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SECRET SECTION 01 OF 05 SEOUL 17071

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CHEROKEE

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 11/8/99 (GLEYSTEEN, W.H.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, KS, US
SUBJECT: KOREA FOCUS -- SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION WITH
FOREIGN MINISTER PARK TONG-JIN NOVEMBER 3, 1979

1. (S) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING IS MEMCON COVERING SECRETARY VANCE'S DIS-
CUSSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER PARK TONG-JIN ON NOVEMBER 3,
1979. OTHER PARTICIPANTS WERE: AMBASSADOR WILLIAM
GLEYSTEEN; ASSISTANT SECRETARY RICHARD HOLBROOKS; AND
NICHOLAS PLATT, STAFF MEMBER, NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL.

3. BEGIN MEMCON:
SECRET VANCE: THIS IS A VERY SAD OCCASION FOR ALL OF
US. I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND TO YOU THE CONDOLENCES OF
PRESIDENT CARTER AND ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED
STATES. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PLACE OF PRESIDENT PARK IN
HISTORY IS SECURE. HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO ECONOMIC DEVELO-
PMENT AND THE FASHIONING OF A MODERN, EFFICIENT INDUSTRIAL
SECTOR WERE MATCHED BY RECOGNITION OF THE NEED TO DEVELOP
THE RURAL AREAS. HIS DEATH IS PARTICULARLY TRAGIC TO THE
PARK FAMILY, HAVING LOST FIRST A MOTHER AND NOW A FATHER.
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OUR CONDOLENCES ARE COUPLED WITH CONFIDENCE THAT THE
CHILDREN WILL COPE WITH THESE TRAGEDIES AND GO FORWARD
WITH DETERMINATION IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: CHARLES E LAHIGUERA
DATE/CASE ID: 27 JUN 2005  200501785
FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: WE DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE EXPRESSION OF DEEP SYMPATHY FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS CONCERNING THIS TRAGIC INCIDENT. WE HAVE LOST A GREAT LEADER IN OUR HISTORY. AS THE MAN WHO HAD TO TAKE CHARGE OF OUR GOVERNMENT, HE MIGHT HAVE MADE SOME ERRORS, BUT HE EXERCISED STRONG LEADERSHIP AND PRESIDED OVER A PERIOD OF SPECTACULAR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WHICH GREATLY ENHANCED THE WELFARE OF OUR PEOPLE. PRESIDENT PARK BENEFITED FROM CONSTANT SUPPORT FROM THE UNITED STATES THROUGHOUT THE YEARS.

SECRETARY VANCE: YOU CAN CONTINUE TO COUNT ON THE CONSTANT SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES. WE ARE A STAUNCHALLY. WE STAND WITH YOU IN MAINTAINING PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. WE ARE WATCHING EVENTS TO THE NORTH WITH GREAT CARE IN AN EFFORT TO ENSURE THAT NOTHING HAPPENS TO THE SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: WE HIGHLY APPRECIATE THE STEPS ALREADY TAKEN BY YOUR GOVERNMENT TO SAFEGUARD THE SECURITY OF THIS COUNTRY. THE ENTIRE KOREAN PEOPLE ARE AWARE AND APPRECIATE THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS STEADFASTNESS IN TAKING THOSE MEASURES SINCE OCTOBER 26. WE ARE GREATLY DISAPPOINTED AND SHOCKED BY THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER 26. HOWEVER, AT THE PRESENT, THE NEED FOR IDEAS AS TO WHAT WE DO IN THE COMING MONTHS IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT. THIS IS A TIME OF GREAT CHALLENGE, A TIME TO DEMONSTRATE UNITY, A SENSE OF PURPOSE, WISDOM AND COURAGE.

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- TO OVERCOME THIS CRISIS, WE KNOW WE MUST FORM A CORRECT PERCEPTION OF THE ACTUAL SITUATION EXISTING HERE SINCE OCTOBER 26. ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION, PRIME MINISTER CHOE HAS ASSUMED THE ACTING PRESIDENCY. WE HAVE BEEN BUSY SO FAR PREPARING FOR THE STATE FUNERAL. BUT FROM MONDAY ON THE SITUATION WILL BE DIFFERENT. YESTERDAY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE AND AMBASSADOR GLEYSTEEN MET WITH ME TO DISCUSS MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST.

SECRETARY VANCE: THEY REPORTED TO ME LAST NIGHT.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: ON THIS OCCASION, LET ME SUPPLEMENT WHAT I SAID TO THEM. OUR GOVERNMENT HAS NO FIXED POSITION ON THESE MATTERS. WE HAVE JUST BEEN TOUCHING ON THESE THINGS, HOPING TO FORMULATE SOME IDEAS.

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I MYSELF HAVE BEEN TRYING TO ASCERTAIN WHAT SORT OF REACTION OUR PEOPLE HAVE SHOWN TO THE CHAIN OF EVENTS SINCE OCTOBER 26. MY PERCEPTIONS ARE BASED ON PERSONAL CONTACTS AND ON THE REPORTS AVAILABLE. I BELIEVE THE KOREAN PEOPLE ALL EXPRESS DEEP SYMPATHY AND CONDOLENCES, BUT THEY KNOW THAT THE WAY WE DEAL WITH THE FUTURE IS VITALLY IMPORTANT. THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE MAINTENANCE OF STABILITY. THEIR FIRST CONCERN IS THE MAINTENANCE OF NATIONAL SECURITY AGAINST THE NORTH, AND THEN STABILITY AT HOME IN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS. WHATSOEVER CHANGES MAY OCCUR IN THE FUTURE, THEY WANT TO SEE THEM MADE PEACEFULLY AND IN AN ORDERLY MANNER. THEY SEE THAT THERE ARE THREE EVILS TO BE AVOIDED:

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--- NO POLITICAL REPRISALS AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE WORKED FOR PRESIDENT PARK UNDER THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION AND BEING IDENTIFIED WITH THE PREVIOUS SYSTEM. IF THE OPPOSITION FORCES TAKE OVER, THIS DANGER EXISTS.

--- A MILITARY TAKEOVER. THE KOREAN PEOPLE DO NOT WANT TO SEE THIS.

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THE PREVIOUS YUSHIN SYSTEM BLINDLY FOLLOWED AND
PRESERVED IS ALSO SOMETHING THE PEOPLE WANT TO
AVOID.

HOW TO AVOID THESE IS THE BIG QUESTION. TO HELP YOU
UNDERSTAND AND ANALYZE THE SITUATION, MR. SECRETARY, LET
ME LIST A NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL SECTORS IN OUR POLITICAL
SYSTEM:

-- THE ARMED FORCES.
-- THE FORCES OF THE OPPOSITION POLITICAL GROUPS.
-- COLLEGE STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS.
-- THE GOVERNMENT IN POWER HEADED BY ACTING PRESIDENT.
-- THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

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ALL OF THESE FACTORS COMBINED WILL AFFECT FUTURE DE-
VELOPMENTS IN KOREA. THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT THEIR COUNTRY
HAS A VERY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES.
THEY ARE AWARE OF THE CLOSE COOPERATION IN SECURITY AND
ECONOMIC MATTERS AND THE HISTORIC CONTRIBUTION THAT YOU
HAVE MADE TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.
THEREFORE, THEY ARE CONCERNED OVER HOW THE UNITED STATES
WILL REACT TOWARD DEVELOPMENTS HERE.

LET ME NOW TELL YOU OF THE THINKING OF THE ACTING
PRESIDENT IN COPING WITH THE CURRENT SITUATION. MY
ASSESSMENT IS VERY PERSONAL, AND YOU MAY FEEL MY REMARKS
SOMETHAT CRITICAL, BUT I HOPE YOU WILL UNDERSTAND.

ACTING PRESIDENT CHOI HAS SERVED AS PRIME MINISTER
FOR NEARLY FOUR YEARS UNDER PRESIDENT PARK. I REGARD
HIM TO BE A RELATIVELY INACTIVE MAN, WHO PREFERENCES TO
FOLLOW RATHER THAN TO LEAD, BUT IS HONEST, SINCERE, AND
HARD WORKING. BECAUSE PRESIDENT PARK WAS SO STRONG,
CHOI REFRAINED FROM TAKING INITIATIVES. HE DID NOT WANT
TO INTERFERE. NOW, AN ENORMOUS RESPONSIBILITY HAS FALLEN
TOTAII UNEXPECTEDLY ON HIS SHOULDERS. HIS METHODS OF
CONDUCTING HIS CURRENT DUTIES IS TO CALL MEETINGS AND GAIN
BENEFIT FROM THE DISCUSSIONS. HE IS NOT AN AGGRESSIVE
MAN, BUT HE WILL NOT MAKE MISTAKES BECAUSE HE WILL NOT
TAKE THE INITIATIVE. RATHER, HE WILL ADAPT TO THE CON-
SENSUS. SO FAR, FOR THE LAST WEEK THERE HAS BEEN A
MEETING AT BREAKFAST EVERY DAY FOR FIVE OR SIX PEOPLE (IN
ANOTHER CONVERSATION, HE HAS MENTIONED SEVEN OR EIGHT
INDIVIDUALS), INCLUDING ACTING PRESIDENT CHOI, DEFENSE
MINISTER RO, ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF CHUNG (THE MARTIAL LAW
ADMINISTRATOR), AND GENERAL KIM, CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT
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CHIEFS OF STAFF, REPRESENTING THE ARMED FORCES. (PARK TONG-JIN HAS ALSO BEEN A MEMBER, HIS COMMENTS IMPLY.) SO FAR, WE HAVE CONDUCTED OURSELVES IN AN ORDERLY WAY, WITH NO INCONVENIENCE AT ALL. ACTING PRESIDENT CHOI TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE POSITIONS ADOPTED IN THE MEETINGS. THIS WAY OF DOING BUSINESS HAS BENEFITS FOR US AND WILL CONTINUE.

- IN THESE MEETINGS, WE HAVE TOUCHED ON A NUMBER OF THINGS WHICH WILL AFFECT THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY. WE ARE AWARE THAT WE SHOULD MAKE BEST USE OF THE TIME AVAILABLE TO MAINTAIN THE NATIONAL SECURITY, STABILITY, AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COUNTRY. BUT, WE HAVE NOT DEALT WITH THE POLITICAL MATTERS IN DEPTH. THE ACTING PRESIDENT HAS THE DUTY AND THE POWER TO DECIDE. HE SHOULD PRESENT THE MEASURES THAT HE THINKS ARE REQUIRED. HE WILL ISSUE A STATEMENT EARLY NEXT WEEK TO SHOW WHERE THE CARETAKER CABINET STANDS. WE HAVE TALKED ABOUT WHERE THE UNITED STATES STANDS AND WHAT ROLE YOU CAN PLAY. IT WOULD HELP US IF THE UNITED STATES WOULD STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING STABILITY, AND EMPHASIZE A PEACEFUL EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.

- WE ARE AWARE OF A NUMBER OF THE MEASURES THAT WILL BE REQUIRED, SUCH AS AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION. THE ONLY QUESTION IS HOW TO DO THIS. WE KNOW THAT THE SYSTEM MUST BE LIBERALIZED. THE ONLY QUESTION IS HOW FAST. WE KNOW WE MUST TAKE CERTAIN MEASURES TO ACCOMMODATE THE DESIRES OF THE PEOPLE. THE ONLY QUESTION IS HOW WE CAN ACHIEVE THESE.

- THE CENTRAL PROBLEM IS HOW TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION

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AND RESTORE DIRECT ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT. THERE ARE
A NUMBER OF OPTIONS, WHICH I EXPLAINED YESTERDAY TO THE
AMBASSADOR AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOK, BUT WHATEVER
WE DO, WE MUST VOID THE "THREE EVILS" (POLITICAL REPRISALS,
MILITARY TAKEOVER, AND THE INDEFINITE CONTINUATION OF
YUSHIN). IN MY VIEW, BLIND PROLONGATION OF YUSHIN IS
HOPELESS.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOK: DOES THE GROUP THAT MEETS
EACH DAY SHARE THIS VIEW?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: THEY HAVE NOT DEALT WITH THE ISSUE
IN DETAIL.

SECRETARY VANCE: BUT THIS IS THE CONSENSUS? ALL OF US
HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED WITH THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILIAN CON-
TROL. THIS HAS BEEN NOTED IN MY COUNTRY AND THROUGHOUT
THE WORLD.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: IF CHAOS OCCURS, THE ARMED FORCES
WOULD BE TEMPTED TO TAKE OVER. THIS WOULD HURT THE INter-
ESTS OF THE COUNTRY. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE
POLITICIANS HERE TO PREVENT THE CHAOS THAT MIGHT PROMPT
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THE MILITARY TO INTERVENE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE OPPO-
SITION FORCES BELIEVE THAT THERE IS NOW A NEW ERA, AND
THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE OVER THE GOVERNMENT.

SECRETARY VANCE: IN ANY CONTACTS THAT WE HAVE WITH THE
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OPPOSITION, WE WILL BE CAREFUL TO COUNSEL MODERATION.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOK: YESTERDAY, AFTER OUR CONVERSATION WITH YOU, I CALLED ON GENERAL WICKHAM. HE ASSURED ME THAT HE SENSED NO DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE ARMED FORCES TO ASSUME CONTROL.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: WELL, OUR ARMED FORCES ARE VERY LARGE, AND THERE ARE MANY FACTIONS.

AMBASSADOR GLEYSTEEN: YOU ARE RIGHT TO POINT OUT THE DANGERS OF CHAOS. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT THE LOWER LEVELS OF THE EMBASSY ARE ALREADY IN CONTACT WITH OPPOSITION FIGURES. I WILL BE IN CONTACT TOO. WE ARE COUNSELING MODERATION. WE CAN BE HELPFUL.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: RIGHT. I HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH THAT. IT WILL BE HELPFUL IF THE UNITED STATES CAN COUNSEL MODERATION FOR BOTH THE OPPOSITION AND THE ARMED FORCES. AS FAR AS THE GOVERNMENT PARTIES ARE CONCERNED, THIS IS NOT AN ISSUE.

SECRETARY VANCE: IN THE EVOLUTION OF WHAT TAKES PLACE, OBVIOUSLY THE UNITED STATES WOULD HOPE THAT A BROAD BASE OF SUPPORT WOULD DEVELOP.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: THE PEOPLE GOT TIRED OF THE LONG REIGN OF PRESIDENT PARK, DESPITE HIS CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. THEY FEEL THAT THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION SECRET

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IS THE WRONG KIND OF CONSTITUTION. SO, ALONG WITH THE DISAPPEARANCE OF PRESIDENT PARK, PEOPLE EXPECT IMPORTANT REFORMS.

AMBASSADOR GLEYSTEEN: DO YOU FEEL THERE IS ENOUGH PATIENCE ON BOTH SIDES, I.E. THE MILITARY AND THE OPPOSITION?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: I THINK SO. IF THERE IS A COOLING PERIOD, THAT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO A RATIONAL APPROACH. IF THERE IS NO COOLING PERIOD, THEN CHAOS MIGHT RESULT.

SECRETARY VANCE: DURING THE COOLING PERIOD, WHEN YOU WILL BE FIGURING OUT WHAT TO DO, WHAT WILL BE YOUR PRACTICE IN CONSULTING WITH VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: THE ACTING PRESIDENT WILL AIR
MATTERS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND WILL CONSULT ELDER
STATESMEN. THERE MIGHT BE DEBATE IN THE PRESS SO PEOPLE
CAN SET THEIR VIEWS FORWARD.
SECRETARY VANCE: THAT SOUNDS VERY CONSTRUCTIVE.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: I WOULD RECOMMEND THIS TO THE
ACTING PRESIDENT, EVEN TO THE POINT OF MEETING WITH THE
OPPOSITION PARTIES.

SECRETARY VANCE: WHEN DOES THE GOVERNMENT PLAN TO INDICATE HOW IT INTENDS TO PROCEED?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: I HAVE SERIOUSLY ADVISED THE
ACTING PRESIDENT ON THESE METHODS. HE IS PLANNING A
STATEMENT TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY CONCERNING HIS EFFORTS
TO SEARCH FOR A CONSENSUS. AT THE MEETING TOMORROW

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MORNING, HE WILL SHOW US A DRAFT STATEMENT.

SECRETARY VANCE: THAT'S VERY CONSTRUCTIVE. VERY GOOD.
WHAT ABOUT CONVENING THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WILL CONVENE
ON THE 5TH AND THEN AGAIN ON THE 12TH. AT THE MEETING ON
THE 5TH THE GOVERNMENT PARTIES WILL RETURN THE RESIGNATIONS OF THE NDP AND USE THE INTERVENING WEEK TO CONSULT

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AMBASSADOR GLEYSTEEN: IS KIM YONG-SAM STILL OUT?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: YES, HE IS STILL OUT.
ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: SINCE OUR MEETING YESTERDAY, HAS YOUR THINKING EVOLVED ON HOW TO CHOOSE A NEW PRESIDENT?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: MY THINKING HAS NOT DEVELOPED SINCE THEN. THE QUESTION REQUIRES CAREFUL CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. ONE CAN EXPRESS A PREFERENCE ONLY AFTER ONE HAS DETECTED OTHERS’ VIEWS. IT IS BEST TO BE CAREFUL HERE.

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SECRETARY VANCE: SO WHAT YOU ARE SAYING IS THAT YOU SEE A PERIOD OF CONSULTATION, FOLLOWED BY A DETERMINATION OF THE OPTIONS FOR PROCEEDING.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: YES. ONE THING IS CLEAR. IF WE ARE TO PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT FOR ORDER, WE MUST FOLLOW OUR CONSTITUTION. THEREFORE, THERE MUST BE AN ELECTION WITHIN THE NEXT THREE MONTHS. FOLLOWING THAT, MY PERSONAL BELIEF IS THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR A PRESIDENT TO SERVE A FULL TERM UNDER THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION.

SECRETARY VANCE: THAT IS A CORRECT JUDGMENT, I THINK.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: I DON’T THINK THE PEOPLE WANT TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY. THEY WANT TO PROCEED CAREFULLY.

AMBASSADOR GLEYSTEEN: IF YOU ARE ABLE TO PROCEED AS YOU HAVE DESCRIBED, WITH A FREE CONSULTATIVE PERIOD FOLLOWED BY A RATIONAL CHOICE OF OPTIONS, COMMON SENSE WILL BE YOUR ALLY. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF YOU KEEP DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES REPRRESSED, RADICAL IDEAS MAY EMERGE.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: WHO WILL BE THE NATURAL LEADERS OF THE YUJONGHOE?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: THAT’S A GOOD QUESTION. I THINK PERSONALLY THEY WILL BE VERY CAREFUL. THERE WILL BE CONSULTATION BETWEEN VARIOUS GROUPS. BUT THE YUJONGHOE MEMBERS KNOW THAT THEY HAVE NO RESPECT FROM THE PUBLIC.
AMBASSADOR GLEYSTEEN: WOHN'T THERE BE AN ISSUE OF THEIR ELECTION TO THE ASSEMBLY? IN ADDITION TO DIRECT ELECTION SECRET

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OF THE PRESIDENT, IS THERE NOT ALSO A CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE OVER THE YUJONHOE'S APPOINTIVE RATHER THAN ELECTIVE NATURE?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: OF COURSE, BUT IF WE WANT TO PROCEED IN AN ORDERLY MANNER, WE HAVE TO ACCEPT THAT FOR THE TIME BEING.

SECRETARY VANCE: WE RECOGNIZE CLEARLY THAT THE DIFFICULT DECISIONS THAT FACE YOU MUST BE FOR KOREANS TO MAKE. YOU CAN COUNT ON US TO GIVE YOU REALISTIC PRIVATE ADVICE. AMBASSADOR GLEYSTEEN AND GENERAL WICKHAM WILL BE AVAILABLE TO HELP. WE WILL BE CAREFUL NOT TO ENGAGE IN PUBLIC CRITICISM. WE KNOW THE NEED FOR UNITY AND COHESION.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: IN ADDITION TO THE OPTIONS I HAVE DISCUSSED WITH AMBASSADOR GLEYSTEEN AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE, THERE ARE TWO ADDITIONAL OPTIONS RELATING TO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. ONE IS TO ELECT A PRESIDENT ACCORDING TO THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION BUT LIMIT HIS TERM AND FOCUS HIS DUTIES ON REFORM AND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION IN PREPARATION FOR A NEW CONSTITUTION AND A NEW PRESIDENT. THE OTHER IS TO FIND A WAY TO PERMIT THE ACTING PRESIDENT TO EXTEND HIS TERM BEYOND THE THREE-MONTH PERIOD STIPULATED BY THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION AND LET HIM OVERSEE THE AMENDMENT PROCESS. EACH OF THESE INVOLVES A LEGAL PROBLEM.

SECRETARY VANCE: HOW IS THE CONSTITUTION AMENDED? BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THEN RATIFIED BY A REFERENDUM OR DOES THE PRESIDENT MAKE RECOMMENDATION WHICH IS APPROVED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THEN SUBMITTED TO A NATIONAL REFERENDUM?

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FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: THE LATTER IS EASIEST. IT IS LESS COMPLICATED IF THE PRESIDENT RECOMMENDS. THE QUESTION IS WHAT OPTION THE PEOPLE WOULD PREFER UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES. HERE AGAIN, ONE MUST TAKE CARE TO AVOID THE "THREE EVILS".

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOK: THERE IS A FOURTH EVIL, AND THAT IS CHAOS, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO ONE OF THE OTHER THREE EVILS.

SECRETARY VANCE: LET ME COMMENT ON THE ECONOMIC SITUATION. I THINK I CAN BE HELPFUL. IN OUR DEPARTURE STATEMENT WE PLAN TO POINT OUT THAT WE HAVE TOTAL CONFIDENCE IN YOU, THAT THE PLANNED ONE BILLION DOLLAR EXIM BANK LOAN WILL GO THROUGH ON SCHEDULE, AND THAT OUR OWN HIGH-LEVEL ECONOMIC OFFICIALS WILL BE COMING TO KOREA AS SCHEDULED. I THINK THAT WILL HAVE A CALMING EFFECT.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: THAT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL. I HOPE YOU WILL PLAY THIS UP.

SECRETARY VANCE: WHAT DO YOU FORESEE AS THE FATE OF EMERGENCY MEASURE 9 AND THOSE POLITICAL PRISONERS DETAINED UNDER IT?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: I HAVE NOT TOUCHED ON THESE ISSUES WITH THE ACTING PRESIDENT, BUT PERSONALLY I BELIEVE WE MUST DO SOMETHING ON THIS SUBJECT. TIMING IS VERY IMPORTANT. THESE ISSUES SHOULD BE INCLUDED AS PART OF THE SECRET...
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FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT YOU SUPPORT THE ACTING PRESIDENT’S STATEMENT NEXT WEEK.
SECRETARY VANCE: WE WILL. IT WILL BE HELPFUL IF WE HAVE SOME ADVANCE NOTICE.
FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: YOU WILL HAVE THAT. THE ACTING PRESIDENT WILL GIVE A VERY MODERATE STATEMENT EMASPRZFZSING AN ORDERLY EVOLUTION AND THE MAINTENANCE OF STABILITY.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THAT YOU HAVE IN THIS COUNTRY 50 OF THE WORLD’S LEADING REPORTERS. THEY WILL STAY A WEEK AND THEN DRIFT AWAY. EVERYTHING DONE DURING THIS PERIOD WILL BE MAGNIFIED ENORMOUSLY. FOR EXAMPLE, YOUR DECISION TO INVITE THE OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENT PARK’S FUNERAL WAS VERY WELL RECEIVED. THE ACTIONS OF NEXT WEEK ARE VITAL. THE OTHER POINT IS THAT THE PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE OCTOBER 26 INCIDENT BE SEEN IN PUBLIC. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN PLAGUED FOR YEARS BY THE EVENTS FOLLOWING THE KENNEDY ASSASSINATION. THE REPORTERS NOW ARE FULL OF RUMORS. THE MORE RAPIDLY THESE ARE DISPelled, THE BETTER.
AMBASSADOR GLEYSTEN: THERE NEEDS TO BE A FULL REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATION AND ULTIMATELY A PUBLIC TRIAL.
FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: WHEN LAST I HEARD, A FULL REPORT WAS UNDER PREPARATION. BUT YOU KNOW THAT MANY PEOPLE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE INVESTIGATION AND THE PROCESS OF CROSS-CHECKING THEIR TESTIMONY IS TAKING A LOT OF TIME.
- YOU WILL BE SEEING THE ACTING PRESIDENT THIS AFTER-
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NOON. I HOPE YOU WILL STRESS TO HIM SOME OF THE POINTS YOU HAVE MADE TO ME.
SECRETARY VANCE: YOU HAVE OUR SYMPATHY AND OUR HELP.
FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: WE COUNT ON IT.
SECRETARY VANCE: I WILL TELL THE PRESS THAT WE HAVE HD A MEETING IN WHICH CONDOLENCES AND SYMPATHY WERE EX-
pressed. I WILL NOT HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE. THIS IS NOT THE TIME FOR ANY OF US TO TALK TO THE PRESS.

END MEMCON. GLEYSTEN

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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E.O. 120651 ND-3 11/3/95 (GLEYSTEEN, R.M.) ORK

tags: POLY, PINT, KD, US

subject: KOREA FOULS -- SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION WITH

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1. (S) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING IS MEMO COVERING SECRETARY VANCE'S DISCUSSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER PARK TUNG-JIN ON NOVEMBER 3, 1979. OTHER PARTICIPANTS HERE: AMBASSADOR WILLIAM GLEYSTEEN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY RICHARD HOLLMOUSEY AND NICHOLAS PLATT, STAFF MEMBER, NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL.

3. BEGIN MEMO:

SECRET VANCE: THIS IS A VERY SAD OCCASION FOR ALL OF US. I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND TO YOU THE CONDOLENCES OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PLACE OF PRESIDENT PARK IN HISTORY IS SECURE; HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE FASHIONING OF A MODERN, EFFICIENT INDUSTRIAL SECTOR ARE MATCHED BY RECOGNITION OF THE NEED TO DEVELOP THE RURAL AREAS, HIS DEATH IS PARTICULARLY TRAGIC TO THE PARK FAMILY, HAVING LOST FIRST A MOTHER AND NOW A FATHER.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OUR CONCERNS ARE COUPLED WITH CONFIDENCE THAT THE CHILDREN WILL CURE WITH THESE TRAUMAS AND GO FORWARD WITH DETERMINATION IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE EXPRESSIO OF DEEP SYMPATHY FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS CONCERNING THIS TRAGIC INCIDENT. WE HAVE LOST A GREAT LEADER IN OUR HISTORY, AS THE MAN WHO TOOK CHARGE OF OUR GOVERNMENT, HE MIGHT HAVE MADE SOME ERRORS, BUT HE EXERCISED STRONG LEADERSHIP AND PRESIDED OVER A PERIOD OF SPECTACULAR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WHICH GREATLY ENHANCED THE WELFARE OF OUR PEOPLE. PRESIDENT PARK BENEFITED FROM CONSTANT SUPPORT FROM THE UNITED STATES THROUGHOUT THE YEARS.

SECRETARY VANCE: YOU CAN CONTINUE TO COUNT ON THE CONSTANT SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES. WE ARE A STAUDY ALLOY. WE STAND WITH YOU IN MAINTAINING PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. WE ARE WATCHING EVENTS TO THE NORTH WITH GREAT CARE IN AN EFFORT TO ENSURE THAT NOTHING HAPPENS TO THE SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: I HIGHLY APPRECIATE THE STEPS ALREADY TAKEN BY YOUR GOVERNMENT TO SAFEGUARD THE SECURITY OF THIS COUNTRY. THE ENTIRE KOREAN PEOPLE ARE AWAKE AND APPRECIATE THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS STEADFASTNESS IN TAKING THOSE MEASURES SINCE OCTOBER 26. WE ARE GREATLY DISAPPOINTED AND SHOCKED BY THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER 26, HOWEVER, AT THE PRESENT, THE NEED FOR IDEAS AS TO WHAT WE DO IN THE COMING MONTHS IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT. THIS IS A TIME OF GREAT CHALLENGE, A TIME TO DEMONSTRATE UNITY, A SENSE OF PURPOSE, WISDOM AND COURAGE.

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SECRETARY VANCE TELLS ME THEY REPORTED TO ME LAST NIGHT.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: [ ]
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Page No(s). 5 - 6

have been withheld in their entirety.

Exemption(s) invoked: (b)(6)
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ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOLDOWEN: DUED THE GROUP THAT MEETS EACH DAY DHAME THIS VIEW?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK:

SECRETARY VAN LE: BUT THIS IS THE CONSENSUS. ALL OF US HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED WITH THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILIAN CONTROL. THIS HAS BEEN NOTED IN MY COUNTRY AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK:

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SECRETARY VANCE: IN ANY CONTACTS THAT WE HAVE WITH THE OPPUSITION, WE WILL BE CAREFUL TO COUNSEL MODERATION. ASSISTANT SECRETARY HULDRKOSKI YESTERDAY, AFTER OUR CONVERSATION WITH YOU, CALLED ON GENERAL NIKAMAM. HE ASSURED ME THAT HE SENSED NO DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE ARMED FORCES TO ASSUME CONTROL.

FOREIGN MINISTER PAKKI: ARMED FORCES VERY LARGE.

AMBASSADOR BLEYSTEIN: YOU ARE RIGHT TO POINT OUT THE DANGERS OF CHAOS. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT THE LOWER LEVELS OF THE EMBASSY ARE ALREADY IN CONTACT WITH OPPOSITION FIGURES. I WILL BE IN CONTACT YOU. WE ARE COUNSELLING MODERATION. WE CAN BE HELPFUL.

FOREIGN MINISTER PAKKI: THAT. IT WILL BE HELPFUL.

SECRETARY VANCE: IN THE EVOLUTION OF WHAT TAKES PLACE, OBVIOUSLY THE UNITED STATES WOULD HOPE THAT A BROAD BASE OF SUPPORT WOULD DEVELOP.

FOREIGN MINISTER PAKKI:

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AMBASSADOR BLEYSTEIN: DO YOU FEEL THERE IS ENOUGH PATIENCE ON BOTH SIDES, I.E. THE MILITARY AND THE OPPOSITION?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: YES, I DO.

SECRETARY VANDE: DURING THE COOLING PERIOD, WHEN YOU WILL BE FIGURING OUT WHAT TO DO, WHAT WILL BE YOUR PRACTICE IN CONSULTING WITH VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: THAT SOUNDS VERY CONSTRUCTIVE.

SECRETARY VANDE: THAT SOUNDS VERY CONSTRUCTIVE.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: YES.

SECRETARY VANDE: WHEN DOES THE GOVERNMENT PLAN TO INFORM THE NATION HOW IT INTENDS TO PROCEED?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: WE HAVE EVOLVED ON HOW TO ENCLOSE A NEW PRESIDENT.
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SECRETARY VANCE: THAT'S VERY CONSTRUCTIVE. VERY GOOD. WHAT ABOUT CONVENING THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK

AMBASSADOR ULYSSEN: IS KIM YUN-SAAP STILL OUT?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLDMOORE: SINCE OUR MEETING YESTERDAY, HAS YOUR THINKING EVOLVED ON HOW TO CHOOSE A NEW PRESIDENT?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK

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SECRETARY VANCE: SO WHAT YOU ARE SAYING IS THAT YOU SEE A PERIOD OF CONSULTATION, FOLLOWED BY A DETERMINATION OF THE OPTIONS FOR PROCEEDING.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARKI:

SECRETARY VANCE: THAT IS A CURRRENT JUDGMENT, I THINK.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARKI:

AMBASSADOR GEISTEKEN: IF YOU ARE ABLE TO PROCEED AS YOU HAVE DESCRIBED, WITH A FREE CONSULTATIVE PERIOD FOLLOWED BY A NATIONAL CHOICE OF OPTIONS, COMMON SENSE WILL BE YOUR ALLEY. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF YOU KEEP DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES REPRRESSED, RADICAL IDEAS MAY EMERGE.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLDHOUR: WHO WILL BE THE NATURAL LEADERS OF THE TWO GROUPS?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARKI:

AMBASSADOR GEISTEKEN: DON'T THERE BE AN ISSUE OF THEIR ELECTION TO THE ASSEMBLY? IN ADDITION TO DIRECT ELECTION SECRET

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OF THE PRESIDENT: IS THERE NOT ALSO A CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE
EVEN THE YUJUNMUHE'S APPOINTIVE RATHER THAN ELECTIVE
NATURE?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARKI

SECRETARY VANCE: WE RECOGNIZE CLEARLY THAT THE DIFFICULT
DECISIONS THAT FACE YOU MUST BE FOR KOREANS TO MAKE. YOU
CAN COUNT ON US TO GIVE YOU REALISTIC PRIVATE ADVICE.
AMBASSADOR ULEYSTEEN AND GENERAL MILKMAN WILL BE AVAILABLE
TO HELP. WE WILL BE CAREFUL NOT TO ENGAGE IN PUBLIC
CRITICISM. WE KNOW THE NEED FOR UNITY AND COMRADE.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARKI

SECRETARY VANCE: HOW IS THE CONSTITUTION AMENDED? BY THE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THEN RATIFIED BY A REFERENDUM? OR
DOES THE PRESIDENT MAKE RECOMMENDATION WHICH IS APPROVED
BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THEN SUBMITTED TO A NATIONAL
REFERENDUM?

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLDHOOKE: THERE IS A FOURTH EVIL, AND THAT IS CONSUME, WHICH COULD LEAD TO ONE OF THE OTHER THREE EVILS.

SECRETARY VANCE: LET ME COMMENT ON THE ECONOMIC SITUATION. I THINK I CAN BE HELPFUL. IN OUR DEPARTMENT STATEMENT WE PLAN TO POINT OUT THAT WE HAVE TOTAL CONFIDENCE IN YOU, THAT THE PLANNED ONE BILLION DOLLAR EXIM BANK LOAN WILL GO THROUGH ON SCHEDULE, AND THAT OUR L-WA HIGH-LLEVEL ECONOMIC OFFICIALS WILL BE COMING TO KOREA AS SCHEDULED. I THINK THAT WILL HAVE A CALMING EFFECT.

SECRETARY VANCE: WHAT DO YOU FORESEE AS THE FATE OF EMERGENCY MEASURES AND THOSE POLITICAL PRISONERS DETAINED UNDER IT?

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: 

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SECRETARY VANCE: YOU HAVE MANY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS, BUT YOU ALSO HAVE A STRONG FRIEND AND ALLEY IN THE UNITED STATES. ANYTIME YOU WOULD LIKE PRIVATE ADVICE, YOU WILL HAVE IT, AND IT WILL REMAIN PRIVATE.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK:

SECRETARY VANCE: WE WILL. IT WILL BE HELPFUL IF WE HAVE SOME ADVANCE NOTICE.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOK: IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THAT YOU HAVE IN THIS COUNTRY SE OF THE WORLD'S LEADING REPORTERS. THEY WILL STAY A WEEK AND THEN WHISK AWAY. EVERYTHING DONE DURING THIS PERIOD WILL BE MAGNIFIED ENORMOUSLY. FOR EXAMPLE, YOUR DECISION TO INVITE THE OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENT PARK'S FUNERAL WAS NOT WELL RECEIVED. THE ACTIONS OF NEXT WEEK ARE VITAL. THE OTHER POINT IS THAT THE PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE OCTOBER 26 INCIDENT DO SEE IN PUBLIC. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN PLAGUED FOR YEARS BY THE EVENTS FOLLOWING THE KENNEDY ASSASSINATION. THE REPORTERS NOW ARE FULL OF HUMORS. THE MORE RAPIDLY THESE ARE DISCLODED, THE BETTER.

AMBASSADOR ULYSTEEN: THERE NEEDS TO BE A FULL REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATION, AND ULTIMATELY A PUBLIC TRIAL.

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SECRETARY VANCE: YOU HAVE OUR SYMPATHY AND OUR HELP.

FOREIGN MINISTER PARK: [ ]

SECRETARY VANCE: I WILL TELL THE PRESS THAT WE HAVE HAD A MEETING IN WHICH CONCILIATIONS AND SYMPATHY WERE EXPRESSLY STATED. I WILL NOT HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE. THIS IS NOT THE TIME FOR ANY OF US TO TALK TO THE PRESS.

END MEMORANDUM, GEISTEIN