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FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6681

IS/FPC/CDR TRB Date: 9/13/93

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NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE FROM GLEYSTEN

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 5/29/80 (GLEYSTEN, W.H.) OR-M TAGS: PGOV, PINT, MILI, PEPR, KS, US

SUBJECT: KOREA FOCUS: USG REACTIONS TO DEVELOPMENTS IN KOREA

REF: SEOUL 6801

- 1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)
2. IN MY MOST RECENT MESSAGE (REFTEL) I GAVE YOU MY THOUGHTS ON WHERE THINGS NOW STAND IN KOREA, AND THE GENERAL POLICY LINE WE SHOULD FOLLOW AT THIS JUNCTURE. IN THIS MESSAGE I SUGGEST HOW WE MAY BEST IMPLEMENT THIS POLICY, BEGINNING WITH THE SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING APPEARANCE ON MEET THE PRESS WHICH WILL SET THE GENERAL PARAMETERS OF OUR PUBLIC POSTURE, AND HIS MEETING WITH AMB. KIM (AND MY PARALLEL MEETINGS IN SEOUL) WHERE WE CAN MORE BLUNTLY EXPRESS OUR VIEWS. GEN. WICKHAM CONCURS IN THIS MESSAGE.
3. SECRETARY'S TV APPEARANCE - FOLLOWING ARE THE POINTS WE BELIEVE THE SECRETARY SHOULD MAKE, PLUS LIKELY QUESTIONS

NODIS REVIEW
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TIONS AND PROPOSED REPLIES.

A. SUGGESTED POINTS

(NOTE: WE DO NOT THINK THE SECRETARY SHOULD, IN HIS TV APPEARANCE, MAKE A POINTED REFERENCE TO A POLICY REVIEW, ALTHOUGH WE RECOMMEND HE RAISE THIS WITH AMB. KIM.)

-- THE USG HAS BEEN DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER RECENT EVENTS IN KOREA, BOTH THE SERIOUS DISRUPTIONS TO PUBLIC ORDER AND THE SERIOUS SETBACK TO THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT CHOI. THE SPECIFIC MEASURES WHICH HAVE BEEN THE CAUSE OF OUR DEEP CONCERN ARE THE EXTENSION OF MARTIAL LAW, THE SUSPENSION OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY (CLOSURE OF ASSEMBLY, ETC.), AND THE ARREST OF POLITICAL LEADERS. (IF THE FORMATION OF THE COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED, WE SUGGEST THE SECRETARY STATE "WE DO NOT KNOW CLEARLY WHAT THIS IMPLIES. OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS IT WILL BE GOVERNED BY ITS REAL RATHER THAN ITS DECLARED IMPACT ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS.")

-- WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR STABILITY. WE WERE DEEPLY BOTHERED BY THE MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS IN SEOUL WHICH THREATENED TO GET OUT OF HAND, AND BY THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN KWANGJU. WE REALIZE THAT THE SITUATION HAD TO BE CONTROLLED. EVERYONE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL THAT THERE WAS NOT GREATER LOSS OF LIFE. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE LONG-TERM STABILITY IS BEST ASSURED IF THERE IS GENERAL HOPE THAT THE POLITICAL PROCESS WILL MOVE FORWARD ALONG ACCEPTABLE LINES.

-- WE HAVE MADE OUR VIEWS KNOWN TO THE KOREAN SECRET

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AUTHORITIES.

-- WE HAVE ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT WE WILL STAND BY OUR TREATY OBLIGATIONS SHOULD OUTSIDE FORCES ATTEMPT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SITUATION.

B. LIKELY QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTED RESPONSES

Q. HASN'T THERE REALLY BEEN A MILITARY COUP IN KOREA AND ISN'T GENERAL CHUN IN EFFECTIVE CHARGE?

A. I AM NOT GOING TO ARGUE ABOUT WHETHER THERE HAS OR HAS NOT BEEN A COUP. THE FACTS ARE THAT THE KOREAN AUTHORITIES HAVE STATED THAT THEY ARE OPERATING UNDER THEIR CONSTITUTION AND CONTINUING THEIR PROGRAM OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. NEVERTHELESS, THE KOREAN ARMY, IF ONLY BECAUSE OF MARTIAL LAW, IS PLAYING A DECISIVE ROLE. THERE IS NO CHANGE IN OUR POLICY OF PUSHING FOR THE FORMATION OF A BROADLY BASED GOVERNMENT.

Q. WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT GENERAL CHUN DOO HWAN?

A. THE LEADERSHIP IN KOREA, AS IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY, IS A MATTER FOR KOREANS. WE CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH GENERAL CHUN AND OTHER MILITARY LEADERS.

Q. WILL YOU BE MAKING A POLICY REVIEW TO INCLUDE SUCH IMPORTANT MATTERS AS SECURITY AND RELATIONS WITH PYONGYANG?

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- -- A. OUR POLICY HAS BEEN UNDER CONTINUING REVIEW SINCE PRESIDENT PARK'S ASSASSINATION.

- -- Q. HAVE YOU PROTESTED TO THE ROK CONCERNING THE ARRESTS OF POLITICAL FIGURES?

- -- A. WE HAVE MADE KNOWN TO KOREAN AUTHORITIES OUR VIEW THAT DISRUPTION OF THE POLITICAL SCENE--INCLUDING THE ARRESTS OF POLITICAL LEADERS--HAS SERIOUS AND FAR-REACHING NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES. WE HAVE INADEQUATE INFORMATION ABOUT THE ALLEGATIONS OR THEIR BASES. WE HOPE THAT THE ACCUSED WILL HAVE A FAIR TRIAL AND WILL BE TREATED HUMANELY. WE WILL TRY TO INFLUENCE THE ROK TOWARDS A COURSE OF MODERATION.

- -- Q. ARE KIM DAE JUNG (M-R: KIM TAE-CHUNG), KIM JONG PIL (M-R: KIM CHONG P'IL) AND OTHERS WELL TREATED? WE HEAR STORIES SAYING THEY ARE NOT.

- -- A. WE DO NOT HAVE INFORMATION ON THE STATUS OF INDIVIDUAL DETAINEES BUT ARE URGING ROK AUTHORITIES TO ENSURE THEIR TREATMENT IS HUMANE.

- -- Q. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW ON THE CLOSURE OF UNIVER-
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SITIES AND THE CRACKDOWN ON STUDENTS IN GENERAL?

-- A. WHILE I WOULD HOPE THE UNIVERSITIES COULD SOON BE OPENED, ONE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN SEOUL GOT OUT OF HAND.

4. SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH AMB. KIM - I SUGGEST THE SECRETARY:

A. INFORM HIM OF THE GENERAL TENOR OF THE REMARKS HE (THE SECRETARY) WILL MAKE ON TELEVISION;

B. STATE THAT ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT SO STATING PUBLICLY, WE ARE UNDERTAKING A CAREFUL AND THOROUGH REVIEW OF ALL ASPECTS OF U.S. POLICY TOWARDS KOREA. THIS PROCESS WILL TAKE SEVERAL WEEKS AND WE WILL INFORM THE ROK OF ITS RESULTS. (IF ASKED WHETHER THIS REVIEW INCLUDES THE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, WE WOULD SAY YES.)

secret review v USG pdroy

5. GLEYSTEN'S MEETING WITH ROK LEADERS - SHORTLY AFTER THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH KIM, BUT BEFORE HIS TV APPEARANCE (ASSUMING THIS IS FEASIBLE GIVEN THE WASHINGTON-SEOUL TIME DIFFERENCE), I WOULD CALL ON FONMIN PARK TO MAKE A PRESENTATION SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE SECRETARY, BUT GOING INTO MORE DETAILS ON THE TREATMENT OF DETAINEES, THE INADVISABILITY OF ARRESTING TOP BUSINESSMEN, THE NEED FOR MAGNANIMOUS TREATMENT OF STUDENTS, KWANGJU-ITES, ETC.

6. PRC MEETING - I SUGGEST THAT THE FIRST POLICY REVIEW TAKE PLACE RELATIVELY EARLY. DURING LATER MEETINGS WE COULD WORK OUT WHAT WE SHOULD TELL THE KOREANS AND THE PUBLIC ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF OUR REVIEW PROCESS.

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7. OUR INTERIM POSTURE TOWARDS THE ROKG - IN LINE WITH THE MAJOR POLICY MOVES ADDRESSED ABOVE, I BELIEVE WE MUST TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO SET THE CLIMATE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EMERGING ROK REGIME. WE BELIEVE THE PROPER POSTURE MIGHT BE TERMED "COOL BUT POLITE." WE WOULD ADOPT A CERTAIN RESERVE IN FORMAL RELATIONSHIPS. THIS RESERVE WOULD NOT BE CARRIED TO THE POINT OF DAMAGING NORMAL WORKING RELATIONSHIPS INCLUDING WITH GENERAL CHUN. PROGRESS OF MILITARY AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION SHOULD CONTINUE WITHOUT INTERFERENCE. INTER ALIA, I RECOMMEND:

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A. SCM - WE SHOULD NOT RAISE IT. IF THE KOREANS DO, WE COULD OFFER A VICE-MINISTERIAL MEETING "AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME" - BUT NO EARLIER THAN VERY LATE 1980. IN ANY CASE, NO PUBLICITY.

B. KOREAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL COOPERATION COMMITTEE (KACCC) - WHILE WE SHOULD FOLLOW THROUGH WITH THE PRESIDENT'S ENGAGEMENT TO ESTABLISH THE KACCC, WE SHOULD POSTPONE THE FIRST MEETING (TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST), ESPECIALLY IF IT INVOLVES SENIOR OFFICIALS WITH ATTENDANT WELL-PUBLICIZED SMILING PICTURES.

C. PPT - WE SHOULD POSTPONE THIS "FOR A PERIOD OF TIME." AGAIN, NO PUBLICITY.

D. VISITS AND COURTESIES - WE SHOULD RECEIVE SENIOR KOREANS IN WASHINGTON VERY SELECTIVELY, REVIEWING SUCH VISITS ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. MEMBERS OF THE MORIBUND ASSEMBLY SHOULD BE RECEIVED (ON THE HILL AND ELSEWHERE) ONLY IN THEIR PERSONAL CAPACITY, NOT AS COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN.

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ETC. VISITS BY SENIOR OFFICIAL AMERICANS TO KOREA SHOULD
SIMILARLY BE REVIEWED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS TO MAKE
CERTAIN THAT ONLY THOSE WITH SERIOUS BUSINESS COME.
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