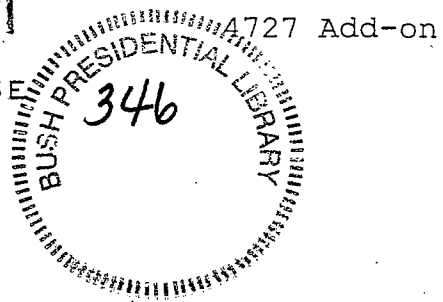


~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Roh Tae Woo, President of the Republic of Korea (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
The Vice President  
James A. Baker, III, Secretary of State  
Nicholas F. Brady, Secretary of the Treasury  
Richard B. Cheney, Secretary of Defense  
Robert A. Mosbacher, Secretary of Commerce  
John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff  
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs  
Donald P. Gregg, U.S. Ambassador to Korea  
Richard H. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs  
Douglas H. Paal, Senior Director of Asian Affairs, NSC, Notetaker  
Richard Christenson, Interpreter

Roh Tae-Woo, President  
Lee Sang-Ock, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Lee Bong-Suh, Minister of Trade and Industry  
Hyun Hong-Choo, Ambassador of the Republic of Korea  
Chung Hae-Chang, Chief of Staff to the President  
Kim Chong-In, Senior Secretary to the President for Economic Affairs  
Kim Chong-Whi, Assistant to the President for Foreign and National Security Affairs  
Lee Soo-Jung, Senior Press Secretary and Spokesman for the President  
Lee Jung-Ha, Interpreter (U)

DATE, TIME July 2, 1991, 10:30 - 11:30 a.m. EST  
AND PLACE: The Oval Office and Cabinet Room (U)

The President met with President Roh in the Oval Office and in the Cabinet Room. (U)

President Roh: People say we owe our Gulf victory to high tech, but it was your determination and resolve. (U)

The President: Thank you. It all began 11 months ago. I regret that he did not see the light, but a message has gone around the world that aggression doesn't pay. We appreciate your medical unit. (U)

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED  
2000-0429F  
8/21/09 KO

~~SECRET~~  
2

~~SECRET~~

President Roh: I hope for frank and candid exchange of views on the future, bilateral relations, etc. (U)

The President: We will discuss security things here, then go to the Cabinet Room. The floor is yours. (U)

President Roh: The Asia-Pacific region will be more important in the 21st century because economic output will be double that of Europe. There will be much trade increase between Korea and the U.S. If Japanese influence grows, U.S.-Japan relations must change. If and when the Soviet Union stabilizes, it will move into the region as well. China has the Middle Kingdom syndrome and when it stabilizes it will move in. I have mentioned three countries. If U.S. influence wanes, one of them may try to move in. Like previously, the Korean peninsula is a very strategic region. We are facing unification in the future but will do it in a way which doesn't hamper relations with others. Kim will soon pass from the scene and things will change. As for unification, we would like to press it peacefully with your support and with that of the other three in region. (S)

The President: When will that happen? (U)

President Roh: Could be before the end of the century. Unified, we have 70 million people, and can become equivalent to Germany, UK, and France. For this to happen we must preserve closest relations to the U.S. in all areas. Unification can be achieved with U.S. help and I hope the U.S.-Korea partnership can become like that of U.S.-Great Britain. We need the relationship to prevent one of the three from predominating. (S)

The President: We intend to be vigorous participants in matters of the Pacific. My engagement with China now is because we want relations in the future. Relations with the Soviets is so that if they reform, they will not be a threat. We have good relations with Japan but have tensions due to trade. But we must and will stay engaged. The U.S.-Korea relationship will never be a pawn to any other relations. It will stand on its own feet. We will stay involved in defense affairs. (S)

I am interested in your views on the nuclear issue. (U)

President Roh: The North Korea nuclear threat is a big problem - not just for two of us but the whole world. Japan is pre-conditioning recognition on our conditions. North Korea is asking for UN membership and says it wants to join IAEA. But they are trying to link inspections to a nuclear free zone on the peninsula. We are respecting the U.S. policy of NCND but we will enter into negotiations with the North based on three conditions: 1) That the U.S. maintains its nuclear guarantee; 2) That the North accept full inspections; 3) That North Korea give up reprocessing. If they agree, we will enter into negotiations.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

3

~~SECRET~~

with North Korea. But North Korea would like to negotiate directly with you, over our head. (S)

The President: They won't get that. Big thing is not to link U.S. presence with the illegal things they are doing. (S)

President Roh: It will be a difficult negotiation and we will consult with you. We may declare a non-nuclear policy of our own. Japan has three non-nuclear principles, we may have four: 1) A nuclear free world is a desirable goal; 2) Korea will be a peaceful user of nuclear energy; 3) Korea will not possess, use or have on its territory nuclear weapons; 4) Korea will support NPT. (S)

Just a couple of points -- for this room only: chemical weapons - last May you proposed abolition of chemical weapons. I support that but we are concerned about North Korea chemical weapon capabilities. (S)

(b) (1)

The President: Should we go in with others? (U)

President Roh: One final thing. Last time I met Gorbachev he told me of his economic difficulties. He asked me who to trust. I said we should trust you and the American people. He agreed and said he would put his trust in you. He hoped Korea and the U.S. would jointly go into ventures in Siberia. (S)

The President: That is a way to go. We are prepared to do it as soon as he gets his economic house in order. (U)

The President then escorted President Roh into the Cabinet Room. (U)

The President: Welcome to the White House Mr. President. I see that you have your first team here. We should say to people on both sides what we discussed in the Oval Office. We had a chance to discuss issues of mutual concern, such as the North Korea nuclear question. I told the President we have every intention to maintain our commitment. We talked about the Soviet Union, China, and Japan. We will stay actively involved and keep on the road to peace. I think relations are in good shape. It's

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

4

~~SECRET~~

fitting that this be a State visit. Now I would like to ask your side to make any comments on any topic of any kind. (U)

President Roh: Thank you very much, Mr. President. The United States is deeply involved in defense and international affairs, yet you offered to me an extended State visit. My thanks to you and the thanks of the Korean people. (U)

Thank you again Mr. President for your fine words of friendship and words on behalf of bilateral relations. I'd like to reiterate here our freedom and survival is assured through our blood-tested alliance with U.S. I understand Ambassador Gregg participated in the Korean War. Ambassador Gregg knows, during the Gulf war, we had a chance to send troops there. I wanted to go myself. (U)

The Korean people have a desire to achieve unification by the end of the century. When Korea unification is achieved, US-Korea relations will develop further and contribute to the development of Northeast Asia. (U)

I understand the many problems in the Asia Pacific area. But American ideals finally prompted change in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and also led to victory in the Middle East. However, in the Asia Pacific region, we do not have a new international order yet. I will take this opportunity to urge that the President refrain from frequent trips to Europe and come to the Asia Pacific region. I strongly recommend, Mr. President, that you take time out to visit Korea this fall. If you cannot go, the Korean people will be disappointed. (U)

The President: Let me tell everyone in this room I am committed to the Asia Pacific region. Secretary Baker will go there this fall. We know about the trade flows, we appreciate the region. Thank you for the invitation, I hope we can accept. (U)

President Roh: I've taken your busy time. If any of my ministers have something to raise, do so now. (U)

Minister Lee: Concerning the APEC process. We are working hard to make progress. In APEC, we have the issue of three Chinas; I can report we are making progress. We look forward to seeing Secretary Baker at APEC. (U)

The President: That's right, he'll be there. Second, in addition, we are having a big fight in Congress on China MFN. This is very important because if we get isolated from China it will not help anyone. (U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

On the three Chinas, if Congress prevails and we knock off MFN, then the first to lose will be Hong Kong. So when you are talking trade between the U.S. and Korea in this country, which I'm sure you will, any favorable comment, if you agree, on US-China MFN would be appreciated. (S)

I know you're talking to Secretaries Brady and Mosbacher on trade. We strongly urge working together on trade liberalization and toward successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. It's absolutely essential to me. This means liberalization, unrestricted access and solving the agricultural questions. I know this is difficult for you but we've got to find a solution, otherwise the world trade situation will be set back terribly. We will work with you. We've made some progress with bilateral differences. We've got to keep working to break down bilateral problems in trade. (U)

President Roh: I understand as for economic issues, Korea will continue discipline on this point, even though our bilateral trade has been in our favor in the past, but recently is in favor of U.S. We value highly American efforts for stabilizing the growth of the world economy. We will contribute our share to the world economy. As you are aware, the free trade system is my firm belief and I strongly support it. In terms of liberalization and internationalization of our economy, you are aware of our steps, but I will make efforts to try and speed it up. Pertaining to the Uruguay Round and support of free trade system, of course we received your excellency's personal letter and we will do our very best. (U)

The President: I know you'll certainly try, and I know the ministers will. As for your invitation, we are trying to organize a visit to Asia later this year. If Congress goes home when they should, and if there is no massive conflagration here at home, that's what I want to do. I'm grateful to you for inviting me back. I know various ministers have to go to meetings, and I know Secretary Baker must go to welcome them. We need time to freshen up. So prepare to adjourn this meeting and meet later this afternoon. (U)

I didn't mean to neglect defense. We did discuss the common defense and the Soviet Union in Oval Office. There are no differences between White House and DOD. Secretary Cheney knows this is very important and understands where we stand on this. (U)

President Roh: I believe today's meeting was not only historical, but also a good contribution to new world order. I am very pleased and glad we could exchange views. I hope and believe we will succeed in the new world order. I wish you success in G-7. I wish to reconfirm you're coming to Korea. (U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~