
IPS by [Signature] Date 4/16/04

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

EXDIS

EYES ONLY FOR ASST SEC HUMMEL

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MNUC, TW  
SUBJECT: U.S. NUCLEAR TEAM VISIT

REF: STATE 311288

1. WE ARE LARGELY IN AGREEMENT WITH REFERENCE MESSAGE AND WILL SHORTLY BE INFORMING VICE-MIN. CHIEN IN GENERAL TERMS OF PROSPECTIVE VISIT. WE HAVE SOME SUGGESTIONS ABOUT THE CALLS, LEADERSHIP, OBJECTIVES AND PUBLICITY OF THE U.S. NUCLEAR TEAM WHICH WE HAVE ADDRESSED BELOW. BEFORE SETTING THOSE FORTH AND AT THE RISK OF BEING OBVIOUS WE WOULD LIKE TO CALL ATTENTION ONE MORE TO THE PECULIAR NATURE OF OUR PROBLEM: WE HAVE RATHER COMPELLING EVIDENCE THAT IN SPITE OF SOLEMN AND PUBLIC ASSURANCES GIVEN BY THE GROC AND PERSONALLY BY PREMIER CHIANG, THE CHINESE MAY NOT YET HAVE GIVEN UP THEIR INTENTIONS OF ACQUIRING A CAPABILITY FOR REPROCESSING NUCLEAR FUELS, BUT (REPEAT BUT) WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO CONFRONT THEM WITH THE EVIDENCE OF THIS; THUS WE ARE SEEKING TO BRING THEM TO ABANDON THEIR EFFORTS BY, AMONG OTHER MEANS, HAVING THEM CONCLUDE THAT THEY CANNOT PROCEED WITH THEIR INTENTIONS WITHOUT OUR BEING AWARE OF IT AND THAT IF THEY PERSIST

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IN THEIR EFFORTS THEY RISK GRAVE DANGER TO THEIR CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT NUCLEAR ENERGY PROJECTS, AMONG OTHER THINGS. THE VISIT OF THE TEAM WILL TAKE PLACE IN RESPONSE TO PREMIER'S INVITATION

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BUT WILL HAVE, FOR US, THE PURPOSE OF CONVEYING THE FOREGOING.

2. CALLS: IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT THE TEAM MUST ACCOMPANY THE AMBASSADOR TO SEE PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO AT THE START OF THE VISIT, AND POSSIBLE ALSO AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE VISIT. IT IS IN RESPONSE TO THE PREMIER'S OFFER THAT THE TEAM IS MAKING ITS VISIT; IT IS THE PREMIER'S PERSONAL ASSURANCES THAT, ( WE MUST QUESTION MORE SERIOUSLY; AND IT IS OUR CONSIDERED OPINION THAT THERE WILL BE NO CHANGES IN GROC POLICY WITH REGARD TO THE ACQUISITION OF A REPROCESSING CAPABILITY UNLESS THIS CHANGE CAN BE DECIDED AND THEN GUARANTEED FROM THE TOP. THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE IT ESSENTIAL THAT THE TEAM CALL ON THE PREMIER. (NO DO WE WISH TO RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT WE MAY DECIDE, AFTER THE TEAM'S ARRIVAL, THAT IT WOULD ALSO BE DESIRABLE FOR THEM TO ACCOMPANY THE AMBASSADOR ON A CALL ON THE PRESIDENT.) WHILE WE DO NOT WISH AT THIS TIME TO ADDRESS DIRECTLY THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUED GROC EFFORTS TO ENGAGE IN REPROCESSING, NONETHELESS WE WHOULD DEAL WITH THE PREMIER BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IT WAS HE PERSONALLY WHO GAVE INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS WITH COMPRIMO IN CONFLICT WITH THE ASSURANCES PROVIDED TO THE EMBASSY BY THE MOFA NOTE OF SEPTEMBER 17, 1976..

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3. LEADERSHIP: SELECTION OF THE TEAM LEADER IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM BECAUSE IT DETERMINES TO SOME EXTENT THE LEVEL AT WHICH WE ARE WILLING TO PURSUE THIS PROBLEM WITH THE GROC. IT ALSO REFLECTS, IN CHINESE EYES, THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH BOTH TO THE VISIT ITSELF, AND TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION POLICIES WITH WHICH THE TEAM IS PRIMARILY CONCERNED. IT WOULD BE VALUABLE IF THE TEAM LEADER WERE SOMEONE WITH A SEMI-TECHNICAL BACKGROUND WHO HAS HAD SOME INVOLVEMENT IN EXEC. BRANCH NEGOTIATIONS AND DECISION-MAKING ON NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. WHILE THE DIRECTOR OF EA/ROC WOULD BE AN INFORMED AND ESSENTIAL

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MEMBER OF THE TEAM--SERVING IN EFFECT AS ITS POLITICAL ADVISOR-- WE ARE CONCERNED THAT HIS RANK IS NOT COMMENSURATE EITHER WITH THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEM AT HAND, OR APPROPRIATE TO THE LEVEL AT WHICH WE WISH TO APPROACH THE PROBLEM IN THE GROC.

4. OBJECTIVES: THE TEAM'S VISIT WILL INVOLVE A SURVEY OF ALL FACILITIES AND CONTACT WITH APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS WITH A VIEW TO FORMULATING RECOMMENDATIONS, IN CONSULTATION WITH EMBASSY, ABOUT THE NATURE, UTILITY AND PURPOSE OF POSSIBLE FUTURE U.S. GOVERNMENT INSPECTION ACTIVITIES ON TAIWAN. WE CONCUR

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THAT THE VISIT SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED A TECHNICAL INSPECTION OR IN ANY WAY LEAVE THE CHINESE WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE ACCEPTING AT FACE VALUE THE ASSURANCES GIVEN TO US ABOUT REPROCESSING; THIS IN SPITE OF THE TEAM BEING SHOWN, E.G., THE LAB SCALE REPROCESSING FACILITY IN PROCESS OF BEING DISMANTLED. THE TEAM SHOULD BE ABLE TO (1) DEEPLY IMPRESS THE GROC WITH THE GRAVITY OF U.S. CONCERN WORLD WIDE OVER THE PROLIFERATION QUESTION; (2) FULLY EXPLAIN THE TECHNICAL IMPLICATIONS OF REPROCESSING IN CONNECTION WITH PROLIFERATION DANGERS AND THEREFORE WHY WE OPPOSE REPROCESSING AND NOT JUST WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT; (3) CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THT DESPITE THE HOSPITALITY IT HAS RECEIVED AT ROC HANDS THE TEAM IS NOT ASSURED BY WHAT IT HAS SEEN, AND HAS CONTINUING DOUBTS BECAUSE OF THE LONG HISTORY OF THE ROC EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A REPROCESSING CAPABILITY IN THE FACE OF EXPLICIT USG REPRESENTATIONS TO THE CONTRARY; IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE MOREOVER, TO HAVE GENERAL REFERENCES MADE TH THE TEAM TO THE "TROUBLING CONTINUING INDICATIONS" WE HAVE THAT THE ROC STILL HAS SERIOUS INTENTIONS TO ACQUIRE A REPROCESSING CAPABILITY.

5. PUBLICITY: SINCE IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO AVOID PUBLICITY, WE BELIEVE THAT LOW-KEY ANNOUNCEMENT IN WASHINGTON OF THE TEAM'S PROSPECTIVE VISIT TO TAIWAN SHOULD BE MADE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES AT THE TIME OF DEPARTURE FROM WASHINGTON: QUOTE: TEAM (NAMES AND TITLES PROVIDED) WILL BE VISITING TAIWAN TO STUDY THE  
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OFFER MADE LAST SEPTEMBER BY PREMIER CHIANG TO HAVE TWO OR THREE U.S. NUCLEAR SCIENTISTS STATIONED IN TAIWAN.. THE TEAM EXPECTS TO SPEND ABOUT TWO WEEKS IN TAIWAN WHERE IT WILL CONSULT WITH OFFICALS OF THE GROC AND OTHER PERTINENT INDIVIDUALS AND WILL VISIT ROC NUCLEAR FACILITIES AND OTHER INSTALLATIONS. SOMETIME AFTER THEIR RETURN TO THE U.S. WHEN THEY HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO STUDY THEIR FINDINGS TOGETHER WITH ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION, THEY WILL FORMULATE THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS TO HIGHER AUTHORITY AS TO WHAT RESPONSE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S OFFER. UNQUOTE. FURTHER MATERIAL FOR THE PRESS, IF ANY IS REQUIRED, CAN BE PREPARED AND RELEASED (AFTER CONSULTING WASHINGTON, AS REQUIRED) WHILE THE TEAM IS IN TAIWAN.  
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