

VZCZCULI \*  
OO RUEHC RUAGNPP RUEHKO RUEHIA RUEKJCS RUHQHQA  
RUAGAAA  
DE RUEHUL #1762/01 053 \*\*  
ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
C 220700Z FEB 85  
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
TO RUEHC / SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0228  
INFO RUAGNPP / AMCONSUL PUSAN PRIORITY 0196  
RUFHKO / AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 7403  
RUEHIA / USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 5574  
RUEKJCS / SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
RUHQHQA / USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI PRIORITY  
RUAGAAA / COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//CJ-CC/EJ-PL-H/SJS/EJ-J// PR  
RUAGAAA / SA CINCUNC KS PRIORITY  
RUAGAAA / CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS//MKLC// PRIORITY  
RUEKJCS / JCS WASHDC PRIORITY  
BT

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CHRG: PROG 2/21/85  
APPRV: AMB:RLWALKER  
DRFTD: POL:KQUINCNES:LPR  
CLEAR: EGM:PCLEVELAND  
DISTR: POL3 ~~AMB~~DCM  
ECON2 SAA/SRO3 SAO  
FBIS FCS USIS  
ADM CONS  
CHRON 16/RR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEOUL 01762

USCINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

F.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: FGOV, PIMR, KS  
SUBJECT: A PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF KIM DAE JUNG

1. ~~ENTIRE~~ TEXT.

2. SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION: KIM DAE JUNG IS A MASTERFUL ROLE PLAYER, AN ACTOR WITH AN UNCANNY TALENT FOR PROPELLING PEOPLE AND EVENTS TOWARD HIS DESIRED GOALS. THIS IS EMBOFF'S ADMITTEDLY SUBJECTIVE READING OF KDJ ACTER ONLY TWO, BUT LENGTHY MEETINGS WITH HIM. THE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN HERE, HOWEVER, ARE ALSO ROOTED IN EXTENSIVE DEALINGS WITH KOREANS AND YEARS OF WATCHING KDJ FROM AFAR. IF ACCURATE, EMBOFF'S ASSESSMENT SUGGESTS THAT KDJ IS NOW ACTING OUT A SCRIPT IN WHICH HE HAS CAST HIMSELF AS THE PERSONIFICATION OF GOOD AND PRESIDENT CHUN AS EVIL. SHOULD THE USG BECOME AN ACTOR IN HIS DRAMA, ITS OPTIONS WILL BE GRADUALLY NARROWED TO A CHOICE BETWEEN ONE OR THE OTHER. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION.

3. KIM DAE JUNG'S INNATE INTELLIGENCE, ENGAGING PERSONALITY, EXPERIENCE WITH POLITICS AND LIFE THREATENING SITUATIONS, COMBINED WITH EXCEPTIONAL TALENT AS AN ACTOR ENABLE HIM TO ACT OUT SPONTANEOUSLY ROLES WHICH CAST HIM AS THE PERSONIFICATION OF GOOD. FOR HIS AUDIENCES, THIS POSES THE DILEMMA OF SIDING WITH HIM, THE CHAMPION OF GOODNESS, OR ALLYING WITH EVIL, HIS FOES WHOM HE CASTS AS RUTHLESS VILLAINS. IT IS THIS TALENT OF DRAWING PEOPLE INTO HIS DRAMA AND FORCING THEM TO CHOOSE SIDES THAT ENABLES KIM TO MANIPULATE PEOPLE AND EVENTS TOWARD HIS CHERISHED ENDS.

4. KDJ'S ROLE-PLAYING TALENTS WERE ACQUIRED WHILE GROWING UP IN KOREA'S CONFUCIAN SOCIETY. IN KOREA'S AND JAPAN'S HIERARCHICAL, CONFUCIAN SOCIETIES, CONDUCT IS RITUALIZED WITH CERTAIN BEHAVIOR PATTERNS PRESCRIBED FOR SPECIFIC

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SETTINGS. IN OTHER WORDS, ETHICS ARE SITUATIONAL, NOT DEFINED BY INDIVIDUAL PREFERENCE WITHIN A "UNIVERSAL" MORAL CODE OF CONDUCT. KOREAN CONDUCT IS ACTED OUT ACCORDING TO PARTICIPANTS' AGE, SEX, STATUS, INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS, AND THE TIME AND PLACE OF A PARTICULAR SITUATION. THUS A KOREAN CAN BE VERY "AMERICAN" AMONG AMERICANS AND THEN WALK OVER TO A GROUP OF KOREANS AND IMMEDIATELY REVERT TO BEING TOTALLY "KOREAN". OCCIDENTALS WHO HAVE WITNESSED SUCH ABRUPT CHANGES IN KOREAN AND JAPANESE "PERSONALITY" TEND TO ASSIGN IT TO ASTONISHING FLEXIBILITY OR DEVISIVENESS, DEPENDING UPON THE GIVEN SITUATION. BUT THE CHANGES ARE NOT IN PERSONALITY, NOR ARE THEY INTENDED TO BE DEVISIVE. RATHER, THEY ARE ADJUSTMENTS IN BEHAVIOR DETERMINED BY CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES.

5. DURING THE JUST-ENDED POLITICAL CAMPAIGN, PRESIDENT CHUN PUBLICLY CALLED FOR A "CLEAN" ELECTION WHILE PRIVATELY SANCTIONING THE ILLEGAL DISTRIBUTION OF LARGE SUMS OF MONEY TO VOTERS. HE WAS ROLE PLAYING. ON THE ONE HAND, A BENIGN AND BENEVOLENT RULER IN THE CONFUCIAN CONTEXT MUST SET HIGH MORAL STANDARDS FOR HIS SUBJECTS. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, AS THE NATION'S CHIEF POLITICIAN, HE QUIETLY MOVED TO INSURE HIS PARTY'S SUCCESS AT THE POLLS. KDJ IS NOT DIFFERENT. HE WILL PLAY WHATEVER ROLE CIRCUMSTANCES NECESSITATE FOR HIM TO ACHIEVE HIS ENDS.

6. BUT KDJ HAS GONE BEYOND SIMPLY MASTERING THE ACTING OUT OF ROLES. HIS ADROIT CHOICE OF CIRCUMSTANCES, STRESS ON PARTICULAR EMOTIONS IN A SELECTED SITUATION AND USE OF VARYING FACIAL EXPRESSIONS AND VOCABULARY, ENABLE HIM TO VIRTUALLY HYPNOTIZE ONLOOKERS INTO SIDING WITH HIM. ONCE ALLIED WITH HIM, THEY, MORE SO THAN HE, MOVE EVENTS TOWARD HIS DESIRED OUTCOME. THUS HE CONVINCED HIS KIDNAPPERS NOT TO KILL HIM; AND EVEN WHILE IMPRISONED OR LIVING IN THE US, HE WAS ABLE TO MANIPULATE PEOPLE AND SITUATIONS WHICH REPEATEDLY POSE DILEMMAS FOR THE GOVERNMENTS OF KOREA, THE US, AND JAPAN.

7. ON FEBRUARY 8 EMBOFF MET KDJ FACE TO FACE FOR THE FIRST TIME AND WAS ABLE TO WITNESS HIS UNCANNY TALENT. UPON ENTERING KDJ'S HOME JUST AFTER THE AIRPORT INCIDENT,

EMBOFF ANTICIPATED MEETING A MAN FULL OF ANGER AND BITTERNESS BUT INSTEAD ENCOUNTERED A COMPLETELY COMPOSED, CALM, COMPASSIONATE-SOUNDING AND GENTLE-LOOKING INDIVIDUAL WHOSE SOOTHING VOICE AND BENIGN GAZE TOTALLY DISARMED EMBOFF'S SUSPICIONS AND PRIMED EMBOFF TO BELIEVE EVERYTHING KDJ SAID. WITHOUT A SINGLE HARSH WORD, KDJ PORTRAYED HIMSELF AS THE HELPLESS VICTIM OF EVIL AND THE EMBODIMENT OF RIGHTEOUSNESS AND DEMOCRACY. BUT KDJ WAS INCONSISTENT. AS HE APPEALED TO EMBOFF'S EMOTIONS AND LOVE OF DEMOCRACY TO URGE THAT THE USG HELP HIM HELP HIS COUNTRYMEN ACHIEVE DEMOCRACY, KDJ TREATED AN ACCOMPANYING EMBASSY NATIONAL EMPLOYEE, HIS OWN COUNTRYMAN, AS THOUGH HE WERE A LOWLY SERVANT. KDJ WAS PLAYING TWO ROLES SIMULTANEOUSLY, ONE DIRECTED AT EMBOFF AND THE OTHER AIMED AT ASSERTING HIS SUPERIORITY OVER THE FSN BY TELLING HIM TO REMAIN STANDING AND NOT TO SPEAK.

8. WHEN THE CONVERSATION ENDED, EMBOFF AND THE FSN WALKED INTO THE ADJOINING ROOM WHERE JOURNALISTS WERE WAITING TO INTERVIEW KDJ. WITHIN TWO OR THREE MINUTES, KDJ EMERGED FROM HIS ROOM. HE HAD TRANSFORMED HIMSELF FROM THE CALM AND COMPASSIONATE PERSON INTO AN ANGRY AND ASSERTIVE MAN. EVERYTHING ABOUT HIS APPEARANCE, VOICE AND VOCABULARY WAS SO DIFFERENT THAT THE FSN ASKED EMBOFF, "IS THIS THE SAME MAN WE JUST TALKED TO IN THE OTHER ROOM?" LISTENING A WHILE LONGER TO KDJ, EMBOFF WAS SO STUNNED THAT HE WALKED OUTSIDE TO GET SOME FRESH AIR. RETURNING, EMBOFF WAS CONVINCED THAT KDJ IS A FFWITCHING, MASTER ACTOR AND MANIPULATOR OF HUMAN EMOTIONS.

9. SEVERAL DAYS LATER EMBOFF ACCOMPANIED A CONGRESSMAN TO KDJ'S HOUSE AND, UPON ENTERING FIRST, EMBOFF GREETED KDJ, WHO RESPONDED WITH A STERN, FRIGID NOD. WITHIN A MINUTE, KDJ WARMLY EMBRACED THE CONGRESSMAN AND LED HIM INTO A SEPARATE ROOM. THIRTY MINUTES LATER, KDJ RETURNED TO THE ROOM WHERE EMBOFF HAD BEEN WAITING, HIS FACE AND VOICE WARM WITH FRIENDLINESS. ONCE THE CONGRESSMAN HAD SEATED HIMSELF ACROSS FROM EMBOFF; KDJ FIRST PROJECTED HIMSELF AS THE HELPLESS VICTIM OF A DECEITFUL AND RUTHLESS GOVERNMENT. HE PLEADED FOR THE EMBASSY'S AND USG'S HELP. THIS DREW AN ALMOST ANGUISHED PLEA FROM THE CONGRESSMAN, WHO IMploRED EMBOFF TO DO EVERYTHING HUMANLY POSSIBLE TO HELP KDJ. BUT ALL WAS SO OBVIOUS, AT LEAST TO EMBOFF. KDJ WAS PLAYING ON THE CONGRESSMAN'S EMOTIONS AND HIS WELL INTENDED ALLEGIANCE TO DEMOCRACY SO THAT HE COULD POSITION THE CONGRESSMAN TO PUSH THE EMBASSY INTO ASSUMING A MEDIATING ROLE BETWEEN KDJ AND THE ROYG. EXCEPT FOR ITS ELOQUENCE, KDJ'S BID WAS NO DIFFERENT FROM THAT MADE BY NUMEROUS VISA APPLICANTS SEEKING TO USE EMBOFF AS THEIR WAY TO A VISA. FOR THE CONGRESSMAN, HOWEVER, UNINURED TO SUCH SITUATIONS AND ROLE PLAYING, KDJ WAS MERELY A BENIGN, HELPLESS VICTIM OF INJUSTICE AND RUTHLESSNESS IN NEED OF AMERICAN BENEVOLENCE AND CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

10. COMMENT: THERE IS NO DOUBTING THAT KDJ IS A CHARISMATIC, HIGHLY INTELLIGENT AND TALENTED POLITICIAN. HIS

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POWER IS ONE OF PERSUADING PEOPLE TO FOLLOW HIM WITH ALMOST BLIND TRUST. BUT GIVEN HIS EXTRACORDINARY TALENTS AS A ROLE PLAYER, NOT EVERYTHING HE SAYS AND DOES CAN BE TAKEN AT FACE VALUE. FOR KDJ, IT WOULD SEEM, ALL ARE POTENTIAL PLAYERS IN HIS DRAMA OF GOOD VERSUS EVIL, DEMOCRACY VERSUS DICTATORSHIP AND CIVILIAN POLITICIAN VERSUS MILITARISM. ONCE DRAWN INTO HIS DRAMA, THERE IS NO MIDDLE GROUND. ONLY A CHOICE BETWEEN ONE OF TWO CONTENDING FORCES. CONSEQUENTLY, EVEN IN HIS PRESENT PASSIVE ROLE AS THE ADVOCATE OF CALM HE MOST LIKELY IS PLAYING OUT A PLOT WHICH HE HOPES WILL LEAD HIM TO POLITICAL POWER, EVEN IF IT MEANS CONFRONTATION AT SOME POINT.

11. POLCOUNS ADDITIONAL COMMENT: POLCOUNS HAS NEVER MET KJM. BUT HAS DISCUSSED HIM ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS WITH KOREANS WHO KNOW HIM WELL. ON ONE OCCASION,

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DESCRIBING KIM'S ABILITY TO DRAW PEOPLE TO HIM AS "UNCANNY", A KOREAN REACHED OUT BOTH ARMS TO AN IMAGINED AUDIENCE, MADE HIS FINGERS INTO CLAWS AND "GATHERED" THE IMAGINARY LISTENERS TOWARD HIMSELF. THEN, HANDS CLAW-LIKE BEFORE HIS CHEST, HE CLENCHED HIS FISTS IN A GRINDING MOTION: "SO KIM TRAPS PEOPLE," THE KOREAN SAID. WALKER

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