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FOLLOWING SEOUL 05848 DATED 11 JUL 94 SENT ACTION SECSTATE
INFO GENEVA, DUBLIN, BEIJING, TOKYO, MOSCOW, USUN NEW YORK,
USVIENNA, LONDON, PARIS, SECDEF WASHDC, JOINTSTAFF WASHDC,
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KOR, SACINCUNC SEOUL KOR, USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI,
AND USCINCUNC SEOUL KOR REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO
QUOTE

S E C R E T SEOUL 05848

GENEVA FOR AS GALLUCCI; DUBLIN FOR AMB LANEY; USVIENNA FOR
UNVIE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL KS KN
SUBJECT: TFKN01: DEATH OF KIM IL SUNG ABSORBS BOTH KOREAS

REF: A. SEOUL 57989 B. TOKYO 9565

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. THE DEATH OF KIM IL SUNG HAS MONOPOLIZED
MEDIA, GOVERNMENT, AND PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS IN SOUTH KOREA
SINCE THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON JULY 9. ROKG POLICY PLANNERS
CONTINUE TO DISCUSS OFFICIAL REACTIONS, INCLUDING AT A
PRIME MINISTER-CHAired POLICY COORDINATION MEETING TODAY.
FM HAN SUNG JOO TOLD US THAT THE ROKG EXPECTS PYONGYANG TO
SEEK A SOUTH-NORTH SUMMIT AS SOON AS THE SUCCESSION IS
SETTLED. THE ROK WILL BE WILLING TO DISCUSS ARRANGEMENTS
FOR A SUMMIT AFTER THAT HAPPENS. DOMESTIC POLITICAL
REACTION HAS SUPPORTED THE ADMINISTRATION TO DATE, WITH
MOST POLITICIANS STATING THEIR BELIEF THAT KIM JONG IL
WILL CONTINUE THE POLICIES OF HIS FATHER, IN ORDER TO LEND
LEGITIMACY TO HIS RULE. END SUMMARY.

FOREIGN MINISTER HAN'S VIEWS

3. AS EXPECTED BOTH KOREAS CONTINUE TO BE FULLY ABSORBED
BY THE AFTERMATH OF THE DEATH OF KIM IL SUNG. DURING A
LATE AFTERNOON MEETING WITH CHARGE (SEPTTEL), FM HAN SUNG
JOO CONFIRMED ROKG RECEIPT OF DPRK WORKERS PARTY SECRETARY
KIM YOUNG SUN'S LETTER EXPRESSING DPRK DESIRE TO POSTPONE
THE PLANNED JUNE 25-27 SUMMIT. HAN TOLD CHARGE THAT THE
ROKG IN ITS RESPONSE WILL EXPRESS ITS COMMITMENT TO THE
"SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLE" OF THE SUMMIT AGREEMENT, AND THAT
ONCE THE SITUATION STABILIZES AND THE ROKG KNOWS WHO IS IN

CHARGE IN NORTH KOREA THE ROKG WILL BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF A SUMMIT. HAN PREDICTED THAT THE NORTH KOREANS WOULD WANT TO QUICKLY ESTABLISH A DATE FOR THE SUMMIT; THE ROK WOULD NOT BE IN A HURRY, HE SAID, ALTHOUGH SEOUL WOULD NOT REFUSE OR UNNECESSARILY DELAY SUCH A MEETING.

4. IN RESPONSE TO CHARGE'S QUERY, HAN SAID THAT THE ROKG HAD NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT SOMEONE OTHER THAN KIM JONG IL WOULD ASSUME POWER IN NORTH KOREA. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT KIM MIGHT ASSIGN RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEETING FOREIGNERS TO SOMEONE ELSE, GIVEN KIM'S COMPLETE LACK OF EXPERIENCE IN THIS REGARD. IN THIS CONTEXT, HAN NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH THERE WAS SPECULATION THAT THERE MIGHT BE A SEPARATE HEAD OF STATE VERSUS LEADER OF THE PARTY, THE ROKG INCLINATION WAS TO BELIEVE THAT KIM WOULD ASSUME BOTH POSITIONS.

5. FINALLY, HAN COMMENTED ON THE EXISTENCE OF AUTHORITATIVE VOICES IN THE KOREAN GOVERNMENT WHO WOULD PREFER A MORE MEASURED USG APPROACH TOWARD NORTH KOREA TO AVOID ENABLING PYONGYANG TO FEEL OVERCONFIDENT ABOUT ITS NEW POSITION IN THE AFTERMATH OF KIM IL SUNG'S DEATH. STRESSING THE UNUSUAL PSYCHOLOGY OF THE REGIME IN PYONGYANG, HAN CITED THE EXAMPLE OF OUR EXTENSION OF CONDOLENCES TO THE KOREAN PEOPLE AS SOMETHING THE REGIME MIGHT MISREAD IN A WAY TO DIMINISH THE RESPECT PYONGYANG MIGHT HOLD FOR US IN OUR FUTURE DEALINGS. HAN ALSO CITED HIS VIEW THAT IT WAS USEFUL FOR CHINA TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE NEW REGIME.

6. COMMENT. HAN IS FEELING SOME PRESSURE, PERHAPS FROM MND, IN CONNECTION WITH OUR EXPRESSION OF CONDOLENCES. HE DESCRIBED THE KOREANS AS SPLIT BETWEEN THOSE WHO REVILE KIM AND THOSE WHO ARE MORE FORWARD-LOOKING. THE FORMER MAY BLAME HIM FOR NOT PREVENTING ANY EXPRESSION OF CONDOLENCE FROM THE U.S. HAN'S COVERSTATION WITH SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPER HELPED HIM, AND THERE MAY BE AN EFFORT TO HAVE PRESIDENT KIM SPEAK TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ON THE TELEPHONE LATER IN THE WEEK. END COMMENT.

WHAT NEXT

7. SOUTH KOREAN MEDIA HAVE CONCENTRATED ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE ISSUE TO THE VIRTUAL EXCLUSION OF OTHER STORIES, WHILE THE NORTH IS STEEPED IN MOURNING AND, PRESUMABLY, BEHIND-THE-SCENES CONSOLIDATION OF POLITICAL POWER AROUND HEIR-APPARENT KIM JONG IL. THE DPRK HAS YET TO MAKE A MAJOR POLICY STATEMENT SINCE THE SENIOR KIM'S DEATH. ANALYSTS IN SOUTH KOREA PREDICTED SUCH A STATEMENT WILL BE

MADE WITHIN THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS.

8. KIM IL SUNG'S FUNERAL WILL BE HELD ON JUL 17, WITH NO FOREIGN DELEGATIONS EXPECTED TO BE INVITED OR ALLOWED. THE DPRK REFUSED AN OFFER OF A "CONDOLENCE VISIT" FROM PRESIDENT CARTER (THEN IN TOKYO) ON SATURDAY (REF B), ALTHOUGH YONHAP REPORTED JULY 11 THAT THE DPRK INTENDS TO INVITE PRESIDENT CARTER TO THE FUNERAL.) A SENIOR ROKG OFFICIAL SPECULATED THAT THE DPRK MAY EXCLUDE FOREIGN DELEGATIONS BECAUSE IT IS AFRAID THAT IF INVITED, THEY WILL NOT COME, THUS EXPOSING TO THE NORTH KOREAN PEOPLE THE LIE OF KIM IL SUNG AS A WORLD-REVERED GREAT LEADER.

KIM JONG IL SUCCESSION PROGRESSES

9. KIM JONG IL HAS NOT YET APPEARED IN PUBLIC, NOR HAS THERE BEEN A FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS SUCCESSION TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE DPRK. NEVERTHELESS, INDICATIONS CONTINUE TO PILE UP THAT THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO KIM IL SUNG'S OLDEST SON AND HEIR APPARENT IS PROCEEDING. DPRK MEDIA HAVE PRODUCED A STEADY STREAM OF LAUDATORY COMMENTS ON THE JUNIOR KIM, AS WELL AS PUBLIC PLEDGES OF LOYALTY BY VARIOUS OFFICIALS OF THE DPRK GOVERNMENT AND PARTY HIERARCHY.

10. ALL MEMBERS OF THE WORKERS PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY WERE TOLD TO GATHER IN PYONGYANG BY JULY 11 FOR CONDOLENCES. IT WOULD BE REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT THEY WILL ELECT KIM JONG IL TO THE TWO TOP POSITIONS OF PRESIDENT AND WORKERS PARTY SECRETARY. (OF COURSE, HE ALREADY HOLDS THE THIRD TOP POSITION OF CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS PARTY.)

NORTH-SOUTH SUMMIT "POSTPONED"

11. ON THE MORNING OF JULY 11, THE DPRK SENT A VERY BRIEF MESSAGE TO THE ROKG STATING THAT IN LIGHT OF KIM IL SUNG'S DEATH, THE SUMMIT "COULD NOT BUT BE POSTPONED." THE MESSAGE WAS SENT TO ROK DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FOR UNIFICATION LEE HONG-KU FROM HIS COUNTERPART AT THE HIGH-LEVEL TALKS OF JUNE 28, DPRK WORKERS PARTY SECRETARY KIM YOUNG-SUN.

12. DURING A BRIEFING FOR THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS HELD ON MONDAY AFTERNOON, ASSISTANT MINISTER CHOI DONG JIN STRESSED THAT THE ROKG'S BASIC PRINCIPLES ON PEACE, SECURITY AND COOPERATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA REMAIN THE SAME, AND THE ROK LEADERSHIP HOPES THAT BOTH SIDES CAN

RESUME PLANNING FOR A SUMMIT "IF OR WHEN A NEW ENVIRONMENT IS CREATED THAT IS CONDUCTIVE TO HOLDING A SUMMIT."

13. ROKG PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAVE CONTINUALLY STRESSED THE GOVERNMENT'S CONFIDENCE IN ITS READINESS TO RESPOND TO ALL EVENTUALITIES. APPEARING BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON JULY 11, DPM LEE PREDICTED A "QUIET FRONT" IN THE DPRK WHILE THE TRANSFER OF POWER IS COMPLETED AND THE NEW REGIME STABILIZED. HE FORESAW NO MAJOR CHANGES IN NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS.

DOMESTIC POLITICAL REACTION

14. A STAFF ASSISTANT TO FORMER PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AND OPPOSITION LEADER KIM DAE JUNG SPOKE WITH POLOFF TODAY AND LAID OUT KIM'S ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH. KIM BELIEVES THAT KIM JONG IL WILL STAY WITH THE COURSE SET BY HIS FATHER, AS THIS WILL BE THE SUREST WAY TO LEGITIMIZE HIS RULE. IF HE IS INCLINED TO PURSUE HIS OWN POLICIES, HE WILL NOT DO SO UNTIL HE FIRMLY ESTABLISHES HIS RULE.

15. KIM DAE JUNG SEES TWO PRIORITIES FOR KIM JONG IL ONCE HE ASSUMES POWER. HIS FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS WILL BE TO RESUME TALKS WITH THE USG, BECAUSE OF THE INSPECTION DEADLINE RELATING TO THE SPENT FUEL RODS. SECONDLY, KIM WILL NEED TO IMPROVE HIS CREDIBILITY AS A LEADER BY PROVIDING IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC BENEFITS TO THE PEOPLE. THE EASIEST WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WOULD BE TO IMPROVE ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD. THUS, KIM DAE JUNG IS OPTIMISTIC THAT KIM JONG IL WILL CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH THE US., WITH THE HOPE OF OBTAINING ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS. THE CHIEF OBSTACLE KIM SEES AT THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, IS THE ROKG. KIM IS CONCERNED THAT THE SOUTH MAY SEIZE THIS PERIOD AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO TEST THE DPRK, AND ADD MORE CONDITIONS TO THE TALKS. IF SO, KIM BELIEVES THAT RATHER THAN ACQUIESCE TO FURTHER DEMANDS, THE NORTH WOULD RETRENCH, AND HOPES FOR A RESOLUTION OF THE NUCLEAR PROBLEM WOULD BE RUINED.

16. REP. PARK CHUNG SOO, A RULING DEMOCRATIC LIBERAL PARTY (DLP) ASSEMBLYMAN, AND MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, SPOKE WITH POLOFF AND ECHOED KIM DAE JUNG'S ANALYSIS. ADDITIONALLY, PARK STATED THAT THE PARTY FELT THAT IF AND WHEN NORTH KOREA PROPOSES ANOTHER SUMMIT, THE FORMAT MUST BE REEVALUATED COMPLETELY. ALTHOUGH MEMBERS SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF A SUMMIT WITH KIM JONG IL, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE HELD IN ANOTHER LOCATION, AND WITH A DIFFERENT AGENDA.

STATEMENT BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

17. THE MAIN OPPOSITION DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP) PROVIDED THE EMBASSY WITH THE FOLLOWING ENGLISH TEXT ON THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 11:

"1. WE URGE THE GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATION POSITIVELY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BASIC AGREEMENT BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA FOR SUMMIT TALKS. THOUGH THERE COULD BE SOME DIFFERENT INTERPRETATION AND OPINIONS ON THE LEGITIMACY OF THE NORTH KOREA'S REGIME, IT IS UNDER THE CONTEXT THAT REGIME UNDER KIM JONG IL COULD STILL BE THE OBJECT OF NEGOTIATION AND DIALOGUE WHEN THE KIM JONG IL'S REGIME WILL BE IN POWER IN THE CASE OF LATE KIM IL SUNG.

2. WE URGE THE GOVERNMENT TO REFRAIN FROM ANY PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY AREAS AGAINST NORTH KOREA UNTIL NORTH KOREA RESTORES THE PEACE WITHIN THE REGIME.

3. WE URGE THE GOVERNMENT NOT TO SHOW ANY POSTURE WHICH MAY INFLUENCE ON NORTH KOREA'S POWER FORMATION.

(ISSUED BY THE FOREIGN RELATION'S COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.)"

18. COMMENT: THE INSISTENCE BY THE DP THAT THE SUMMIT GO AHEAD AS SCHEDULED RUNS AT ODDS WITH PUBLIC SENTIMENT. SOUTH KOREANS DO NOT HOLD A SOFT SPOT FOR THE YOUNGER KIM, AND A TRIP BY KIM YOUNG SAM TO PYONGYANG TO MEET WITH SOMEONE HIS JUNIOR IN BOTH AGE AND LEADERSHIP TENURE WOULD INVITE WIDESPREAD PUBLIC CRITICISM. END COMMENT.

QUOTE OF THE DAY

19. EMBOFF WAS TOLD BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS THAT FORMER PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER IS NOW REFERRED TO IN ROKG CIRCLES AS "THE ANGEL OF DEATH."

KARTMAN UNQUOTE

TALBOTT