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36

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
83739 CABLE	SEOUL 07561 [SAME TEXT AS DOC. 83734]	4	6/26/1987	B1
83740 CABLE	SEOUL 07478	5	6/24/1987	B1

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
SECRETARIAT

File Korea

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AN000082

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INFO RUEHBJ/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 6211
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4883
RUAGNPP/AMCONSUL PUSAN 3374
RHADAAA/USIS TAEJU KS
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 1446
RUAGAAA/CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS//
RUAGAAA/COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//CJ-CC/BJ-CM-H/SJS/EJ-J//
RUAGAAA/SA CINCUNC KS
RUHQHQA/USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI
RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: ROH TAE WOO CALLS FOR DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION - TEXT OF STATEMENT

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 SEOUL 07642
USCINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD
E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PINR, PHUM, KS

SUBJECT: ROH TAE WOO CALLS FOR DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION - TEXT OF STATEMENT

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF ROH TAE WOO'S STATEMENT
OF JUNE 29. THE STATEMENT WAS CARRIED ON LOCAL RADIO AND
TELEVISION STATIONS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: I HAVE NOW COME TO POSSESS FIRM
FAITH IN THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY.

UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, IN WHICH THE
DEEP-ROOTED FRICTION AND ANTI-PATHY AMONG THE PEOPLE HAVE
TURNED INTO A NATIONAL CRISIS, I HAVE HAD DEEP THOUGHTS
AND WORRIES OVER THE TRUE MISSION OF POLITICIANS.

AT THE SAME TIME, I HAVE SOUGHT WISDOM FROM SCHOLARS,
JOURNALISTS, ECONOMISTS, RELIGIONISTS, WORKING PEOPLE,
YOUTHS, STUDENTS, AND ALL OTHER CIRCLES, AND HAVE
CONFIRMED THE PEOPLE'S INTENT.

TODAY, TO BUILD A GREAT FATHERLAND IN WHICH THE PEOPLE
OF ALL WALKS OF LIFE CAN LOVE ONE ANOTHER, ACHIEVE
RECONCILIATION, AND TAKE PRIDE AS A CITIZEN OF THIS
COUNTRY AND THE GOVERNMENT CAN GAIN WISDOM, COURAGE, AND
TRUE STRENGTH FROM THE PEOPLE, WITH FIRM DETERMINATION
HERE I STAND BEFORE HISTORY AND THE PEOPLE.

HERE, WITHOUT HESITATION, I WILL TELL YOU MY PLANS.
THESE PLANS WILL BE BROUGHT TO THE PRESIDENT, AND, THROUGH
WARM SUPPORT FROM OUR PARTY MEMBERS AND THE PEOPLE, WILL
BE PUT INTO PRACTICE.

FIRST, THROUGH AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE RULING AND
OPPOSITION PARTIES, THE CONSTITUTION WILL BE REVISED FOR A
DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SYSTEM, AND, THROUGH
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ACCORDING TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION,
A PEACEFUL TRANSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE PLACE IN
FEBRUARY 1988.

THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN MY OPINION THAT A
PARLIAMENTARY CABINET SYSTEM, UNDER WHICH THE MAJORITY OF
CABINET MEMBERS ARE SELECTED FROM NATIONAL ASSEMBLYMEN
DIRECTLY ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE AND THE CABINET CAN BE MOST
FAITHFUL TO THE POLITICS OF DEMOCRACY AND RESPONSIBILITY
BASED ON SELF-REGULATION AND OPENNESS, IS MOST DESIRABLE
FOR THE LOCALIZATION OF DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY.

HOWEVER, NO MATTER HOW GOOD A SYSTEM MAY BE, IF THE
PEOPLE DO NOT DESIRE IT AT THE MOMENT, IT WILL BE ISOLATED
FROM THE PEOPLE, AND THE GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL BE FORMED
UNDER THAT SYSTEM ALSO WILL BE UNABLE TO SHARE DREAMS AND

SORROWS WITH THE PEOPLE.

AT THIS JUNCTURE, THEREFORE, I HAVE COME TO THE
CONCLUSION THAT THE DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SYSTEM
CANNOT BUT BE CHOSEN TO OVERCOME SOCIAL DISTURBANCES AND
TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. THE PEOPLE ARE THE
MASTERS OF THIS COUNTRY, AND THEIR WILL PRECEDES ANYTHING
ELSE.

SECOND, I THINK THAT TO PUT THE NEW SYSTEM INTO
PRACTICE IN A DEMOCRATIC MANNER IN ADDITION TO CHANGING
THE PRESENT SYSTEM--CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION PROVIDING FOR
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SYSTEM--THE PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION LAW SHOULD BE REWRITTEN IN SUCH A WAY AS TO
GUARANTEE FREE CANDIDACY AND FAIR COMPETITION, AND THUS,
TO SECURE THE CORRECT JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE. ALSO, THE
MAXIMUM DEGREE OF FAIR AND ABOVEBOARD ELECTION MANAGEMENT
IN THE COURSE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, VOTING, AND BALLOT
COUNTING SHOULD BE ENSURED.

EVEN UNDER A DIRECT ELECTION SYSTEM, THROUGH
GROUNDLESS PERSONAL DEFAMATION, INSTIGATION OF MASSES,
BURNING HOSTILITY, WIDESPREAD CHAOS AND DISORDER, AND THE
EVOCAION OF PROVINCIALISM, THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY
MUST NOT BE ENDANGERED, AND TRUE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT
MUST NOT BE HAMPERED. A BASIC FOUNDATION FOR BONA FIDE
COMPETITION THROUGH POLICIES MUST BE ESTABLISHED.

THIRD, FRICTION AND CONFRONTATION IN OUR POLITICAL
CIRCLES AS WELL AS IN ALL AREAS MUST BE ELIMINATED
BOLDLY. BY SO DOING, THE PEOPLE'S RECONCILIATION AND
GRAND UNITY MUST BE SOUGHT. IN THIS REGARD, I THINK MR.
KIM TAE-CHUNG MUST BE PARDONED, AND HIS RIGHTS MUST BE
UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 04 SEOUL 07642

USCINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PINR, PHUM, KS

SUBJECT: ROH TAE WOO CALLS FOR DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL
REINSTATED, REGARDLESS OF HIS PAST. IN ADDITION, EXCEPT
FOR A VERY FEW OF THOSE ANTI-STATE OFFENDERS WHO
REPUDIATED THE BASIC ORDER OF FREE DEMOCRACY, WHICH IS THE
FOUNDATION OF THE EXISTENCE OF US AND OUR DESCENDANTS, OR
THOSE WHO DISTURBED NATIONAL SECURITY BY INJURING AND
KILLING PEOPLE OR BY ARSON AND THROUGH DESTRUCTION, ALL
POLITICAL OFFENDERS MUST BE RELEASED. BY SO DOING, I
EARNESTLY HOPE, THEY, TOO, WILL RETURN TO THE MEMBERSHIP
OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF THE CITIZENS.

WITHOUT THE PAST, THE PRESENT IS IMPOSSIBLE. HOWEVER,
AT THIS JUNCTURE, AS WE STAND AS A CROSSROADS OF HISTORY,
I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT TO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY THAT ALL
OF US CAN WEAR A BIG SMILE.

IF THIS HAPPENS, THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WILL
BECOME A FESTIVAL OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE GOVERNMENT WHICH

WILL EMERGE WILL BE ABLE TO FURTHER CONCENTRATE ON
BUILDING A GREAT COUNTRY BASED ON THE FIRM SUPPORT OF THE
PEOPLE.

FOURTH, THE DIGNITY OF MAN MUST BE FURTHER RESPECTED,
AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS MUST BE
PROMOTED TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT. I EXPECT THAT, IN
REVISING THE CONSTITUTION THIS TIME, ALL ITEMS TO
STRENGTHEN BASIC RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE COMPLETE EXPANSION
OF THE REVIEW OF LEGALITY FOR CONFINEMENT ADVOCATED BY THE
DJP, MUST BE INCLUDED...

ALSO, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD PARTICULARLY ENSURE THAT
NO TRAMPLING UPON HUMAN RIGHTS IS COMMITTED, AND THE DJP
SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT TANGIBLE EFFECTS
ON PREVENTING HUMAN RIGHTS FROM BEING TRAMPLED UPON BY
MAINTAINING REGULAR MEETINGS WITH THE KOREA BAR
ASSOCIATION AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, THEREBY
CALLING FOR IMMEDIATE RECTIFICATION OF ANY INCIDENTS OF
TRAMPLING UPON HUMAN RIGHTS AND SYSTEMATIC IMPROVEMENTS
THEREOF.

FIFTH, TO ENSURE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, THE RELEVANT

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SYSTEMS AND PRACTICE SHOULD BE IMPROVED IN A DRASTIC MANNER. NO MATTER HOW GOOD ITS INTENT MAY BE, THE BASIC PRESS LAW, WHICH HAS BEEN THE OBJECT OF CRITICISM BY THE MAJORITY OF JOURNALISTS, SHOULD BE DRASTICALLY REVISED OR ABOLISHED AT AN EARLY DATE AND REPLACED BY ANOTHER LAW.

THE PRACTICE OF STATIONING REPORTERS IN LOCAL AREAS SHOULD BE REVIVED, THE SYSTEM OF PRESS CARDS SHOULD BE ABOLISHED, AND THE AUTONOMY OF THE PRESS SHOULD BE ENSURED TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE, SUCH AS INCREASING THE SPACE IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT SEIZE THE PRESS, NOR SHOULD IT ATTEMPT TO DO SO. NO RESTRICTIONS SHOULD BE IMPOSED ON THE PRESS AS LONG AS IT DOES NOT IMPAIR THE SECURITY OF THE STATE. I WOULD LIKE TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE FACT ONCE AGAIN THAT THOSE WHO CAN PASS JUDGMENT ON THE PRESS ARE AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIAL BRANCH AND THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS.

SIXTH, THE SELF-GOVERNMENT AND AUTONOMY IN VARIOUS SECTORS OF SOCIETY SHOULD BE ENSURED TO THE UTMOST DEGREE. I BELIEVE THAT THE EXPANSION OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND AUTONOMY BY SECTORS WILL FORM A PRIME MOVER OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY BY ACHIEVING BALANCED SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

IRRESPECTIVE OF THE PROCESSES OF CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, I THINK THAT THE FORMATION OF LOCAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS SHOULD BE FACILITATED AS SCHEDULED, AND I THINK THAT THE FORMATION OF THE LOCAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS IN CITIES AND PROVINCES SHOULD BE SPECIFICALLY REVIEWED AND PUSHED AHEAD SOON.

THE AUTONOMY OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES--SANCTUARIES OF LEARNING--AND THE AUTONOMY OF EDUCATION SHOULD BE REALIZED SOON. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE AUTONOMY OF THE PERSONNEL ACTIONS, BUDGET, AND ADMINISTRATION SHOULD BE ENSURED, AND THE SYSTEMS OF ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS AND GRADUATION SHOULD BE IMPROVED IN THIS DIRECTION. RELEVANT SYSTEMS SHOULD BE IMPROVED AND SUPPLEMENTED, AND THEY SHOULD BE EARMARKED IN THE BUDGET SO THAT MANY BRIGHT STUDENTS WILL NOT HAVE MANY DIFFICULTIES IN PAYING THEIR SCHOOL EXPENSES.

SEVENTH, WHILE THE SOUND ACTIVITIES OF POLITICAL

PARTIES SHOULD ALSO DISPLAY THEIR POLITICAL CAPABILITIES FOR LEADING SOCIAL CONFLICT TO HARMONY AND CONCORD THROUGH DIALOGUE AND COMPROMISE AMID OBSERVING THE NATIONAL LEGAL ORDER AND FOR UNIFYING NATIONAL VIEWS.

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 04 SEOUL 07642

USCINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PINR, PHUM, KS

SUBJECT: ROH TAE WOO CALLS FOR DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL

AS LONG AS THEIR EXISTS AN OPPOSITION PARTY WHICH ATTEMPTS TO IMPLEMENT ITS UNILATERAL DEMANDS EVEN BY RESORTING TO VIOLENCE, THE RULING PARTY CANNOT ALWAYS MAKE CONCESSIONS.

EIGHT, BOLD SOCIAL PURIFICATION MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN TO BUILD A BRIGHT AND CLEAR SOCIETY. TO THIS END, THE RASCALS MUST BE WIPED OUT, THEFT AND BURGLARY MUST BE THOROUGHLY ELIMINATED, AND OTHER CRIMES OF INFRINGING UPON THE LIFE OF ORDINARY CITIZENS MUST BE UPROOTED SO THAT ALL CITIZENS CAN ENJOY A HAPPY LIFE FREE FROM FEAR, AND DEEP-SEATED ABSURDITIES AND CONTRADICTIONS WHICH REMAIN IN OUR SOCIETY MUST BE RECTIFIED IN A BOLD MANNER.

GROUNDLESS RUMORS SHOULD BE BANISHED AND SUCH WORDS AS "REGIONAL SENTIMENT" AND "BLACK-OR-WHITE LOGIC" SHOULD DISAPPEAR FOR GOOD SO THAT WE CAN FORM A COMMUNITY IN WHICH WE CAN TRUST AND LOVE ONE ANOTHER.

BY SO DOING, WE SHOULD ENSURE THAT ALL THE PEOPLE CAN LIVE PEACEFULLY IN A STABLE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT, LEADING LIVELY LIVES WITH SELF-RESPECT.

I THINK THESE ARE THE URGENT PENDING TASKS TO EFFECT A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE CRISIS WE ARE FACING AND TO MAKE AN ADVANCE TOWARD MAKING A GREAT COUNTRY.

DEAR PEOPLE!

TODAY I HAVE DARED TO MAKE THIS PROPOSAL TO MET YOUR ASPIRATIONS FOR CONTINUOUS PROGRESS RATHER THAN FOR AN INTERRUPTION OF HISTORY, AND WITH A HUMBLE MIND OF BEING IN AWE OF HISTORY AND THE PEOPLE.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS IDEA COMING FROM MY INTENSE PATRIOTISM WILL EFFLORESCE WITH THE SUPPORT OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE DJP, AS WELL AS THE SUPPORT OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

IF THIS BASIC IDEA OF MINE IS ACCEPTED, DETAILED AND SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS WILL BE FACILITATED FROM NOW ON BASED ON IT.

IF THIS PROPOSAL I HAVE MADE WERE TO BE TURNED DOWN, I MAKE IT CLEAR THAT I WOULD RESIGN FROM ALL PUBLIC OFFICES, INCLUDING THE DJP PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY AND THE DJP CHAIRMANSHIP.

DEAR PEOPLE!

THE BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENTS SCORED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC--SUCH AS THE INITIATION OF PLANTING DEEP ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY BY PUTTING INTO PRACTICE THE SINGLE-TERM PRESIDENCY, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN ECONOMY WITH FIGURES IN THE BLACK THROUGH STABLE COMMODITY PRICES AND ENHANCEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS, AND THE HOSTING OF THE OLYMPICS WHILE EXTENSIVELY STRENGTHENING THE STATE'S SECURITY CAPABILITIES--SHOULD NOT BE UNDERRATED.

TODAY, WE CANNOT RELINQUISH DEFENDING AND DEVELOPING THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, AND THE TASK OF A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT IS AN

IMMINENT TASK THAT WE MUST CARRY OUT.

AT A TIME WHEN THE OLYMPICS ARE AROUND THE CORNER, ALL OF US SHOULD BEAR RESPONSIBILITY TO PREVENT A NATIONAL DISGRACE OF BEING MOCKED AND DERIDED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BECAUSE OF A DIVISION IN THE NATIONAL CONSENSUS.

CHERISHING THE RIGHT TO EXERCISE OUR SACRED BALLOTS, LET US BUILD A SOCIETY IN WHICH YOUTHS CAN CULTIVATE ABILITY FOR THEIR FUTURE IDEALS, WORKERS AND FARMERS CAN WORK FREE FROM CARE AND WITHOUT ANY ANXIETY, BUSINESSMEN CAN FURTHER DEMONSTRATE THEIR CREATIVE EFFORTS, AND POLITICIANS CAN DESIGN THE NATION'S FUTURE THROUGH DIALOGUE AND COMPROMISE.

I ALSO PLEDGE TO DO MY BEST TO BUILD A GENUINE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN WHICH LAW AND ORDER ARE ABIDED BY AND LIFE AND DEVELOPMENT OVERFLOW.

THIS COUNTRY IS ALL OF OURS. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OUR TIMES TO OUTSTANDINGLY BUILD AND CULTIVATE THIS COUNTRY, WHICH HAS BEEN BUILT AND DEEPENED WITH THE BLOOD AND SWEAT OF OUR ANCESTORS AND MARTYRS, WITH SWEAT, RESTRAINT, AND WISDOM AND TO HAND IT OVER TO OUR SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS.

I URGE THE PEOPLE TO POOL OUR NATIONAL WISDOM SO THAT OUR PEOPLE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD BY SHOWING THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD THAT THE HISTORY OF THE KOREAN NATION IS A HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT, NOT A HISTORY OF RETREAT.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN! DJP PARTY MEMBERS! OPPOSITION POLITICIANS! I URGENTLY DESIRE THAT THESE INNERMOST UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 04 SEOUL 07642

USCINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PINR, PHUM, KS

SUBJECT: ROH TAE WOO CALLS FOR DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL FEELINGS OF MINE ARE ACCEPTED BY YOU AND THAT THEY BECOME A TURNING POINT IN OPENING A GREAT COUNTRY IN WHICH ALL PEOPLE CAN LEAD STABLE AND HAPPY LIFE.

END TEXT.

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SECRETARIAT

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<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 04 <SSN> 7642 <TOR> 870629025731 MSG000173242650
<SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04 <SSN> 7642 <TOR> 870629030449 MSG000173243089
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<SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04 <SSN> 7642 <TOR>
870629025741 MSG000173242661

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 24, 1987

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

FROM: DOUGLAS H. PAAL *DHP*

SUBJECT: Draft Reply to Letter From Joseph Bosco re Korea

At Tab I is a draft reply to Joseph Bosco's letter to you (Tab A) concerning U.S. policy toward Korea. The reply also sets the record straight on Rich Armitage's reported comment that he was too busy to focus on Korea. Rich's military assistant approved my draft language.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the draft reply at Tab I.

Approve ✓Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Draft reply to Bosco
Tab A Incoming letter from Bosco*Typed by Peggy*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Copy to
R. Armitage
7/1 - Eyes only
Paul

9

June 26, 1987

Dear Joe:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter on Korea. Much has happened in the days since you wrote me, and I hope you can see the strength of our position by now. As you know, democratic governments like ours are always caught between the requirement for effective foreign policy to use quiet diplomacy and the demands of world opinion to be seen to take action. We are trying to strike the proper balance and it is not easy.

As for the reported comments of Rich Armitage in the New York Times, I want you to know that they were taken out of context and distorted. Assistant Secretary Armitage is squarely behind our policy of encouraging compromise and restraint in Korea. He deserves better than to have reporters seize on tangential remarks and ignore the substance of his comments.

The President remains in close touch with events on the peninsula. He and I believe the situation there is fundamentally different from that in the Philippines and that our role will necessarily differ in many ways. Our principles will be the same, however, and they are: commitment to democratic methods, a belief that we cannot tell the Koreans what specific arrangements are right or wrong for them, and a conviction that both sides should exercise restraint.

Thanks for your kind comments about my time in Portugal, too. I have not changed.

Sincerely,



Frank C. Carlucci

Mr. Joseph A. Bosco
Bosco, Curry & Tesoro
1220 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

4784

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JUN 17 1987

BOSCO, CURRY & TESORO

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*ADMITTED IN D. C. ONLY
*ADMITTED IN MASS. ONLY

June 16, 1987

The Honorable Frank C. Carlucci
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Frank:

I trust you will tolerate a further gratuitous submission of my views on another national security matter, this time the situation in South Korea.

It is late, but hopefully not too late, for the Administration to take a stronger position in favor of a more rapid and complete transition to democracy there. I use the term "rapid" advisedly, considering that it has been some 34 years since the end of the Korean War in which 23,000 American boys died to give the South Korean people precisely that opportunity. That sacrifice, it seems to me, imposed on subsequent American policy-makers a special, poignant responsibility that has not yet been fulfilled. Vietnam was a tragedy with a different, more terrible result, but we did, after all, win the Korean War.

I was therefore disappointed at the reported comments of Assistant Secretary Armitage, whose work I have greatly admired as I have observed his impressive public appearances over the past few years. I think it is critical that the United States be perceived as being concerned not only with stability in South Korea, but with genuine democracy, and that we oppose anti-Communist as well as Communist dictatorships. I consider the latter evil infinitely worse than the former, not least because it tends to be irreversible. But an Administration advocating support of the imperfect contras against the far worse Sandinistas has the burden of demonstrating that defeating communism in Nicaragua will result in genuine democracy. South Korea's experience to date, notwithstanding its unquestioned economic success, provides ammunition for

BOSCO, CURRY, ~~PAULSEN~~ & TESORO

The Honorable Frank C. Carlucci
June 16, 1987
Page Two

Administration critics.

I hope the President himself will take the lead on this important question, far earlier than the Philippines experience, before his opponents seize the political and moral high ground. I can think of no one better qualified to encourage that result than the former Ambassador to Portugal who, alone among the geopoliticians, pragmatists, and defeatists, believed that democracy should be given a fighting chance in that beleaguered country.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Joseph A. Bosco

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