

RELEASE IN  
PART  
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

~~SECRET~~ PTQ6714

PAGE 01 SEOUL 03141 01 OF 05 040603Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCOE-00 SAS-00 /000W  
-----D0B07F 040606Z /38

O 040557Z JUN 99  
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9698

Classification Extended on : 03/04/2016 ~ Class: SECRET  
~ Authority: DSCG 11-1 ~ Declassify on: 06/03/2024

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 05 SEOUL 003141

~~NODIS~~ **DECAPTIONED**

DEPARTMENT FOR ONLY C - AMB. SHERMAN AND EAP - A/S ROTH,  
PDAS DEMING, AMB. KARTMAN

E.O. 12958: DECL: (AFTER KOREAN UNIFICATION)  
TAGS: PREL, KS, KN  
SUBJECT: PERRY DELEGATION VISIT TO SEOUL: TRILATERAL  
U.S.-ROK-JAPAN DISCUSSIONS

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

CLASSIFIED BY THE AMBASSADOR. REASONS: 1.5 (B), (D).

1. (S) SUMMARY: DR. WILLIAM PERRY AND DELEGATION HELD TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ROK AND JAPAN AT THE ROK FOREIGN MINISTER'S RESIDENCE MAY 29 TO DISCUSS THE OUTCOME OF THE U.S. TEAM'S LANDMARK MAY 25-28 VISIT TO PYONGYANG. THE PERRY DELEGATION SAID THAT THE TALKS WITH KEY DPRK GOVERNMENT, MILITARY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS LEADERS HAD ACHIEVED TWO KEY GOALS: PRODUCING A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL RESPECT FOR FUTURE TALKS AND

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REAFFIRMING NORTH KOREA'S COMMITMENT TO VITAL ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS, SUCH AS THE FOUR PARTY TALKS AND THE AGREED FRAMEWORK. HOWEVER, ON A THIRD KEY GOAL -  
- EXPLORING THE DPRK'S INTEREST IN DRAMATICALLY EXPANDING BILATERAL RELATIONS -- THE TEAM HAD MET WITH LITTLE SUCCESS, THOUGH THE DOOR TO FURTHER TALKS REMAINED OPEN. ROK UNIFICATION MINISTER LIM DONG-WON EXPRESSED DEEP GRATITUDE TO THE U.S. TEAM AND PRAISED THEIR HISTORIC EFFORTS. THE ROK AND JAPANESE DELEGATIONS LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THE U.S. TEAM'S REPORT BUT MADE FEW SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS. A FULL LIST OF TRILATERAL PARTICIPANTS FOLLOWS IN PARAGRAPHS 25-27. END SUMMARY.

2. (S) ROK UNIFICATION MINISTER LIM DONG-WON WELCOMED THE DELEGATIONS AND EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE PERRY DELEGATION HAD "SUCCESSFULLY" COMPLETED ITS VISIT TO NORTH KOREA. ON BEHALF OF THE ROKG AND THE KOREAN PEOPLE, HE EXPRESSED "DEEPEST GRATITUDE" TO THE U.S. DELEGATION FOR UNDERTAKING THIS MISSION, ONE WHICH NO ONE

BEFORE THEM HAD UNDERTAKEN. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] HE REQUESTED THAT THE U.S. DELEGATES DESCRIBE IN DETAIL WHAT THEY HEARD IN NORTH KOREA [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

3. (S) DR. PERRY SAID THAT THE U.S. TEAM HAD SET OUT WITH THREE KEY OBJECTIVES FOR THE TALKS IN PYONGYANG: CREATING THE RIGHT ATMOSPHERE FOR DISCUSSIONS; BUILDING ON AND  
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REINFORCING PROGRAMS AND NEGOTIATIONS ALREADY UNDER WAY WITH THE DPRK; AND EXPLORING THE DPRK'S INTEREST IN EXPANDING RELATIONS IN A DRAMATIC NEW WAY. WHILE REAL SUCCESS WAS ACHIEVED ON THE FIRST TWO OBJECTIVES, THE FINAL OBJECTIVE MET WITH A FAR LESS POSITIVE RESPONSE.

4. (S) THE ATTEMPT TO CREATE A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE FOR TALKS WAS IN FACT A "PROFOUND SUCCESS," DR. PERRY SAID. THE U.S. DELEGATION RECEIVED GREAT COURTESY FROM THE NORTH AND WAS HEARD WITH GREAT SERIOUSNESS BY THREE SENIOR OFFICIALS. THE PRIMARY INTERLOCUTOR WAS FIRST VICE FOREIGN MINISTER KANG SOK-JU, WITH WHOM THE DELEGATION MET ON MAY 23, 24, AND 25 FOR THREE HOURS EACH DAY, NOT INCLUDING TWO BANQUETS. EACH OF THE MEETINGS WAS HELD IN A SERIOUS BUT FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE. [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)

5. (S) THE U.S. SIDE HAD ALSO MET WITH GENERAL LI YONG-CHOL, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS FOR THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMISSION, A SENIOR MILITARY OFFICIAL ADVISING KIM JONG-IL ON MILITARY AND DEFENSE MATTERS.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] FINALLY, THE U.S. SIDE MET WITH KIM YONG-NAM, PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S  
~~SECRET~~

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ASSEMBLY, WHOM THE DPRK SIDE CONSIDERED OF APPROPRIATE RANK TO RECEIVE PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LETTER TO KIM JONG-IL, BUT WHO DID NOT ENGAGE IN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION WITH THE DELEGATION IN THE COURSE OF A ONE-HOUR MEETING AND 90-MINUTE LUNCH.

6. (S) THE U.S. SIDE WAS ALSO SUCCESSFUL IN ACHIEVING ITS

SECOND GOAL: BUILDING ON AND REINFORCING PROGRAMS AND NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY WITH THE DPRK, DR. PERRY CONTINUED. THE DPRK LEADERSHIP REAFFIRMED ITS COMMITMENT TO THE AGREED FRAMEWORK, DESPITE SOME COMPLAINT ABOUT THE FAILURE OF KEDO TO FULFILL THE TERMS OF THE GENEVA ACCORD; STILL, THERE WAS NO DOUBT ABOUT THE COMMITMENT OF BOTH SIDES TO THE ACCORD. THE NORTH KOREANS SAID THEY WOULD CONTINUE ALL TALKS CURRENTLY UNDERWAY -- SUCH AS THE FOUR PARTY TALKS -- AND ALSO SUGGESTED HOLDING THE NEXT ROUND OF U.S.-DPRK MISSILE TALKS IN JUNE.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9699

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 05 SEOUL 003141

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PDAS DEMING, AMB. KARTMAN

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7. (S) THE TWO SIDES SPENT THE GREATEST AMOUNT OF TIME DISCUSSING THE THIRD OBJECTIVE: EXPLORING WHETHER THE DPRK WAS INTERESTED IN EXPANDING THE U.S.-DPRK BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IN A DRAMATIC NEW WAY. IN THE FIRST MEETING WITH FIRST VFM KANG SOK-JU, DR. PERRY SPENT NEARLY TWO HOURS PRESENTING THE U.S. IDEAS. IN A SECOND THREE-HOUR SESSION, KANG PRESENTED THE DPRK RESPONSE.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] ON

~~SECRET~~

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THE THIRD DAY, THE TWO SIDES HELD ANOTHER THREE-HOUR SESSION, WHICH THE U.S. HOPED MIGHT PROVIDE INDICATIONS OF A WAY FORWARD.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

8. (S) IN SUMMARY, NORTH KOREA LISTENED CAREFULLY, DID NOT / NOT EMBRACE THE U.S. IDEAS, BUT THE DOOR WAS LEFT OPEN TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE DELEGATION HAD MADE CLEAR THAT IT WAS NOT THERE TO NEGOTIATE. JUST TO EXPLAIN. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

9. (S) DR. PERRY THEN ASKED THE OTHER U.S. DELEGATION MEMBERS TO EXPAND ON KEY ASPECTS OF THE VISIT. AMBASSADOR WENDY SHERMAN UNDERSCORED THAT A KEY U.S. OBJECTIVE WAS TO CREATE A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE FOR FUTURE TALKS. THIS INCLUDED SHOWING RESPECT FOR THE NORTH AS A SOVEREIGN COUNTRY, AND MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THE U.S. SIDE WAS IN PYONGYANG TO LEARN AS WELL AS TO EXPLAIN. THE NORTH KOREANS CLEARLY RESPONDED WELL TO THE SHOW OF RESPECT, DISPLAYING A MUTUAL RESPECT FOR THE U.S. SIDE AS

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PAGE 03 SEOUL 03141 02 OF 05 040603Z WELL AS TREMENDOUS HOSPITALITY, INCLUDING A BANQUET AND MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT. THE DPRK PROVIDED VIRTUALLY EVERYTHING REQUESTED BY THE U.S., INCLUDING A VISIT TO KIM IL-SUNG'S BIRTHPLACE. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LISTEN TO A RECITATION OF NORTH KOREAN HISTORY. THIS SENT A MESSAGE TO THE NORTH KOREAN PEOPLE THAT THE U.S. SIDE WAS SERIOUS ABOUT UNDERSTANDING THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY AND CULTURE. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE TEAM ALSO DELIVERED MEDICINES FROM THE KOREAN-AMERICAN SHARING MOVEMENT AND UNICEF TO THE CHILDREN'S WARD OF A GENERAL HOSPITAL IN PYONGYANG.

10. (S) WHAT STOOD OUT MOST TO THE U.S. TEAM WAS THE REMARKABLE LEVEL OF HOSPITALITY ACCORDED TO THEM. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THERE WAS A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE DURING MOST MEETINGS WITH DPRK OFFICIALS. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] KANG WAS VERY ENGAGED, VERY INTENSE, FOCUSED ON ENGAGING IN DEEP DIALOGUE, WHICH THE U.S. SIDE TOOK AS A GOOD SIGN. THE FINAL BANQUET TOOK PLACE IN SUCH A POSITIVE, CORDIAL

B1  
1.4(D)

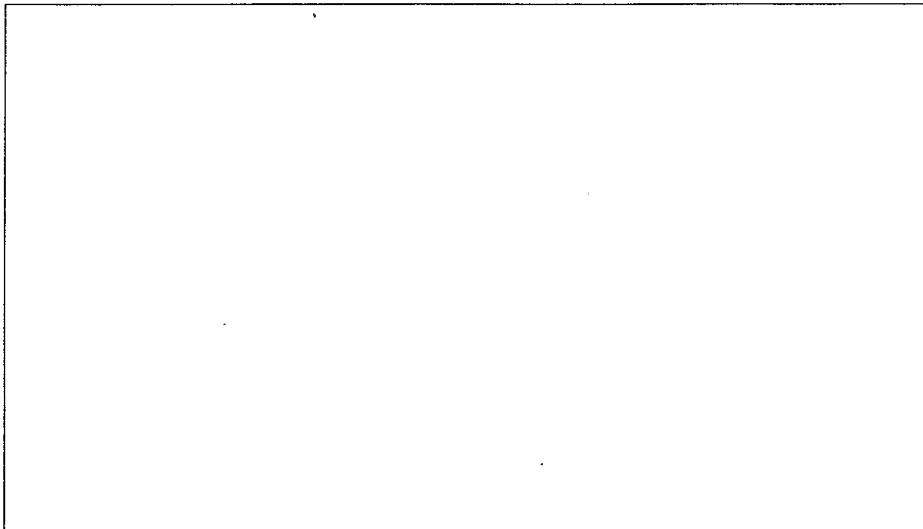
B1  
1.4(D)

B1  
1.4(D)

ATMOSPHERE THAT IT COULD HAVE BEEN HELD IN ANY COUNTRY,  
WITH JOKES AND CASUAL BANTER.

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B1  
1.4(D)

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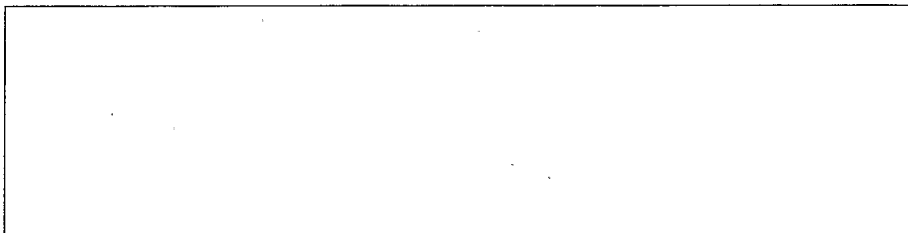
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B1  
1.4(D)

12. (S) RETURNING TO THE U.S. SIDE'S SECOND OBJECTIVE, SECURING A COMMITMENT TO ONGOING TALKS AND AGREEMENTS, DR. PERRY ASKED EAP SPECIAL ADVISOR PHIL YUN TO LEAD THE  
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DISCUSSION. YUN SAID THE DPRK MADE A STRONG POINT OF EXPRESSING SUPPORT AND COMMITMENT TO EXISTING TALKS, AND SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED U.S.-DPRK MISSILE TALKS. [REDACTED] WAS QUITE DIRECT ON THE NEED TO KEEP TALKS GOING BETWEEN AMBASSADOR KARTMAN AND VICE FOREIGN MINISTER KIM GYE-GWAN, CHARACTERIZING THEM AS "UNIQUE," AND MADE CLEAR HIS CLEAR HIS SUPPORT FOR CONTINUING THE FOUR PARTY TALKS. [REDACTED] MADE A SPECIAL POINT OF MENTIONING SUPPORT FOR THE AGREED FRAMEWORK, THOUGH HE WENT ON TO VOICE CONCERNS ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION. IN FACT, [REDACTED] HAD SHOWN SOME CONCERN OVER WHETHER THE USG INTENDED TO PROPOSE SCRAPPING THE AGREED FRAMEWORK, BASED ON PREVIOUS U.S. STATEMENTS THAT THE PERRY TEAM WOULD BE PROPOSING A "FUNDAMENTAL SHIFT" IN DPRK-U.S. RELATIONS. DR. PERRY INTERJECTED THAT THEIR CONCERN WAS NOT UNREASONABLE, GIVEN PREVIOUS CRITICISM OF AND COMMENTARY ON THE AGREEMENT IN THE U.S.

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

13. (S) DR. PERRY THEN SHIFTED THE TRILATERAL DISCUSSION TOWARD THE SUBSTANCE OF THE U.S.-DPRK TALKS. THERE WAS A CLEAR DIVISION IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE PYONGYANG TALKS, WITH A PRESENTATION OF POSITIONS ON THE FIRST TWO DAYS -- DR. PERRY LAYING OUT THE U.S. IDEAS ON THE FIRST DAY AND KANG RESPONDING ON THE SECOND -- FOLLOWED BY A DIALOGUE ON THE PRESENTATIONS ON THE THIRD DAY. THIS LATTER DIALOGUE CULMINATED IN A TWO-ON-TWO SESSION ATTENDED BY DR. PERRY AND AMBASSADOR SHERMAN ON THE U.S. SIDE, AND VICE MINISTERS KANG AND KIM GYE-GWAN FOR THE DPRK, WITH NOTETAKERS PRESENT.

14. (S) AT DR. PERRY'S REQUEST, DR. ASHTON CARTER  
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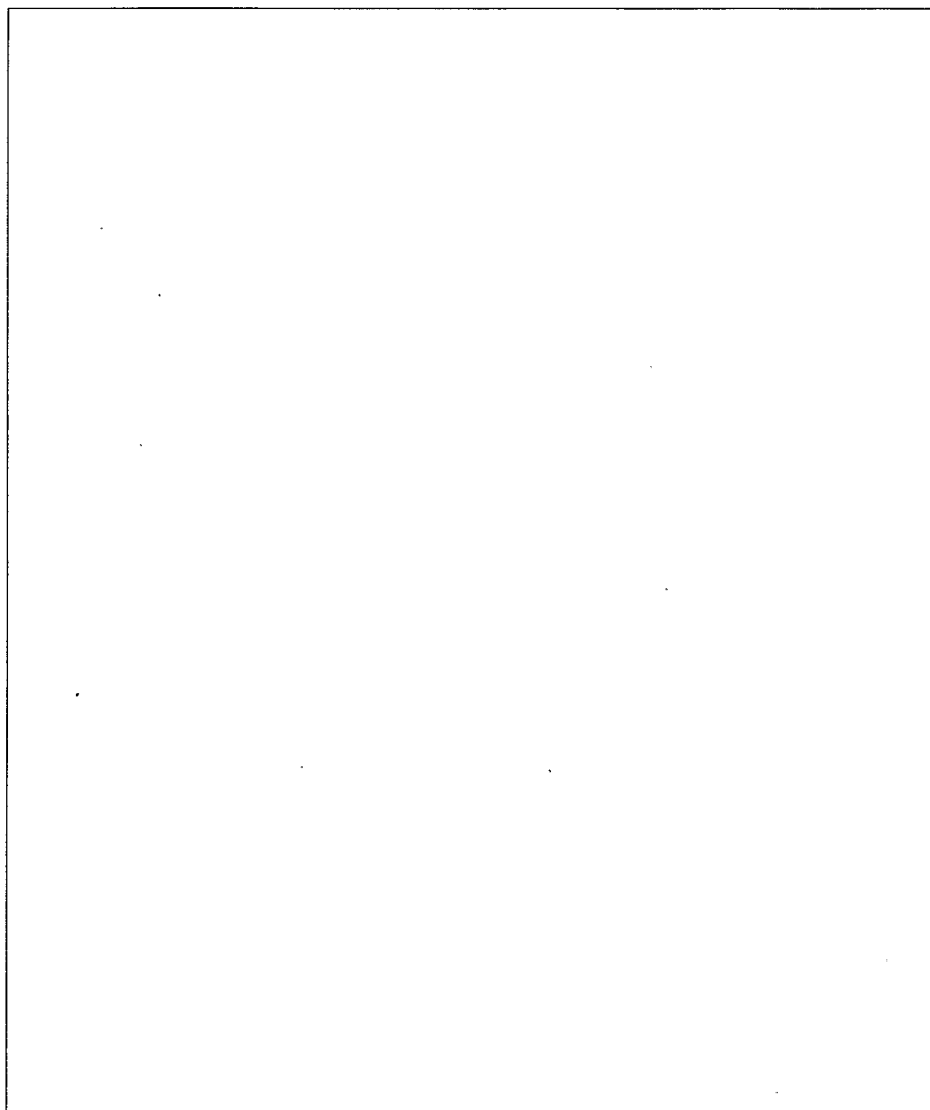
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DESCRIBED THE U.S. PRESENTATION AND THE DPRK RESPONSE. DR. CARTER SAID THAT THE U.S. PRESENTATION WAS DIVIDED IN THREE PARTS. FIRST, A STRATEGIC DISCUSSION OF THE U.S., [REDACTED] VIEW OF AFFAIRS IN THE PACIFIC REGION AND WORLD, AS WELL AS THE DPRK SITUATION; THE U.S. SIDE LAID OUT THE PROSPECT THAT THE U.S. WOULD CHANGE ITS POSTURE OF THREAT AS PERCEIVED BY THE DPRK IN A DRAMATIC WAY, ACCEPTING THE STATUS AND REGIME OF NORTH KOREA. SECOND, THE DELEGATION EXPLAINED U.S. OBJECTIVES IN THE NUCLEAR AND MISSILE FIELDS, AND WHAT WE SOUGHT FROM THE DPRK. THIRD, IT DESCRIBED WHAT THE U.S. WAS WILLING TO DO IN RETURN FOR SATISFACTION ON THE NUCLEAR AND MISSILE ISSUES. [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)

15. (S) [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)  
1.4(D)  
1.4(D)

B1  
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1.4(D)



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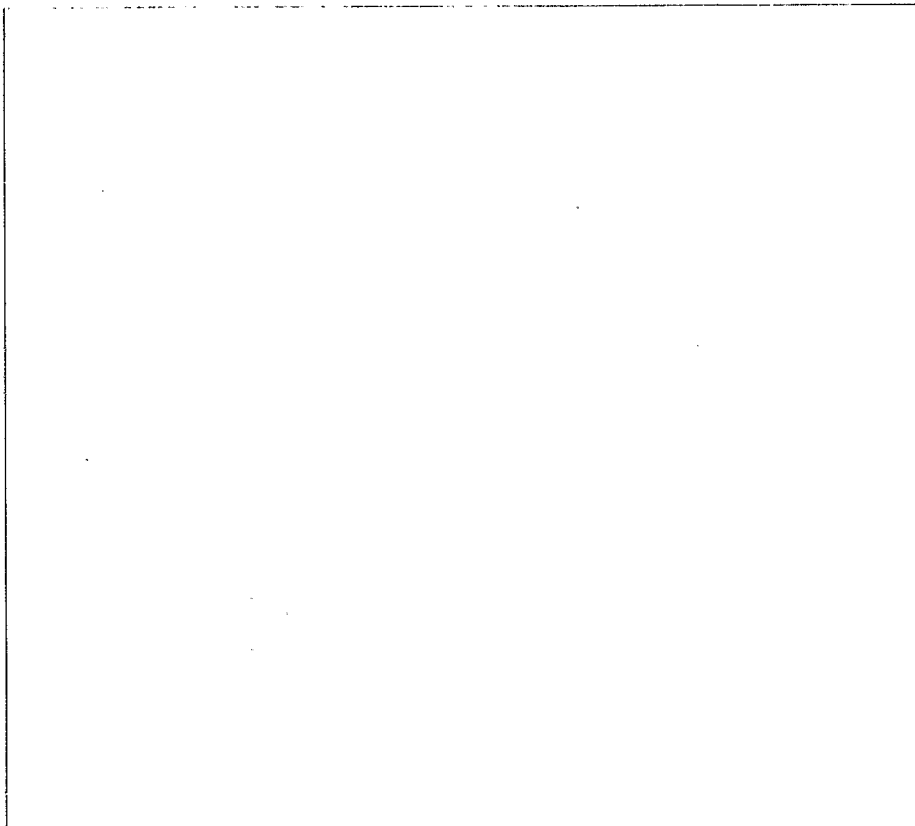
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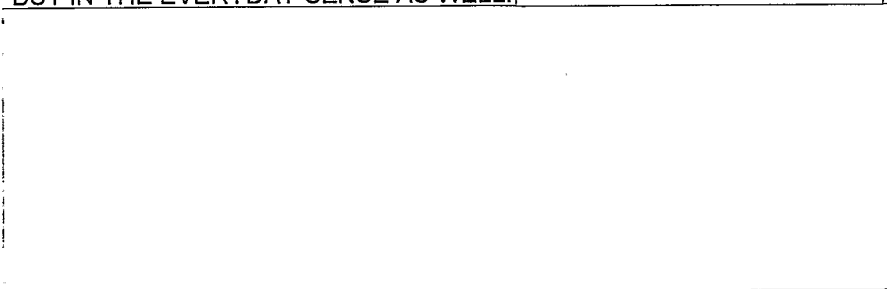


B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)



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21. ~~(S)~~TURNING TO THE DELEGATION'S FINAL FULL MEETING IN  
PYONGYANG, AMB. SHERMAN SAID THAT WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR  
THAT A POSITIVE DPRK RESPONSE WAS NOT ON THE TABLE, THE  
U.S. CALLED FOR A BREAK AND CONVENED A SMALL, TWO-ON-TWO  
MEETING BETWEEN DR. PERRY AND AMBASSADOR SHERMAN ON THE  
U.S. SIDE AND FIRST VFM KANG AND VICE MINISTER KIM ON THE  
OTHER, WITH ONLY NOTETAKERS AND TRANSLATORS PRESENT. THE  
DISCUSSION WAS VERY FRANK, NOT JUST IN A DIPLOMATIC SENSE  
BUT IN THE EVERYDAY SENSE AS WELL. 



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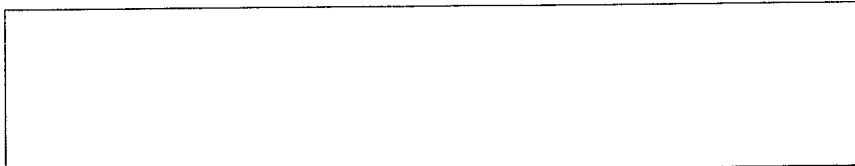
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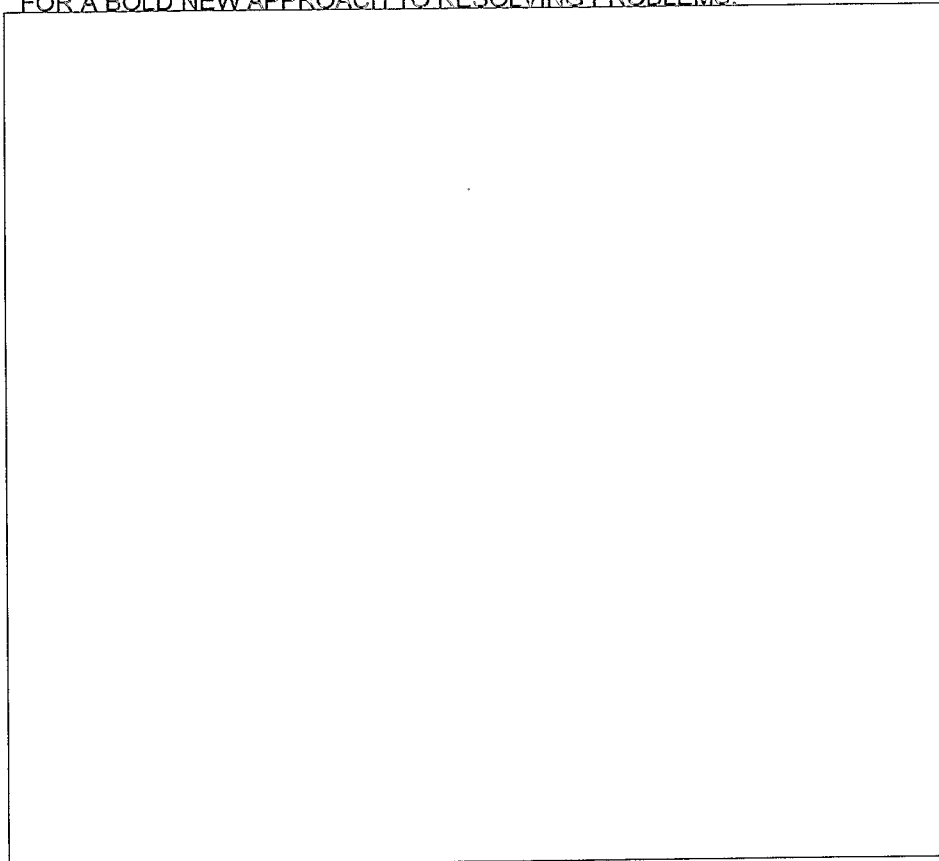
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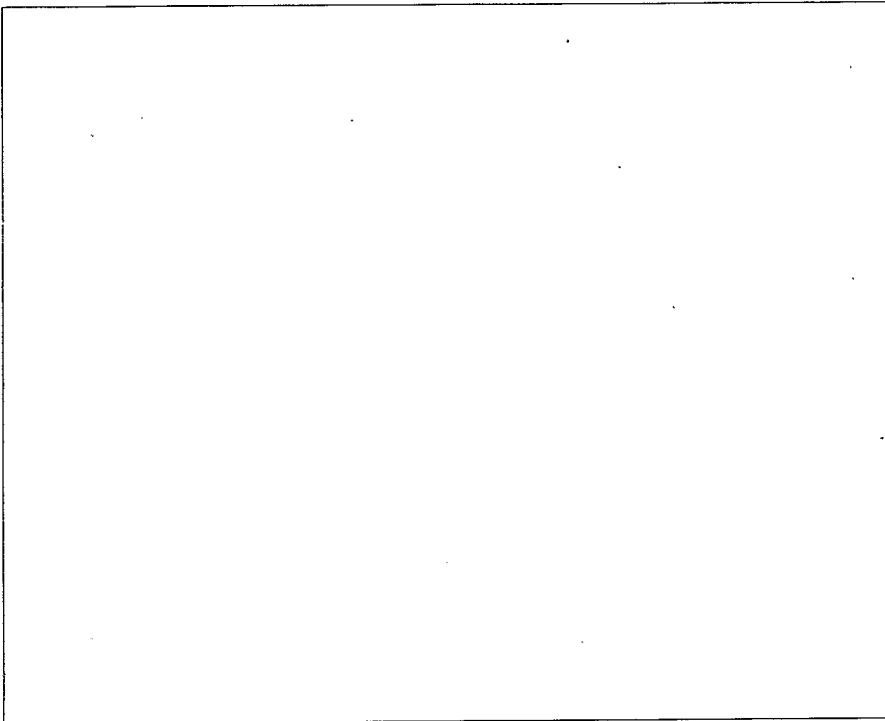
B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

DR. PERRY HAD  
CLOSED DISCUSSIONS WITH THE DPRK SIDE WITH AN APPROPRIATE  
STATEMENT, NOTING THAT SOMETIMES PEOPLE WERE NOT READY  
FOR A BOLD NEW APPROACH TO RESOLVING PROBLEMS.



B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

1.4(D)  
B1



25. (U) THE ROK DELEGATION MEMBERS WERE LIM DONG-WON, UNIFICATION MINISTER; JANG JAI-RYONG, DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE; KWON JONG-RAK, DIRECTOR GENERAL, NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, MOFAT; SONG MIN-SOON, SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS/NATIONAL SECURITY; LEE SOO-HYUCK, POLITICAL COUNSELOR, ROK EMBASSY WASHINGTON, D.C.; WI SUNG-LAK, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS/NATIONAL SECURITY; CHO TAE-YONG, DIRECTOR, NORTH AMERICA DIVISION I, MOFAT; YOON YEO-CHEOL, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, NORTH AMERICA DIVISION I, MOFAT.

26. (U) THE JAPANESE DELEGATION MEMBERS WERE RYOZO KATO, DIRECTOR GENERAL, FOREIGN POLICY BUREAU, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS; HIROYASU ANDO, DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL, ASIAN BUREAU, MOFA; KENICHIRO SASAE, DIRECTOR, NORTH EAST ASIA DIVISION, MOFA; CHIKAO KAWAI, DIRECTOR, POLICY

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COORDINATION DIVISION, MOFA; HIROYUKI NAMAZU, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, NORTH EAST ASIA DIVISION, MOFA; KEIICHI IWAMOTO, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, POLICY COORDINATION DIVISION, MOFA; KAZUO OGURA, AMBASSADOR, EMBASSY OF JAPAN, TADAMICHI YAMAMOTO, POLITICAL COUNSELOR, EMBASSY OF JAPAN; KOICHI AIBOSHI, FIRST SECRETARY, EMBASSY OF JAPAN.

27. (U) THE U.S. PARTICIPANTS WERE DR. WILLIAM PERRY, AMBASSADOR WENDY SHERMAN, AMBASSADOR STEPHEN BOSWORTH, AMBASSADOR THOMAS FOLEY, DR. ASHTON CARTER, DR. KENNETH LIEBERTHAL, MAJOR GENERAL WALLACE GREGSON, MR. PHILIP

YUN, MR. EVANS REVERE, AND EMBASSY SEOUL AND TOKYO  
NOTETAKERS.

BOSWORTH

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