



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

RELEASE IN PART  
B1,1.4(D)

**BRIEFING MEMORANDUM**  
**S/S**

APPEALS PANEL ACTION: ADDITIONAL  
INFORMATION RELEASED B1,1.4(D)

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DECL: 11/2/18

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11/01/2023

TO: The Secretary  
FROM: EAP - Stanley O. Roth  
SUBJECT: Meeting with South Korean Foreign Minister Hong Soon-  
young, APEC, Kuala Lumpur, TBD

I. OBJECTIVES

1. To express appreciation for U.S.-ROK cooperation and progress since the June summit between President Clinton and President Kim Dae-jung.
2. To discuss North Korea policy, including suspect underground construction, missile tests, implementation of the Agreed Framework, Four Party Talks, and the appointment of the North Korea Policy Coordinator.
3. To reassure the ROK regarding its defense needs [redacted]
4. To seek ROK support for APEC good governance initiatives.
5. To express thanks for ROK support for democratization in Burma and seek continued cooperation from Seoul on human rights in Asia.
6. To urge the ROK to continue its progress toward committing to an early binding emissions target.

B1  
1.4(D)

II. APPROACH

This will be your third meeting with Korean Foreign Minister Hong since he took office in August. You should reiterate how valuable your close consultation has been during this challenging period for policy toward the DPRK and reaffirm our commitment to continue policy coordination. Since the June

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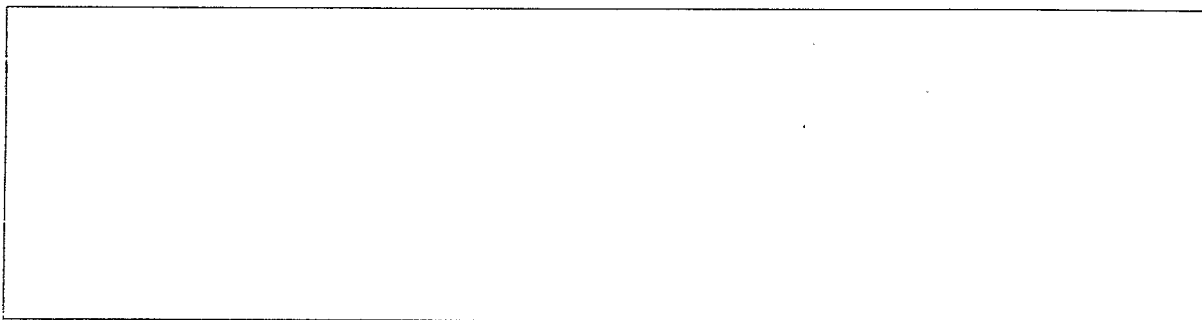
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-2-

summit, the U.S. and the ROK have made progress on several commitments made at that time, particularly on economic matters. The U.S. has shown continued strong support for Korea's economic reform program in international fora. Under Secretary Eizenstat recently chaired bilateral Economic Subcabinet Consultations in Washington with a view to expanding bilateral economic cooperation. In October, the U.S. and ROK reached an agreement on improving market access for U.S. automakers in Korea. Negotiations are currently in progress on a Bilateral Investment Treaty, and Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) President George Munoz recently traveled to Korea to promote for the resumption of OPIC activities there. The Exim Bank has also established a \$3 billion facility to support U.S. exports to Korea. You should note that the President's upcoming visit to Korea will reaffirm our commitment to both our security alliance and continued economic cooperation.

This meeting comes at a critical time for our North Korea policy. At the same time that APEC convenes in Kuala Lumpur, Ambassador Kartman is leading a delegation to Pyongyang (Nov. 16-18) to engage the DPRK in discussions aimed at resolving our concerns regarding suspect underground construction. You should stress that progress on both the underground construction and missile issues is absolutely essential to the continued viability of the Agreed Framework. Reassure Hong that we appreciate the risks of confrontation with the DPRK and that we continue to believe that maintaining the Agreed Framework is highly desirable. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Hong likely will offer his assessment of President Kim's recent trip to Japan and the state of ROK-Japan relations. Explain the role of the Congressionally-mandated North Korea Policy Review Coordinator and note that we welcome the appointment. You should review with Hong the outcome of the recent Four Party Talks (Oct. 21-24) and seek his assessment of this round and ROK expectations of the next.

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In the context of APEC, express appreciation for ROK leadership in the area of good governance and express our hope

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-3-

that the ROK will speak out on this issue and the crucial role it plays in establishing the foundation for economic growth.

If time permits, thank Hong for ROK support for democracy in Asia, particularly Burma, and seek a commitment to sign a statement of concern and support a strong resolution in UNGA. Express appreciation for the ROK role at COP-4 and urge the ROK to consider adopting binding emissions targets.

III. KEY ISSUES

**North Korea:** Recent events in North Korea -- including incursions into South Korea, suspect underground construction, and the August 31 missile launch over Japan -- have severely undermined support for the Agreed Framework both in Japan and in our Congress. Although maintaining the Agreed Framework is highly desirable, its continued viability now explicitly hinges on progress in curbing DPRK missile activities and in satisfying our concerns about suspect underground construction. In FY99, Congress provided \$35 million to KEDO for heavy fuel oil to be provided in tranches of \$15 million and \$20 million. These are subject to certifications related to progress in peace talks, spent fuel canning, DPRK nuclear and missile activities, satisfaction of U.S. concerns about suspect underground construction, and the appointment of a "North Korea Policy Coordinator." Although we are making some headway in the various talks and spent fuel canning, the underground construction and missiles issues are more problematic. Nonetheless, tangible results in these two areas are critical.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Were the DRPK to launch another long-range missile, [Redacted] political support for the Agreed Framework in the Japanese Diet and the U.S. Congress likely would collapse.

Ambassador Kartman will lead a delegation to Pyongyang November 16-18 to continue serious discussions aimed at satisfying our concerns on suspect underground construction. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] During this trip, Kartman will identify the site in question and urge the DPRK to commit to quick follow-on discussions on this issue. During this critical phase for U.S. policy toward the DPRK, close consultation among the U.S., the ROK and Japan will be vital.

**North Korea Policy Coordinator:** The ROK remains nervous about the implications of the Coordinator position. The Coordinator,

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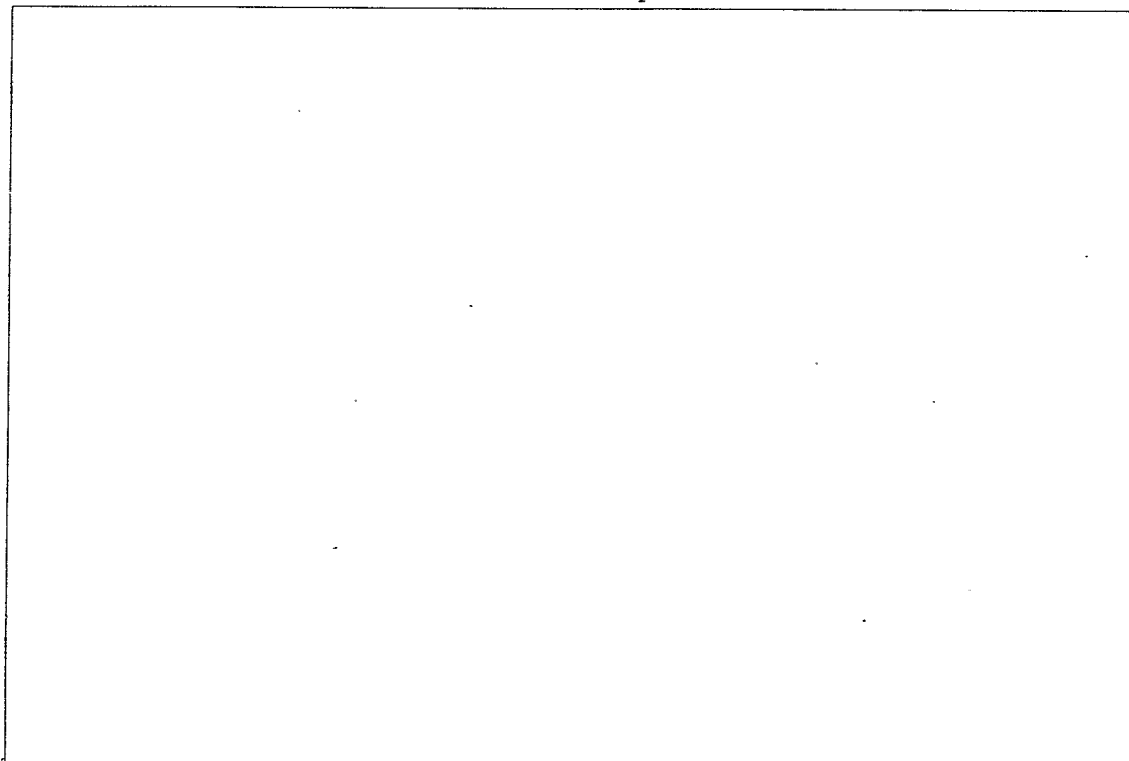
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-4-

whose tenure will be of limited duration, will consult closely with the ROK as well as Japan as he undertakes this project. We believe that the review will benefit the U.S.-ROK security alliance.

**Four Party Talks:** The third plenary session of the Four Party Talks convened in Geneva from October 21-24. Our primary goal for this session was to create momentum for the talks through the establishment of two working groups on Armistice replacement and tension reduction, as agreed by the U.S. and DPRK during New York bilateral discussions. While continuing to insist on a bilateral U.S.-DPRK peace treaty and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Korean Peninsula, the DPRK did agree to the establishment of working groups to address tension reduction and Armistice replacement.



B1  
1.4(D)

However, we are concerned about missile proliferation and the very real prospect of a regional missile race.

U/S Holum and PM DAS Einhorn will meet with the ROKG in Seoul on November 12-13 to discuss the missile issue and ROK membership in MTCR. (We will update you on results before your meeting with Hong.)

**APEC Issues:** The USG has focused on Korea as a logical partner in furthering good governance in APEC. When you and

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-5-

the President raised the issue in meetings with President Kim last spring, he responded positively. We hope that President Kim will focus on the issue of good governance in his remarks at APEC, and thus play a leadership role among Asian nations on this issue.

**Democracy in Asia:** South Korea has taken a more vocal role in urging the military junta in Burma to engage in meaningful dialogue with the democratic opposition. Still, South Korea's more forthright stance regarding Burma is not without perceived potential economic and political repercussions, a concern that is amplified if it is the only Asian nation speaking out on the issue.



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**Climate Change:** As an OECD member with both a high emissions level and a large per capita GDP, South Korea's participation is crucial to the success of climate change efforts. Korea played a constructive role at the recent Climate Change Conference of the Parties (COP-4), supporting our positions on flexibility mechanisms and emissions trading. Korea continues, however, to resist the adoption of an early target, citing its current economic crisis and negative growth implications. An emissions target can be conducive to growth and Korea should consider adopting an early emissions target.

IV. PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

TBD

V. PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The Secretary  
PA James P. Rubin  
EAP A/S Stanley O. Roth  
others TBD

South Korea

FM Hong Soon-young  
MOFAT Dir. Gen. Kwon Jong-rak  
others TBD

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Checklist of Key Issues.
- Tab 2 - Talking Points.
- Tab 3 - Biographic Information

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