

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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E.O. 12065: RDS-3, 1U/31/99 (RICH, ROBERT G.)

TAGS: PEPR, KS

SUBJECT: TEXT OF SCOPE PAPER RE STATE FUNERAL FOR
KOREAN PRESIDENT PARK

FOR AMBASSADOR

1. - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE SCOPE PAPER PLACED IN
THE BRIEFING BOOK FOR THE SECRETARY AND DELEGATION TO
PRESIDENT PARK'S FUNERAL.
3. BEGIN TEXT
- I. OBJECTIVES

THERE ARE THREE IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES TO BE SERVED BY

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YOUR VISIT. THESE ARE TO PAY OUR FINAL RESPECTS TO A
REMARKABLE LEADER AND STAUNCH ALLY, TO REAFFIRM THE
CONTINUITY AND STEADFASTNESS OF OUR SECURITY COMMITMENT,
AND TO EXERT U.S. INFLUENCE ON THE SIDE OF DEMOCRATIC
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, NORTH
KOR:A MIGHT ALSO BE RAISED.

II. SETTING

THESE OBJECTIVES COINCIDE WITH THE CONCERNS OF THE

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CLASSIFICATION

Cat. A - Caption removed,
transferred to O. FADAC

Cat. B - Transferred to O. FADAC
with additional review
conducted by S-1

Cat. C - Caption removed,
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KOREAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT AT THIS TIME. THE COUNTRY IS IN DEEP MOURNING AND SHOCK, BUT INSTITUTIONS HAVE FUNCTIONED WITH ADMIRABLE MATURITY. MOST IMPORTANT, THE ARMY HAS APPARENTLY IN THE SHORT RUN ESCHEWED THE TEMPTATION TO TAKE OVER AND IS ACTING IN SUPPORT OF THE CIVILIAN CABINET. WHILE THERE ARE STILL ASPECTS OF THE ASSASSINATION WHICH ARE UNCLEAR, THE GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE PURSUING THE INVESTIGATION DILIGENTLY AND INFORMING THE PUBLIC ON A TIMELY BASIS OF THE EVOLVING PICTURE.

THERE HAS BEEN GREAT APPRECIATION FOR THE PROMPT AMERICAN EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT AND WARNING AGAINST NORTH KOREAN ADVENTURITIS THIS APPRECIATION HAS EXTENDED TO ALL SEGMENTS OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM.

ALTHOUGH POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAS BEEN SUSPENDED THIS WEEK, FUTURE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE MANEUVERING WHICH WILL BEGIN NEXT WEEK ARE PROMINENT IN THE CONCERNS OF ALL KOREANS. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FOR MOVING TOWARD A MORE RESPONSIVE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, AND IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE RESTRICTIVE "YUSHIN" CONSTITUTION WILL BE A WORKABLE INSTRUMENT FOR LONG IN THE POST-PARK ERA. HOWEVER, STABILITY AND



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SECURITY ARE ALSO A MAJOR CONCERN OF MUCH OF THE SOCIETY. WE ANTICIPATE THAT A NEW PRESIDENT WILL BE SELECTED UNDER THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION WITHIN THE PRESCRIBED THREE MONTHS, ALTHOUGH THERE WILL BE DEBATE ON WHETHER TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY WITH CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE. UNLESS THE NEW GOVERNMENT WHICH TAKES OFFICE AT LEAST DOES SO WITH A CLEAR PLEDGE TO MOVE TOWARD LIBERALIZING CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION WITHIN ONE TO TWO YEARS AND TAKES CLEARLY LIBERALIZING ACTIONS IN THE BEGINNING, IT WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY IN ESTABLISHING ITS LEGITIMACY TO GOVERN. INSTABILITY AND REPRESSIVE REACTION ARE BOTH THEN LIKELY TO ENSUE.

THE NEW SITUATION CLEARLY IS AN OPPORTUNITY, BUT IT ALSO BEGINS A PERIOD OF GREAT DANGER. KOREANS IN THE NORTH AS WELL AS IN THE SOUTH WILL BE WATCHING, AND IN SOME CASES TRYING TO EXPLOIT, WHAT WE DO AND WHAT WE SAY. ANY MISHANDLING WOULD HAVE DIRECT AND SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE UNITED STATES. EA AND S/P BELIEVE THAT IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT WHEN WE SPEAK IN PUBLIC IT BE ONLY WITH RESTRAINT AND DELIBERATION. ON THE OTHER HAND HA BELIEVES THAT THE U.S. MUST BE SEEN TO

BE CLEARLY PRESSING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS AND DEMOCRATIC LIBERALIZATION.

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III. ISSUES

A. CONDOLENCES FOR PRESIDENT PARK

----- PRESIDENT PARK'S PLACE IN KOREAN HISTORY IS SECURE. ALTHOUGH THE LEGITIMACY OF HIS RUD BEGUN TO ERODE SERIOUSLY, HE IS CLEARLY SEEN BY MOST KOREANS AS THE FATHER OF THE MODERN KOREAN NATION AND THE LEADER WHO BROUGHT PRIDE AND STRIKING DEVELOPMENT TO A WAR-CRUSHED, DIVIDED, AND POVERTY STRICKEN PEOPLE. HE NEVER

[REDACTED]

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LOST HIS CONCERNS FOR THE RURAL PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE GREW UP. HIS WAS NOT A CONVIVIAL PERSONALITY, HOWEVER, AND TO THE END HIS ALOOFNESS AND SENSE THAT THE LEADER KNEW BEST FOR HIS PEOPLE DREW MUCH FROM THE JAPANESE MEIJI PERIOD WHICH WAS HIS MODEL. THIS WILL BE AN OCCASION TO CONVEY OUR RESPECT FOR HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS WHILE LOOKING ALSO TO A FUTURE WHICH REQUIRES DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS.

----- THE SENIOR FAMILY MEMBER WHOM YOU WILL MEET IS THE OLDEST DAUGHTER, MISS PARK KEUN-HAE. SHE HAS SERVED AS OFFICIAL HOSTESS FOR HER FATHER IN RECENT YEARS SINCE THE DEATH OF HER MOTHER FROM AN ASSASSIN'S BULLET AIMED AT THE PRESIDENT. SHE HAS BEEN MOSTLY A LIBERALIZING INFLUENCE ON HER FATHER, TO WHOM SHE WAS OF COURSE COMPLETELY LOYAL, BUT SHE IS UNLIKELY TO HAVE ANY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL ROLE TO PLAY VIS-A-VIS A NEW GOVERNMENT.

B. MUTUAL SECURITY

----- THE COMBINED FORCES COMMAND (CFC) STRUCTURE FUNCTIONED EXCEEDINGLY WELL IN THE RECENT CRISIS. THE ROK/US LIAISON OPERATED WITH ADMIRABLE PROMPTNESS AND EFFICIENCY. NOT ONLY WERE WE INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS ON A TIMELY BASIS, BUT ROK MILITARY UNITS NEEDED FOR MARTIAL LAW DUTY WERE RELEASED FROM CFC CONTROL IN AN ORDERLY MANNER PRIOR TO THEIR DEPLOYMENT. OUR PROMPT RESPONDS: TO THE REQUEST OF THE KOREAN ACTING COMBINED FORCES COMMANDER (GENERAL LEW) FOR BOTH A REASSURING PUBLIC STATEMENT AND PRECAUTIONARY MILITARY MEASURES HAS BEEN UNIVERSALLY APPLAUDED IN KOREA AND WARMLY ENDORSED BY THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

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POINTS TO BE MADE:

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-- THE UNITED STATES COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA REMAINS FIRM.

-- IN ADDITION TO OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS, WE HAVE URGED THE CHINESE AND SOVIET GOVERNMENTS TO HELP TO ENSURE PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE PENINSULA IN THESE UNSETTLING CIRCUMSTANCES.

-- WE HAVE SEEN NO EVIDENCE OF NORTH KOREAN STEPS TO CREATE A MILITARY INCIDENT, BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXERCISE OUR COMMON VIGILANCE AGAINST SUCH AN EVENT.

-- THE FIRM AND ORDERLY ACTION OF THE ROK MILITARY FORCES, TOGETHER WITH THE REAFFIRMATION OF THE US COMMITMENT, SHOULD CONTINUE EFFECTIVELY TO DETER AGGRESSION.

-- WE ARE MOST GRATIFIED AT THE EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF THE ROK/US COMBINED FORCES COMMAND IN THIS EMERGENCY AND IN THE PROMPT AND EFFECTIVE MILITARY LIAISON CHANNELS WHICH EXIST. THIS ENABLED US TO RESPOND APPROPRIATELY AND WITH DISPATCH. I AM SURE THAT GENERAL WICKHAM AND GENERAL VESSEY, AS WELL AS THE AMBASSADOR, HAVE ALSO CONVEYED OUR APPRECIATION TO MINISTER RO AND GENERAL LEW.

- POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS
----- THE COMING MONTHS ARE A CRITICAL PHASE IN ROK POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. ONE POSSIBILITY WILL BE A MOVE IMMEDIATELY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE PRIOR TO ELECTION OF A NEW PRESIDENT. IN THE SHORT RUN THE PROBABLE DECISION WILL BE TO MINIMIZE THE INSTABILITY CAUSED BY THE ASSASSINATION AND INSTALL A NEW GOVERNMENT UNDER
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THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION, BUT THIS WILL ONLY BE A VIABLE OPTION FOR THE MONTHS AHEAD IF THERE ARE DEFINITE ACTS OF POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION AND A COMMITMENT TO CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION. OUR INFLUENCE SHOULD BE UTILIZED QUIETLY TO REINFORCE THE JUDGMENT OF MANY WITHIN THE GOVERNING ELITE THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO MAKE THE COMMITMENT TO MOVE TOWARD A MORE DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION. WE SHOULD AT THE SAME TIME AVOID ANY APPEARANCE OF "DIRECTING" OR "INSTRUCTING," WHICH WOULD (FOOTNOTE: HA BELIEVES WE SHOULD USE OUR INFLUENCE "FULLY" RATHER THAN TLY."

BE RESENTED. WE MUST CLEARLY AVOID TAKING SIDES FOR OR AGAINST INDIVIDUAL CONTENDERS AND MUST BE CIRCUMSPECT TO A FAULT TO AVOID BEING SEEN BY MANY KOREANS AS THE BEHIND THE SCENES KINGMAKER.

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--- WHILE WE DO NOT SEE ACTING PRESIDENT CHOE AS MORE THAN A TRANSITIONAL LEADER, HE AND HIS CIVILIAN COLLEAGUES WILL HAVE A SAY IN THE EVOLUTION OF EVENTS. TO HIM YOU SHOULD EXPRESS YOUR HOPES THAT THE NEXT GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE THE DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE.

--- IT IS IMPORTANT TO REITERATE OUR CONCERNS ABOUT RESTRICTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT LEADERS WILL MAKE A CLEAR BREAK FROM THE PAST IN THIS REGARD. REPRESSIVE GOVERNMENT ACTIONS CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE EROSION OF SUPPORT FOR THE PARK GOVERNMENT.

--- FORMER PRESIDENT YUN PO-SUN, A FORMER RIVAL AND OUTSPOKEN CRITIC OF PRESIDENT PARK, HAS BEEN IN-

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--- VITED AS AN ELDER STATESMAN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FUNERAL PREPARATIONS. ALSO, WE NOTE THAT NEITHER THE MILITARY NOR THE GOVERNMENT HAVE STRESSED LOYALTY TO THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION SINCE PARK'S DEATH. THESE ARE STRAWS IN THE WIND, BUT CONSTRUCTIVE ONES.

--- THE MILITARY ARE POSITIONED TO PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE, AND TOGETHER WITH THEIR LINKAGES WITH POWERFUL INDIVIDUALS IN OTHER SECTORS WILL HAVE CONSIDERABLE SAY IN THE EVOLUTION OF EVENTS. THE KCIA HAS BEEN WEAKENED SEVERELY BY THE ACTION OF ITS DIRECTOR, AND THIS MAY PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR REDUCING THE PERVASIVE AND IRRITATING INTERNAL SECURITY ROLE OF THAT AGENCY. THE OPPOSITION PARTY IS CLEARLY READY TO ABANDON ITS BOYCOTT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, RECOGNIZING THAT NOW A NEW BALL GAME IS ABOUT TO BEGIN. IT IS THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WHICH MUST INITIATE ANY CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION.

--- THE PRESENT PERIOD OF CALM END WITH THE FUNERAL, AND THE ROK WILL ENTER A DIFFICULT PERIOD OF POLITICAL JOCKEYING BOTH OVER PERSONALITIES AND PROCEDURES. THE ARMY WILL PLAY A SIGNIFICANT, BUT YET UNDETERMINED ROLE.

(FOOTNOTE: HA DOES NOT AGREE WITH THIS.)

--- WHILE NOT APPEARING TO TAKE SIDES IN THE DEBATE AS TO WHETHER TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION IMMEDIATELY OR LATER, OUR INFLUENCE SHOULD CLEARLY BEAR ON THE IMPORTANCE OF AT LEAST A TIMETABLE BY ANY NEW GOVERNMENT FOR A MORE DEMOCRATIC REVISION OF THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE, AND EARLY HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS.

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TALKING POINTS: (ESPECIALLY ACTING PRESIDENT CHOE)

[REDACTED]

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-- I HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED AT THE CONTINUITY OF GOVERNMENT IN THIS CRISIS AND THE LOYALTY OF THE MILITARY TO CIVIL AUTHORITY.

-- I RECOGNIZE THAT POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAS BEEN SUSPENDED DURING THIS PERIOD OF MOURNING, BUT WONDER IF YOU COULD GIVE ME SOME FEELING FOR HOW A NEW GOVERNMENT WILL EMERGE.

-- AS WE HAVE SAID PUBLICLY, WE HOPE THAT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS WILL MOVE FORWARD TO MATCH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF KOREA.

-- I AM SURE THAT IT WILL BE A HIGH PRIORITY FOR YOU, AS YOU MANAGE THE TRANSITION, TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT IN A MANNER WHICH WILL COMMAND THE WIDEST POPULAR SUPPORT.

-- WE RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF ENSURING STABILITY AND SECURITY, BUT HOPE THAT A NEW GOVERNMENT WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE TO LIFT EMERGENCY MEASURES AND TO REVIEW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE SITUATION OF ALL PRISONERS WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED ESSENTIALLY FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY. SUCH STEPS WILL PROMOTE ESSENTIAL NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND UNITY.

-- THESE RESTRICTIONS HAVE BEEN A SERIOUS SOURCE OF DIVISION AMONG THE KOREAN PEOPLE, AS EVIDENCED PARTICULARLY IN RECENT MONTHS.

-- THESE ARE TIMES BOTH FOR HONORING THE GREATNESS OF THE PAST AND BUILDING ON THOSE ACHIEVEMENTS IN DEMOCRATIC FASHION TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE FUTURE.

[REDACTED]

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(HA ALONG BELIEVES THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL TALKING POINTS SHOULD BE UTILIZED IN YOUR PRESENTATION)

-- IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT MUST MAKE A CLEAR BREAK WITH THE PAST AND ABOLISH THE HARSH RESTRICTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

-- AMONG THE STEPS WHICH WOULD DEMONSTRATE A NEW SPIRIT

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OF LIBERALIZATION IN KOREA ARE THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS, THE ABOLITION OF EM-9, REVERSAL OF THE DECISION EXPELLING KIM YONG-SAM FROM THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE REMOVAL OF HOUSE ARREST OF KIM TAE-CHUNG AND OTHERS, THE DROPPING OF THE PENDING CHARGES AGAINST DISSIDENTS SUCH AS THE CHRISTIAN ACADEMY AND Y. H. TRADING CO. CASES.

-- BESIDES IMPROVING YOUR COUNTRY'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE, THESE STEPS WOULD OPEN UP A DIALOGUE WITH THE OPPOSITION TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.

-- CONTINUING THE REPRESSIVE POLICIES OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT, WILL ONLY DIVIDE YOUR PEOPLE, DAMAGE YOUR INTERNATIONAL IMAGE, AND POSE DIFFICULTIES FOR U.S.-ROK RELATIONS.

D. NORTH KOREA

TALKING POINTS: (ESPECIALLY FOREIGN MINISTER PARK)

-- NORTH KOREA SEEMS NOT TO HAVE DECIDED ON A POLICY LINE SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH.

-- WE NEED TO CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER TO FIND MEANS TO ENCOURAGE NORTH KOREA INTO DIRECT NORTH-SOUTH

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DIALOGUE, EITHER WITH OR WITHOUT AMERICAN PRESENCE.

-- I UNDERSTAND THE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS HELD HERE LESS THAN TWO WEEKS AGO BETWEEN OUR TWO STAFFS WAS MOST USEFUL. WHEN A NEW GOVERNMENT HAS TIME TO ASSESS THESE ISSUES WE WOULD HOPE TO CONTINUE OUR DIALOGUE.

-- (IF ASKED) WE ARE NOT ENCOURAGING ANY CONGRESSMEN TO TRAVEL TO NORTH KOREA. WE HAVE POINTED OUT THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED AND URGED THAT IF ANY TRAVEL IS CONTEMPLATED THAT THE CONGRESSMEN ALSO COME TO SEOUL AND KOUR GOVERNMENT FULLY INFORMED.

-- (IF PRESSED REGARDING MR. SOLARZ) IN THE WAKE OF PRESIDENT PARK'S TRAGIC DEATH, WE HAVE SUGGESTED TO MR. SOLARZ THAT ANY TRIP IN THE NEAR FUTURE COULD BE PARTICULARLY MISUNDERSTOOD AND THAT HE MIGHT WISH TO RECONSIDER HIS INTEREST AT A TIME WHEN HE COULD CONSULT FULLY WITH A NEW ROK GOVERNMENT. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT HIS DECISION WILL BE.

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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