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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** KELLY, JAMES: FILES

**Withdrawer**

SMF 2/18/2010

**File Folder** KOREA [03/22/1988-03/28/1988]

**FOIA**

F07-047/2

**Box Number** 4

WAMPLER

25

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
85081	NOTES	HANDWRITTEN NOTES RE MEETING RR AND FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN OF KOREA <b>R 6/10/2024 NSC/DOS WAIVERS</b>	3	3/23/1988	B1
85084	TALKING POINTS	DUPLICATE OF 85046 <b>R 6/10/2024 NSC/DOS WAIVERS</b>	2	ND	B1
85086	BIO	DUPLICATE OF 85051	1	ND	B1 B3
85087	MEMCON	TRANSCRIPTION OF RR MEETING WITH CHUN <b>R 6/10/2024 NSC/DOS WAIVERS</b>	5	3/23/1988	B1
85088	TALKING POINTS	FOR RR CHUN MEETING <b>R 6/10/2024 NSC/DOS WAIVERS</b>	2	ND	B1
85089	TALKING POINTS	DUPLICATE OF 85049 <b>R 6/10/2024 NSC/DOS WAIVERS</b>	2	ND	B1
85090	CABLE	SEOUL 03233 <b>R 6/10/2024 DOS WAIVER</b>	2	3/22/1988	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
85091	CABLE	SEOUL 02146	2	2/26/1988	B1
85093	MEMO	KELLY TO POWELL RE LETTERS TO PRESIDENT ROH AND PRIME MINISTER TAKESHITA	1	3/25/1988	B1
85095	MEMO	POWELL TO THE PRESIDENT RE LEETER TO ROH AND TAKESHITA	1	ND	B1
85096	LETTER	RR TO ROH	2	ND	B1
85097	LETTER	RR TO TAKESHITA	1	ND	B1
85099	LETTER	TAKESHITA TO RR	1	3/5/1988	B1
85101	LETTER	RR TO ROH	2	3/30/1988	B1

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
85102	MEMCON	FOR MEETING WITH FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN OF KOREA <i>R 6/10/2024 NSC/DOS WAIVERS</i>	4	3/23/1988	B1
85104	MEMCON	DUPLICATE OF 85102 <i>R 6/10/2024 NSC/DOS WAIVERS</i>	4	3/23/1988	B1

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- P C  
 VP  
 GS  
 HNB  
 JAK JDN MFBZ  
 Ambler  
 Ann  
 Chi  
 Shiu

1006

C: Thanks invite

P: Hope spring weather holds

C: Thanks for inviting me + wife

P: N out of city - Bring her greetings

P: Welcome you as elder - st-  
 Worden  
 happen to me soonC: Reflect phys + anal  
 Have not yet adjusted to processP: in 83 you + I largely conversational over the  
 Thought great deal how right you were  
 Y P had not learned about riots + den  
 Trying to teach things settled den  
 procedures + votes.C: Many people who talk, but I wonder if they understand  
 den  
 I decided to observe the cost <sup>to</sup> decided to settle  
 down, <sup>turn over to a successor</sup> legit process <sup>to put</sup> example what den means.  
 is den Future of den in K is bright.

1014

C: In many den stories peaceful transition not a  
 tried - takes courage to go thru  
 pol reluctance + reprisals  
 Placed utter faith in wisdom of people  
 Advice here

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 BY WM NARA DATE 6/10/24



(2)

Remember  
P: Remember - on later

YP esp, freedom is not license to behave wildly

C: What we have achieved is clearly a success  
You admin should take credit  
Portugal is having your order + conf  
Your suppl  
Value you  
Admin did not suddenly impose duties  
Treated as friends and we respecting  
Time

P: Cerebral  
If <sup>we</sup> help, <sup>ed in any way</sup> power + plan - all towns and you - ~~that~~ <sup>and you - that</sup> ~~for~~  
But success is yours - Econ as well  
as democracy

non Olympic 661 - a record I believe

1020

C: For first time in 12 yrs, EW NS will  
send them best to  
Went over Am to win game  
Horned to play best - prep are almost  
complete  
US-Korea security - new

P: You will bar the out TS  
can run

P: Too bad NK can't be taught so  
people could see how much better  
if they are in K or NK

(3)

1022

C: ~~Ally~~ thought - That idea, we can travel & learn  
 Precious little to learn in NK

P: Even if we visit location of NK sov. ch  
 Yes, we look to do

Meet FM Stew - hope the way they see  
 the way poss there is for change

C: M-P, hope tell Sov to expect rodents  
 inf on NK so Oly will go smoother or  
 everyone hopes they will.

1025

C: So grateful out of way to learn re ol with today  
 Econ mix, pol process working in  
 Econ only couple years - don't know how  
 to cope

No called re Gordon and asked for greater  
 decision sept

Stat is diff, support with some a great deal

P: Tim values highly rel work

Please give my regards to people

As well as mine & to your wife



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 22, 1988

MEETING WITH FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN DOO HWAN OF KOREA

DATE: Wednesday, March 23, 1988

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 10:00 - 10:30 a.m.

FROM: COLIN L. POWELL  
For, P.B.

I. PURPOSE

By receiving Korea's former President, to recognize Korea's first peaceful transition of government, as well as to applaud President Chun's economic and political accomplishments over the past seven years.

II. BACKGROUND

President Chun's desire to visit the United States privately after leaving office was conveyed on several occasions over the last year. His brief Washington visit and his call on you will begin a four-week tour, including several U.S. cities. On February 25, President Chun left office and turned over the reigns of government in smooth orderly fashion - a particularly notable transition for the Korean government. Chun's relinquishment of office, his responsibility for seven years of exceptional economic progress, and the skillful preparations for a successful Olympic Games this September are achievements this meeting will recognize.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Attached at Tab C.

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photographer.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

The President will greet former President Chun and photographs will be taken. The guests will be seated and conversation will proceed with consecutive interpretation.

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Sec.34(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
BY NARA slf DATE 2/18/10

Prepared by:  
James A. Kelly

Attachments:

Tab A Talking Points  
Tab B Biography  
Tab C List of Participants

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff (2)

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Declassify on: OADR

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2145

85084

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH  
FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN DOO HWAN  
OF KOREA

- I am pleased to welcome you back to Washington as an "elder statesman." Nancy and I still recall your warm reception in Seoul in 1983.
- Perhaps you can tell me, Mr. President, how a retired President feels. Understand you will visit our country for several weeks. We're hoping for the best of spring weather for you.
- You have led Korea to remarkable accomplishments during your term as President. Under your leadership, Korea completed a smooth transfer of power. The process of democratization has heartened Americans.
- Korea's amazing economic growth shows the power of a motivated people in a free market environment. Your reaching out to many countries -- including China -- has brought Korea broad international respect. We are confident your successor, President Roh (pronounced "No"), will build on your structure.
- The Seoul Olympics in September will show everyone what your nation has achieved. I understand 161 countries will attend -- this is a record attendance.
- Understand your Olympic facilities are superb -- they were fully tested in the 1986 Asian Games.

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BY LM NARA DATE 6/10/24

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2

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- U.S.-Korea security ties are strong as ever. Our joint military exercise, "Team Spirit" has just begun. Deterrence depends on our forces closely cooperating.
- Last fall's destruction of a Korean airliner was a terrible thing. Your government's exposure of the North Korean plot and your smooth handling of the matter at the UN will help deter terrorism. We will be working together to ensure a peaceful Olympics.
- Later this morning I will meet again with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. I am interested in Gorbachev's reforms, but intend to "trust, but verify."
- Our INF Treaty is an important beginning. Worldwide zero for Soviet Intermediate Range Missiles was an important objective for us to support Asian allies.

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
85086	BIO  DUPLICATE OF 85051	1	ND	B1 B3

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PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President  
The Vice President  
Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff  
Kenneth M. Duberstein, Deputy Chief of Staff  
Ambassador John D. Negroponte, Deputy Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
Dr. Gaston J. Sigur, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian  
and Pacific Affairs  
James A. Kelly, NSC Staff (notetaker)  
Tong Kim, Interpreter

Koreans

Former President Chun Doo Hwan, Chairman, Korean Advisory Council  
of Elder Statesmen  
Ambassador Kim Kyung-Won  
Vice Foreign Minister Shin Dong-Won  
Ahn Hyun-Tae, Executive Director, Advisory Council of Elder  
Statesmen  
Chi Youn-Tai, Assemblyman, Senior Member, Foreign Affairs  
Committee  
Kim Pyoung-Hoon, Interpreter

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Sec.34(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
BY NARA Amf DATE 2/18/10

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9

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

UNCLASSIFIED w/  
CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

March 18, 1988

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM: JAMES A. KELLY *JK*  
SUBJECT: Meeting Memorandum for Visit of Former Korean  
President Chun Doo Hwan on Wednesday, March 23,  
10:00-10:30 a.m.

Attached is the memorandum for the President on the Chun visit.  
Marybel Batjer concurs.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward the Meeting Memorandum at Tab I to the  
President.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

Tab I Meeting Memorandum for 3/23/88  
Tab A Talking Points  
Tab B Biography  
Tab C List of Participants

~~Tab II Clearance List~~

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Sec.3A(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2008  
BY NARA *smf*, DATE *2/18/10*

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CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

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85087

The President's Meeting with Mr. Chun Doo Hwan,  
Former President of South Korea, at the White House  
March 23, 1988

(Interpreter's note: This transcription intends to provide an accurate translation of what was said by Chun, not by the President, during the meeting.)

President: (Welcomed former President Chun to Washington, mentioning the nice spring weather.)

Chun: It is a beautiful day, the weather is fine.  
I want to thank you for inviting me and my wife.

President: (Asked Chun how he feels as a retired President.)

Chun: It is a big relief from the heavy pressure of the duty of office. It is a relief from both mental and physical strains. But I have not yet adjusted to the (new) life of a private citizen.

President: (Recalled what Chun said on the President's visit to Korea in 1983, concerning violent student demonstrations.)

Chun: I admit that there has been no political development that is commensurate with the economic growth in Korea. There are many people who talk about democracy. But few of them

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BY [signature] 12/10/24



11

understand the true meaning of democracy.

And I was concerned about this. But, as President, I was determined to observe the Constitution as the basis for democracy, in the spirit of a single term, to realize a transfer of power. We were in a very difficult environment. Now, I am confident President Roe will do well.

President: (Shared Chun's view regarding the lack of understanding of democracy especially among young people.)

Chun: I was not surprised at the lack of understanding of democracy. There has been no peaceful transfer of power in developing countries. The process of transfer needed courage on my part. It needed courage because of difficult circumstances. (I had to think that) my stepping down from the presidency might lead to a vicious cycle (of political turmoils to be followed by another coup)\* and to political reprisals. Yet, I was prepared to face a reprisal, (should that ever occur.) I trust the wisdom of the people, and I don't think it will happen.

\*Translator's interpretation.

President: (Commented on what freedom is about.)

Chun: I am especially appreciative of your friendly support for me during my term, Mr. President. And I am fully satisfied with the friendship between our two countries. Your administration has supported us as a true ally. Your administration applied the right policy to Korea. There was no coercive demand from any U.S.-centered point of view. It is a success story of U.S. policy, I might say.

President: (Thanked Chun's generous comment and brought up the topic of the Olympics to be participated a record number of 161 countries.)

Chun: I understand that you, Mr. President, have provided a sincere cooperation for us to ensure a successful Olympics. It will be the first time in 12 years that the East and the West meet in an Olympics. Our people feel they are honored (to host the games). I would like to see that you continue to provide your support so that we can successfully hold the Olympics.

President: (Brought Chun's attention to joint military exercise, Team Spirit, and said to the effect

that North Korea should be open to the outside world for travel and tourism.)

Chun: There should first be the development of the right kind of environment. The Olympics will be an excellent opportunity, as people will come to Korea from all over the world. I believe there will soon be the day when people can freely visit to and from North Korea.

Presidnet: (Said he would later meet with Shevardnaze, as an effort to build hope for peace.)

Chun: The Soviet Union holds the key to the security of the Korean peninsula. (In my view,) the United States should talk to the Soviets to exercise influences on North Koreans for moderation. That will contribute to the peace in Korea. I understand, Mr. President, that you will visit the Soviet Union in May. When you go there, I wish you bring up this issue.

Chun: Having finished my term, I would like to thank you, personally and on behalf the people of Korea, for your friendly support and cooperation.



I recognize there is an issue of trade frictions. For the past 7 years, we achieved a remarkable economic growth, an economic miracle. And the past two years have shown trade surpluses for Korea, which we don't seem to know how to deal with. We have come through a very difficult period of time, economically, politically, and militarily. We have overcome with this difficult period largely because of your friendship and cooperation. My successor, President Roe, is now in charge. The start is always difficult. I would also like to ask for your support for the Roe government so that it can establish a strong foundation. When I was leaving Seoul, President Roe and his wife telephoned me and asked me to give their best regards to you, Mr. President.

Presidnet: (Arising, said that North Koreans should be taught on the history of the Olympics dating back to the days of ancient Greece.)

Chun: (Also arising, said that after the President's retirement, the President, Nakasone and Chun meet together and discuss world affairs.)

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85088

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH  
FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN DOO HWAN  
OF KOREA

- I am pleased to welcome you back to Washington as an "elder statesman." You have led Korea to remarkable accomplishments during your term as President.
- Perhaps you can tell me, Mr. President, how a retired President feels. Understand you will visit our country for several weeks. We're hoping for the best of spring weather for you.
- Nancy and I still recall your warm reception in Seoul in 1983. After our discussions then I was not surprised by Korea's transition.
- Under your leadership, Korea completed a smooth transfer of power. The process of democratization has heartened Americans.
- Also wish to recognize your leadership in economic and foreign policy. Korea's amazing growth shows the power of a motivated people in a free market environment. Your reaching out to many countries -- including China -- has brought Korea broad international respect. We are confident your successor, President Roh (pronounced "No"), will build on your structure.
- The Seoul Olympics in September will show everyone what your nation has achieved. I understand 161 countries will attend -- this is a record attendance.

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BY LM NARA DATE 6/10/24

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- Understand your Olympic facilities are superb -- they were fully tested in the 1986 Asian Games.
- U.S.-Korea security ties are strong as ever. Our joint military exercise, "Team Spirit" has just begun. Deterrence depends on our forces closely cooperating. We will also be working together to ensure a peaceful Olympics.
- Americans were shocked again by North Korea's resort to terrorism. Last fall's destruction of a Korean airliner was a terrible thing.
- Your government's exposure of the plot and your smooth handling of the matter at the UN will help deter terrorism. Do you think there is any chance for North Korean behavior to improve while Kim Il Sung and his son rule?
- Later this morning I will meet again with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. I am interested in Gorbachev's reforms, but intend to "trust, but verify."
- Our INF Treaty is an important beginning. Worldwide zero for Soviet Intermediate Range Missiles was an important objective for us to support Asian allies. Know you kept well briefed.

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TALKING POINTS - MEETING WITH FORMER PRESIDENT  
CHUN DOO HWAN OF KOREA

- PLEASED TO WELCOME YOU BACK TO WASHINGTON AS AN "ELDER STATESMAN." YOU LED KOREA TO REMARKABLE ACCOMPLISHMENTS DURING YOUR TERM.
- PERHAPS YOU CAN TELL ME, MR. PRESIDENT, HOW A RETIRED PRESIDENT FEELS. UNDERSTAND YOU WILL VISIT FOR SEVERAL WEEKS. HOPING FOR THE BEST SPRING WEATHER FOR YOU.
- NANCY AND I RECALL WARM RECEPTION IN SEOUL IN 1983. AFTER DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU THEN, I WAS NOT SURPRISED BY KOREA'S TRANSITION.

2

- UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, KOREA COMPLETED SMOOTH TRANSFER OF POWER. KOREA'S DEMOCRATIZATION HAS HEARTENED AMERICANS.
- WISH TO RECOGNIZE YOUR LEADERSHIP IN ECONOMIC & FOREIGN POLICY. KOREA'S AMAZING GROWTH SHOWS POWER OF MOTIVATED PEOPLE IN A FREE MARKET ENVIRONMENT. YOUR REACHING OUT TO MANY COUNTRIES -- INCLUDING CHINA -- HAS BROUGHT KOREA BROAD INTERNATIONAL RESPECT. CONFIDENT YOUR SUCCESSOR, WILL BUILD ON YOUR STRUCTURE.
- SEOUL OLYMPICS IN SEPTEMBER WILL SHOW EVERYONE WHAT YOU HAVE ACHIEVED. I UNDERSTAND 161 COUNTRIES WILL ATTEND -- RECORD ATTENDANCE.

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BY LM DATE 6/10/24

3

- UNDERSTAND YOUR OLYMPIC FACILITIES SUPERB  
-- WERE FULLY TESTED IN 1986 ASIAN GAMES.
- U.S.-KOREAN SECURITY TIES ARE STRONG AS EVER.  
JOINT MILITARY EXERCISE, TEAM SPIRIT, JUST  
BEGUN. DETERRENCE DEPENDS ON OUR FORCES  
CLOSELY COOPERATING. WILL BE WORKING TO-  
GETHER TO ENSURE A PEACEFUL OLYMPICS.
- AMERICANS SHOCKED AGAIN BY NORTH KOREA'S  
RESORT TO TERRORISM. LAST FALL'S DESTRUC-  
TION OF KOREAN AIRLINER A TERRIBLE THING.

4

- YOUR GOVERNMENT'S EXPOSURE OF PLOT & SMOOTH  
HANDLING OF MATTER AT UN WILL HELP DETER  
TERRORISM. ANY CHANCE FOR NORTH KOREAN  
BEHAVIOR TO IMPROVE WHILE KIM IL SUNG &  
HIS SON RULE?
- LATER THIS MORNING I WILL MEET WITH FOREIGN  
MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE. I'M INTERESTED IN  
GORBACHEV'S REFORMS, BUT INTEND TO "TRUST,  
BUT VERIFY."
- OUR INF TREATY IS AN IMPORTANT BEGINNING.  
WORLDWIDE ZERO FOR SOVIET INTERMEDIATE RANGE  
MISSILES WAS AN IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE FOR US TO  
SUPPORT ASIAN ALLIES. KNOW YOU KEPT WELL  
BRIEFED.

<DIST>SIT: VAX

<PREC> ROUTINE<CLAS> CONFIDENTIAL<OSRI> RUEHUL<DTG> 220043Z MAR 88  
<ORIG>FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
<TO>TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8440

19  
85090

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN DOO-HWAN, MARCH 21

<TEXT>

C O N F I D E N T I A L SEOUL 03233

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP PREL PGOV KS US

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN DOO-HWAN, MARCH 21

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. AT HIS INVITATION I LUNCHEDED WITH FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN DOO-HWAN AT HIS RESIDENCE ON MARCH 21, THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE U.S. ALSO IN ATTENDANCE WERE HIS WIFE, MIKE KIM AS INTERPRETER, AND AHN HYUN-TAE, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON STATE AFFAIRS.

3. I TOLD CHUN THAT I AGREED WITH HIS ASSESSMENT THAT HE HAD THREE MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS DURING HIS SEVEN-YEAR TERM OF OFFICE:

-- GNP HAD DOUBLED;

-- HE HAD KEPT PEACE ON THE PENINSULA;

-- HE HAD MANAGED A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER UNDER A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION.

I SAID THERE WAS A FOURTH, AND PERHAPS EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENT, THAN ANY OF THESE THREE; HE HAD BROUGHT THE OLYMPICS TO SEOUL, AND WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOCIALIST BLOC THIS COULD SIGNIFY A MAJOR STRATEGIC TURNING POINT IN NORTH ASIA.

4. I TOLD CHUN I HAD SEEN THE SEOUL CUP BOXING CHAMPIONSHIPS THE DAY BEFORE AND HAD SEEN THE RUSSIAN FLAG RAISED WITH THE NATIONAL ANTHEM PLAYED. THE KOREANS HAD SHOWN DUE RESPECT. I ALSO NOTED THAT THE RUSSIANS STOOD AT ATTENTION AND SHOWED PROPER RESPECT WHEN THE KOREANS WON FIVE GOLD MEDALS (COMMENT: TWO MORE THAN THE RUSSIANS). A RUSSIAN-KOREAN HAD MANAGED THE SOVIET BOXING TEAM, AND ONE OF THEIR BETTER GOLD MEDAL BOXERS WAS ONE-QUARTER KOREAN. MY SON HAD TAUGHT THIS YOUNG RUSSIAN BOXER HOW TO WRITE HIS KOREAN NAME IN KOREAN. CHUN LOOKED AT ME AND SAID, "CAN I QUOTE YOU IN SOME OF MY SPEECHES IN THE STATES?" I SAID I HAD NO PROBLEM BUT TO LEAVE OUT THE DETAILS ON THE BOXING TOURNAMENT.

5. CHUN THEN SAID THAT A POLITICAL STORM ABOUT THE SAEMAUL MOVEMENT WAS BREWING; HIS BROTHER WAS INVOLVED. THIS WAS A POLITICAL MATTER AND IT WAS BEING USED AGAINST HIM POLITICALLY BY THE OPPOSITION. HE SAID HE WANTED TO GET TO THE BOTTOM OF IT AND THEN NOTED WRYLY THAT THESE THINGS CAME UP AFTER YOU STEPPED DOWN FROM POWER. HE SAID WHILE HE WAS PRESIDENT THESE ALLEGED SAEMAUL IRREGULARITIES HAD NOT ARISEN. FORMER PRESIDENTS SYNGMAN RHEE AND PARK CHUN-HEE KNEW THAT AFTER THEY STEPPED DOWN THEY WOULD BE ATTACKED POLITICALLY SO THEY ARRANGED NEVER TO STEP DOWN. THIS WAS THEIR MISTAKE. CHUN, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS READY TO FACE THE MUSIC AND ESTABLISH NEW PRECEDENTS FOR A RETIRING PRESIDENT.

6. CHUN THEN TALKED ABOUT THE RADICAL MOVEMENT HERE, ITS ROOTS AND ITS FUTURE. HE SAID THE RADICAL STUDENTS APPARENTLY HAD LINKS TO THE ORGANIZED OPPOSITION, THEY COULD NOT ACT ALONE. AS LONG AS KOREA HAD A LOW PER CAPITA INCOME AND DISGRUNTED PEOPLE, THIS RADICAL GROUP WOULD HAVE AN APPEAL. THE ANSWER WAS NOT TO ROUND THEM ALL UP AND PUT THEM IN JAIL. THE ANSWER

DECLASSIFIED

Authority

NSC/DOS WAIVERS

BY

LM

NARA DATE

6/10/24

20  
WAS TO INCREASE PER CAPITA INCOME, DISTRIBUTE THE WEALTH MORE  
EQUITABLY, AND TO ISOLATE THE RADICALS FROM THE MAINSTREAM.  
7. ON A MORE PRACTICAL NOTE, CHUN ASKED ME WHAT HE SHOULD DO IN  
NEW YORK CITY DURING HIS FOUR DAYS THERE. I SUGGESTED A TRIP  
TO THE STATUE OF LIBERTY AS A SYMBOLIC VISITATION. I ALSO  
RECOMMENDED THE TWIN TOWERS (THE NEW YORK TRADE CENTER), THE  
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, WALL STREET, THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE,  
AND PERHAPS AN AROUND-THE-ISLAND TRIP.  
8. ON THE WAY OUT MIKE KIM TOLD ME THAT CHUN'S TRAVELLING PARTY  
WOULD BE A SMALL ONE, ABOUT 15 PEOPLE, THAT CHUN PLANNED TO  
SPEND QUITE A LOT OF HIS TIME RELAXING, AND APPRECIATED MY  
OFFER TO GIVE HIM A FRIENDLY SEND-OFF IN SEOUL.  
9. COMMENT: CHUN WAS RELAXED, WORE AN OPEN SHIRT, LAUGHED QUITE  
A LOT, AND DID SOME REMINISCING. HE MUSED THAT HE WOULD ENJOY  
TALKING WITH PRESIDENT NIXON NOT ONLY ABOUT OPENINGS TO CHINA,  
BUT ABOUT THE TRAVAILS OF A FORMER PRESIDENT. HE SEEMED  
DEFENSIVE ON THE SAEMAUL IRREGULARITIES AND OBVIOUSLY DIDN'T  
WANT TO DWELL ON IT. LILLEY

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01<SSN> 3233<STOR> 880321203002 MSG000196288202  
<TOR>880321203603

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
85091	CABLE  SEOUL 02146	2	2/26/1988	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing  
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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<DIST>SIT: VAX

23

<PREC> IMMEDIATE<CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED<OSRI> RUEHC #<DTG> 171810Z MAR 88  
<ORIG>FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
<TO>TO RUEHUL/AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE 4431  
INFO RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 0975  
RUHQHQA/CINCPAC HONOLULU

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: PRESS GUIDANCE: KOREA: VISIT OF EX-PRESIDENT  
CHUN DOO HWAN  
TOKYO FOR KEYSER

<TEXT>

UNCLAS STATE 083879

SEOUL PLS PASS PUSAN, CINCPAC FOR FPA ONLY

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, PREL, PROP, KS, US

SUBJECT: PRESS GUIDANCE: KOREA: VISIT OF EX-PRESIDENT

CHUN DOO HWAN

TOKYO FOR KEYSER

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED FOR USE BY  
THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN MARCH 16. IT WAS NOT USED  
DURING THE NOON PRESS BRIEFING BUT WAS LATER IN THE DAY  
IN RESPONSE TO CORRESPONDENTS' QUERIES.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

Q: CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT EX-PRESIDENT CHUN WILL VISIT  
WASHINGTON?

A: FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN WILL BE IN THE UNITED STATES ON  
A PRIVATE VISIT. HE WILL COME TO WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK,  
ARRIVING MARCH 22.

WE WARMLY WELCOME FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN AS THE FIRST  
MAJOR KOREAN LEADER TO TRANSFER POWER PEACEFULLY IN  
MODERN TIMES, A HISTORIC MILESTONE IN KOREA'S ON-GOING  
PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION.

(IF ASKED)

Q: WILL EX-PRESIDENT CHUN SEE THE PRESIDENT?

A: YES. (IF PRESSED) FOR FURTHER DETAILS, I REFER YOU  
TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

Q: WILL HE SEE THE SECRETARY?

A: THE SECRETARY CERTAINLY HOPES TO SEE PRESIDENT CHUN,  
WHOM HE KNOWS WELL. (IF PRESSED) BECAUSE OF THE VISIT  
OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRESIDENT CHUN'S TIGHT  
SCHEDULE, A TIME FOR A MEETING HAS NOT YET BEEN SET.

Q: DID PRESIDENT REAGAN INVITE PRESIDENT CHUN TO VISIT  
THE U.S.?

A: FORMER PRESIDENT CHUN WILL BE HERE ON A PRIVATE  
VISIT. THE PRESIDENT DID INVITE HIM TO CALL AT THE WHITE  
HOUSE DURING HIS STAY IN WASHINGTON.

END TEXT. SHULTZ

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01<SSN> 3879<STOR> 880317132123 MSG000195916883  
<TOR>880317132954

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85093	MEMO  KELLY TO POWELL RE LETTERS TO PRESIDENT ROH AND PRIME MINISTER TAKESHITA	1	3/25/1988	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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85095	MEMO  POWELL TO THE PRESIDENT RE LEETER TO ROH AND TAKESHITA	1	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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85096	LETTER  RR TO ROH	2	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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85097	LETTER  RR TO TAKESHITA	1	ND	B1

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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85099	LETTER  TAKESHITA TO RR	1	3/5/1988	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

2202


UNCLASSIFIED  
WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT

March 21, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Suggested Letters to Prime Minister Takeshita and  
President Roh

We recommend that the President sign the letters to Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita and Republic of Korea President Roh attached at Tabs A and B. Assistant Secretary Sigur would deliver signed originals of the letters during his April 2-7 trip to Tokyo and Seoul.

  
Melvyn Levitsky  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- Tab A - Suggested Letter to Takeshita
- Tab B - Suggested Letter to Roh
- Tab C - Takeshita March 5 Letter to the President

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
85101	LETTER  RR TO ROH	2	3/30/1988	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

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CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

*Kelly, J*

March 28, 1988

*file Korea*

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

FROM: JAMES A. KELLY *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: MEMCON of President's Meeting with Former  
President Chun Doo Hwan of Korea on March 23, 1988

At Tab A is a Memorandum of Conversation of the President's  
meeting with former President Chun Doo Hwan of Korea.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you review and approve the attached Memorandum of  
Conversation for record purposes.

Approve *[Signature]*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment:

Tab A MEMCON

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec.3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
BY NARA *smf*, DATE *3/18/10*

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2361

34

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

85102

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Former President Chun Doo Hwan  
of Korea

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.  
The President  
The Vice President  
Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff  
Ambassador John D. Negroponte, Deputy  
Assistant to the President for National  
Security Affairs  
Dr. Gastor J. Sigur, Assistant Secretary of  
State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs  
Max Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the  
President for Press Relations  
James A. Kelly, NSC Staff (notetaker)  
Tong Kim, Interpreter

Korea  
Former President Chun Doo Hwan, Chairman,  
Korean Advisory Council of Elder Statesmen  
Ambassador Kim Kyung-Won  
Vice Foreign Minister Shin Dong-Won  
Ahn Hyun-Tae, Executive Director, Advisory  
Council of Elder Statesmen  
Chi Youn-Tai, Assemblyman, Senior Member,  
Foreign Affairs Committee  
Kim Pyoung-Hoon, Interpreter

DATE, TIME March 23, 1988, 10:03-10:30 a.m.  
AND PLACE: Oval Office

After a warm beginning greeting, and White House and press photographs, President Reagan and guests were seated.

The President began by welcoming President Chun to Washington, and said that he hoped the good spring weather held for his entire visit to America.

President Chun thanked the President for inviting him and his wife to come to Washington, and President Reagan responded by noting that he and Nancy had enjoyed their previous meetings with President Chun and his wife. He said that Mrs. Reagan had to be out of the city on this day, but that he brought her greetings to President Chun and Mrs. Chun.

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Declassify: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NSC/DOS WAIVERS  
BY NM NARA DATE 6/10/24



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The President welcomed the former President as an "elder statesman" and said that he was wondering how that condition felt.

President Chun responded that it is a big relief from the heavy pressure and duty of office. He said there was a feeling of physical and psychological relief, but that he had not yet adjusted to the return to private life.

President Reagan recalled for President Chun the lengthy conversation they had had in 1983 during President Reagan's visit to Seoul. He said he had thought a great deal about this conversation in the time since, and wanted to tell President Chun how right he had been in his anticipation of democracy. The President recalled that Chun had noted that many Korean young people had not learned the difference between riots and demonstrations and democracy, and that President Chun's effort was to try to teach them to settle things through votes rather than protests.

President Chun commented that political development in Korea was still incommensurate with economic growth. He added, wryly, that there are many people in Korea who talk of democracy but he fears that too few of them understand it. But, he said he had decided to observe the Constitution, to step down, and to turn over the office of president of his country to a successor. This carrying out of the legitimate process can provide an example of what democracy means. As a result of the successful experiment that took place, Chun believes the future of democracy in Korea is bright. President Chun continued that in many developing countries peaceful transition is not the practice. He observed that it took courage on his part to go through this process because of the prospects of political retribution and reprisals, but that he had placed his faith in the wisdom of the Korean people, that he admired these people, and that he believed that their choice had come out in the right way.

President Reagan expressed his agreement and again remembered the talks that the two had had in 1983. The President commented again on the important lesson that young people must learn - that freedom is not a license to promote violence.

President Chun commented that what we have achieved is clearly a success that President Reagan and his administration should take credit for. Chun said that he was most fortunate in having President Reagan's constant support and having his understanding and confidence. Chun said he valued President Reagan's personal counsel on many occasions, and that unlike other administrations, President Reagan's administration had not attempted to impose its demands in a unilateral sense, but rather had treated Korea as the friend that it is, and that as a result the response had been what both mutually wished.

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3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

President Reagan answered that he appreciated this very generous commentary and that if America or he had been able to help in any way this would make him proud and pleased, but that the essence of this success was from the actions of all Koreans. The President noted the remarkable economic growth that Korea has attained, and mentioned the forthcoming Olympic Games. He noted that 161 countries had accepted the Olympic Committee's invitation, and that this is a record.

President Chun noted that for the first time in 12 years that East to West will meet in the Olympics, sending their very best to Seoul to participate in fair competition side by side. He expressed, with a smile, the hope that America would be able to win more gold medals than anyone else. Chun commented that Seoul is honored to play the host, and that the preparations have been carefully made and are almost complete. He did note that there are threats to security, possible terror measures, and that there would be a need for close cooperation to deter such events.

President Reagan responded most positively that the Korean government could certainly rely on American security efforts, and that such plans were already going forward. The President noted that TEAM SPIRIT, a joint military exercise, had just begun and that this would improve the ability of our forces to cooperate to insure a secure environment at the time of the Olympics. The President then commented that it was too bad that North Korea cannot be opened to tourists so that people could visit North as well as South, and draw their own conclusions on conditions of life in the Republic of Korea and in North Korea.

President Chun noted that this was an interesting idea, that it is possible for people of all types to travel and learn, although he believed that there may be precious little to learn in North Korea. He said he hoped that political and economic developments will permit President Reagan to be able to visit some of the beautiful locations that are in North Korea some day in the future.

President Reagan said that later he would be meeting with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union. He expressed the hope that the more the Soviets see of the United States the more possibility there can be for change in their own thinking.

President Chun asked that the President, when he visits the Soviet Union, tell the Soviets to exert moderating influence on North Korea so the Olympics will go smoothly, as everyone hopes that they will.

President Reagan agreed to make this point.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

37

President Chun then stated that he was again grateful that the President had broken into his schedule to receive him at the White House. He noted that Korea's performance has been described as an economic miracle, and that the political process has developed within that economic miracle. Chun said that if it is an economic miracle it has only been so for a couple of years, and that Koreans still don't know how to cope with their new status. He seemed to infer that the U.S. should be patient in its economic dealings with Korea. He then stated that the President of Korea, Roh Tae-woo, had called him shortly before his departure and had asked that he send his greatest respect to President Reagan. He said that President Roh is a good man, that he is going through a difficult start, and that he believes President Roh will need America's support throughout his administration.

The President asked President Chun to tell President Roh that he values the Korea relationship very highly. The relationship is very important and he hopes he will give his deepest respect to the new president, as well as those of his and Nancy's to Mrs. Chun.

As the meeting began to break up the President recalled the history of the Olympic Games and the ideals of Athens that had brought these to such prominence that war and conflict could be set aside for an occasion of fair and straightforward competition. This is the idea, the President said, that he hoped that the Seoul Olympics would evoke. Perhaps North Korea could learn from this, he said.

The meeting ended and the Vice President escorted President Chun to the door of the White House. President Chun left the White House visibly pleased.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

UNCLASSIFIED w/  
CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

March 28, 1988

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

FROM: JAMES A. KELLY 

SUBJECT: MEMCON of President's Meeting with Former  
President Chun Doo Hwan of Korea on March 23, 1988

At Tab A is a Memorandum of Conversation of the President's  
meeting with former President Chun Doo Hwan of Korea.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you review and approve the attached Memorandum of  
Conversation for record purposes.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment:

Tab A MEMCON

UNCLASSIFIED w/  
CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT



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2361

39

85104

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Former President Chun Doo Hwan of Korea

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.  
The President  
The Vice President  
Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff  
Ambassador John D. Negroponte, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs  
Dr. Gastor J. Sigur, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs  
Max Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the President for Press Relations  
James A. Kelly, NSC Staff (notetaker)  
Tong Kim, Interpreter

Korea  
Former President Chun Doo Hwan, Chairman, Korean Advisory Council of Elder Statesmen  
Ambassador Kim Kyung-Won  
Vice Foreign Minister Shin Dong-Won  
Ahn Hyun-Tae, Executive Director, Advisory Council of Elder Statesmen  
Chi Youn-Tai, Assemblyman, Senior Member, Foreign Affairs Committee  
Kim Pyoung-Hoon, Interpreter

DATE, TIME March 23, 1988, 10:03-10:30 a.m.  
AND PLACE: Oval Office

After a warm beginning greeting, and White House and press photographs, President Reagan and guests were seated.

The President began by welcoming President Chun to Washington, and said that he hoped the good spring weather held for his entire visit to America.

President Chun thanked the President for inviting him and his wife to come to Washington, and President Reagan responded by noting that he and Nancy had enjoyed their previous meetings with President Chun and his wife. He said that Mrs. Reagan had to be out of the city on this day, but that he brought her greetings to President Chun and Mrs. Chun.

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The President welcomed the former President as an "elder statesman" and said that he was wondering how that condition felt.

President Chun responded that it is a big relief from the heavy pressure and duty of office. He said there was a feeling of physical and psychological relief, but that he had not yet adjusted to the return to private life.

President Reagan recalled for President Chun the lengthy conversation they had had in 1983 during President Reagan's visit to Seoul. He said he had thought a great deal about this conversation in the time since, and wanted to tell President Chun how right he had been in his anticipation of democracy. The President recalled that Chun had noted that many Korean young people had not learned the difference between riots and demonstrations and democracy, and that President Chun's effort was to try to teach them to settle things through votes rather than protests.

President Chun commented that political development in Korea was still incommensurate with economic growth. He added, wryly, that there are many people in Korea who talk of democracy but he fears that too few of them understand it. But, he said he had decided to observe the Constitution, to step down, and to turn over the office of president of his country to a successor. This carrying out of the legitimate process can provide an example of what democracy means. As a result of the successful experiment that took place, Chun believes the future of democracy in Korea is bright. President Chun continued that in many developing countries peaceful transition is not the practice. He observed that it took courage on his part to go through this process because of the prospects of political retribution and reprisals, but that he had placed his faith in the wisdom of the Korean people, that he admired these people, and that he believed that their choice had come out in the right way.

President Reagan expressed his agreement and again remembered the talks that the two had had in 1983. The President commented again on the important lesson that young people must learn - that freedom is not a license to promote violence.

President Chun commented that what we have achieved is clearly a success that President Reagan and his administration should take credit for. Chun said that he was most fortunate in having President Reagan's constant support and having his understanding and confidence. Chun said he valued President Reagan's personal counsel on many occasions, and that unlike other administrations, President Reagan's administration had not attempted to impose its demands in a unilateral sense, but rather had treated Korea as the friend that it is, and that as a result the response had been what both mutually wished.

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President Reagan answered that he appreciated this very generous commentary and that if America or he had been able to help in any way this would make him proud and pleased, but that the essence of this success was from the actions of all Koreans. The President noted the remarkable economic growth that Korea has attained, and mentioned the forthcoming Olympic Games. He noted that 161 countries had accepted the Olympic Committee's invitation, and that this is a record.

President Chun noted that for the first time in 12 years that East to West will meet in the Olympics, sending their very best to Seoul to participate in fair competition side by side. He expressed, with a smile, the hope that America would be able to win more gold medals than anyone else. Chun commented that Seoul is honored to play the host, and that the preparations have been carefully made and are almost complete. He did note that there are threats to security, possible terror measures, and that there would be a need for close cooperation to deter such events.

President Reagan responded most positively that the Korean government could certainly rely on American security efforts, and that such plans were already going forward. The President noted that TEAM SPIRIT, a joint military exercise, had just begun and that this would improve the ability of our forces to cooperate to insure a secure environment at the time of the Olympics. The President then commented that it was too bad that North Korea cannot be opened to tourists so that people could visit North as well as South, and draw their own conclusions on conditions of life in the Republic of Korea and in North Korea.

President Chun noted that this was an interesting idea, that it is possible for people of all types to travel and learn, although he believed that there may be precious little to learn in North Korea. He said he hoped that political and economic developments will permit President Reagan to be able to visit some of the beautiful locations that are in North Korea some day in the future.

President Reagan said that later he would be meeting with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union. He expressed the hope that the more the Soviets see of the United States the more possibility there can be for change in their own thinking.

President Chun asked that the President, when he visits the Soviet Union, tell the Soviets to exert moderating influence on North Korea so the Olympics will go smoothly, as everyone hopes that they will.

President Reagan agreed to make this point.

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President Chun then stated that he was again grateful that the President had broken into his schedule to receive him at the White House. He noted that Korea's performance has been described as an economic miracle, and that the political process has developed within that economic miracle. Chun said that if it is an economic miracle it has only been so for a couple of years, and that Koreans still don't know how to cope with their new status. He seemed to infer that the U.S. should be patient in its economic dealings with Korea. He then stated that the President of Korea, Roh Tae-woo, had called him shortly before his departure and had asked that he send his greatest respect to President Reagan. He said that President Roh is a good man, that he is going through a difficult start, and that he believes President Roh will need America's support throughout his administration.

The President asked President Chun to tell President Roh that he values the Korea relationship very highly. The relationship is very important and he hopes he will give his deepest respect to the new president, as well as those of his and Nancy's to Mrs. Chun.

As the meeting began to break up the President recalled the history of the Olympic Games and the ideals of Athens that had brought these to such prominence that war and conflict could be set aside for an occasion of fair and straightforward competition. This is the idea, the President said, that he hoped that the Seoul Olympics would evoke. Perhaps North Korea could learn from this, he said.

The meeting ended and the Vice President escorted President Chun to the door of the White House. President Chun left the White House visibly pleased.

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