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 FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
 TO RUEHC / SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0202
 INFO RUAGNPP / AMCCNSUL PUSAN PRIORITY 0183
 RUFHBJ / AMEMBASSY BEIJING IMMEDIATE 3049
 RUMJNG / AMCCNSUL HCNG KONG PRIORITY 8554
 RUEHDT / USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 2852
 RUFHMO / AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 1406
 RUEHHC / AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 7388
 RUEHIN / AIT TAIPEI PRIORITY
 RUFHIA / USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 5558
 RUAGAAA / CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS//MKLO// PRIORITY
 RUAGAAA / COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//CJ-CC/BJ-PL-H/SJS/EJ-J// PRIORITY
 RUAGAAA / SA CINCUNC KS PRIORITY
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 RUFKJCS / JCS WASHDC PRIORITY
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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
 CHRGE: PROG 2/14/85
 APPRV: AMB:RLWLAKER
 LRFD: POL:TPHDUNLOP:PACF
 CLEAR: ICM:PCLEVELAND
 2.SAA:JSHELDON
 3.POL:DENGEL
 DISTR: POL3 ~~AMB~~ DCM
 ECGN2 SAA/SRO3 DAO
 FBIS FCS USIS
 ADM CONS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEOUL 01728

USCINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD; ALSO FOR ASST SECY WCLFOWITZ

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, KS
 SUBJECT: KIM DAE JUNG RETURN: WHAT HAPPENED AT THE
 AIRPORT?

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS MESSAGE IS CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BECAUSE OF THE CONTROVERSIAL NATURE OF THE EVENTS DESCRIBED AND REFERENCES TO SOURCES. WE, OF COURSE, LEAVE IT TO THE DEPARTMENT TO DETERMINE WHAT PORTIONS IT MAY CHOOSE TO RELEASE.
3. OVER THE PAST 2 WEEKS WE HAVE MADE STRENOUS EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AS MUCH DETAILED INFO AS POSSIBLE ON WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED AT KIMPO AIRPORT FEBRUARY 8 AS KIM DAE JUNG RETURNED TO KOREA ESCORTED BY A GROUP OF 28 AMERICANS INCLUDING TWO CONGRESSMEN AND AN ADDITIONAL GROUP OF ABOUT 20 KOREAN AMERICANS AND ABOUT 30 MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES. WE HAVE NOW SPOKEN AT LENGTH TO BOTH CONGRESSMEN AND TO A NUMBER OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ENTOURAGE; TO NEWSMEN WHO WERE PRESENT FOR PORTIONS OF THE EVENT; TO A NORTHWEST ORIENT OFFICIAL WHO, AS FAR AS WE CAN DETERMINE, WAS THE ONLY "UNINVOLVED" AMERICAN PRESENT IN THE AIRCRAFT EXIT RAMP AREA INSIDE THE TERMINAL; AND TWICE TO AN ROYG IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL WHO BOARDED NW 191 AND SPOKE TO KIM. WE HAVE SEEN A NUMBER OF COLLATERAL REPORTS WHICH DESCRIBE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE INCIDENT. WE HAVE ALSO VIEWED NUMEROUS TV FILM CLIPS WHICH, WHILE INTERESTING, PROVIDE ONLY FRAGMENTARY SNAPSHOTS OF EVENTS WHICH LASTED

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AN HOUR AND 20 MINUTES, AND WHICH OCCURRED AT VARIOUS PLACES AND TIMES. WE PROVIDE BELOW AN ACCOUNT WHICH WE BELIEVE IS ABOUT AS ACCURATE AND DETAILED AS WE ARE LIKELY TO OBTAIN.

4. SEVERAL OBSERVATIONS:

- FIRST, BECAUSE OF ROKG FAILURE TO ABIDE BY ITS COMMITMENTS (TO BRIEF THE AMERICAN ENTOURAGE ON THE AIRPLANE, AND TO ALLOW EMBASSY OFFICERS AT PLANESIDE) THERE WAS APPARENTLY NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMUNICATION IN ENGLISH BETWEEN ANY ROKG OFFICIAL AND ANY AMERICAN IN THE ENTOURAGE. KIM DAE JUNG, HIS WIFE, AND TWO MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF WERE APPARENTLY THE ONLY PERSONS PRESENT WHO COULD SPEAK BOTH ENGLISH AND KOREAN, EXCEPT FOR THE KOREAN-AMERICANS ON THE PLANE AND WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY OF THEM ACTING AS INTERPRETERS FOR THE GROUP AT THE MOST CRITICAL JUNCTURES. (ONE OF THE IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS WHO BOARDED THE PLANE SPEAKS ENGLISH, BUT DID NOT COMMUNICATE WITH THE AMERICANS EXCEPT, HE SAYS, IN A BRIEF ENCOUNTER AT THE EXIT OF THE AIRCRAFT ITSELF.) HENCE KIM HIMSELF WAS APPARENTLY ABLE TO CONTROL WHAT THE AMERICANS IN THE ENTOURAGE PERCEIVED WAS PASSING BETWEEN KIM AND ROKG OFFICIALS.

- SECOND, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT WHAT CONGRESSMEN FEIGHAN AND FOGLIETTA TOLD US, BOTH ABOUT WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED AND ABOUT THEIR UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ENTOURAGE, ARE ACCURATE ACCOUNTS FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE. WHERE UNDERSTANDINGS DIFFER, THEY ARE DUE IN CONSIDERABLE PART TO THE LAMENTABLE LANGUAGE GAP NOTED ABOVE, PLUS CULTURAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS REFERRED TO BELOW.

- THIRD, AMERICANS AND KOREANS PERCEIVE PHYSICAL CONTACT AND VIOLENCE FROM WIDELY DIFFERING CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES. THIS CONTRIBUTES TO THE DRAMATICALLY DIFFERENT KOREAN AND AMERICAN DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SEVERAL OCCASIONS WHEN KOREAN SECURITY PERSONNEL APPLIED PHYSICAL FORCE TO THE AMERICAN GROUP.

- FOURTH, EMBOFF DID OBSERVE THE DENCUEMONT OF THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS DESCRIBED IN THIS MESSAGE, AS FIRST NEWSMEN AND THEN AMERICANS IN THE ENTOURAGE WERE VIOLENTLY

MANHANDLED ONTC THE ESCALATOR LEADING DOWN TO THE CUSTOMS AND IMMIGRATION AREA. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT POLICE BEHAVIOR AT THAT POINT, AFTER KDJ HAD BEEN SEPARATED FROM THE ENTCOURAGE, WAS INEXCUSABLE. WE SIMPLY CANNCT JUDGE THE DEGREE OF FORCE UTILIZED BY POLICE BEFORE THAT POINT.

- FIFTH, WE REGARD KIM'S OWN ACCOUNT WITH RESERVATIONS. HE IS A HIGHLY INTERESTED PARTY.

- SIXTH, WE MUST ALSO REGARD PUBLIC KOREAN VERSIONS WITH RESERVATIONS FOR THE SAME REASON. THE UNOFFICIAL KOREAN ACCOUNT WE RECEIVED FROM THE IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL IS LESS SUSPECT.

- SEVENTH, BECAUSE WE WERE DIRECT OBSERVERS OF ONLY A SMALL PORTION OF THESE EVENTS, AND BECAUSE WITNESSES WITH THE BEST OF GOOD WILL ALMOST ALWAYS DISAGREE IN DESCRIBING EVENTS, ESPECIALLY IF AN ELEMENT OF SURPRISE AND/OR ALARM IS PRESENT, WE WILL NEVER FULLY RESOLVE ALL THE DISCREPANCIES.

- FINALLY, AND TO REPEAT, BECAUSE THERE ARE VAST CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AT PLAY HERE, TRUTH MAY HAVE MORE THAN ONE FACE.

4. WHERE THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN THE VARIOUS ACCOUNTS OF THESE EVENTS, THEY ARE IDENTIFIED IN THE SCENARIO BEGINNING AT PARA 6 BELOW.

5. WHILE THIS MESSAGE DOES NOT ADDRESS MOTIVES, AND HENCE DOES NOT DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE DISPUTE OVER WHAT UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN REACHED AND WITH WHOM BEFORE NW 191 TOUCHED DOWN AT KIMPO, IT IS RELEVANT TO POINT OUT THAT IN THE EMBASSY'S DEALINGS WITH KDJ ENTCOURAGE ADVANCE PERSON MS. LEWIS THE ONLY SUBJECT DISCUSSED WAS WHAT THE AMERICANS IN KDJ'S ENTCOURAGE WOULD DO AND HOW THEY WOULD BE TREATED. MS. LEWIS DID NOT PURPORT TO SPEAK FOR KDJ HIMSELF; NOR COULD EMOFFS REPRESENT KDJ AND HIS WISHES OF HIS GOVERNMENT. NOR WOULD THE ROKG HAVE ACCEPTED AN EMBASSY ROLE OF THAT NATURE. EMOFFS DID HOWEVER PLEAD REPEATEDLY, WITH MS. LEWIS AND WITH KDJ ASSOCIATES IN SEOUL, THAT THEY DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE AUTHCRITIES. WE ALSO URGED THE AUTHORITIES TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH KDJ, AND IT WAS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE ROKG EMOFF WHO WAS TO BOARD THE PLANE AT NARITA WOULD ALSO EXPLAIN ARRIVAL PROCEDURES TO KDJ AS WELL AS TO THE AMERICAN ENTCOURAGE AND TO THE PRESS. IN THE EVENT, THERE WAS NO MEANINGFUL COMMUNICATION. EMOFFS ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT KDJ'S OWN WISHES AND INTENTIONS MIGHT WELL CONFLICT WITH THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED WITH HIS AMERICAN ESCORTS, AND HOW THIS WOULD PLAY OUT WAS A TROUBLESCME UNKNOWN TO THE EMOFFS WHO AWAITED NW 191 THAT MORNING.

6. THE FEB. 8 SCENARIO: BEFORE NW 191 LANDS (ALL TIMES APPROXIMATE):

7:30 AIRPORT SECURITY CHIEF TELEPHONES RSO WAYNE

RYCPAK TO ADVISE THAT A SPECIAL AIRPORT ACCESS PASS WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR PICKUP AT THE SECURITY CHIEF'S OFFICE. THE PASS SUPPOSEDLY WOULD HAVE PROVIDED ACCESS TO THE AIRCRAFT UPON ARRIVAL AT KIMPO. (RSO RYCHAK'S TASK WAS TO FACILITATE AND ASSIST US SKYMARSHALLS ON THE PLANE BRINGING KDJ TO KOREA.)

0920 SECURITY SERVICE CONTACT CALLS EMBOFF AT THE EMBASSY TO SAY IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO GAIN ACCESS TO PLANESIDE WITHOUT SPECIAL PASSES, WHICH EMEOFFS WOULD NOT BE GETTING.

0925 EMBOFF INITIATES INQUIRY TO MOFA TO CHECK OUT THIS NEW AND DISTURBING INFORMATION.

0940 EMBOFFS LEAVE FOR AIRPORT (ENGEL; QUINONES; RYCHAK; BEARDSLEY).

1015 MOFA REPORTS TO EMBOFF AT THE EMBASSY BY TELEPHONE THAT ORIGINAL PLANS FOR PLANESIDE ACCESS ARE STILL ON; THERE MUST HAVE BEEN A "GAP" IN COMMUNICATION. THIS IS COMMUNICATED TO EMBOFFS EN ROUTE TO THE AIRPORT.

1015 EMBOFFS ARRIVE AT AIRPORT. THEY ARE INITIALLY DENIED ACCESS TO 3RD FLOOR VIP LOUNGE BY SECURITY PERSONNEL ON THE GROUND FLOOR. AFTER SEVERAL MINUTES OF DISCUSSION DURING WHICH EMBOFFS INSIST ON ROKG AGREEMENT FOR ACCESS, SECURITY PERSONNEL, AFTER CHECKING ON RADIO, RELENT AND EMBOFFS GO UP TO VIP LOUNGE. RSO RYCHAK SEPARATED FROM THE EMBOFFS AND MET WITH KIMPC SECURITY CHIEF. THE SECURITY CHIEF RELATED THAT A PASS WOULD NOT BE PROVIDED, BUT RATHER THE RSC WOULD BE ESCORTED TO THE PLANE IMMEDIATELY AFTER LANDING. DESPITE SUBSEQUENT ASSURANCES THAT PLANESIDE ACCESS WOULD BE AFFORDED, RYCHAK WAS DENIED ACCESS AND WAS ABLE TO OBSERVE VERY LITTLE.

1020 EMBOFFS ARRIVE AT VIP LOUNGE. THEY CHECK IMMEDIATELY WITH AIRPORT PROTOCOL OFFICERS WHO ASSURE EMBOFFS THAT THEY WILL BE ALLOWED ACCESS TO DEPLANING GATE. EMBOFFS ARE SHOWN INTO VIP ROOM. SEVERAL SUBSEQUENT INQUIRIES CONFIRM PRIOR ARRANGEMENTS.

1045 EMBOFFS OBSERVE UNIFORMED POLICE LOCK VIP LOUNGE DOORWAY USUALLY USED FOR GOING TO TERMINAL ARRIVAL GATES. AT THE SAME TIME, TWENTY TO THIRTY BEIGE-JACKETED SECURITY MEN BLOCK THE DOORWAY, STANDING SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER AND FACING TOWARD THE VIP LOUNGE INTERIOR.

1050 INQUIRIES WITH AIRPORT PROTOCOL OFFICERS INDICATE PLANS ARE CHANGING. EMBOFFS DEMAND PLANESIDE ACCESS AS HAD BEEN AGREED.

1055 EMBOFF CALLS MOFA FROM VIP LOUNGE OFFICE AND ASKS NORTH AMERICA DIVISION DIRECTOR CHANG CHAE-YONG IF EMBOFFS ARE STILL TO BE GIVEN ACCESS TO THE ARRIVAL GATE. WHEN CHANG AT FIRST CONFIRMS THAT, EMBOFF ASKS WHO THEN WILL LEAD EMBOFFS THROUGH THE SECURITY MEN AT THE DOORWAY? CHANG SAYS THAT ALL WOULD PROCEED "ACCORDING TO THE PRE-ARRANGED PLAN." EMBOFF ASKS, IF THIS IS SO, WHO WILL ENSURE EMBOFFS WILL BE PERMITTED TO PASS THROUGH THE WALL OF SECURITY MEN AT THE LOCKED VIP EXIT? CHANG THEN SAYS EMBOFFS SHOULD WAIT AND AT "THE APPROPRIATE TIME" WOULD BE TAKEN TO A PLACE WHERE THEY COULD GREET THE CONGRESSMEN. EMBOFF ASKS THE SPECIFIC LOCATION FOR THIS MEETING AND IS TOLD THAT IT WOULD BE AT THE BASE OF AN ESCALATOR INSIDE THE CUSTOMS CLEARANCE AREA, NOT AT THE ARRIVAL GATE. EMBOFF ASKS IF THIS IS NOT, IN FACT A CHANGE IN THE AGREEMENT? HE IS TOLD BY CHANG THAT IT IS ONLY AN "ADJUSTMENT NECESSITATED BY SECURITY CONSID-

FRATIONS". EMOFF ASKS WHOM AMONG THE KOREAN SECURITY MEN WOULD IDENTIFY THE CONGRESSMEN? THIS SEEMS TO STUN CHANG. AND HE BEGINS TO APOLOGIZE FOR HIS AND MCFA'S LACK OF AUTHORITY TO GAIN US ACCESS TO THE ARRIVAL GATE. HE SAYS "WE ARE NO LONGER IN CONTROL OF THE SITUATION. SECURITY HAS TAKEN OVER THE ENTIRE AIRPORT. YOU WILL SIMPLY HAVE TO BE PATIENT AND COOPERATE WITH THE AUTHORITIES." EMOFF POINTS OUT THAT A MAJOR INCIDENT WITH POTENTIALLY DAMAGING INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS APPEARS TO BE IN THE MAKING. EMOFF REITERATES THAT HE MUST LEAD THE US CONGRESSMEN FROM THE ARRIVAL GATE, THROUGH THE VIP LOUNGE AND TO THEIR CAR. CHANG AGAIN

APOLOGIZES AND ADVISES "PATIENCE." CHANG THEN SPOKE BRIEFLY WITH AN AIRPORT PROTOCOL OFFICER. WHEN THE CONVERSATION ENDED, THE PROTOCOL OFFICIAL INFORMS EMBOFF THAT HE WOULD BE LED TO A POINT WHERE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY THE CONGRESSMEN AND MOVE THEM TO THE VIP LOUNGE. (COMMENT: TO THOSE FAMILIAR WITH KOREA, THE ABOVE IS AN ALL-TOO FAMILIAR KOREAN SCENARIO: A KOREAN BUREAUCRAT WHO HAS ENTERED INTO A COMMITMENT WITH A FOREIGNER IS PRE-EMPTED BY SUPERIOR INSTRUCTIONS. HE FINDS IT SO DIFFICULT TO CONVEY THIS THAT HE PREVARICATES. THAT CHANG CHANGES HIS STORY (TO THE TRUTH) IN MID-CONVERSATION-ADMITTING THE INADMISSABLE-IS A TRIBUTE TO HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE US RELATIONSHIP, ABOUT TO SUFFER A SEVERE JOLT.)

1100 NORTHWEST SEUL MANAGER RUCH INFORMS EMBOFF THAT SECURITY OFFICIALS ARE CHANGING PLANS QUICKLY AND PLANESIDE ACCESS WITHOUT SPECIAL PASS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED.

1110 EMBOFF RETURNS TO HIS COLLEAGUES FROM TELEPHONE CALL AND INFORMS THEM THAT THE PLAN HAS BEEN CHANGED AND MOFA IS NOT IN A POSITION TO DO ANYTHING.

1115 AN AIRPORT PROTOCOL OFFICER INDICATES THAT EMBOFF (QUINONES) SHOULD FOLLOW HIM, AND TELLS THE OTHER TWO EMBOFFS TO "STAY". EMBOFF IS LED FROM VIP LOUNGE AREA DOWN TO THE CUSTOMS CLEARANCE AREA. OTHER TWO REMAIN IN VIP AREA, BEING TOLD THAT THE CONGRESSMEN "WILL BE BROUGHT TO THEM". FROM THIS POINT, THEY RECEIVE NO INFORMATION ABOUT DEPLANING PLANS. THEY SUBSEQUENTLY TRY BUT ARE UNABLE TO GAIN ACCESS TO THE FIRST FLOOR CUSTOMS AREA. NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PASS PRIVILEGES ARE CANCELLED, AND AIRPORT OFFICERS CAN NOT HELP THEM.

1120 EMBOFF QUINONES, ACCOMPANIED BY AN AIRPORT PROTOCOL OFFICER, TAKES POSITION AT THE BOTTOM OF THE ESCALATOR ONE FLOOR BENEATH THE ARRIVAL GATE AND VIP LOUNGE AREA. EMBOFF IS REPEATEDLY INFORMED THAT ROKG SECURITY HAS "TAKEN OVER THE ENTIRE AIRPORT AREA" AND THAT NEITHER MOFA NOR THE AIRPORT AUTHORITY CAN GAIN EMBOFF ACCESS TO THE ARRIVAL GATE. THE IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS AREA IS EMPTY EXCEPT FOR UNIFORMED ROKG AIRPORT OFFICIALS AND UNIFORMED POLICE.

1130 THE SITUATION REMAINS QUIET EXCEPT FOR CHATTER ON THE RADIO HELD BY THE ACCOMPANYING PROTOCOL OFFICER WHO INFORMS QUINONES THAT THE PLANE HAS LANDED.

1140 NW FLT 191 ARRIVES AT KIMPC TERMINAL.

7. AFTER NW 191 ARRIVES:

1140 IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS OFFERS THAT NO PASSENGERS ARE TO DISEMBARK UNTIL PERMISSION IS GIVEN.

1141 (VERSION OF ROKG IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL WHO BOARDED THE PLANE AND DEALT WITH KDJ, AND WITH WHOM WE HAVE TWICE SPOKEN, ONCE WHILE HE WAS WITH A SUPERIOR AND ONCE

AT THE HOME OF AN EMBASSY OFFICIAL):

- TWO IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS BOARD NW 191 (ALONG WITH NW AIRLINES AIRPORT MANAGER WHO APPARENTLY PLAYS NO SUBSTANTIVE ROLE IN THE INSUING EXCHANGE). ONE IDENTIFIES HIMSELF TO KDJ, SAYS HE WISHES TO PROCESS KDJ THROUGH IMMIGRATION. HE ASKS FOR KDJ'S PASSPORT AND INVITES KDJ (PRESUMABLY WITH HIS IMMEDIATE KOREAN ENCOURAGEMENT) TO DEPART BEFORE THE OTHER PASSENGERS. KDJ SAYS LOUDLY "WHY ARE YOU HERE? CONFIRM WHO YOU ARE!" KDJ USES A MEANINGFUL VERB FORM. THE SENIOR IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL GIVES HIS NAME, IDENTIFIES HIMSELF AS CHIEF, ENTRY

SECTION, KIMPO IMMIGRATION DIVISION. HE SAYS "PLEASE COME WITH US. WE ARE HERE TO HELP YOU." KDJ REFUSES TO YIELD HIS PASSPORT AND ASSERTS HE WISHES TO DEPLANE AS AN ORDINARY PASSENGER. "I DO NOT WISH TO GO WITH YOU!"

(COMMENT: WE HAVE NOW SEEN A TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY ONE OF THE TWO KDJ STAFFERS WHO WERE PRESENT AT KDJ'S SIDE THROUGHOUT THESE EVENTS, MR. SUNG. MR. SUNG WROTE THE ARTICLE FOR A KOREAN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER AFTER HE RETURNED TO THE US. MR. SUNG CONFIRMS THE ABUSIVE, INSULTING LANGUAGE KDJ EMPLOYED IN SPEAKING TO ROKG OFFICIALS ON THE AIRCRAFT AND SUBSEQUENTLY.)

1144 IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS REPAIR TO THE FRONT OF THE AIRCRAFT AND ORDER THE REGULAR PASSENGERS TO DEPLANE. 174 PASSENGERS DO, A PROCESS WHICH TAKES ABOUT 15 MINUTES.

1145 (FMECFF QUINONES VERSION):

1145 A VOICE ON THE RADIO ANNOUNCES "HIGHEST ALERT STATE". PROTOCOL OFFICER BEGINS APOLOGIZING TO QUINONES SAYING THERE IS A CHANCE FOR A SERIOUS MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE CONGRESSMEN AND ROKG SECURITY.

1155 REGULAR PASSENGERS BEGIN DESCENDING THE ESCALATOR; SEVERAL TELL QUINONES THAT HE HAD BETTER GET UPSTAIRS SINCE THERE ARE BETWEEN 200 AND 300 PLAINCLOTHES SECURITY MEN.

1157 JULIE MOON, A JOURNALIST WHO IDENTIFIES HERSELF AS WITH THE ENTOURAGE, DESCENDS THE ESCALATOR AND INFORMS QUINONES THAT ALL IS QUIET AND ORDERLY AND THAT KDJ IS TO BE LEE THROUGH REGULAR CUSTOMS.

1200 (ROKG IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL VERSION):

1200 AFTER THE REGULAR PASSENGERS DEPLANE, THE IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS ASK A FLIGHT ATTENDANT TO ANNOUNCE THAT ALL OTHER PASSENGERS SHOULD THEN GET OFF. ABOUT 30 PRESS LEAVE FIRST, CROWDING INTO THE EXIT RAMP.

1141 (KDJ VERSION)

1141 AN ROKG OFFICIAL APPROACHES KDJ ON THE PLANE AND ASKS HIM WHETHER HE WISHES TO BE TREATED AS A "NORMAL" KOREAN CITIZEN (I.E., GO THROUGH IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS NORMALLY) OR BE TAKEN THROUGH THE VIP AREA DIRECTLY TO HIS HOME; KDJ REPLIES HE WISHES TO BE TREATED AS A REGULAR PASSENGER. HE ALSO SAYS HE WISHES TO DEPLANE AFTER THE REGULAR PASSENGERS. THEN, AFTER ABOUT A 15 MINUTE WAIT (WHILE THE OTHER PASSENGERS GET OFF) KDJ WITH THE ENTIRE AMERICAN ESCORT MOVE TO THE PLANE EXIT AND INTO THE EXIT RAMP. THERE IS NO OTHER EXCHANGE WITH OFFICIALS. (THIS IS THE SAME VERSION AS GIVEN BY THE AMERICANS IN THE ENTOURAGE.)

(ACCOUNTS AGREE) AS KDJ AND THE ENTOURAGE

ENTER THE EXIT RAMP, THERE IS AN "ADVANCE PARTY" OF EIGHT:
MR. AND MRS. KIM; TWO KIM STAFFERS; THE TWO CONGRESSMEN;
AND MS. DERIAN AND MR. WHITE. THE REMAINDER OF THE
ENTOURAGE TRAIL BEHIND.

1200 (FMBCFF QUINONES VERSION): EMBCFF AT BOTTOM OF
ESCALATOR, REQUESTS THAT HE AND THE ACCOMPANYING PROTOCOL
OFFICER BE ALLOWED TO GO UPSTAIRS. THE PROTOCOL OFFICER
ASKS A SECURITY MAN AT THE TOP OF THE ESCALATOR IF THIS
IS POSSIBLE BUT ARE GIVEN A VERY FIRM NO.

1201 THE SOUND OF PUSHING, SHOIVING, ANGRY VOICES IS

CLEARLY AUDIBLE. SEVERAL JOURNALISTS DESCEND THE ESCALATOR. SOME VOLUNTARILY, OTHERS WHILE BEING PUSHED BY ROKG SECURITY MEN.

1205 THE NOISE GROWS LOUDER. THERE ARE ANGRY SHOUTS IN BOTH KOREAN AND ENGLISH. THE PROTOCOL OFFICER TRIES TO USE HIS RADIC BUT WHEN HE GETS NO RESPONSE, HE GOES TO A NEARBY TELEPHONE TO SEEK PERMISSICN FOR EMBOFF AND HIM TO GO UP THE ESCALATOR. HIS REPEATED EFFORTS ARE FUTILE. EMBOFF SEES SEVERAL JOURNALISTS WITH VIDEO AND STILL CAMERAS BEING HIT REPEATEDLY IN THE HEAD AND SHOULDERS AND ROKG SECURITY SHOVING AND DRAGGING THEM ONTO THE ESCALATOR. MANY ARE YELLING, "HEY. TAKE IT EASY...OK O.K. I'M LEAVING, WATCH IT....WHAT DO YOU WANT....WHAT'S GOING ON?"

1204 (ROK IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL VERSION):

1204 AS KDJ REACHES THE PLANE DOOR, AN AMERICAN MALE (FROM THE DESCRIPTION THIS WOULD APPEAR TO BE CONGRESSMAN FOGLIETTA, BUT COULD ALSO HAVE BEEN MR. WHITE) TAKES KDJ BY THE ARM AND, AS HE SPOTS THE IMMIGRATION OFFICERS SAYS IN A LOUD VOICE "NO ONE LAY A HANT ON MR. KIM!" THE IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL SAYS IN ENGLISH "I AM A KOREAN IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL. DO NOT SPEAK TO ME LIKE THIS!" AT WHICH POINT THE AMERICAN PLACES HIS HAND ON THE OFFICIAL'S SHOULDER AND GIVES HIM A SHARP PUSH.

1204 (ALL ACCOUNTS AGREE):

1204 AS THE "ADVANCE PARTY" MAKES A RIGHT TURN WITHIN THE L-SHAPED RAMP, ABOUT 8 SECURITY MEN EMERGE FROM A CURTAIN-COVERED DOORWAY AT THE ELBOW OF THE RAMP (WHICH LEADS TO AN OUTSIDE LADDER WHERE THE SECURITY MEN ARE WAITING) AND SEPARATES THE "ADVANCE PARTY" FROM THE REMAINDER. HOLDING THE REMAINDER IN THE RAMP WHILE THE "ADVANCE PARTY" COMPLETES THE JOURNEY THROUGH THE RAMP AND ENTERS THE TERMINAL.

1204 (IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL VERSION):

1204 MINIMUM FORCE IS EMPLOYED TO SEPARATE THE "ADVANCE PARTY" FROM THE REMAINDER. THE "ADVANCE PARTY" ARE NOT ACCOSTED IN ANY WAY WITHIN THE RAMP. THEY ARE ESCORTED OUT OF THE RAMP INTO THE TERMINAL BY THE TWO IMMIGRATION OFFICERS ONLY, WHO FOLLOW FROM THE PLANE DOORWAY. MINIMUM FORCE IS EMPLOYED TO CONFINE THE REMAINDER WITHIN THE EXIT RAMP. NO BLCWS ARE STRUCK AT ANY TIME; SECURITY MEN KEEP THEIR HANDS CLASPED BEHIND THEM, AS THEY ARE TRAINED TO DO, EMPLOYING ONLY THEIR FODIES AS WEDGES. (COMMENT: THE CBS FILM WE HAVE SEEN, WHILE CONFUSING, NEVERTHELESS SHOWS SEVERAL SECURITY MEN WITH THE ADVANCE PARTY AND SOME SHOVING. THERE IS NO VIOLENCE AGAINST THE ADVANCE PARTY WITHIN THE RAMP SHOWN ON THE CBS FILM. END COMMENT).

1204 (KDJ/ENTOURAGE VERSION):

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

SEOUL 1728/46

1204 KDJ AND THE ENTOURAGE ARE "AMBUSHED" WITHIN THE RAMP BY EIGHT SECURITY MEN AND VIOLENTLY ASSAULTED. BLOWS ARE STRUCK. PERSONS ARE "PINNED AGAINST THE RAMP WALL FOR UP TO 15 MINUTES." BOTH ADVANCE PARTY AND THE TRAILING GROUP ARE PHYSICALLY ABUSED.

1207 (ALL ACCOUNTS AGREE):

1207 KDJ AND HIS ESCORT EXIT THE RAMP INTO THE AREA WITHIN THE TERMINAL DIRECTLY IN FRONT OF THE ELEVATOR DOWN TO THE VIP EXIT. A CIRCULAR "WALL" OF SECURITY MEN FORM AROUND HIM. IN THE PROCESS TWO AMERICANS FIND

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

SEOUL 1728/06

THEMSELVES WITHIN THE "WALL" (CONGRESSMAN FOGLIETTA AND MR. WHITE). MS. DERIAN AND CONGRESSMAN FEIGHAN ARE OUTSIDE THE "WALL" BUT CLOSE ENOUGH TO SEE WHAT IS HAPPENING.

1204-1210 THE 30 OR SO NEWSMEN WHO WERE ON THE PLANE, AND WHO PRECEDED KDJ AND HIS ENTCOURAGE THROUGH THE EXIT RAMP (MANY WITH CAMERAS, WALKING BACKWARD) ARE TOLD BY SECURITY MEN WITHIN THE TERMINAL AREA TO GO DOWN THE ESCALATOR. SOME DO SO, OTHERS TRY TO REMAIN AND ARE FORCED WITH CONSIDERABLE VIOLENCE DOWN THE ESCALATOR. (SEE EMBOFF EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT BELOW).

1207-1217 THERE IS A SECOND CONFRONTATION BEFORE THE ELEVATOR BETWEEN KDJ AND AN IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL. KDJ INSISTS ON EXITING THROUGH REGULAR PASSENGER ARRIVAL AREA PRCCEDURES, AND ON GOING HOME IN HIS OWN CAR. HE INSISTS ON TAKING HIS AMERICAN ESCORTS WITH HIM. THE OFFICIAL REFUSES. AFTER ABOUT 8-10 MINUTES, THE ROKG OFFICIAL GIVES AN ORDER TO SEPARATE KDJ AND HIS WIFE AND AIDES FROM THE TWO AMERICANS AND PLACE THEM IN THE ELEVATOR. THIS IS DONE.

1217 (KDJ ENTOURAGE VERSION):

1217 KDJ IS PUSHED AND SHOVED BRUTALLY INTO THE ELEVATOR WITH HIS WIFE AND TWO AIDES. (COMMENT: KDJ LATER THAT DAY TELLS EMBOFF HE SUFFERED "NO PHYSICAL ABUSE", AS DOES HIS WIFE. WE HAVE A PICTURE OF KDJ IN THE ELEVATOR JUST BEFORE DOORS CLOSE; THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS OF VIOLENCE. END COMMENT).

1207-1217 (ROK G IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL VERSION):

1207-1217 SAME AS ABOVE, EXCEPT KDJ EMPLOYES VITUPERATIVE LANGUAGE. NO VIOLENCE, MINIMUM FORCE ONLY IS EMPLOYED TO GET KDJ INTO THE ELEVATOR. THE AMERICANS ARE "LIFTED" OVER THE WALL AND AWAY FROM KDJ BUT NO BLCWS ARE STRUCK.

1217 (ENTCOURAGE VERSION):

1217 CONGRESSMAN FOGLIETTA AND MR. WHITE ARE JERKED VIOLENTLY FROM KDJ, STRUCK AND KNCKED ABOUT, CONGRESSMAN FOGLIETTA FALLING. MR. WHITE TOLD POLCOUNS THE AMERICANS MADE AT LEAST ONE ATTEMPT TO LINK BACK UP WITH KDJ BEFORE ELEVATOR DOORS CLOSE, BUT ARE VICILENTLY REPELLED.

1217 (ROK C VERSION):

1217 NO BLOWS ARE STRUCK AT AMERICANS AT ANY TIME. THEY ARE LIFTED, PUSHED TO THE DEGREE NECESSARY TO SEPARATE THEM FROM KDJ AND GET THEM TO AND DOWN THE ESCALATOR.

1217 (EMBOFF QUINONES VERSION):

1217 THERE IS LOUD YELLING, FIRST IN KOREAN AND THEN IN ENGLISH. SOMEONE SHOUTS "OH, GOD, THEY'RE TAKING HIM AWAY....THEY'RE PUTTING HIM IN THE ELEVATOR!" A ROKG

SECURITY MAN YELLS DOWN ESCALATOR TO EMBOFF IN KOREAN
"WHERE ARE THE US CONGRESSMEN?" YOU HAVE THEM DON'T YOU?"
EMBOFF RESPONDS IN KOREAN "NO, YOU HAVE THEM. LET ME GO
UP." THE SECURITY MAN YELLS BACK "YOU STAY THERE, I
WILL BRING THE CONGRESSMEN TO YOU. STAY THERE." ALL
THE WHILE THERE IS THE SOUND OF FEET MOVING QUICKLY,
ERRATICALLY. SOUNDS OF PEOPLE FIGHTING, GRUNTS AND YELLS
ARE AUDIBLE.

1217 EMBOFF AGAIN ASKS THE PROTOCOL OFFICER WHERE HE
SHOULD LEAD THE CONGRESSMEN AND IS TOLD TO PROCEED WITH
THEM UP THE OTHER ESCALATOR TO THE VIP LOUNGE. AT THIS

POINT CONGRESSMAN FOGLIETTA, SURROUNDED BY AT LEAST THREE SECURITY MEN, APPEARS AT THE TOP OF THE ESCALATOR AS ONE SECURITY MAN USED HIS HANDS AND ELBOWS TO PUSH HIS HEAD, THE OTHER TWO USED THEIR BODIES AND ARMS TO SHOVE HIM TOWARD THE ESCALATOR. HE IS YELLING "I WANT TO BE WITH THE OTHERS. WHERE ARE YOU TAKING ME?" HE FALLS VERY HARD ONTO THE ESCALATOR AND EACH TIME HE ATTEMPTS TO RISE AND GO BACK UP HE IS SHOVED DOWN. EMBOFF YELLS TO HIM "I AM FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY. PLEASE COME TO ME. I CANNOT GET TO YOU." HE RESPONDS "WHERE HAVE YOU BEEN?" EMBOFF ASKS HIM TO URGE THE OTHER AMERICANS TO FOLLOW HIM. HE MANAGES TO CLIMB BACK UP THE ESCALATOR AND BEGINS SHOUTING "COME THIS WAY. THE AMERICAN EMBASSY GUY IS DOWN HERE." ROKG SECURITY MEN HIT HIM IN THE HEAD AND SHOULDERS NUMEROUS TIMES AS HE CALLS TO HIS COLLEAGUES. MR. WHITE IS THEN THROWN ONTO THE ESCALATOR HEAD FIRST. AS CONGRESSMAN FOGLIETTA JOINS EMBOFF AT THE BOTTOM AND WITH WHITE TRYING TO GET UP, MS. DERIAN IS LITERALLY THROWN INTO THE ESCALATOR AND THEN REPEATEDLY HIT ON THE BACK OF HER HEAD WITH OPEN HANDS AS SHE CALLS FOR CONGRESSMAN FEIGHAN TO FOLLOW. AS SHE DESCENDS THE ESCALATOR, FEIGHAN APPEARS AT THE TOP OF THE ESCALATOR. HE TRIES TO PROTECT HIS HEAD AS SECURITY MEN SLAP HIM ON THE BACK OF THE HEAD AND USE THEIR ELBOWS AND FISTS TO HIT HIS UPPER BODY. SECURITY MEN BRIEFLY BLOCK HIS ACCESS TO THE ESCALATOR AS THEY SWARM AROUND HIM. ONCE ON IT, THEY CONTINUE TO HIT HIM. AS HE DUCKS, A SECURITY MAN MOUNTS THE ESCALATOR AND WITH HIS FOOT, SHOVES FEIGHAN FORWARD BUT HE STEADIES HIMSELF BY HOLDING THE RAILING.

(COMMENT: THE PHYSICAL ABUSE VIEWED BY EMBOFF WAS EXTENSIVE AND BY ANY MEASURE UNNECESSARY SINCE NONE OF THE FOUR INDIVIDUALS WERE RESISTING ANY MORE THAN WAS NECESSARY TO PROTECT THEIR HEADS AND TO PREVENT THEMSELVES FROM FALLING DOWN. THE AIRPORT PROTOCOL OFFICER HIMSELF WAS YELLING THAT SECURITY SHOULD LEAVE THEM ALONE. UNIFORMED POLICE CAME TO THE BASE OF THE ESCALATOR AND COMMENTED THAT THE TREATMENT WAS "BAD... TOO MUCH... THIS IS VERY SERIOUS... I AM EMBARRASSED." END COMMENT.)

- THE TWO CONGRESSMEN, WHITE AND DERIAN GATHER AROUND EMBOFF AND BEGIN YELLING INSULTS AND ACCUSATIONS AT THE EMBASSY, STATE DEPARTMENT, AND EMBOFF. EMBOFF ASKS THEM TO BE QUIET, INFORMS THEM THAT HE WILL LEAD THEM TO THE CAR WHICH WILL TAKE THEM TO KDJ'S HOUSE, AND TURNS TO GUIDE GROUP AS PREVIOUSLY DIRECTED THE ROKG PROTOCOL OFFICER. THE OFFICER POLITELY INFORMS EMBOFF THAT ALL FOUR AMERICANS WILL HAVE TO GO THROUGH ROUTINE CUSTOMS. EMBOFF GATHERS THE FOUR AMERICANS' PASSPORTS, HANDS THEM TO THE UNIFORMED ROKG CUSTOMS OFFICIAL ASKING HIM TO PROCESS THEM QUICKLY AND TOLD THE GROUP TO QUIETLY FOLLOW. AS THEY APPROACH AN EXIT LEADING TO A GROUND FLOOR VIP LOUNGE, AN AIRPORT PROTOCOL OFFICER PHYSICALLY BLOCKS THE AMERICANS. EMBOFF LOUDLY TELLS THE AIRPORT PROTOCOL OFFICER THAT HAVING BROKEN EVERY PROMISE MADE TO EMBOFF, AND THE ROKG SECURITY HAVING PHYSICALLY

ABUSED THE AMERICANS, IT IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO HAVE KOREANS AND AMERICANS AGAIN FIGHTING IN FRONT OF PRESS CAMERAS. THE KOREAN OFFICIAL STANDS ASIDE AND THE GROUP FOLLOWS EMBOFF INTO A HALLWAY WHERE UNIFORMED POLICE AGAIN BLOCK THE WAY. EMBOFF ASKS THE GROUP TO WAIT AS HE AND THE PROTOCCL OFFICER GO UPSTAIRS TO GET PERMISSION FOR THEM TO LEAVE THE BUILDING. AN OFFICIAL IMMEDIATELY GIVES PERMISSION. EMBOFF RETURNS TO THE GROUP WHICH HAS NOW BEEN JOINED BY OTHER EMBOFFS.

1225 ALL FOUR AMERICANS ENTER THE MOFA CAR. THE DRIVER

IS TOLD TO GO DIRECTLY TO KDJ'S HOME.

1310 VEHICLE ARRIVES AT KDJ'S HOME BUT AMERICANS CANNOT GAIN ENTRY.

1315 CONGRESSMAN FOGLIETTA CALLS AMBASSADOR WALKER FROM A NEARBY GASOLINE STATION. AFTER SEVERAL CALLS TO SENIOR MOFA OFFICIALS, THE AMERICANS ARE ADMITTED TO KDJ'S HOME. (COMMENT: AS CAN BE SEEN FROM THE NEXT ENTRY, THE AMERICANS APPEAR TO HAVE BEATEN KDJ TO HIS HOME, A FACT WHICH NO DOUBT CONTRIBUTED TO THE DELAY IN ADMITTING THE AMERICANS.)

ALSO, IN THE ARTICLE REFERRED TO ABOVE WRITTEN BY MR. SUNG, KDJ'S ASSOCIATE WHO WAS WITH KDJ ON THE JOURNEY FROM THE AIRPORT, THE POLICE VEHICLE FOLLOWED A ROUNDABOUT ROUTE--NO DOUBT TO AVOID CROWDS OF KDJ SUPPORTERS--AND IT TOOK AN HOUR TO GET KDJ TO HIS HOME. IF SO, THIS WOULD HAVE PLACED THE ARRIVAL AT ABOUT 1400.)

1218 (ROK IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL VERSION):

1218 KDJ, HIS WIFE AND TWO STAFFERS EXIT THE ELEVATOR AT THE VIP ENTRANCE GROUND FLOOR AND ENTER A POLICE MINIVAN. KDJ IS AGAIN ASKED TO SURRENDER HIS PASSPORT BUT REFUSES. AN IMPASSE DEVELOPS BETWEEN THE ROK IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL, WHO REFUSES TO ALLOW KDJ TO DEPART UNTIL HE HAS "PROCESSED PROPERLY THROUGH IMMIGRATION" (I.E. YIELDED HIS PASSPORT) AND THE SENIOR SECURITY OFFICER PRESENT WHO HAS ORDERS TO GET KDJ HOME AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

1300 THIS BUREAUCRATIC STANDOFF LASTS UNTIL RESORT TO HIGHER AUTHORITY GIVES VICTORY TO SECURITY OFFICER AND KDJ DEPARTS WITH HIS PASSPORT. (COMMENT: AS FAR AS WE KNOW, HE STILL HAS IT. END COMMENT.)

8. COMMENT: IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT THERE WERE FOUR DISTINCT EVENTS IN WHICH PHYSICAL FORCE/VIOLENCE WAS EMPLOYED, THREE INVOLVING THE KDJ ENTOURAGE AND ONE THE PRESS WHICH PRECEDED KDJ OFF THE AIRCRAFT (KDJ WAS APPARENTLY HIMSELF INVOLVED IN ONLY ONE EVENT):

- A. THE SEALING-OFF AND HOLDING OF THE BULK OF THE ENTOURAGE WITHIN THE EXIT RAMP WHILE KDJ'S "ADVANCE PARTY" OF EIGHT PERSONS CONTINUES INTO THE TERMINAL;

- B. THE FORCEFUL REMOVAL OF THOSE AMONG THE PRESS CONTINGENT WHO REFUSED TO GO DOWN THE ESCALATOR; THIS OCCURS OVER A PERIOD OF SEVERAL MINUTES WHILE THE SECOND VERBAL CONFRONTATION TAKES PLACE AT THE ELEVATOR BETWEEN KDJ AND IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS; AND WHILE THE BULK OF THE ENTOURAGE IS STILL UNDER FORCEFUL RESTRAINT WITHIN THE EXIT RAMP;

- C. THE PHYSICAL SEPARATION OF CONGRESSMAN FOGLIETTA AND MR. WHITE FROM KDJ AT THE ELEVATOR, THE SHOVING OF KDJ INTO THE ELEVATOR, AND THE ATTEMPT BY SOME AMERICANS TO REJOIN KDJ;

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- D. THE DENCUEMENT, DURING WHICH ALL THE ENTCOURAGE
ARE CLEARED FROM THE EXIT RAMP AND THE UPSTAIRS AREA AND
FORCED ONTO THE ESCALATOR. THIS WAS THE ONLY EVENT
OBSERVED BY AN EMBOFF (QUINONES) WHO WAS AT THE FOOT OF
THE ESCALATOR, AND HE WAS ABLE TO SEE ONLY PART OF WHAT
WAS GOING ON.

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9. IT WOULD ALSO APPEAR THAT THE DEGREE OF FORCE
EMPLOYED INCREASED FROM THE INITIAL ENCCOUNTER WITHIN THE
RAMP, TO THE FINAL CLEARING OF THE AREA OF ALL PRESS AND
AMERICANS.

10. AS TO WHEN THE DECISION WAS REACHED BY THE SOUTH KOREA OFFICIAL IN CHARGE TO EMPLOY FORCEFUL MEANS, WE DO NOT KNOW AND MAY NEVER HAVE A DEFINITIVE ANSWER. THIS IS CRITICAL TO THE ISSUE WHO VIOLATED THE PRIOR ARRANGEMENT AND WHEN (ASSUMING THE EXISTENCE OF A PCR ARRANGEMENT, AS WE DO).

11. LEADERS OF THE ENTOURAGE MAINTAIN THAT THE ASSAULT WAS PRE-PLANNED "ALL ALONG" BY THE ROKG, DESIGNED TO INTIMIDATE KEJ AND THE AMERICANS, IF NOT WORSE. WE CERTAINLY DO NOT BELIEVE THIS WAS GOVERNMENT POLICY, BUT CANNOT KNOW WHAT MOTIVATED THE POLICE OFFICIAL IN CHARGE AT THE AIRPORT.

12. THE MOST LIKELY POSSIBILITY, IN OUR VIEW, IS THAT THE DECISION TO EMPLOY FORCEFUL MEASURES WAS MADE AFTER IT BECAME CLEAR THAT KDJ WOULD NOT COOPERATE WITH THE AUTHORITIES. IF WE ACCEPT THE ACCOUNT OF THE IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL WITH WHOM WE HAVE TWICE REVIEWED THESE EVENTS IN DETAIL, KDJ CLEARLY CONVEYED NON-COOPERATION ON THE AIRCRAFT. MR. SUNG'S ACCOUNT OF THE LANGUAGE KDJ EMPLOYED ALSO CONFIRMS THIS. (WE CAN ALSO ASSUME THE ROK OFFICIALS FULLY EXPECTED SUCH BEHAVIOR FROM HIM.) ONCE HAVING DETERMINED THAT KDJ WOULD NOT COOPERATE, THE POLICE OFFICER IN CHARGE MIGHT WELL HAVE REGARDED ANY PRE-PLANNED ARRANGEMENTS AS VOID AND THE REMAINING PROBLEM A PURELY TACTICAL ONE: TO GET KDJ AWAY FROM HIS ENTOURAGE AND HOME AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. ALAS, POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS--NOT TO MENTION PLAIN COMMON SENSE--WERE AT THAT POINT LOST TO VIEW, AND PUSHED TO SHOVE TO BLOWS.

13. THIS DOES NOT ACCOUNT FOR THE DECISION TO BAR EMPLOYEES FROM PLANESIDE ACCESS, WHICH WAS OBVIOUSLY TAKEN SOME TIME BEFORE NW 191 LANDED. THIS REMAINS A PUZZLE. THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL SECURITY GUARD COMMANDER, CHANG SE DONG (VETERAN OF KWANGU, CHUN CONFIDANT, AND NOW NEWLY-APPOINTED DIRECTOR OF NSP) PERSONALLY TOOK CHARGE AT THE AIRPORT AT THE LAST MINUTE, BUT WE ARE NOT CERTAIN. OUR BEST GUESS IS THAT HE DID, AND THAT THEREAFTER A MIXTURE OF KOREAN NATIONALISM, BUREAUCRATIC ASSERTIVENESS, POLICE ARROGANCE AND PLAIN STUPIDITY WERE AT WORK. WALKER
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