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Sport and Politics on the Korean Peninsula: North Korea and the 1988 Seoul Olympics

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**SPORT AND POLITICS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA:
NORTH KOREA AND THE 1988 SEOUL OLYMPICS
NKIDP E-DOSSIER**

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by **Sergey Radchenko**.*

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Introduction

Sport and Politics on the Korean Peninsula

Sergey Radchenko

ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1981, members of the International Olympic Committee, meeting in Baden-Baden, Germany, to select the host city of the 1988 Summer Olympics, unexpectedly voted (52 to 27) to award the Games to Seoul, upsetting the only other candidate, Nagoya. Plagued for some years by various problems, ranging from insolvency (Montreal, 1976) to boycott (Montreal, 1976 and Moscow, 1980), the Games were at the low ebb of their international popularity, which was one reason why the Baden-Baden decision drew only cursory attention of the international media. While socialist countries protested, few others, with the exception of South Korea, where the vote set off jubilant celebrations took notice—except perhaps for those who read as far as the H-section (World News) of *The Washington Post*, which cautiously commented on October 4: “South Korea’s successful bid to host the 1988 summer Olympics in Seoul appears to have moved the country’s leadership a step closer to goals of enhancing its image internationally and consolidating political power at home.”¹

In retrospect, the *Washington Post* piece was mildly put. But who could have made a better prediction? In 1981 South Korea suffered from economic woes and political instability. Less than two years earlier, General Chun Doo-hwan had seized power in a coup d’état, and soon presided over a massacre of student demonstrators in Gwangju and the imprisonment of the opposition activist Kim Dae-jung. South Korea, by then far more prosperous than its Communist nemesis in the north, was not a member of the United Nations, and had no diplomatic relations with the socialist bloc. It existed in a state of a permanent war-scare: armed yet insecure, menaced by the militant North and by restive domestic opponents of the undemocratic regime. Under these circumstances, it was anyone’s guess how the Games would turn out; after all, in 1981, the Olympics were still seven years away, and seven years was an eternity in a place as unsettled as the Korean Peninsula.

The issue came to the fore only after the Los Angeles Olympics of 1984, which were boycotted by the USSR and a number of socialist countries in revenge for the earlier Western boycott of the Soviet Olympics in 1980. With the Seoul Games up next, the North Korean leadership had to come up with a viable policy to make the best out of what could potentially turn out to be a public relations coup for South Korea. Soviet support was essential in this endeavor, because Moscow’s boycott (and, as a bonus, a boycott by most other socialist countries) would go a long way towards delegitimizing the Games. If the boycott was also supported by a number of Third World countries—not impossible, given that North Korea pulled

* Documents included in this NKIDP E-DOSSIER were obtained from the Archive of the International Olympic Committee, in Lausanne, Switzerland; the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), in Moscow, Russia; and the Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation (AGF) also in Moscow, Russia. Special thanks are also due to Professor Shin Jongdae and the University of North Korean Studies for their part in making this NKIDP E-DOSSIER possible. The editor would also like to recognize the assistance of Christian Ostermann, James Person, Laura Deal, Charles Kraus, Na Sil Heo, Esther Im, and Robert Laufer of the Woodrow Wilson Center and Sebastian Naranjo Rodriguez of the University of Nottingham Ningbo China.

¹ Tracy Dahlby, “Award of 1988 Olympics Boosts S. Korea’s Effort For Political Security,” *The Washington Post*, October 4, 1981, H2.

weight in the Third World—and if the radical sections of the South Korean populace could be mobilized to stage disruptive protests, Pyongyang could yet turn the tables on the South and win from the ruin of the Games. We do not know if this was how North Korean leader Kim Il Sung assessed the situation. If it was, it helps to explain why in 1983-84 Kim began to a rapprochement with the Soviets after keeping his distance from the USSR for more than a decade.

However, instead of calling for the outright boycott of the Seoul Games, the North Koreans developed a more sophisticated policy. By 1985 they were proposing to share the Games between North and South Korea, with 50 percent held in Seoul, and 50 percent in Pyongyang. This plan was met with enthusiastic support in Cuba. Indeed, Cuba was more consistent than any other country in backing Pyongyang's proposals. Documents in this collection help to understand why. Fidel Castro felt cheated out of the right to host the Pan-American Games in 1987 in place of Ecuador (Indianapolis was ultimately selected as the venue). Fidel's support for Kim Il Sung in the dispute over the Seoul Olympics thus complemented his own set of grievances about the state of the international Olympic movement (**Documents 1, 2, 35**). One way or another, Cuba's position was a problem for other socialist countries, not least the USSR, which was partly shamed by Castro into lukewarm support for North Korea (**Document 8**).

At the outset, Pyongyang's idea seemed reasonable, even inspirational. Korea was a divided nation. Shared Games could symbolically help overcome this division, improve security, and assure maximum participation. The Games could perhaps jump-start inter-Korean dialogue and serve the cause of détente on the peninsula. In calling for shared Games, North Korea placed the South in a difficult situation, for, by refusing to agree to Pyongyang's proposal, the South Koreans would expose themselves to criticism for intransigence, and to the possibility of a boycott. This begs the question: were the North Koreans from the outset determined to ruin the Games, and only sought a convenient pretext to do so, or were they genuinely interested in sharing the Games, and in doing so basking in Seoul's Olympic glory? Documents in this collection are unclear on this issue but they do suggest considerable flexibility in North Korea's tactics from 1985 through 1988. It may well have been that Kim Il Sung was open to both possibilities: ruining the Games or sharing the Games. In the end, he was outmaneuvered on both counts.

Document 5, a report by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Vice President Ashwini Kumar to North Korea in July 1985, offers a snapshot of the opening moves in what would develop into a complex multi-player, multi-level game, which led in due course to Pyongyang's spectacular defeat. The positions were clear and apparently irreconcilable. The IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch had set the parameters for talks with North Korea: "the Games cannot be split between the two countries." However, the North Koreans were told, "in the interest of peace and harmony, the IOC would agree to the two teams marching consecutively in the Opening Ceremony and perhaps also exhibit during the Games symbols of unity between the two Koreans in cultural activities such as singing, dance, drama and exhibitions." This position, Kumar reported, "did not impress Mr. Kim [head of the North Korean National Olympic Committee] and he pressed his own point in a very determined manner." This point was elaborated by the First Vice President of the DPRK Pak Seongcheol (Park Song Ch'ol) who told Kumar that North Korea could only attend the Games "with dignity" if three demands were

satisfied: the Olympics were organized jointly; the events were equally shared by the two sides, and the appellation of Games were changed to “Korea Pyongyang Seoul Olympic Games.”

In his conversation with Kumar, Pak resorted to implied and explicit threats should the North Korean demands be ignored: these included the prospect of an “accidental error that would have disastrous effects on the peaceful celebrations of the Games,” and allusions to “wide-spread violence and unrest in South Korea.” Pak “ominously declared that the course of events would definitely take a violent turn in case the situation was not diffused.” These of course were not empty threats and Kumar, as well as Samaranch, would have understood that North Korea had the capability to turn the Games into a bloodbath. Kumar concluded that the IOC should depart from the principled line laid down by Samaranch and at least entertain some concessions to North Korea if the South was agreeable, “as it is bound to be.” This would, Kumar wrote to Samaranch, “completely isolate North Korea if it later walks out on the Games.” As all of the three parties (North Korea, South Korea and the IOC) had reasons not to appear intransigent, trilateral talks began in Lausanne in October 1985.

Before the talks began, in late August 1985, Samaranch and the President of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (SLOOC), and the South Korean president-to-be, Roh Tae-woo, discussed how they should handle the North Koreans in Lausanne (**Document 9**). Their meetings were part of a closely coordinated effort to build up a common front against Pyongyang. In theory, the IOC posed as an impartial mediator in the dispute between the South and the North; in practice, the IOC and the SLOOC worked together to Pyongyang’s detriment. It is interesting, for example, that Samaranch actually discouraged Roh Tae-woo from offering too many concessions to North Korea, telling him that “in the case that the IOC pretends to ask the Republic of Korea to allow more than two sports to be held in north Korea, the Republic of Korea may make the gesture of refusing the IOC proposal.” Samaranch’s idea was spelled out in the same document with remarkable clarity: “It may be almost impossible for north Korea to agree to hold preliminary elimination contests for the proposed sports, as that would seem to make the city of Pyongyang one of the cities of the Republic of Korea.” But the IOC would make the proposal nonetheless, as this “may prove helpful in encouraging the socialist countries to participate... If the meeting bears no fruit, north Korea will be completely isolated.” In this context, Samaranch’s comments, at the IOC meeting in Lausanne on October 8, 1985 (**Document 13**), to the effect that the “IOC was trying to find the best conditions that could be offered by the NOC of the Republic of Korea under which the [DPRK] could fully participate in the Games” can be construed as disingenuous, and even deliberately misleading.

The first round of talks (**Document 13**) showed just how far the SLOOC/IOC and the North Korean positions were from each other. The DPRK delegation, “in the spirit of fervent compatriotic love,” insisted on being given the right to stage eleven events in full and on renaming the Games in line with Pak’s earlier explanations to Kumar. The ROK delegation stuck to the conservative proposals Samaranch had earlier elaborated to Roh Tae-woo, announcing its readiness “to consider” the allocation of several handball and volleyball preliminaries to the North. No agreement was reached on this occasion.

Documents 16-23, which partially cover the second round of talks in Lausanne (January 8-9, 1986), and the subsequent exchanges between the IOC and the North Korean Olympic Committee, should be read in conjunction with Richard Pound’s *Five Rings Over Korea*, which

was itself based, practically verbatim, on these documents.² But one issue neither these documents nor, indeed, Pound's account, adequately explains is how the IOC went from its humble offer of giving Pyongyang preliminaries in four sports plus one complete sport (a concession apparently wrestled away from South Korea at these very talks)³ to an apparent readiness to allow North Koreans to stage three complete events: football, table tennis and archery (**Document 21**). Some "informal" discussions to this effect were held on January 9 between North Korea and the IOC Vice President Alexandru Siperco, and Samaranch confirmed the offer in another informal meeting on January 15, with the reservations that the international sports federations concerned would have to agree to this first. All that was required from the North at that stage was to say "yes" to participation in the Games.

The North Koreans should have jumped at the chance to seal at least a rudimentary agreement with the IOC then and there, especially that Samaranch even went as far as to offer that, for those events held in Pyongyang, the Games could be called "24th Olympic Games in Pyongyang" (**Document 21**). Weeks earlier, the IOC would not even entertain this idea. This was North Korea's missed opportunity—one of several missed opportunities in the run-up to 1988—to make the best out of a very unfavorable situation. Instead, the North Koreans, displaying the self-defeating stubborn attitude so characteristic of DPRK diplomacy in general, continued to press for better terms, even though time was certainly not on their side. That said, they did retreat at the January 1986 talks from their initial maximalist demands, now asking for only eight sports—or a third of the Games. By March 1986 (**Document 23**), the North Koreans were asking for only six sports, and there is indirect evidence (**Document 25**) that they were willing to go as low as five by April. Yet, they were at a distinct disadvantage vis-à-vis the South and the IOC, the longer the talks were drawn out.

By April 1986 the South Koreans could say with greater confidence that a socialist boycott of the Games would be averted; by all indications—although by then no firm commitments had been made—the Soviet Union and China both intended to send athletes to the Seoul Games. Samaranch had long suspected that, at least in relation to the USSR, **Document 8** shows that during Samaranch's visit to Moscow in the summer of 1985—that is, before the talks with North Korea even began—the Soviets made it clear that "they are ready to take part in the Games" and "they are not worried regarding the position of North Korea." The IOC had shared these revelations with the South Koreans who, we must assume, were reassured by this information, which, incidentally, would have dissuaded the ROK from undue generosity in early talks with the North about sharing the Games.

A further indication that the USSR would not boycott the Games was that small groups of Soviet athletes actually visited Seoul on several occasions in 1985.⁴ In March, twelve Soviet figure skaters toured South Korea—reportedly on the first ever visit by Soviet athletes to this country.⁵ Another team came down for the World Judo Championships in September 1985: one

² Richard Pound, *Five Rings Over Korea: : The Secret Negotiations Behind the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1994), 120-158.

³ Pound, *Five Rings Over Korea*, 148.

⁴ For an in-depth account of the Soviet policy towards the Seoul Olympics and of Soviet-South Korean relations, see Sergey Radchenko, *Half a Leap Across An Abyss*, forthcoming book manuscript.

⁵ "Seoul Puts Foot Down for 1988 Olympics," *Daily Telegraph and Sunday Telegraph* (Sydney), April 19, 1985.

Soviet judoka, featherweight Iurii Sokolov, took gold.⁶ An archery team took part in the World Championships the following month—Irina Soldatova returned home with a champion's title.⁷ Soviet boxers were in Seoul for the World Cup in November 1985.⁸ Ranking international sports officials traveling on Soviet passports—Iurii Chesnokov of the International Volleyball Federation and Iurii Titov of the International Gymnastics Federation—stopped over in Seoul for various reasons and made positive comments about the Seoul Games, and the prospects of Soviet participation.⁹ Finally, in April 1986 Marat Gramov, the head of the Soviet Olympic Committee turned up in Seoul for a big meeting of National Olympic Committees, a sure sign that the USSR was leaning towards participation in the Games.¹⁰ In fact, we now know something that Samaranch could only suspect in early 1986: by January of that year, the Soviet leadership had concluded that, as Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze put it, “a boycott of the Olympic Games is unrealistic. It can bury the entire Olympic movement.”¹¹ Quite apart from that, as Shevardnadze would have known, such a boycott would bury Soviet hopes of hosting the 1996 Winter Olympics in Leningrad.¹²

It was also increasingly obvious that Kim Il Sung could not count on China's support. By June 1986 the Chinese announced their decision to participate in the Asian Games in Seoul (these took place later that year).¹³ The successful staging of the Asian Games became a promising indication that all would be well two years later. Even before that, in November 1985, Deng Xiaoping privately dispelled Kim's illusions that China would boycott the Olympic movement, because it was hoping to host the Games in 2000.¹⁴ The Chinese were privately exasperated with the North Korean intransigence and their failure to consult. As the top Chinese sports official Li Menghua put it in a serious understatement, “we have solidarity and friendship with [North] Korea. But our opinions often do not coincide.”¹⁵ For his part, the Great Leader probably vented his anger at the Chinese in talks with the Soviets: an internal Soviet report (dated December 10, 1985) noted that “the [North] Korean leadership is rightly furious with

⁶ “Roundup: Judo”, *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, September 30, 1985.

⁷ “Roundup: Archery”, *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, October 7, 1985.

⁸ “Roundup: Toronto Boxer Reaches Finals”, *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, November 6, 1985.

⁹ “Roundup: Olympics”, *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, May 7, 1985 and *Washington Post*, October 8, 1985.

¹⁰ Larry Siddons, “The Goodwill Games...”, *The Associated Press*, April 24, 1986.

¹¹ Conversation between M. Dugersuren and Eduard Shevardnadze, January 24, 1986, in Mongolian Foreign Ministry Archive, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia (hereafter MFMA): fond 2, dans 1, kh/n 504, khuu 142.

¹² The Soviets had expressed interest in the idea in the summer of 1985 but never submitted their bid officially. The 17th Winter Games were ultimately held in Lillehammer, Norway (and in 1994, not 1996, in accordance with the IOC decision to separate the Winter Games from the Summer Games).f

¹³ “China says it will take part in Seoul Asian Games,” *Japanese Economic Newswire*, June 30, 1986.

¹⁴ Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi, ed., *Deng Xiaoping Nianpu, 1975-1997* (Chronicle of Deng Xiaoping, 1975-1997), vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2004), 1097. Although the broader context of his conversation with Kim Il Sung is missing, it is not difficult to surmise that Deng's comments were a response to Kim's request to boycott the Seoul Olympics. An East German intelligence report dated July 15, 1985 already stated that China had promised (ostensibly through private channels) that it would take part in the Seoul Olympics. See Aussenpolitische Informationsubersicht, July 15, 1985. BStU: MfS – Hauptverwaltung Aufklaerung 56, s. 13. China's Olympic bid failed on that occasion and the Games went to Sydney in 2000.

¹⁵ Conversation between Juan Antonio Samaranch and Li Menghua, April 30, 1986, in International Olympic Committee Archive, Lausanne, Switzerland (hereafter IOC Archive), JAS/Voyages 1986, Paris, Portugal, Pekin etc., JAS Voyage Pekin 27/04-01/05/86.

Beijing, whose statements in support of the DPRK contradict its behind-the-scenes ties with Seoul.”¹⁶

The writing was on the wall—it certainly was for President Chun Doo-hwan. One of the most remarkable documents in the IOC collection is Samaranch’s memorandum of his meeting with Chun on April 19, 1986 (**Document 25**). In the meeting, Samaranch sought Chun’s agreement to the prospect of offering “two or three” sports to North Korea (this suggests that his earlier offer of three sports, including football, to the North, had not been coordinated with Seoul). Chun warned Samaranch not to be taken in by the North Korean threats.

It is true that [North] Korea has more arms than we have but they do not have the means to fight against us and the US forces based in my country. President Kim Il-Sung knows that he cannot attack us and I know it and he knows that I know it. Neither the USSR nor China will allow North Korea to attack South Korea. North Korea is not in a position to attack us. [...] The problem of the danger of war depends on whether the USSR is inclined to fight against the United States in my region. I can assure you that that country does not want war either. Without the support of these two countries, North Korea can do absolutely nothing and if it were to do something, that would be an act of self-destruction. If they want a fight, they would have it, but it would be suicide on their part.

This confidence on Chun’s part, based on realpolitik assumptions about what his rival in the North and its allies (China and the USSR) could and could not do in the broader context of the regional Cold War, hampered accommodation with Pyongyang. If Kim Il Sung, in reality, was a paper tiger, it was not necessary to bend over backwards to make concessions.

In another meeting with Samaranch, on April 25, 1986 (**Document 26**), Chun Doo Hwan elaborated his views of North Korea in a brutally frank matter, which betrayed no real propensity towards compromise solutions. “You must be very careful,” he said. “It is impossible to expect goodwill or cooperation on their part... if one gives one finger to North Korea, they will take the whole hand.” It is clear from the record that Chun was unhappy over what he increasingly perceived as Samaranch’s weak-kneed acquiescence to North Korean demands. However, both Chun and Samaranch appeared to be on the same page in terms of their overall aims. Indeed, following Chun’s agreement to share two sports with North Korea, the IOC President said that he found that it was “a very good solution, because it leaves North Korea with the responsibility of saying no.” He went on to elaborate the ploy: “It is difficult for me to think that North Korea can open its borders to more than ten thousand journalists and to all the members of the Olympic family.” Chun concurred in the assessment, telling Samaranch that he only acceded to his request “so that I [Samaranch] can demonstrate to the socialist countries that I have been able to obtain a positive result from South Korea.”

The North Koreans were playing an equally sophisticated game. Before the third round of talks in Lausanne that June, they sought Soviet support. Kim Il Sung dispatched a leading functionary of the Korean Worker’s Party, Hwang Jang-yeop (who would later defect to Seoul), to persuade the Soviets to back Pyongyang’s demands. **Document 27**, a memorandum of

¹⁶ Cited in Natalia Bazhanova, “North Korea and Seoul-Moscow Relations,” in *Korea and Russia: Towards the 21st Century*, ed. Il Yung Chung (Seoul: Sejong Institute, 1992), 327.

Hwang's conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev's close confidant and CC CPSU Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev, offers a rare glimpse into the dynamics of North Korea's relationship with one of its main allies. Hwang hoped that the Soviet Union would issue a public statement: "the Soviet comrades could, for instance, declare that if the proposal of the DPRK about joint organization of the Games were not accepted, the Olympic Movement would face a dangerous crisis, that the South Korean side must shoulder full responsibility for the separatist holding of the Olympic Games in Seoul."

Hwang's comments suggest two possibilities, both of which have already been alluded to above. First, the North Koreans really did want to participate in the Games, and counted on the Soviet help in bringing pressure to bear on the IOC and South Korea. Or, the North Korean appeal could have been a tactical trick to lure the Soviets into making an unconditional commitment to Pyongyang so that the latter could make unreasonable demands on the IOC and ruin the talks in the expectation of a Soviet boycott. Such line of reasoning is suggested by Hwang's allusions to the imperative of "ruining the enemy's ploy to organize Olympics in Seoul." On the other hand, there is also evidence for the opposite point of view—that the North Koreans wanted to participate. Indeed, Hwang told Yakovlev that "we do not strive to ruin the 24th Olympic Games and our demands are quite timid." He added: "We would like to hold competitions in Pyongyang in 3-4 sports."

Hwang's last comment is particularly interesting, because as late as April, the North Koreans apparently insisted on a minimum of five sports (**Document 25**). Samaranch had earlier offered them three sports, so, at the face of it, the two sides were very close to an agreement, that is, if Hwang Jang-yeop actually meant what he said. It seems more likely (in view of subsequent developments) that he simply meant to impress Yakovlev with Pyongyang's supposedly reasonable stand in order to extract that much needed commitment from the USSR. On this point, Yakovlev was not forthcoming. He told Hwang outright that there was no question of the Soviet Union boycotting the Games. The only thing that the North Koreans managed to obtain from the Soviet comrades was a general expression of support in the form of a letter from the head of the Soviet National Olympic Committee, Marat Gramov, to Samaranch on June 5, 1986: "I am not fully familiar with the details of the talks between the National Olympic Committees of the DPRK and South Korea under the auspices of the IOC... but I firmly believe that the conduct of the Games in the North and in the South is possible."¹⁷ This was far short of what the North Koreans had expected, and if this was what Samaranch called, on June 11, "great pressure from the NOCs of socialist countries" (**Document 28**), then one should say he seriously exaggerated.

If the pressure was that great, Samaranch would have not done what he did during the third round of talks in Lausanne, on June 10-11, 1986 (**Document 28**), when he apparently went back on the earlier informal offer to the North Koreans. Specifically, rather than allowing the North to host the entire football tournament, Samaranch said he would be willing to let them have only "a part" of it (this came in addition to two full sports – table tennis and archery). The North Koreans noticed the discrepancy: "Mr. Chin [of the DPRK] insisted that his NOC wished to hold the entire football tournament commenting that it had been his Committee's understanding that the IOC would grant it the right to do so." In response, Samaranch said that "he had never stated that the NOC of the DPR of Korea would be able to hold the entire football

¹⁷ Letter from Marat Gramov to Juan Antonio Samaranch, June 6, 1986, in IOC Archive, URSS, sommet Reagan-Gorbachev 1986-1986-1987.

tournament.” (**Document 14** suggests that Samaranch was not entirely truthful on this score; however, by this stage, the South Koreans had dug in their heels, and Samaranch would have been hard-pressed to get them to agree even to share even a fraction of the football tournament.)

The North Koreans who had come to Lausanne with the proposal to host six sports—a non-starter at this stage, and a far cry from Hwang’s earlier reference to three to four sports — appeared to have realized half way through the talks that they had to make concessions. In what appeared to be a trial balloon, the head of the North Korean NOC, Kim Yu-sun, suddenly said that if the IOC could agree that Pyongyang have its own organizing committee for the sports it hosted, and if the events in Pyongyang were called “the 24th Olympic Games in Pyongyang” (something the IOC had already informally approved), “the issue of the events could be settled.” Was this North Korea actually agreeing, in formal talks, to the IOC proposal? This was how Samaranch interpreted Kim’s remarks:

The President believed the NOC had confirmed the IOC’s offer regarding the sports to be staged in the DPR of Korea provided the IOC agreed to the denomination “Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Pyongyang,” to the setting of a separate Organizing Committee in Pyongyang [...].

Kim evaded the question. Samaranch pressed the point.

The President had understood from what Mr. Kim had previously stated that if the IOC agreed to support the suggestion by the NOC of DPR of Korea to call those sports and events held in the DPR of Korea “Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Pyongyang” and to set up a separate [Organizing Committee], the NOC would be ready to accept the IOC’s offer.

This was the moment of truth. With tensions running high, “Mr. Kim requested time for his delegation to meet alone.” After ten minutes, the meeting resumed but, alas:

Mr. Kim stressed that at previous meeting the IOC had stated that it would give the NOC three full sports to organize. However, at the current meeting, the IOC was proposing two full sports only. Mr. Kim underlined that his NOC required further time to study the proposal regarding sports and events both seriously and carefully.

This was the turning point in the talks. This was the opportunity for the North Koreans to get an agreement with the IOC: they would get two full sports, they would share some competitions with the South (possibly football, and certainly cycling), they would get their own organizing committee, and they could actually claim to be holding Olympic Games in Pyongyang. Certainly, Kim Yu-sun realized that the offer just made was much better than nothing at all. But he evidently lacked the authority, or simply the guts, to make a firm commitment. He did not want to make that call, and the opportunity was missed. This was also a missed opportunity for the IOC, for it may well have been that if Samaranch had offered three full sports, he could have reached an agreement with Kim Yu-sun. He could then sell that agreement to the South Koreans who would have been hard-pressed to refuse. Samaranch, however, needed talks more than he needed an agreement with North Korea. We can only guess at what the North Koreans wanted to accomplish.

Having failed to come to an agreement at the third round of talks, the North Koreans continued to lobby their allies to put pressure on the IOC. Kim Il Sung personally appealed to Gorbachev when he came to Moscow in October 1986 to support North Korea's bid to host a third of the Games. He was disappointed with the Soviet leader's response: "I will tell you frankly that the issue is in the principle, and not in the arithmetic."¹⁸ Gorbachev explained his position to his East European allies on November 11: "I told comrade Kim Il Sung that it is not a matter of arithmetic here but of the political aspect. If they [the Games] are [held] both there [in the North] and there [in the South], then it means they are held in Korea. But he, in truth, was saying that because one third of the population is in North Korea, then one third of the Games should be. I think this is already arithmetic" (**Document 31**)

Gorbachev went on to elaborate why he could not support Kim Il Sung's demands. "This [the Olympics] is a huge channel for cooperation, for influencing in the needed direction... And if we took this road [the road of boycott], we would do injury to ourselves, to our policy. Therefore, this is the interconnectedness of these elements" (**Document 31**). This last point shows very clearly the line of Gorbachev's reasoning. It was not just that an Olympic boycott would undermine Moscow's interests in the athletic sphere, and severely handicap Soviet efforts to host Olympics in the future. This was only a part of the problem. Gorbachev, however, realized that sports and politics were mutually intertwined, and that by associating the USSR with Pyongyang's intransigent attitude he could sabotage his own broader foreign policy goals, or the so called Soviet "peace offensive," globally, and in the Asia Pacific region. Gorbachev would have none of that. He claimed that Kim Il Sung "met this with understanding... But he hopes for our firm position and I promised that we will have a meeting, I promised him that we will talk about it" (**Document 31**) They never did meet again.

In the meantime, the East Europeans were getting the idea. Seeing where the wind was blowing, East Germany's Erich Honecker, Kim Il Sung's "brother and best friend," told Samaranch after meeting with Gorbachev that his country's athletes "were preparing for the 1988 Olympic Games at Seoul."¹⁹ The Czechs and the Hungarians signaled their readiness to participate in the Olympics and provided their flags and anthem recordings to the IOC. The North Koreans were increasingly anxious. In April 1987 socialist ambassadors (other than China's and Cuba's) were summoned to the Foreign Ministry in Pyongyang, and delivered a lecture about how their countries' undue eagerness in the Olympic matters hindered the progress of talks at Lausanne, because, seeing the attitude of the Eastern Europeans, "the other side [the South Koreans] has shifted to a tougher position."²⁰

In May, Kim Il Sung went to China in a desperate effort to get his other ally to boycott the Seoul games, while also urging China to stem the tide of business ties with South Korea. He was told, though, that business ties would continue— "there is no way to stop or control this" — and that China had also firmly decided to participate in the Olympic Games, although "we will not hurry to announce this." The reason for Beijing's attitude, Kim Il Sung learned to his dismay,

¹⁸ Vadim Medvedev, *Raspad: Kak on Nazreval v Mirovoi Sisteme Sotsializma* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia, 1994), 326

¹⁹ "Erich Honecker, East Germany's Communist Party chief and head of state..." *The Associated Press*, November 14, 1986.

²⁰ Cable from the Mongolian Embassy in Pyongyang to the Mongolian Foreign Ministry (April 29, 1987), in MFMA: fond 3, dans 1, kh/n 178 (irsén shifr medeenii no. 61).

was that South Korea was doing exceptionally well economically. “We have to try to become closer to them. The people will follow where life is better.” We do not know whether those were exactly the terms used in the talks with Kim Il Sung, but this was how the Chinese ambassador in Pyongyang described the encounter in his conversations with fellow diplomats. No doubt, being told off like this was a huge blow to the “Great Leader.”²¹

There is a relative paucity of evidence, in this collection and elsewhere, concerning North Korea’s policy making in the second half of 1986 and the first half of 1987. However, one may speculate that there was internal policy deliberation, in which the more uncompromising line won the day. This conclusion is suggested, in part, by **Document 32**, a record of the fourth and final round of talks in Lausanne on July 14-15, 1987, when the North Koreans adopted a completely unrealistic attitude, asking for eight full sports (this was a serious step back from their earlier offers). The DPRK delegation persisted in its demands even as Samaranch, in a gesture of belated generosity, offered the North four full sports (though not football). The North Koreans’ failure to agree to this offer is one clear indication that they no longer had any realistic expectation to actually host the Games; by now, they were simply posturing, likely for the benefit of all potential supporters of a boycott, of which by then there were very few indeed.

Document 38, Samaranch’s record of his meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Madrid on January 20, 1988, shows that the Soviets were not fully aware that Pyongyang’s attitude had already hardened. Having learned of the details of the IOC offer to the North (probably, four full sports, as discussed in the fourth round of talks), Shevardnadze optimistically declared that this offer was “in fact extremely close to what the president of the DPR Korea, Mr. Kim Il Sung, had told Mr. Gorbachev when he visited Moscow” and promised to get back with Samaranch “soon,” presumably after discussing the issue with the North Koreans. We do not know what Samaranch made of Shevardnadze’s sudden approach, which opened up the possibility that an agreement may be reached at the last moment. As it happened, nothing came out of the Soviet mediation effort.

Indeed, after the fourth round of talks, Pyongyang appears to have pinned its hopes on public disturbances in South Korea (there were, to be sure, massive protests in the run-up to the December 1987 Presidential elections), and on outright acts of terrorism, such as the bombing of the Korean Air flight 858 by DPRK agents on November 29, 1987. Evidently, the North Korean hardliners (which, by some accounts, numbered Kim Jong-il in their ranks) opted for blatant sabotage of the Seoul Games, instead of a negotiated compromise a la Lausanne. At the IOC, Samaranch continued to receive threatening letters (e.g. **Document 41**, **Document 60**) suggesting that things may yet take a turn for the worse in the months before the Games. “If IOC ignored the warning and opens the Olympic,” read a letter from “Mudungsan Death-Defying Corps,” “it should take the entire responsibility for the consequences incurred... We are death-defying corps ready for death.” Information that trickled down to the IOC from various sources in the intelligence community (e.g. **Document 50**) confirmed that threats such as these could not be taken lightly.

Samaranch was very worried by the prospect of some horrific scenario unfolding in South Korea in the run-up or, worse, during the Games. He kept the lines open to Pyongyang,

²¹ Cable from the Mongolian Embassy in Pyongyang to the Mongolian Foreign Ministry (June 6, 1987), in MFMA: fond 3, dans 1, kh/n 178 (irsen shifr medeenii no. 80).

exchanging fairly meaningless letters with the North Korean NOC (**Documents 42-47, 51-52**), and even, at the eleventh hour (after the North had already refused to take part in the Games), proposing that the two delegations march together at the opening and closing ceremonies in Seoul in order to “show in the most striking way that [the youth of Korea] belongs to one and the same nation, and to demonstrate its strong desire for dialogue and reconciliation” (**Document 57**). He also worked hard to keep the South Koreans from doing something excessively provocative.

For example, on January 21, 1988 Samaranch sent a letter to Roh Tae-woo, who was days from his inauguration as the South Korean President, asking him to cancel the joint US-South Korean military exercise, “Team Spirit 88,” as a “gesture of goodwill and demonstration of your sincere desire for Peace” (**Document 37**). This appeal fell on deaf ears. On June 30, Samaranch forwarded Roh Tae-woo a proposal by the IOC advisor Samuel Pissar (**Document 48**), which called for an “imaginative act of statesmanship a la Sadat” by Roh, which would cut through the Gordian knot of disagreements. “I believe,” wrote Pissar, “that if Sadat and Begin could develop a momentary dialogue leading to a truce, and eventually peace over the Sinai, Roh and Kim Il Sung could do something similar at least as regards the games, if not the reunification.” This appeal, too, had no particular affect. In his very belated reply on July 20 (**Document 53**), Roh criticized Pissar’s report as “a departure from the fundamental position of the International Olympic Committee.”

Roh was no Sadat. Pissar put his finger on the problem when he wrote in the report: “The current South Korean mentality appears to be cast in marble: ‘let’s humiliate the North with a highly successful Olympics in the South, then we will be able to negotiate from strength.’” This, however, was Seoul’s “mentality” from day one after the Baden-Baden decision. The South Korean policy makers held a fairly cavalier attitude towards the North from the beginning, and were likely lured into the talks at Lausanne only by the possibility of a socialist boycott of the Games. By 1988 this possibility was not seriously entertained. There remained only one other possibility: that Kim Il Sung would strike across the border. But Roh likely shared Chun Doo-hwan’s sentiment on this score: he won’t. I know it. And he knows that I know it. If Sadat took this sort of attitude to Camp David, he never would have reached any agreement with Israel. But North Korea was no Israel. When at last the Games opened in Seoul, there were no nasty surprises. There were more disturbances from debauching American athletes than from “death defying corps.”²² Kim Il Sung preferred to sit tight and weather it out. So, perhaps, Chun and Roh were not far off the mark?

Seoul was locked in a competition with Pyongyang for prestige and international recognition, and this competition was itself a chapter in the Cold War. The grand finale of this chapter was the Seoul Olympiad, so we should not be surprised, perhaps, that Roh was in no mood to settle for anything but a complete triumph. The South Koreans were playing for huge stakes. Roh and Chun would not be intimidated by threats from the “death defying corps,” or even acts of terrorism. In retrospect, it is tempting to conclude that the Blue House indulged in impermissible recklessness. One wonders, for instance, whether, if the South Koreans were more accommodating in 1986, a suitable agreement could have been reached at Lausanne, thus dissuading the North Korean hardliners from engaging in terrorism, which, in the case of KAL

²² E.g. see “Charges Dropped Against Two US Swimmers Accused of Theft,” *The Oregonian*, October 1, 1988.

858, for instance, cost more than 100, mostly South Korean, lives. It is hard to know what shall pass and, who knows, even if Chun and Roh had a crystal ball, perhaps they would have still preferred to have a complete triumph in Seoul to an accommodation with the North. At least, in the short term.

In the longer term, the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul represented a major missed opportunity. We know what happened: the Games were a huge success. They marked a high point in South Korea's quest for acclaim and prestige. They precipitated diplomatic recognition of South Korea by the socialist bloc. In short, just as Pissar predicted, they resulted in Pyongyang's humiliation and isolation. Left to lick their wounds, practically abandoned by their allies, and unable to negotiate with South Korea on anything approaching equal terms, the North Koreans sought assurance of survival in strengthening the role of the military, and in pursuing the nuclear deterrent. The expectation, so prevalent in 1989 and immediately thereafter, that the North Korean regime would fold any time, proved overly optimistic in retrospect. North Korea is still there, unstable, threatening, and nuclear-armed more than twenty years after the long-forgotten triumph of the Seoul Olympics. Few dared to imagine this in 1988, but the Games were a fork in the road for the Korean peninsula. It is said that participation is more important than winning. Not so for South Korea in 1988. Triumph proved to be much, much more important than accommodation with the North.

Quite apart from the South Korean policy, the United States also preferred blatant pressure to accommodation. No one was in a better position than the Reagan Administration to encourage a more compromising attitude on Seoul's part. But if Roh was no Sadat, neither Reagan—nor, especially, Bush—had Carter's foresight. Instead of using the Games as an opportunity for reaching an agreement between the North and the South, Washington gave a blank check to Seoul to press as hard as it deemed fit, and if the North Koreans did something stupid—well, they would have it—as Chun confided to Samaranch. It is interesting that in the late 1980s, low-level talks were conducted between the US and North Korean diplomats in Beijing to feel the ground for improved relations. These talks, very much appreciated in Pyongyang, were never taken seriously in Washington, where anticipation of the regime collapse blunted imaginative policy-making. Seoul 1988 was a triumph for the United States, as it was a triumph for South Korea – but only in the short term.

History, it is said, is a map to the present. If the 24th Olympic Games in Seoul offer a lesson to the present-day, it is that one should try to avoid humiliating one's opponent. It may be overly optimistic to suppose that, if North Korea were allowed to host a part of the Games in 1988, and if it opened its borders to the Olympic family for just the few days while the Games were on, a political breakthrough would necessarily follow. But it may well have been possible to avoid the kind of militant isolation that North Korea found itself in after its sound defeat at the hands of the South. Engagement is a stage-by-stage process, and engagement with North Korea in 1988 could have paved way for even deeper engagement in the years that followed. Instead, what followed for North Korea was a nuclear crisis, international isolation, and a devastating famine. The letter of the 1981 Baden-Baden decision was observed, but not, it would seem, the spirit. Now that the 2018 Olympic Games had been awarded to South Korean Pyeongchang, the lessons of the 1988 will be hard to ignore.



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DOCUMENT No. 1

Letter from Fidel Castro to the President of the International Olympic Committee Juan Antonio Samaranch

29 November 1984

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88 / POLITICAL MATTERS DE 1982 A MAI 1986. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Sebastian Naranjo Rodriguez.]

Havana City, 29th of November 1984

Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch
IOC President
Lausanne, Switzerland

Esteemed señor Samaranch,

You know my interest in the development of sports. It is because of this that I dare write these lines.

As you may already know, our country, in the lapse of these 25 years, has proportionally [to the rest of the world] done the most for sports. [We] have worked to achieve massive sport participation in schools and in social [life], where all of our people have the right to participate; the professional sport has disappeared, the entrances to the sporting events are free, and practically every year, we celebrate one school Olympiad, where all who possess the aptitude have the opportunity to compete.

As far as international events are concerned, in spite of our scarce economic resources, we are present, and fraternally provide solidary help in sports to any country that requests it.

The effort and results obtained by our athletes, trainers and managers have led us to reach an outstanding position in Central American sports, Pan-American and worldwide, as well as to occupy important positions in numerous international sport federations and organizations.

With the authority that our efforts grant us, as faithful defenders of the amateur sports and the Olympic principles, and corresponding to the wish and interests of our people in celebrating the Pan-American games, which constitute a beautiful tradition of strengthening ties of friendship and fraternity among the athletes of this hemisphere, [we've] aspired in past years to be granted the status of the host country of the games, after Ecuador, based on the superior right of not having the previous opportunity of celebrating them, and because by that time no other country had requested them.

Since 1982, from the inauguration of the IX Games of Central America and the Caribbean, in your presence, we requested the President of the PASO, Mr. Mario Vázquez Raña, that if there was abandonment by the host country of the X Pan-American games, Havana City should be in the position of organizing [the X Pan-American games] and providing all the support to such an event. On occasion of the IX Pan-American Games in Caracas, in 1983, the Olympic Committee

of Ecuador was not able to present the governmental documentation and so a new date was decided, at the same time that a PASO meeting was summoned in Havana.

On that occasion again, when the Cuban Olympic Committee declared that it was not going to the XXIII Olympic games in Los Angeles for elemental solidarity with the socialist countries which had for many years helped us extraordinarily with the development of sports, and without any accountability for the problem that arose in Los Angeles, the President of the PASO, in a surprising manner, canceled the celebration of the meeting summoned for the days 8, 9 and 10 of June in Havana, where our country was to be considered [for the right to be] the host of the 1987 Games in case Ecuador, whose term ended in a few days, were not be able to celebrate them [the Games]. He alleged that with the present confusing situation it was not convenient to realize them in Havana, when, until that moment, the confirmation of attendance was counted upon, with flight number, date and arrival time of the representatives of 26 countries.

Evidence exists to confirm that, since that period, a new compromise unknown to us has been established. That is confirmed by the consultation that señor Vázquez Raña had with the majority of the members of the PASO Executive, without the knowledge of Manuel González Guerra -- from Cuba -- and of Sabino Hernández -- from Ecuador -- to travel to the city of Indianapolis; by letters of the government of [the state of] Indiana, on the 1st of June, and the mayor of Indianapolis, dated 3rd of June, in which [they] requested to host the X Games. This unknown compromise was ratified during Mario Vázquez Raña's visit to Indianapolis, on the 19th of October, the date when [he] received the letter of request from president Ronald Reagan.

On the other hand, the United States had celebrated the Pan-Americans in Chicago in 1959; under the same flag the games were held in Puerto Rico in 1979; for the second time, in 1983 [sic], [the United States] hosted of the Olympic Games; in 1988 these games will be celebrated in Seoul under the benevolent protection of the troops and bases of the United States, and now in addition, in spite of the sabotage of the Games held in Moscow and the fact the Olympics were held in their territory, they were granted [the right to be] the alternative host in the Pan-American games of 1987, under the supposed and almost assured [fact] that Ecuador, due to a lack of economic resources, will not be able to celebrate [the games].

Cuba was almost stripped of its aspirations of [being] the alternate host during the Executive reunion of the PASO celebrated in Mexico City. In this meeting, in spite of granting Ecuador a new deadline until the 15th of December, which violated point 61 of Article 16 of the PASO Statutes, which state: "if the designated host does not abide by its commitments, the Executive Committee has the power to limit the host from the realization [of the games], trying, to the extent possible, to respect the zone that has the right [of hosting the games]". There was no reason to submit a new host to a vote when a new deadline had been granted. What factors influenced this decision of rapid and illegal [violation] of the Statutes? To favor the granting of the host [right] to Indianapolis, for the first time in the history of PASO, a consensus was abandoned and it came to the sinuous procedure of the rigged vote, doubtful and secret, whose only referee was señor Vázquez Raña, whose previous, dark manners and compromises with Indianapolis were known. With this action, the true spirit of the Olympics has disappeared from the Pan-American context and it has been shown that substantial financial resources and the political pressures from the United States decide where they can and where they can't effectuate competitions of this sort.

I consider that in these circumstances, the only alternative, if the honor and prestige of the Olympics in this hemisphere are to be saved, is, with the economic and technical resources that the international Olympic movement can muster, to support Ecuador which has time until the following 15th of December for official acceptance, and whose Olympic committee continues to make admirable and almost heroic efforts to hold the Games, if they are able to obtain the minimal [amount] of indispensable resources, which are the only obstacle to them taking place. There is no other possible solution, if damage is to be avoided in confidence, unity and development of the sphere of sports in this hemisphere.

In the past few years, the Olympic Games, as a result of the profits earned through the television, publicity and other factors, have been penetrated by elements unknown to sports. For this reason the Games in Los Angeles were called "The Dollar Games."

The purest principles of the Olympics are violated and insulted when we lend these acts with the spirit and the letter of the Olympic Charter, which textually expresses:

"The Olympic Games are not for profit. No one is permitted to profit from the Olympic Games. If it were not for the voluntary service given by thousands of men and women who are members of the IOC, the IFs, the NOCs and the national federations, there would be no Olympic Games. It would be impossible to pay for these services, which are so gladly contributed by those who believe in amateur sport. The Games rest on this splendid and solid foundation and all are determined that neither individuals, organizations or nations shall be permitted to profit from them, politically or commercially. That is why the Olympic Rules provide that all profits, if any, from the Olympic Games must be paid to the International Olympic Committee and be used for the promotion of the Olympic Movement or the development of amateur sport."

We wonder: "What has happened to the fabulous earnings of the XXIII Olympic Games held in Los Angeles?" The diversion of these resources to other purposes is a flagrant violation of the spirit and the principles of the Olympic Charter. For the next games, absurd schedules for the competitions have been spoken about, for the convenience and the big offers of North American television. The mercantilist conception corrupts and completely diverts the essence of the Olympic [spirit]. Besides, due to this change, poor and underdeveloped countries will never have the possibility of hosting sporting events of this nature.

With respect to the aforesaid, we estimate that when the XXIV Games were granted to Seoul, the best host was not chosen. The Korean nation's territory has been artificially and arbitrarily divided into two parts. Not long ago a bloody war took place that caused the complete destruction of North Korea and the loss of hundreds of thousands of its children. In addition, many Chinese combatants died in the struggle against the invaders of the North Korean territory. In this war South Koreans, North Americans and citizens of many other nations also died. The South is practically occupied by troops and [military] bases of the United States. Its local government is not a precise example of respect of the liberties and the social and human rights of its people. These facts are known and remembered by the world, they will continue to influence socialist States, and the Non Aligned and third world countries will especially take them into account.

The blood spilled in Korea is still fresh in the memory of humanity.

The Olympic games in Seoul, in the way they are conceived, do not contribute to the unity of the Korean nation, they do not help heal the wounds of the war, [they] do not really promote peace, the harmony, the cooperation and the friendship between the people. And of course, the Olympic movement will not gain the prestige, the strength and the unity that is really needed after the recent and recurring crises. I even doubt they will be able to bear much more.

I nevertheless believe that the ultimate and maybe irreversible crisis can still be avoided, which in my opinion, in all sincerity and friendship, is in sight. That might be achieved with the brave decision, constructive and wise, of sharing in equal parts or in approximately equal, depending on the possibilities and interests of both parts of Korea, of the Olympic Games of 1988. I speak, of course, from a purely personal perspective; I don't know what the leaders of both territories of Korea and the rest of the countries think, but at this point I don't see any other possibility of saving with honor the next Games.

For all of these reasons, esteemed Samaranch, I think that we are at a crucial moment for the worldwide sports movement. The decisions that are taken must be clear and well thought out.

We understand that it is indispensable to resolve the problems that arose in recent times; we firmly believe in the necessity of finding fair and equitable solutions that preserve the worldwide sports movement from the penetration of factors beyond the sports which deform, violate and corrupt the Olympic principles, as the only way to maintain the elevated and noble objectives of the Olympics.

With the same sincerity and openness that I expose these worries and ideas, I wish to express my conviction that your wise and prudent direction, which is based in a profound and uninterested love for the sport, could decisively contribute to defeat these difficulties. Count on it with the sincere and loyal cooperation of Cuba.

I intend to equally transmit the worries and ideas contained in this letter to the rest of the leaders of the Olympic movement and make it public.

Friendly,

(signature)
Fidel Castro Ruz



DOCUMENT No. 2

Letter from IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch to Fidel Castro
4 December 1984

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88 / POLITICAL MATTERS DE 1982 A MAI 1986. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Sebastian Naranjo Rodriguez.]

Mr. Fidel CASTRO RUZ
President of the State Council
and the Government
The Government Palace

Havana City/ Cuba

Lausanne, 4th of December 1984
Ref. No. 13151 /34

Esteemed Mr. President,

I replied to the letter of the 29th of November and I want to thank you, in the first place, for your repeated and well-known interest in sports.

I deeply regret the problem that emerged with respect to the attribution of the hosting of the Pan-American games of 1987. This is a decision in which the international Olympic Committee, which I have the honor of presiding, cannot and should not assume any responsibility -- scrupulously respecting the independence and autonomy of the sport organization, in this case PASO. Our position with respect to the Pan-American games is to give our sponsorship and seek to help in the [one word unreadable] of our efforts. I sincerely lament what is occurring, which could present a fissure in the unity that should prevail above everything among the members of the American sports.

You refer to the games celebrated last summer in the city of Los Angeles. We did everything possible -- and you well know -- to have all the National Olympic Committees present. It could not be made this way and one of the absences that most affected us was of the athletes from your country; the Cuban athletes, who have shown again and again, in the past years, what a small country can achieve, if its leaders become interested in the development of sports. In spite of the difficulties, we were able to count the participation of 140 National Olympic Committees. The important economic result of the games you cite must be dedicated, in its integrity, to the development of sports in the U.S.A. following the contract the IOC signed in 1979.

With respect to the 1988 games in Seoul, I sincerely thank you for your advice and I can assure you that the IOC is willing to chair a meeting with the two different parts of Korea, as long as both voluntarily agree to assist with the compromise that they will not, at any given moment, address political issues. With respect to the schedules for the sporting events, rest

assured that we will respect, at all moment, the advice of the International Federations, which are the ones that ensure, above everything, the interests of the participating athletes.

I very fondly remember my trips to Cuba, the attention that you, Mr. President, had given me and the joy that I was able to share with my friend José Ramón Fernández, the Olympic Order.

With my best wishes for the sport of your country, affectionate regards,

Juan Antonio Samaranch
IOC President



DOCUMENT No. 3

**Letter from the President of the British Committee for Supporting Korea's Reunification
to the President of International Olympic Committee**

6 January 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88 / BOYCOTT-CIO POUR- CONTREOFFICIEL 1985-86-87-88. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR SUPPORTING KOREA'S REUNIFICATION

17 Azalea Avenue, Swanwick, Derbyshire DE55 1RN, England
Telephone: Leabrooks (0773) 605781

General Secretary: Granville V. Stone
Literature Secretary: Esme Stone

President: William Wilson, D.L.
Vice Presidents: Revd. B. Fielding-Clarke, M.A.,
B.D., John Newell, Dafydd E. Thomas, M.P.,
Hugh McCartney, M.P., Bob Parry, M.P.,
John Maynard, M.P., Stan Newens, M.E.P.

Monsieur Samaranch,
President du Comité Olympique International,
Chateau de Vidi,
CH 1007 Lausanne,
Suisse,

January 6, 1985,


Dear sir,


We would like to appeal to you to consider the re-sitting of the 1988 Olympic Games from Seoul to a more suitable place.

The authorities in Seoul intend to use the Games to further their aim of the complete division of Korea, against the ideals of the Olympiad they will make political capital from the Games. Korea is on the verge of war as a result of the actions of these people who are persecuting their own people at this very moment!

Many other nations are prepared to host the Olympic Games and we hope sincerely that you will choose one of these.

Yours Sincerely,


Granville V. Stone (Secretary)


William Wilson D.L., (President).

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 4

Note from the President of International Olympic Committee to the President of the British Committee for Supporting Korea's Reunification

30 January 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88 / BOYCOTT-CIO POUR- CONTREOFFICIEL 1985-86-87-88. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

Mr. William Wilson D.L.,
President,
British Committee for Supporting
Korea's Reunification,
17 Azalea Avenue,

SWANWICK Derbyshire DE55 1RN /
England

Lausanne, 30th January 1985
Ref No. 1251 / 85 / sjg

Re : Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul

Dear Mr. Wilson

May I acknowledge with thanks your letter of 6th January 1985.

Your comments regarding the staging of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul have been duly noted.

Yours sincerely,

Juan Antonio SAMARANCH



DOCUMENT No. 5

Report by IOC Vice President Ashwini Kumar on his Trip to North Korea

16 July 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88/ IERE REUNION DES 2 COREES (EQUIPE UNIFIE) 1985; SEOUL 88/ JOINT TEAM (+JOINT MEETING, LAUSANNE/ 8-9 Oct. 85) (IRE REUNION DES 2 COREES). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

REPORT BY MR. ASHWINI KUMAR, IOC VICE PRESIDENT, ON HIS TRIP TO NORTH KOREA

On 6th June 1985 at the conclusion of the 1985 IOC Session in Berlin, a meeting was arranged by the President, H.E. Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch, with the North Korean representative, Mr. Yu Sun Kim, Mr. Siperco and myself. In this meeting, North Korea was requested to attend a joint meeting with South Korea which was to be arranged by the IOC and would discuss the participation of the NOC of North Korea in the 1988 Seoul Games. Mr. Kim agreed in the Berlin meeting to discuss this matter with his NOC in Pyongyang as well as with his Party, following which he would let us know of the reactions of such a meeting. Accordingly, he sent a telex to the President on 8th July stating that in principle his NOC had agreed to such a joint meeting initiated by the IOC. Further, he informed the President that he would welcome Mr. Kumar, Second Vice President to visit Pyongyang for about four to seven days to discuss the matter further with him. I was, therefore, instructed by the President to proceed as soon as possible to Pyongyang and participate in these talks. The President also laid down the parameters within which the talks would be held:

- i) Three sets of dates were to be suggested for the meeting in Lausanne – 4th to 5th September, 11th to 12th September or 8th to 9th October.
- ii) The meeting would be attended, apart from the two delegations from North and South Korea, by the IOC President, the three Vice Presidents and the Ad Interim Administrator, Mr. Gafner. The Meeting would be held under the auspices of the IOC.
- iii) A unified team representing Korea in the Games was not practicable but the two teams could march consecutively in the Opening Ceremony.
Also, the Games cannot be split between the two countries.
- iv) The IOC would give all assurances on security etc. to facilitate North Korea's peaceful participation in the Games.

Pyongyang is a very difficult capital to reach as there is a plane service from Peking once a week and from Moscow also on a very restricted scale. Due to difficulties in booking, visas etc. I was, with very great difficulty, able to reach Pyongyang from Peking on 16th July.

On 16th, I was warmly received by Mr. Kim in Pyongyang and our talks started off almost immediately. Mr. Kim initiated the discussion by describing me as an old and loyal friend of North Korea who understood the problem of a military and political partition of one's motherland and which was still in force after 40 years and which aberration his Government was

trying to rectify now by holding conciliatory talks with South Korea, particularly on the following subjects:

- i) The Red Cross – the organisation which would deal with human problems like “free” visits to and from the two Koreas facilitating the meeting of separated families.
- ii) Parliamentary delegations to discuss the reunification of a common parliament and country, and of the signing of a common non-aggression pact between North and South, and the future laws and constitution of a unified Korea.
- iii) Joint measures on the economic front which would be of mutual benefit to both spheres.

In this context, Mr. Kim informed me that his Government and Party were [sic] also keen on having talks with the Olympic problem of participation in the 1988 Games. His party felt and had issued a manifesto on the subject which had its central idea from Fidel [sic] Castro’s advice that there should be a unified organisation for the staging of the 1988 Olympic Games in which both Koreas had equal share. His Party also felt that this measure would strengthen the Olympic Movement and not weaken it as previous boycotts had done.

I thanked Mr. Kim for his kind and gracious hospitality, and informed him that lest our talks got bogged down later on the central issue, it should be clearly understood and comprehended that under no circumstances could the IOC Charter be infringed. Further, that the contract with Seoul City was sacrosanct and could not be violated. However, in the interest of peace and harmony, the IOC would agree to the two teams marching consecutively in the Opening Ceremony and perhaps also exhibit during the Games symbols of unity between the two Koreas in cultural activities such as singing, dance, drama and exhibitions. These views, however, did not impress Mr. Kim and he pressed his own point in a very determined manner. He informed me that as matters stood, the proposals of his party had already been circulated to all foreign capitals of the world and a copy had already been dispatched to President Samaranich.

Not wanting to get stuck on this point, I asked him that evening that if, theoretically, it was agreed to have a Unified Games, how would North Korea surmount the practical difficulties that would be thrown up concerning one residential village or where the Opening and Closing Ceremonies would be? About the tremendous number of technical hurdles that would arise from holding the Games at far-removed venues? Lastly, what about the difficulties which would be encountered by the International Sports Federations?

His reply which was cursory was that as in the past they could have more than one residential village and that the Opening Ceremony could be in one region and the Closing Ceremony in the other or perhaps by devising a quick means of transport most of these hurdles could be surmounted. The distance between Pyongyang and Seoul was only of three hours by car and half an hour by air. However, he refused to give the details and said that he would be ready with his answers in the meeting in Lausanne. He further told me that if the events could be shared equally free transit would be provided between the two regions. The more he argued the question, the more he realised that he was tying himself up in knots. He finally admitted that the difficulties which could be brought up by the observation of the Charter Rules would be insurmountable and one would have to think along fresh lines where legal hurdles did not exist. In principle, it would not come under the Charter Rules but under some ad hoc legislation. It was his belief that North Korea could provide much better facilities than the archaic ones which were provided by the Los Angeles Organising Committee.

Despite my repeated requests, Mr. Kim, in the next two days of our talks, could not provide any details about how his NOC would tackle the technical difficulties which would be generated by a unified organisation of the Games.

On the third day, I discreetly informed Mr. Kim that I would like to call on a senior member of the Party with whom I could discuss this matter further. He arranged a meeting between me and the First Vice President of the DPR Korea, Mr. Pak Song Chol. Mr. Chol welcomed me as an Indian belonging to a country which had fought colonialism and was now a leader of the non-aligned countries. His country and region, he deplored, was bedeviled by the occupation of more than [sic] 40,000 US troops whose sole intention was to keep the country divided and for this reason were masterminding the organisation of the Olympic Games so as to demonstrate to the world that North and South could never be one again and South Korea was a flourishing independent country. It was his belief that as this year North Korea was celebrating 40 years of liberation of colonial rule, the people in the North would welcome a settlement on the participation in the Olympic question. In this context, he felt that in the long run, South Korea and the USA would not be able to keep Korea divided. In order to meet the demands of the common man on both sides, the two regions had had eight rounds of talks on the question of reunification and problems ranging from the Red Cross to economic wellbeing was being [sic] discussed. It was therefore, imperative that a fair solution had to be evolved so that North Korea could with dignity attend the XXIVth Olympic Games. The proposals he said had already been circulated throughout the world and were briefly:

- i) A unified Korean organisation for running the XXIVth Olympic Games.
- ii) The equal sharing of events by both sides.
- iii) Naming the Games as “Korea Pyongyang Seoul Olympic Games” which could be held under common sponsorship of both regions.

He felt that the joint celebration of the Games would be fair and just for both the regions, and would prove to the world that the Olympic Game was an instrument of spreading peace and friendship. Further, it would diffuse tensions that were now almost at a breaking point. The presence in South Korea of 40,000 American troops [sic] and which used that region as a military base would not be conducive to the holding of a peaceful games. Very few people in the world knew that almost 1,000 pieces of nuclear war heads were stationed in South Korea to destroy North Korea. The military forces on both sides were always on the alert and any accidental error would have disastrous effects on the peaceful celebration of the Games. It was, however, his knowledge that the Olympic Charter did not admit for a joint holding of the Games. In the present atmosphere, there would be wide-spread violence and unrest in South Korea. So far the student and labour demonstrators had not spoken against the holding of the Olympic Games in Seoul but if the IOC remained complacent on these issues, it would make the common man aware of the issue which would then take it to the streets. There were still three years to go, but ominously declared that the course of events would definitely take a violent turn in case the situation was not diffused. The IOC should take the bull by the horns and take such measures as to ensure peace and harmony by holding common unified Games under joint auspices of the two Koreas and thereby defeat the US conspiracy.

I answered the Vice President very briefly and informed him that the IOC was conscious of its responsibilities as had been demonstrated in 1976, 1980 and 1984, and it faces difficult situations fearlessly because its objectives were peace and friendship.

At no stage did I inform Mr. Kim of the parameters for discussion which had been laid down by the President.

On 19th and 20th July, I spent quite a lot of time persuading Mr. Kim to develop a more open attitude towards participation in the Games and not to treat rigidly what had been laid down in the Party manifesto. It was my recommendation to him that like the nine rounds of talks on the Red Cross etc. on the participation question, contact should not be broken off in any hasty manner. All the pros and cons should be patiently studied and action taken accordingly. His consistent reply was that the proposals of the Party had been forwarded already and that if there was any reaction to them it could be conveyed to him and only then could he further study the question in depth.

My impression after these talks for four days with the NOC as well as with the Vice President of the Country and Party was that North Korea now felt that if they boycotted the Games they would perhaps earn the odium of the whole world and the best way to prove the other side wrong was to ask for a unified team in a manner which could appear attractive to the world opinion which was not well versed with contract and Charter provisions.

I returned to Lausanne on the morning of the 23rd.

CONCLUSION

It is obvious from the above that North Korea's appreciation of the situation is that in view of the difficulties encountered by the IOC in 1976, 1980 and 1984, the IOC would not like to have another boycott with the attendant embarrassment in 1988 as that would impair the Olympic image and the Movement. It further appears that they have been under great pressure from other socialist blocs to be more positive in their reaction to participation in the Games and have apparently been baled [sic] out by Fidal [sic] Castro's advice that the Games should be organised from a joint Korean base. This would impress world opinion of North Korea's peaceful intentions and at the same time give a face-saving opportunity to this country to show to the world and the IOC that it abhors boycotts and would respond to participation if North Korea's stand that the two regions are a unified country is accepted, if not in the political sense, at least as far as the Olympic Games were concerned. In the event of this project not being accepted by the IOC, it would then be able to tell the world that they were really for participation but their just cause had been rejected for no fault of their own but purely on legalistic grounds.

The manner in which the Vice President of the Party has foreworded [sic] their case, appears to have a certain appeal for the man in the street as it highlights the anguish and pain of separated families in the long bitter forty years' rule of hostility which had made a firm imprint, and has been made worse by the US forces' presence in South Korea. Ideologically, the idea of a unified Korea appeals to the whole world and if North Korea now announces to the world that it would lower its guard to open its portals to those who love the Games, and also to the South Koreans in a spirit of peace and friendship it would be making a gallant gesture towards a smooth functioning of the Games. Their central point consists of a joint organisation of the Games.

A lay man is not really interested in understanding the technicalities and functioning of the Charter or, in strict terms, of a contractual obligation. I, therefore, feel that it is imperative

that no matter what South Korea has to say on this point the IOC should emphasize its abhorrence of all fallouts, of political decisions which have been taken in the past and that the Olympic Movement was one for unifying Mankind through sports and peace. The IOC has to ensure now as it has done in the past, that it sticks to its word and to the contracts it has signed, and which were accepted by all IOC members including the member from North Korea. Despite this, the IOC would do all in its power to promote any expression which hightens [sic] symbolically unity of the two Koreas. As has been mentioned above, this could be demonstrated by consecutive marching in the Opening Ceremony, demonstrations of cultural activities etc.

Another suggestion which I have to make in this context is that since the torch has to run through many countries it could very well run through North Korea and conclude its journey in Seoul. It could cross the cease-fire line in as many places as possible to effectively exhibit to the world that during the Olympic Games peace prevails. This suggestion is worth serious consideration. However, I feel strongly that the above gestures from the IOC regarding the torch relay, the running of a marathon and cycling etc. or even one or two preliminary rounds in Archery or Table Tennis where not much revenue is to be collected should be conceded in order to give North Korea a face-saving device. If South Korea is in an accommodating mood as it is bound to be, the further rounds of meetings to be held on subjects like the Red Cross, parliamentary unity and the strengthening of economic bonds will bring the two Korea together. Also, on the sports field, this symbolic exhibition of unity could even be broadened a little as to include one or two preliminary rounds of some minor games in North Korea.

This is the view also of the USSR and Chinese sports leaders and would completely isolate North Korea if it later on walks out on the Games. It would ensure the total participation of the remaining socialist bloc.

I have, however, no doubt in my mind that the manner in which the two sides are poised at the moment it gives them very little room for maneuvering for “instant” agreements which could today ensure the peaceful celebration of the Games in 1988. We should, therefore, be in no hurry to force both sides to come to an immediate decision on peaceful participation. Talks are going on other subjects where there are differences between the two countries and if they come to a decision on those subjects I have no doubt that they will come to a fruitful decision on the sports front also. Therefore, time is on our side and we should wait at least to ensure that the remaining socialist bloc countries take all steps that would ensure their participation and thereby pressurize North Korea to ultimately [sic] fall in line with them.

North Korea has already announced its proposal regarding the 1988 Games and according to this manifesto they would be satisfied with nothing short of a joint organisation, with evenly shared events, and the renaming of the Games, under a common sponsorship. Of course, the end product would be a united Korean team participation in the Olympic Games.

It need hardly be commented upon that the conditions set forth in this manifesto are repugnant to the Charter and our contract with the Seoul authorities. The only way in which North Korea could be given a face-saving device is to agree to symbolic unity. These concessions, however, should be kept in cold storage for the moment, and the dialogue which is to start in September between the two Koreas under our aegis should continue to inch forward until we can ultimately fabricate an improvised umbrella under which both Koreas can function happily by celebrating the 1988 Games. In the September meeting both parties should be heard

out and North Korea should be firmly asked to lay on the table practical measures which they could suggest to implement what they have mentioned in their manifesto, without transgressing, in any manner, the provisions of the Olympic Charter or the contract with Seoul City or agreements with the International Federations. I feel that in this context, North Korea will ask for more time for consideration and this could be given to them. In the meantime, pressure is bound to build within the socialist bloc to force North Korea to agree to such symbols as marching consecutively, culture, torch relay, marathon etc. The world would also be impressed at our agreeing to the competitors crossing freely the cease-fire line of North Korea and South Korea should be requested to ensure security without asking the help of other powers to provide them with this cover.



DOCUMENT No. 6

Interview with Fidel Castro on the 1988 Seoul Olympics

25 July 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

RUG 25.7.85

PRESS RELEASE

Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations,
315 Lexington Avenue New York, New York 10016 (212) 689-7275

FIDEL CASTRO

THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, THE GRAVE CRISIS WHICH WILL BE CAUSED BY THE GAMES IN SEOUL IN 1988 AND THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION

Last March, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, President of the Council of State and of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba held a long interview with North American personalities, academic Jeffrey Elliot and Congressman Mervin Dymally. In the course of several working sessions, numerous economic, political and historical questions were considered in detail.

Among the subjects and in response to a question by his discussion partners, President Fidel Castro explained Cuba's position on the current situation in the international Olympic Movement and on the next Olympic Games in Seoul in 1988.

Attached is the complete text of the part of this interview on the above subject.

MERVIN DYMALLY:... I have one last question to put to you and two to Professor Elliot. Does Cuba intend to send a team to the Olympics in Korea in 1988?

FIDEL CASTRO: Nothing has been decided yet. I have addressed myself to the Olympic Committee and indicated the necessity of sharing these Olympic Games between the two parts of the Korean territory. I believe that, in a country which has been the theatre of a bloody war, during which hundreds of thousands of men of many nations died, which provoked destruction and which caused a deep wound in the Korean people, these Olympic Games, in the form in which they are planned, are sectarian, that they are not making a contribution to unity but to division, that they will not help to bind the wounds but to reopen them, that they will not serve the cause of peace and cooperation between peoples. Also, I have suggested to Mr. Samaranch, President of the International Olympic Committee, that he distribute the competitions between the two parts of the Korean territory, as this is the only solution possible.

Do not forget the problems of Los Angeles. And if there was no security in Los Angeles, it is difficult to imagine that there could be any in Seoul, under a repressive, sanguinary regime which is an exist double of that of Pinochet or is a carbon copy made by the Pinochet of Korea.

You are aware of the horrible human rights violations which have taken place; you know [sic] that South Korea is full of North American bases, North American soldiers, that it is the property of American multinationals. Stubborn insistence on holding the Olympic Games in the planned form, ignoring historical realities, will, in my opinion, lead to a very serious problem within the Olympic Movement. Samaranch can travel from one end of Europe to the other, in the socialist countries and everywhere; the multimillionaire Vasquez Rana can make lots of trips in his luxurious private jet to visit countries in Africa and the third world, after selling the possibility of holding the 1987 Panamerican Games to Indianapolis for 25 million dollars and depriving Cuba of this right. They can be both as optimistic as they like, but it will not be so easy to pull to [sic] Olympic Movement of the trap that has been set for it.

We shall see what the reaction of the third world, of the Non-Aligned movement will be and what the reaction of the socialist countries will be, in the final analysis, the countries which did not go the [sic] Los Angeles because of lack of security; we shall see what China will do, when we know that 100,000 children of the Chinese people died in the struggle against the North American troops who had invaded the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

Frankly, I believe that the Olympiads, such as they have been planned, will create situations which will be very embarrassing from a moral point of view for many countries, not only socialist countries many countries of the third world.

I have spoken with leaders of third-world countries and the idea of sharing the Olympics seems to them good and fair and even the only possible solution to the situation created. I believe that is the only thing which would really avoid serious difficulties for the Olympic Movement and perhaps its dissolution.

The Olympic Movement emerged during the colonial era. Up to now, the Olympic Games have above all been used by rich industrialised countries to display their wealth, their good diet and the excellence of their technique. It would be worthwhile calculating how many medals have been won by athletes from the third world, where there are no sports facilities or physical education and sports teachers, where children and young people, from whose ranks athletes are supposed to come, are inadequately fed – how many medals they have won in all the Olympic Games held in the world and how many have been won by the United States and the industrialised countries. These competitions very often serve to stir up contempt for the countries of the third world, of Asia, Africa and Latin America, so backward, so incapable, so powerless, so intellectually limited that they can almost never win medals in the Olympics. Every four years at these events the inferiority of the Indians, the Blacks, the Yellow-skinned people, the people of mixed race is [sic] measured against the superiority of white society, even if it is the North American Blacks who win most of the medals on behalf of the rich, industrialised, white society of the United States.

Samaranch has asked that the United Nations support the Olympic Movement. I am absolutely in agreement, although I do not believe that we have the same concept, the same aims, the same intentions. I am of the opinion, and have been for a long time, that the United Nations should take an interest in sport and should concern itself with sport as it does with science, education, culture, health, industrial development and economic relations between countries.

I am a firm supporter of the idea that the United Nations should have an institution like UNICEF, the OMS, the PNUD to encourage and promote sport and physical education. Sport and physical education are activities vital to man's health, education, recreation and wellbeing. The practice of sport and physical exercises can do for mankind what millions of medicines can never do. Physical exercises make it possible to prolong life and can be used in the treatment of many illnesses. Systematic sport and exercise educate, discipline and strengthen the will and prepare a human being for production and for life. I believe that it is thanks to sport that I was able myself to withstand the hardness of life in the mountains and to survive over twenty-six years of intense political work without a heart attack or high blood pressure. However, over four thousand million people who live in the third world have only a very vague idea of what sport is all about.

Independently of this United Nations institution I have spoken of, national and international sports organisations could continue to exist. Even the Olympic Movement, if it is reformed, can continue to exist on condition that it takes on truly democratic forms, that is to say if all countries are represented by delegated [sic] elected in each one, under the aegis of the United Nations. If even the Church had its Reform, why should not the Olympic Movement have one too?

But, if you prefer, it is the United Nations institution of which I have spoken which could organise the Olympic Games. It is not a question therefore of the United Nations supporting the Olympic Committee, but of them reorganizing and leading the Olympic Movement.

The revenues from sports events should be used to help the countries of the third world, especially those which have the least resources, to develop sport. We should arrange things so that the countries of the third world have an equal right to hold the Olympics. The Olympics are held exclusively in rich countries, with the sole exception of Mexico. Who are those who have gleaned all the medals at these Games? Who had benefited from these fabulous sums of money, the 200 million dollars reaped at Los Angeles? It was announced that they would be invested in sports facilities in California. But that, together with the rest of the United States, is the very place where sports facilities are most abundant. Why not invest them in a poor country of Latin America, in Bolivia, in Ecuador, in Central America? Why not invest them in Burkina, in Ethiopia, in Mozambique or other African countries? Why not use them to help build sports facilities in, say, the poor countries of Asia, in the countries of the third world? This allocation of 200 million dollars to the richest State of the richest country in the world is proof of the weaknesses and anachronistic ideas of the Olympic Committee, which, into the bargain, now wants to include professional sport in Olympism. This allocation constitutes an act of pillage, a genuine theft, morally inexcusable inasmuch as the revenue from the Olympics is the fruit of the efforts of athletes from all countries. Without them, there would be no Olympics and no revenues. It was announced that the athletes of the third world would have part of the costs they incurred in Los Angeles reimbursed. That is insulting charity on a par with the little presents Vasquez Rana carries in his private plane for the sports officials of the third world.

The Olympic Movement was conceived, let us speak frankly, during the colonial era; many of its methods, its style, its ideas are rooted in the old ideas of the colonial age. Now, we are no longer colonies, we no longer need Counts, Marquises and millionaires to tell us what we should be doing in sport. That is why I am asking the United Nations to intervene. There are in our countries reserves of physical and mental potential more than adequate for sport; what is

lacking is the economic and social development, sports facilities; what is lacking is food, not only for the great masses of the population, but sometimes even for the athletes.

I believe that the same thing is happening with sport as with the economies of the third-world countries. At this very moment, it is shameful to see unbridled competition between the large cities of Europe to obtain the Olympic Games of 1992; London, Barcelona, Paris, in short the capitals of the former colonial powers are fighting to be place where the few athletes from neo-colonialised countries will be playing a walk-on role. But tell me a little about the possibilities Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, the Congo, the Republic of Guinea, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, the African countries have of putting forward a candidature. What chances have Ecuador, Peru, Guyana, Panama, Nicaragua and over a hundred third-world countries of hosting the Games? When will they be able to do it? That is why, I repeat, the United Nations should intervene in the matter. And I think that if this question were discussed within this organisation, many interesting points would emerge.

To sum up, I have same idea of the Olympics as I have on the relations between the rich industrialised world and the third world.

You ask me whether we are going to send a team. We have still plenty of time to consider, deliberate and speak with many friends from the third world and with the socialist countries, because we have a lot to say on this subject, many suggestions to make.

And of course, if we want to save the Olympic Movement, I think we must avoid the catastrophe which the choice of Seoul alone implies and share the Olympics. The People's Democratic Republic of Korea would be prepared to do so. I think that in this way a contribution can be made towards saving the Olympic Movement so that it can be reformed afterwards, because it can not [sic] go on passing from crisis to crisis in this way: crisis in Moscow, crisis in Los Angeles and crisis, without any doubt, at the point things have reached, in Seoul. A way out of this crisis, which is not exactly cyclic but institutional, must be found. Once that step has been taken, the Olympic Movement should reform itself because it can not [sic] go on like this. Small countries of Europe with next to no athletes have two representatives within the Olympic Committee, whereas others who have greater weight in sporting terms have none. That is not an organisation representing the various countries, but an oligarchic, autarkical institution which exists for itself, because it appoints representatives in the countries of the world.

In a few words, since you put the question to me, I will tell you in all frankness that it is an institution conceived and organised according to the ideas of the last century, or, if you prefer, the Middle Ages, like the Orders of Knights at the time of the Crusades; it is manipulated by the great western economic powers, politics has a hand in all that, and I think that the most serious thing is Seoul. Where did this idea come from? Who inspired it? How could there be agreement to commit this blunder?

But, I repeat, we have a lot of time before us in order to reflect and take a decision.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 7

Korean Workers' Party Manifesto on the 1988 Seoul Olympics

31 July 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]



ASHWINI KUMAR
VICE PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL
OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

R-75 GREATER KAILASH-I
NEW DELHI-110048
31st July 1985.

Dear *President Samaranch,*

I enclose herewith a copy of the party manifesto [sic] on Olympic Games 1988 by the North Korean Communist Party [Korean Workers' Party]. I had mentioned this in my report, and this manifesto [sic] may be tagged on to it.

Warm regards.

Yours

Ashwini Kumar
(Ashwini Kumar)

HE Mr Juan Antonio Samaranch
President CIO
Chateau De Vidy
CH-1007 Lausanne
Switzerland



조선로동당중앙위원회
조선민주주의인민공화국 평양

New Delhi

Indian National Congress (I)

I would like to convey my warm comradely greetings to you, being pleased with the increasingly favourable development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two Parties formed in the common struggle to realize the noble idea of anti-imperialism, independence and non-alignment.

I have been entrusted by the Central Committee of our Party to send you this letter to inform the Central Committee of your Party of our Party's stand towards the 24th International Olympic Games and to request your Party's cooperation.

At present, the US and south Korean authorities are scheming to host the 24th International Olympic Games in Seoul as a link in the chains of their "two Koreas" plot.

Their attempt to carry through the "Seoul Olympiad" is, first of all, aimed at elevating the position of the south Korean authorities for the international "recognition" that the real master of Korea is the Seoul "regime" and south Korea is an "independent state."

The United States also seeks the aggressive purpose to make Korea's division a fait accompli by abusing the "Seoul Olympics" and thus keep hold of south Korea permanently as its colony and military base and nuclear attack base against our Republic and Asian continent.

Meanwhile, we advanced a proposal of holding tripartite talks between us, the United States and south Korea in order to foil the "two Koreas" plot of the US and Korean authorities and provide the prerequisite for national reunification and of late another proposal of holding north-south parliamentary talks and announcing a joint declaration of non-aggression so as to relax the tension in Korea and create an atmosphere favourable to the peaceful reunification even before the tripartite talks is held.

As your Party knows well, the United States, however, does not respond to the three-way talks proposal, and the south Korean authorities are turning away their face from our fair and reasonable proposal, while asserting to institute a so-called "unified constitution," instead of discussing the question of non-aggression declaration at the north-south parliamentary talks.

This suggests that the United States and the south Korean authorities are clinging to the delaying tactics for prolonging the division under the name of dialogue.

Such stance of the south Korean side can also find vivid expression in the north-south economic negotiation and Red Cross talks.

Judging from the above facts, it is crystal-clear that the United States and the south Korean authorities do not want peace and peaceful reunification of Korea and are trying to freeze at any cost the present state of division of Korea and continuously stir up the climate of confrontation and antagonism by using the “Seoul Olympics” as a device for division.

Therefore, the question of the “Seoul Olympiad” cannot be viewed merely as sports games, but a grave political matter of whether or not defending peace in Korea by checking and thwarting the “two Koreas” plot of the United States.

Such being the situation, the attempt of the United States and the south Korean authorities to host separately the Olympic Games in Seoul must be battled decisively.

Moreover, the holding of the 24th International Olympic Games in Seoul under the circumstances where the people and youth and students of south Korea are waging a vigorous struggle to defend national independence against the US imperialists’ moves for permanent occupation of south Korea, oppose the military dictatorial “regime,” realize the democratization of south Korean society and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country will help favouring the “two Koreas” policy of the south Korean authorities and emasculating the ever-rising struggle of the south Korean people.

Now there is an apprehension that if the socialist and non-aligned countries do not attend the 24th International Olympic Games, the Olympic movement will be divided, which will largely impede the sports development in every country.

Having taken into deep consideration such situation, our Party Central Committee had made conclusion that the most rational way of checking the “two Koreas” plot of the US and south Korean authorities and saving the Olympic movement from the crisis of division is to rename the 24th International Olympic Games “Korea Olympics” or “Korea Pyongyang-Seoul Olympics” instead of the “Seoul Olympics,” hold it under co-sponsorship of us and south Korea, and equally share the events of games in north and south, where both sides participate as a unified team.

Once this plan of ours is realized, the 24th International Olympic Games will proceed successfully in compliance with the ideal of the Olympic movement with all countries’ participation and greatly help prevent the eternal division of the Korean nation and realize the peaceful reunification of our country.

It is my firm belief that your Party will fully understand and actively support our proposal regarding the 24th International Olympic Games proceeding from the invariable desire for peace in Korea and her peaceful reunification.

There are still 3 years before the 24th International Olympic Games in 1988.

When the non-aligned countries including your country, our close friend, and progressive countries all over the world are united to actively wage their common struggle, they will be able to thwart the ruses of the US and south Korean authorities and thus put our proposal on co-sponsorship into effect.

We deem it necessary for our friends to take a resolute stand to exert a collective pressure to bear upon the US and the south Korean authorities if they reject our proposal in spite of our sincere joint efforts.

Your Party, Government and people have actively supported our proposal for national reunification conducive to putting an end to the division of Korea.

We are very grateful and will not forget it.

Your support and cooperation will greatly contribute to checking and frustrating divisive machinations of the US and south Korean authorities and creating a favourable international climate for peace and peaceful reunification of Korea.

In conclusion, believing that the brotherly friendship and cohesion between our two Parties, two countries and two peoples will be further consolidated and developed day by day, I wish for great successes in your responsible work.

Hwang Jang Yop
Secretary
Central Committee
Workers' Party of Korea



Pyongyang, June , 1985

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 8

Letter from the Permanent Mission of the ROK, Geneva, to IOC President regarding the USSR, Cuba, and North Korea's Positions on the 1988 Olympics

31 July 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

**PERMANENT MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA
GENEVA**

31 July, 1985

(stamped confidential)

Excellency,

Please find attached herewith a copy of the English text which I cabled to Seoul, following our meeting this morning.

In the rest of the cable, in the Korean language, I reported Your Excellency's comments 1) on the "Goodwill Games" as not so important and not to be worried, 2) on the need to give a "red carpet treatment" to Mr. Renke, 3) on Kim's (North Korea's) reaction to Your Excellency's query about their position on 86 Asian Games and his non-response to Your Excellency's remarks about the impossibility of splitting the Games, 4) on Your Excellency's desire to spend most of your time in Seoul for consultation and discussion of the forthcoming Lausanne Meeting rather than for sightseeing or observation of industrial complex (sightseeing program is agreeable for your daughter and son), and 5) finally on Your Excellency's advice about the need of my own presence in Seoul during your forthcoming visit.



Kun PARK
Ambassador

H.E. Juan Antonio Samaranch
President of IOC
Château de Vidy
CH-1007 Lausanne

(stamped confidential)

During my visit to Moscow, I conferred with Soviet Officials and also met Mr. Kim Yu Sun, North Korean Sports Minister and President of Sports Committee of North Korea. I will explain to you respective positions of USSR, NK, and also IOC.

The position of USSR : They are ready to take part in the Games. They are not worried regarding the position of North Korea. But they told me that they were worried regarding the position of Cuba, because Cuba is a very important socialist country for them. USSR thinks that Cuba and North Korea working together can be quite dangerous. USSR advised me that, may-be, I must directly contact with President Castro, in the near future. I am ready to do it, but to have this meeting, I have to be invited by President Castro. Also regarding USSR, they were very kind to me and interested in the Olympic movement. They presented to me officially a letter from the municipality of Leningrad, asking for winter Olympic Games of 1996. I also received a letter from the President of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko, quoting candidature of Leningrad. That means to me, they are very interested in the Olympic movement.

The position of NK : Now, regarding the meeting I had with Mr. Kim Yu Sun, in Moscow on 28 July, I met him for 1 hour and 50 minutes at the Official Government Residence where I stayed during my visit to USSR.

At the beginning, he told me that the aim of NK is to organize the Olympic Games jointly with South Korea and to split the games between Seoul and Pyongyang. My answer was in 2 points. (1) I told him very clearly that IOC can not break the Olympic Charter. We have to follow Olympic Charter and to split the Games is impossible. (2) I told him that IOC is ready to help them in order that they can be present in the Games. I told him that we can study in our forthcoming meeting in Lausanne regarding which actions can be taken during the Olympic Games in Seoul to show the world ---- even it is symbolic --- that all the Koreans know very well that in the future there will be only one Korea.

The position of IOC : First of all, we have to change the dates of the meeting in Lausanne. The final dates will be 8-9 October, beginning 10:00 a.m. on October 8 at Chateau de Vidy, the IOC Headquarters. There will be only 5 official delegates (excluding one interpreter from each side) in the table for each side. We will speak English. Advisors etc. can come, but they cannot be in the room.



DOCUMENT No. 9

Memorandum of Meetings held between the IOC President and Roh Tae-Woo

28 August 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88/ IERE REUNION DES 2 COREES (EQUIPE UNIFIE) 1985; SEOUL 88/ JOINT TEAM (+JOINT MEETING, LAUSANNE/ 8-9 oct. 85) (IRE REUNION DES 2 COREES). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

AIDE MEMOIRE

(stamped confidential)

- I. On August 25, 1985, when IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch and SLOOC President Tae-Woo Roh met, the former made the following suggestions.
 - A. The IOC will preside over the Inter-Korean Sports Meeting to be held in Lausanne.
 - B. The agenda will be confined to the 1988 Olympic Games.
 - C. Some conditions (proposals) that north Korea may accept will be presented. The IOC will suggest that preliminary elimination contests for football, volleyball and handball be held in Pyongyang, and that the cycling road race start from Seoul, run through north Korea and end in Seoul. In other words, only sports that are easy to organise can be candidates for being staged in north Korea. At the time of entry into the stadium for the Opening Ceremony, the senior IOC member will lead the procession, bearing the IOC flag. The flag-bearers of South and north Korea will follow him and will be stationed behind him, to his right and left. Each team will enter in three lines behind its own flag-bearer. After the Opening Ceremony, each side will field a separate team.
 - D. Each delegation will be composed of six members, and the two NOC Presidents must be included. Other members will be high-status people with the right [crossed out, *power* inserted by hand] to make binding decisions [*not in the room* inserted by hand]. Each delegation may bring its own advisors. Simultaneous interpretation services will be provided, with the interpreters in booths.
 - E. The talks will be composed of four sessions. On the morning of October 8, suggestions [crossed out, *declaration* inserted by hand] from, first, north Korea will be heard, followed by suggestions [crossed out, *declaration* inserted by hand] from South Korea. Finally the IOC will state its position. On the afternoon of October 8, the IOC will have separate meetings with South and north Korea, respectively. On the morning of October 9, the IOC will hold a joint meeting with South and north Korea or separate meetings with both sides. On the afternoon of October 9, the final meeting will be held.

- F. The IOC hopes that some agreements will be reached and even signed. A joint press conference will be held with the IOC and South and north Korea, shortly after the final meeting.
- G. Prior agreement between the IOC and the Republic of Korea is needed on proposals to be presented to north Korea.

SLOOC President Tae-Woo Roh replied to IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch's suggestions as follows.

- H. President Roh agrees in principle to President Samaranch's suggestions.
 - I. Joint hosting of the 1988 Games will be excluded from the agenda, as President Samaranch promised.
 - J. The two Presidents will meet again in the Hotel Shilla at 9 a.m. on August 28 to finalise agreements.
- II. On August 28, 1985, when IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch and SLOOC President Tae-Woo Roh met, the latter made the following remarks to the former.
- A. President Roh agreed in principle to President Samaranch's suggestions of August 26, 1985 regarding the agenda, procedures and delegation composition for the Inter-Korean Sports Meeting to be held in Lausanne.
 - B. President Roh agreed in principle to President Samaranch's suggestions of August 26, 1985 regarding arrangements for north and South Korea's entry into the stadium for the Opening Ceremony.
 - C. Events, including athletics and the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, which should be held at the Olympic Stadium, cannot be split and thus cannot be held at other places.
 - D. Preliminary elimination contests for handball, football, basketball and volleyball are possible candidates for being held in north Korea. The 180-200 km cycling road race may start from Seoul, run through north Korea and end in Seoul. However, if preliminary elimination contests for the abovementioned sports are held in the north, north Korea should guarantee the free entry and exist of the Olympic Family and their security. Also, north Korea should open its airports and roads for the Olympic Family's free use for the transportation of their equipment and materials. In this regard it is necessary to predicate agreement in principle with the presentation of certain conditions.
 - E. It may be acceptable for the Olympic Torch to be relayed to Seoul through north Korea; also north Korean runners may participate in the Olympic Torch Relay.
 - F. The proceedings of the Inter-Korean Sports talks should not be open to the public. The IOC should prohibit north Korea from raising political controversies at the

meeting. After each Session, the IOC should announce the results following the agreement of both sides. At the joint press conference, the delegation of the Republic of Korea, as the hosting nation of the XXIVth Olympiad, should be entitled to make statements.

- G. The SLOOC has designed its Secretary General as the official responsible for consulting with the IOC upon the matters related to the Inter-Korean Sports Meeting in Lausanne. In this regard President Roh requested President Samaranch to designate the IOC counterpart.

IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch replied to SLOOC President Tae-Woo Roh as follows.

- H. It is desirable that both sides enter the stadium for the Closing Ceremony in the same way as for the Opening Ceremony.
- I. It may be sufficient for the Republic of Korea to accept only two sports as candidates for preliminary elimination contests to be held in north Korea.

In the case that the IOC pretends to ask the Republic of Korea to allow more than two sports to be held in north Korea, the Republic of Korea may make the gesture of refusing the IOC's proposal.

- J. It may be unrealistic to impose many and difficult conditions for the holding of preliminary elimination contests in north Korea, which are very difficult for them to accept. We should, at first, secure north Korea's agreement in principle.
- K. It may be almost impossible for north Korea to agree to holding preliminary elimination contests for the proposed sports, as that would seem to make the city of Pyongyang one of the cities of the Republic of Korea.
- L. The proposal for some preliminary elimination contests to be held in north Korea may prove helpful in encouraging the socialist countries to participate in the XXIVth Olympiad. If the meeting bears no fruit, north Korea will be completely isolated.
- M. It may be desirable for proposals regarding the Olympic Torch Relay and Cultural Festivals to be presented to north Korea in the course of the meeting as possible concessions, if they are acceptable to the Republic of Korea. If the Olympic Torch is relayed to Seoul through north Korea, the IOC would not object if north Korea set up Olympic Flame Cauldrons in north Korea.
- N. For joint IOC/ROK/north Korean meetings the IOC will announce the results of the sessions after gaining prior agreement both sides. However, when the IOC meets with the sides separately, it may be impossible for the IOC to obtain each side's prior agreement. At the first session, north Korea's position will be heard first for one hour or less. Next the Republic of Korea will be held for the same period of time. Finally the IOC will make an official statement concerning the positions of both sides.

- After the fourth session, the IOC will announce any agreement that has been reached. However, if there is no agreement, the IOC will declare that positive meetings were held and that a second meeting will be convened after six or seven months, preferably following the ANOC meeting in the April of next year, rather than simply announcing the failure of the meeting. President Samaranch will be responsible for taking appropriate measures to prevent north Korea from bringing up political matters in the course of the session.
- O. President Samaranch will preside over the joint press conference himself and announce the results of the meeting. If the Republic of Korea were allowed to make statements at this conference, north Korea should be accorded the same right. Thus it is difficult for the IOC to allow the Republic of Korea to comment unilaterally.
 - P. IOC Administrator Mr. Gafner will be the official designated to consult with the SLOOC on administrative affairs in connection with the Inter-Korean Sports Meeting in Lausanne. However, President Roh and President Samaranch should take the responsibility for making major decisions on the meeting. President Samaranch requested President Roh to send an aide-memoire of their talks and agreements to the IOC in the near future.

Seoul, August 28, 1985

SUMMARY

- A. The agenda of the Inter-Korean Sports Meeting (hereafter the Meeting) in Lausanne will be confined to the XXIVth Olympiad.
- B. Joint hosting of the XXIVth Olympiad will be excluded from the agenda.
- C. The meeting will be composed of four Sessions as President Samaranch suggested.
- D. The delegations for the Meeting will be composed of six high-ranking members with the right [crossed out, *power* inserted by hand] to make binding decisions and will include the two NOC Presidents. Advisors to the delegations will not be limited in number, *but not attend the meetings*.
- E. At the Meeting only two sports will be proposed as candidates for having their preliminary elimination contests held in north Korea.
- F. The possibility of the 180-200 km cycling road race running through north Korea may be presented to north Korea as a possible concession in the course of the Sessions at the Meeting.
- G. At the time of entry into the stadium for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, the Senior IOC member will lead the procession, bearing the IOC flag. The flag-bearers of South and north Korea will follow him and will be stationed behind him, to his right (South) and left

(north). Each team, wearing different uniforms will enter in three lines behind its own flag-bearer. Except for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, each side will field a separate team.

- H. Some proposals regarding the Olympic Torch Relay and the Cultural Festivals may be presented to north Korea as possible concessions in the course of the Sessions at the Meeting.
- I. The Sessions will not be opened to the public. In the Sessions President Samaranch will take appropriate measures to prohibit north Korea [~~crossed out, both sides~~ inserted by hand] from raising political controversies.
- J. Following the IOC's separate meeting with either side, the IOC will announce the results at its own discretion. However, following the IOC's joint meetings with both sides, the IOC will announce their results after the agreement of both sides.
- K. President Samaranch will preside over the joint press conference and only he is entitled to announce the results of the Meeting.
- L. The Secretary General of the SLOOC and IOC Administrator Mr. Gafner will be the designated officials to consult on administrative affairs related to the Inter-Korean Sports Meeting. However, Presidents Roh and Samaranch will continue to take responsibility for making the main decisions on the Meeting.
- M. The Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee will send an aide-memoire of President Samaranch's talks with President Roh, and their agreement, to the IOC.

Seoul, August 28, 1985.

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DOCUMENT No. 10

Letter from the NOC President of the People's Republic of China to the IOC President
19 September 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]



中国奥林匹克委员会
CHINESE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

9, Tiyuguan Road, Beijing, China

Telegr: SPORTSCHINE BEIJING

Telex: 22 323 CHOC CN

MR. JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH
PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE
CHATEAU DE VIDY-CH-10007
LAUSANNE
SWITZERLAND

Beijing, Sept. 19th, 1985

Dear Mr. President,

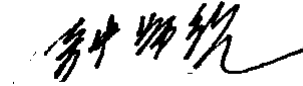
In recent years, the Olympic movement has become more and more influential in international life. And we feel delighted at this situation. However, we have noticed that the Olympic movement is at present confronted with some problems, which have aroused public attention. The Chinese Olympic Committee sincerely hopes that these problems will be properly solved. For this purpose you have done a great deal. At your invitation the representatives of both the NOC of D.P.R.Korea and the NOC of South Korea will meet in Lausanne for discussion this coming October. We greatly admire all these efforts of yours.

As you know, the D.P.R.Korea made an official proposal that the 24th Olympic Games are jointly held in Pyongyang and Seoul and that the both sides [sic] of Korea form one team to participate in the Games. We maintain that the proposal made by the D.P.R.Korea is worth serious consideration. If the proposal can be realized, it will help to ease the situation in the Korean peninsula and will also be conducive to the peaceful unification of Korea and the solving of the problems that confront the Olympic movement. It is our hope that the International Olympic Committee will do something for the negotiation in Lausanne between the both sides [sic] of Korea, so that positive results may be achieved. I believe that your efforts in this respect [sic] will win extensive support.

Wish the negotiation in Lausanne a great success.

With best regards

Sincerely yours

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be '钟士同' (Zhong Shitong), written in a cursive style.

ZHONG SHITONG
PRESIDENT

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 11

The Proposal by the National Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

30 September 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88/ IERE REUNION DES 2 COREES (EQUIPE UNIFIE) 1985; SEOUL 88/ JOINT TEAM (+JOINT MEETING, LAUSANNE/ 8-9 oct. 85) (IRE REUNION DES 2 COREES). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

조선민주주의인민공화국 올림픽위원회
OLYMPIC COMMITTEE
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF KOREA

*Cables: Olympic Pyongyang
Phone: 6-39-98, 6-23-86
Telex: 5482KP*

*Address
Munsin-dong 2
Dongdaewon-dist.,
Pyongyang, D.P.R.K.*

Pyongyang, September 30, 1985

Esteemed sir,

I would like to extend my friendly greetings to you, with my pleasure at our ever-deepening friendly relations forged through the joint efforts to preserve intact the sublime ideal of the International Olympic Movement and develop it.

It is an occasion of honour for me personally to inform you of our stand on the 24th Olympic Games.

As you well know, the Olympiad is the international sports festival whose lofty ideal is peace and harmony, friendship and cooperation among peoples.

However, many sportsmen, socio-political figures and pressmen the world over are now expressing their serious doubts regarding to the decision of holding the 24th Olympic Games in Seoul.

As is well known, when Seoul candidate to host the Olympic Games a lot of countries asserted to shift the venue from Seoul to other place and some countries outspoke [sic] their position that they would not attend the Olympic Games if it were held in Seoul.

There suggested some views on which the north and the south should co-host this Games out of desire to develop the 24th Olympiad in keeping with the ideal of the Olympic movement.

After due consideration of all raised matters, our National Olympic Committee put forward a proposal that the north and south of Korea co-host the 24th Olympic Games and form and field a unified team there, proceeding from the deep analysis of the present-day situation created within the Olympic Movement and the exceptional situation of divided Korea as well as the earnest desire to bring about the sound development of the International Olympic Games.

This proposal of ours will be discussed in the joint meeting of the International Olympic Committee and representatives from the north and south Olympic Committee slated from October 8 to 9 in Lausanne.

We are of the opinion that our co-host proposal is the good way for solving the current problems arising within the Olympic Movement.

When our proposal is carried into effect, the 24th Olympiad will be the most fruitful games participated in by all its member countries without omission and historic sports festival contributing to achieving harmony and unity of the divided Korean nation and the cause of reunification.

It is my belief that you, my friend and colleague, will direct your deep interest in and send your support and solidarity to our new proposal made in a bid to hold the Games in accordance with the ideal of the Olympic Movement.

Convinced that the friendly ties between us will further consolidate and develop I wish for your success in your responsibilities.

Enclosed herewith is our co-host proposal for reference.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

Kim Yu Sun



Chairman of the Olympic Committee of the
Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Member of the International Olympic
Committee

The Proposal of the Olympic Committee
Of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

1. The issue of co-hosting of the 24th Olympic Games

The 24th Olympic Games should be co-hosted by the north and the south and be participated by their single team.

2. The issue of naming of the Olympiad

The name of the Olympiad shall be "Korea-Olympiad" or "Korea Pyongyang-Seoul Olympiad", each side may call the said Olympic Games in its own convenient way.

3. Division of the sport events

Sport events will be adequately divided and played in Pyongyang and Seoul

4. Opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games

The opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games will be held in Pyongyang and Seoul respectively according to the events assigned.

5. Guarantee for the hosting right

It shall be guaranteed that all the preparations relating to the 24th Olympic Games will have been finished within the shortest period to comply with the rules of the International Olympic Committee and the International Sports Federation.

6. Free travel

- 1) It shall provide sufficient conditions for players, officials, reporters and tourists to freely travel from and to Pyongyang and Seoul, by using the transport means on the ground and sea or by air.
- 2) For the free travel, the road between Pyongyang-Seoul and the railways between Pyongyang and Seoul will be connected and the passenger lines will be put into operation between Nampo port linking with Pyongyang through the motorway and Incheon port linking with Seoul through the motorway and the passenger flight will go into service between Pyongyang airport and Kimpo airport.
- 3) In order to provide maximum conveniences for travelers and assure their swift travel, passes, instead of visas, will be issued for players, officials, reporters, and tourists at the crossing-points.
- 4) The authorities concerned of the north and the south shall make public in advance the statement related to the guarantee for the body safety and implement it.

7. The right to telecast and shares in its profits

- 1) The right to telecasting shall depend on the future agreement.
- 2) The profits out of the right to telecasting allotted to the International Olympic Committee are applicable as they shall be shared as decided.
- 3) The profits out of the right to telecasting allotted to the hosting side shall be allotted to the north and to the south according to the number of events held in Pyongyang and Seoul.

8. The formation of the standing organization to co-host the Olympic Games
 - 1) It is to form the north-south joint standing organization to successfully co-host the 24th Olympic Games.
 - 2) The title of north-south standing organization will be the “the Joint Organizing Committee of Korea-Olympiad” or “the Joint Organizing Committee of Korea Pyongyang-Seoul Olympiad” and “the Joint Organizing Committee of Korea Seoul-Pyongyang Olympiad”.

In case of calling it “the Joint Organizing Committee of Korea Pyongyang-Seoul Olympiad” or “the Joint Organizing Committee of Korea Seoul-Pyongyang Olympiad”, the north and the south may call it in its convenient way respectively.
 - 3) The Joint Organizing Committee shall consist of 2 co-chairmen and other members as deemed necessary.
9. The other detailed matters shall be worked out and agreed upon separately.
10. An agreement for the north and the south to co-host and participate in the 24th Olympic Games as a single team shall be worked out and signed by the Presidents of Olympic Committees of the north and the south each, and comes into force from the date of exchange of the original texts.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 12

Note from the IOC President to the NOC President of the People's Republic of China

30 September 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

Mr. Zhong SHITONG,
President
Chinese Olympic Committee
9, Tiyyuguan Road

BEIJING / China

Lausanne, September 30th, 1985
Ref. No. 10018 /85/bog

Re. Joint meeting 2 Koreas

Dear President Zhong,

It was most kind of you to write to me in connection with the forthcoming meeting between the International Olympic Committee and the Olympic Committee of the D.P.R. Korea and the Korean Olympic Committee. I appreciate both your advice and your support.

The IOC is ready to use its best efforts to reduce tensions relating to the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad and to ensure that such Games are celebrated in conformity with the provisions of the Olympic Charter. The Olympic Charter applies equally, in relation to the Games, to the IOC, the International Federations and the NOCs.

I am sure that all parties will discuss in the utmost good faith to seek workable solutions to any problems which may exist and that the solutions will take into account the requirements of the Olympic Charter.

Like you, Mr. President, my hope is that the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement can continue to contribute to peace and international understanding in the world. I am always grateful to receive any advice and counsel which you may be prepared to offer, on this and any other matters relating to the Olympic Movement, of which each of us forms part.

Yours very truly,

Juan Antonio Samaranch
I.O.C. President



DOCUMENT No. 13

Meeting between the NOCs of the ROK and of the DPRK held under the Aegis of the IOC 8 October 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATION'S OF THE NOCS OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA HELD UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE – Lausanne, 8th-9th October 1985

Tuesday, 8th October 1985

The meeting opened at 10h10 in the presence of representatives from the IOC, and from the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and of the DPR Korea (see [annex 1](#)).

THE PRESIDENT welcomed the delegations and introduced the Mayor of Lausanne, Mr. Paul-René Martin.

MR. MARTIN stated that it was a great honour and a pleasure for Lausanne, the Olympic City and headquarters of the IOC, to welcome the representatives from both NOCs. Lausanne was proud that the IOC's headquarters were based in the city, and it was hoped that the atmosphere would be conducive to favourable discussions. In fact, the delegates would present in Lausanne to work for unity between the two NOCs, and thus unity in the Olympic Movement, in order to create a more peaceful world.

THE PRESIDENT was pleased to receive the two delegations at the IOC's headquarters, and informed that he had met representatives from both NOCs the previous day. The latter were aware of the way in which the meetings had proceeded.

THE PRESIDENT reviewed the meeting programme, pointing out that the IOC delegation would receive a delegation from the NOC of the DPR of Korea at 17h00. An official dinner would be held that evening.

A joint or separate meetings would be held as required the following day so that the conclusions of the meeting could be approved. THE PRESIDENT would give a press conference at 18h00 on 9th October 1985, and invited the Presidents of both delegations to accompany him.

THE PRESIDENT wished to know if either delegation had any queries regarding the meeting procedures.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM, President of the Korean Olympic Committee, confirmed that he had no questions.

THE PRESIDENT then gave the floor to Mr. Yu Sun Kim, President of the NOC of the DPR Korea.

MR. YU SUN KIM read out a statement on behalf of his delegation (annex 2).

THE PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Yu Sun Kim, and invited Mr. Chong-Ha Kim, President of the NOC of the Republic of Korea, to address the delegates.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM read out the statement of his NOC (annex 3).

THE PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Kim, and proposed that the meeting be adjourned until the afternoon's separate sessions. Before closing, however, he introduced the IOC delegation (see annex 1), pointing out that Mr. Ashwini Kumar, second Vice-President, had just undergone major surgery and had been unable to travel to Lausanne. However, Mr. Kumar sent his regards to both delegations.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM introduced the members of his delegation, commenting that they were also accompanied by 3 advisors.

MR. YU SUN KIM introduced his delegation which was also accompanied by 3 advisors.

THE PRESIDENT adjourned the joint meeting at 11h00.

Tuesday, 8th October 1985

The IOC delegation then re-convened alone at 11h10 to discuss the statements made earlier that morning by the two Korean NOCs.

THE PRESIDENT reiterated that the 1988 Olympic Summer Games had been awarded to Seoul in 1988 and that Seoul was carrying out its obligations in accordance with the "Olympic Charter". He added that Seoul was doing much work and spending a substantial amount of money in preparing for the Games.

THE PRESIDENT stated that it appeared that the DPR Korea had always taken a negative attitude towards Seoul being awarded the Games. It was thought that the DPR Korea now wanted to share the prestige that Seoul might reap in its hosting of the Games.

THE PRESIDENT pointed out that this was the first official proposal made by the DPR Korea to share the Games. He added that the whole world would be focusing its attention on the outcome of the meetings and that the IOC should be seen as doing its best to facilitate some sort of agreement between the two Koreas.

THE ADMINISTRATOR stated that, although the IOC had to honour its obligations towards Seoul, the IOC must do its utmost to present a proposal that was reasonable and acceptable to the parties involved.

In response to a question, THE PRESIDENT stated that the IOC member from the DPR Korea had not commented when the Games had been awarded to Seoul. Instead, the member had simply left the room.

SHEIK AL-SABAH said that the IOC had to respect the “Olympic Charter” and had to do its best to protect the Olympic Games. He added that the IOC members who had voted for Seoul in Baden-Baden in 1981 had been aware of this potential problem with the DPR Korea.

SHEIK AL-SABAH pointed out that the statements made by the two NOCs earlier that morning were “in opposite directions”. He mentioned that the IOC had done well in bringing the two sides together for the meeting and added that it would be excellent if it could encourage the two Korean NOCs to reach some sort of agreement.

MR. BEITZ stated that the proposal by the NOC of the DPR Korea to divide the Games between Pyongyang and Seoul was not acceptable to the IOC. The NOC of the Republic Korea had not made any counter-proposal to the proposal put forth by the NOC of the DPR Korea.

MR. SIPERCO commented that the IOC had to act in conformity with the “Olympic Charter”. He stated that the parties had to reach some sort of compromise. However, in light of the extremely divergent statements that had been made earlier that morning by the two NOCs, there was not yet any basis for such compromise.

MR. SIPERCO then stated his opinion, which was shared by the other IOC delegates, that the IOC needed some sort of counter-proposal from the NOC of the Republic of Korea upon which to base further negotiations.

After discussion, the IOC delegates unanimously decided to reverse the order of the separate meetings to be held that afternoon between the IOC and the two NOCs, namely that the IOC would first meet with the NOC of the Republic of Korea at 15h00 and then with the NOC of the DPR Korea at 17h00.

THE ADMINISTRATOR then left the room to so inform the heads of each of the Korean delegations.

THE PRESIDENT listed some areas in which the Republic of Korea might have been willing to make concessions. These areas related to:

- i) the teams from each Korea marching together during the opening ceremony;
- ii) DPR Korea being invited to stage some cultural events during the Games;
- iii) the staging of some minor events, or qualifying rounds of certain team events, in the DPR Korea.

MR. SIPERCO then raised the issue of whether the NOC of the Republic of Korea was opposed to the holding of finals in some minor sports in the DPR Korea.

THE ADMINISTRATOR re-entered the room and announced that the two NOCs had been notified of the order of their meetings with the IOC.

The proposal by the NOC of the DPR Korea with respect to the naming of the Games was then debated.

MR. BEITZ stated, with the general agreement of the others, that it was neither realistic nor practical to try to prevent the Games being referred to as the “Seoul” Games.

SHEIK AL-SABAH felt that the NOC of the DPR Korea could justify its boycott of the Games should they be held exclusively in Seoul.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the NOC of the DPR Korea should be told that the IOC was trying to find the best conditions that could be offered by the NOC of the Republic of Korea under which the former could fully participate in the Games. The IOC could then present to the DPR Korea the anticipated counter-proposal from the NOC of the Republic of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT adjourned the meeting at 11h35.

The meeting resumed at 15.00 hours.

THE PRESIDENT welcomed representatives of the IOC and delegates from the NOC of the Republic of Korea to a separate consultation. He emphasised that the Olympic Games had been awarded in the year 1981 to the city of Seoul and that the IOC would honour its obligations with respect to the "Olympic Charter" and to the contract signed by the IOC with the NOC of the Republic of Korea and the city of Seoul.

However, it was necessary to bear in mind that, since Korea was a divided country, the active participation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad should be promoted in the greatest possible degree. THE PRESIDENT requested that the President of the Korean Olympic Committee comment on any proposals he might have in this respect.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM, President of the KOC, declared that facilities for the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad were well advanced and that a detailed competition schedule had been drawn up, approval from the IFs had been obtained and results communicated to the IOC. It was therefore no straightforward matter to change plans which had been finalised, quite apart from the question of adherence to the "Olympic Charter". Nevertheless, the SLOOC was prepared to consider the allocation of some handball and volleyball preliminaries to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In agreement with the IHF, the SLOOC had already designated competition and training sites for handball which were in conformity with IF official regulations. Preliminaries were to take place from 20th - 28th September, with finals being held from 29th - 1st October. MR. KIM proposed that, out of a total of 42 men's and women's preliminary matches, the 30 men's preliminary rounds should be held in the DPR Korea.

As for volleyball, 12 men's and 8 women's teams would participate. The FIVB had agreed to the schedule fixed for 17th September - 2nd October. However, it would be possible to study the question of allocating 30 preliminary men's matches in volleyball, again from a total of 42 men's and women's preliminary rounds, to the DPR Korea. Finals would be held in Seoul, as for handball.

MR. KIM wished to point out that it would firstly be necessary to gain the approval of the IFs and of the IOC before such a proposal could be implemented. In addition, such matters as access to competition sites, transportation, communication networks and security should be fully investigated.

THE PRESIDENT wondered whether the President of the KOC had any proposals regarding football competitions.

MR. KIM declared that the KOC was willing to consider suggestions with respect to football. He explained that 16 teams would participate, with four groups in the preliminary rounds playing a total of 24 matches. Finals and semi-finals would be held in Seoul at the main venue, but other matches would be played in various stadia outside the city. Competition would take place from 17th September – 1st October; approval from the FIFA had also been obtained. The KOC would review the possibility of allocating two groups from the preliminary rounds to stadia in the DPR Korea, i.e. 12 preliminary matches.

THE PRESIDENT requested Mr. Kim to comment on any proposals with respect to individual sports.

MR. KIM referred to the 180 km. cycling event. This competition would take place on 18th September, the day following the opening ceremony of the Games, with the participation of 35 countries, 160 cyclists and 70 officials. Perhaps this race could be staged in such a way as to link the Republic of Korea and the DPR Korea.

A road of at least 100 km. was required; the general practice was to hold a “round-trip” race. However, it would be possible for cyclists to begin the race in the DPR Korea and to cycle to Seoul. Cooperation between the two NOCs in organising this event would symbolise the genuine effort towards understanding and peaceful reunification.

As for the opening ceremony, an event of great significance since it gathered together all peoples, irrespective of race, religion and ideology, MR. KIM advocated the simultaneous entry into the stadium of athletes representing the two NOCs.

THE PRESIDENT requested clarification as to whether athletes would wear different uniforms and enter under separate flags.

MR. KIM explained that six columns would march into the stadium athletes from the KOC would march on the right hand side, with athletes from the DPR Korean NOC on the left hand side. Teams would march under separate flags, wearing the uniform of their NOC. For the closing ceremony Korean athletes would also be represented by separate flags.

THE PRESIDENT drew the attention of the meeting to the importance of the cultural programme; it would perhaps be beneficial to invite the DPR Korea to participate in the cultural programme in Seoul.

A pause of ten minutes ensued.

MR. KIM felt that cultural events formed a significant part of the Olympic Games.

The KOC heartily welcomed active participation from the DPR Korea in cultural festivals which would add to the diversity and success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

He underlined that officials and teams from the DPR Korea would have no difficulties regarding entry and participation in the Games.

The Olympic Games were awarded to a city and not to a country, and therefore competitions should, in principle, be held in Seoul. However, it was inevitable that some events should take place in stadia outside Seoul, but generally in areas within the control of the NOC to

which the Games had been granted. Should some preliminary events be held in the DPR Korea, special authorisation would have to be sought from the IOC. In addition, it would be essential for competent bodies to review facilities such as competition venues, transportation systems and so on before the KOC requested final approval from the IOC authorities for such a scheme.

MR. KIM advised extreme caution in all reports released to the press, in view of the delicate situation.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the official press conference would take place at 18.00 hours the following day. He himself would issue a report, subsequent to further talks with the delegations from both NOCs.

He expressed appreciation to the KOC for the willingness to cooperate and review the possibility of granting some preliminary matches in volleyball; handball and football to the DPR Korea, as well as running the 180 km. cycling event from North to South Korea and ensuring simultaneous entry of Korean athletes into the Olympic Stadium on the occasion of the opening ceremony. Participation of the DPR Korean NOC in the cultural programme would also prove very valuable.

He pointed out that, should some competitions be held in the DPR Korea, this might pose problems with regard to event coordination, which would have to be carefully examined should and initial agreement be reached.

THE PRESIDENT mentioned that the spirit of cooperation which existed between the KOC and the IOC was working towards the benefit of the entire Olympic Movement. He stressed the necessity of proving willingness to reach an agreement and promote maximum NOC participation at the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

THE PRESIDENT welcomed the delegation from the NOC of the DPR Korea to the meeting at 17h10. He thanked them for the kind and encouraging words they had expressed that morning regarding the IOC and of the Olympic Movement. THE PRESIDENT knew Mr. Yu Sun Kim as not only the President of the NOC and as an IOC member but also as a friend. He was aware of the role of the DPR Korea had played in sport, having visited the country on two occasions, and of the importance of sport in the DPR Korea. The IOC realised that the NOC supported and respected the Olympic Movement and the “Olympic Charter”.

The IOC delegation had carefully studied the NOC’s proposals, but could not accept them as they were contrary to the “Olympic Charter”. In Baden-Baden in 1981, the IOC had voted to award the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul. The IOC now had to stand by its decision, and to respect the contract signed with the NOC of the Republic of Korea and the city of Seoul.

Nevertheless, the presence of the delegation from the NOC of the DPR Korea was important for the IOC as it demonstrated that the NOC were realistic, and wished to obtain the best possible conditions for participation in the Games. It had been for this reason that the IOC had convened a meeting of the two NOCs, under the aegis of the IOC itself.

The IOC delegation now wished to know the NOC’s position. The IOC could not accept the NOC’s proposals, but might envisage the organisation of some events in North Korea.

However, first of all the IOC wished to know if the NOC were ready to discuss such a solution, a solution which would provide the best conditions for the participation of a team from the NOC of the DPR Korea in the 1988 Olympic Games.

MR. YU SUN KIM stated that at the meeting that morning he had raised the matter of the joint hosting of the Games in North and South Korea. He wished to provide additional explanations to the NOC's proposal for joint hosting.

The proposal had been submitted in order to contribute to the success of the Games and to encourage unity between North and South Korea, leading to a peaceful re-unification of the nation.

The NOC's proposal was designed to help the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad and to promote the Olympic Movement.

MR. KIM stated that no one could deny that the designation of Seoul as venue for the 1988 Olympic Games had led to divided opinion as hosting of the Games by one part of the nation aggravated the antagonism and division between the two peoples.

In fact, many countries were considering refusing to send teams to the Games. Support for the Games had, however, been voiced. Thus the joint hosting of the Games would encourage a greater participation in the 1988 Olympic Games, and it was hoped the largest ever participation in Olympic history.

It was the delegation's view that the joint proposal would prevent division within the Olympic Movement, and would on the contrary further the Movement's development. MR. KIM felt that the proposal for joint hosting of the Games reflected the reality of his country.

If the name of the Olympic Games was to be conducive to the re-unification of Korea, thus involving the whole of the country, the NOC of the DPR Korea would prefer the joint games to be called the "Korea Olympic Games" or the "Pyongyang/Seoul Olympic Games". In this way unity would be encouraged, not division. The proposal for the joint hosting of the Games had been made taking into full consideration all conditions prevalent in North and South Korea.

MR. KIM felt that the IOC and South Korea differed little in their views with regard to the staging of the Games in North and South Korea. There were only differences of opinion regarding the number of events and disciplines. The NOC of the DPR Korea wished to stage half of the Games, having the power and the strength to "co-host" the 1988 Olympic Games.

If the Games were held in Pyongyang and Seoul a free exchange of visits was proposed. This would help to create a favourable atmosphere for the re-unification of Korea.

If athletes, officials, tourists and journalists travelled freely barriers would be broken down, and a step forward would be made towards the re-unification of the country.

In addition, the proposal for a joint North/South organising committee would encourage re-unification. Once the committee started work, visits would be increased, and unity between the peoples strengthened.

If the current meetings were fruitful, their outcome would be beneficial for the Olympic Movement and for Korea's national interests. If an agreement were reached, this meeting would be recorded in the history of the Olympic movement.

MR. KIM believed that the IOC delegation would understand the NOC's proposals and would consider them favourably.

THE PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Kim for his comments.

MR. KIM then stated that the NOC of the DPR Korea wished to stage the following sports: archery, judo, track and field, gymnastics, weightlifting, volleyball, table tennis, wrestling, handball, shooting and swimming.

Following a ten-minute break, THE PRESIDENT stated that on behalf of the IOC he had to repeat very clearly that the IOC could not accept the proposals presented by the delegation of the NOC of the DPR Korea since these were against the "Olympic Charter" and against the decision taken in 1981 in Baden-Baden at the IOC Session to award the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad to Seoul.

However, in order to try to provide the best possible conditions for the DPR Korea's participation in the Games in Seoul, THE PRESIDENT asked the delegation if they were ready to begin discussions with the IOC and the Republic of Korea regarding the possibility of organising some events in Pyongyang.

THE PRESIDENT wished to know the NOC's position, stressing that if the latter required further time to consider the proposal, the IOC would be willing to grant such a request. If the NOC wished to consider the organisation of some events of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Pyongyang, and were willing to discuss such a possibility both with the IOC and the delegation from the Republic of Korea, the IOC would await the NOC's reply until the following morning.

MR. KIM responded that the IOC had initiated and organised the meeting, and the NOC had thus started its discussions regarding the various problems. That was the reason why the NOC had enumerated its proposals that morning, and held separate discussions with the IOC that afternoon. As the President of the IOC had stated that some of the events could be staged in Pyongyang, the NOC had considered that the IOC agreed to the Games being shared between the DPR Korea and the Republic of Korea. That was the reason why the NOC had officially proposed that it could stage certain events, and why a joint meeting had been arranged. If the games were not held jointly, MR. KIM felt that the "Olympic Charter" would be contravened.

In order to ensure the success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad, the realities of MR. KIM's country had to be borne in mind. The NOC's proposals had thus been reasonable and rational, and it was requested that the IOC delegation re-consider such proposals.

THE PRESIDENT reiterated that the IOC delegation had studied the NOC's proposals very carefully, and could not accept them. Seoul had been chosen to host the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad during the 1981 Session in Baden-Baden, and the IOC did not have the power to alter such a decision. Thus no joint Games could be held as this would contravene the "Olympic Charter". However, the IOC was asking the NOC of the DPR Korea if it was ready to

discuss the possibility of organising some events in the DPR Korea. If the NOC required time to study such a proposal, the IOC was willing to grant this.

MR. KIM replied that the NOC had proposed which kind of events it wished and was able to host. It was hoped that the IOC would study this proposal once more. MR. KIM requested further time to consider the IOC's suggestions, and stated that the NOC would provide the IOC with a reply the following morning.

THE PRESIDENT remarked that he understood that the NOC would study the IOC's proposal regarding the possibility of certain events being staged in the DPR Korea, and had requested time until the following morning to do so. He proposed that the meeting re-convene at 09h30 on 9th October 1985.

MR. CHUNG GUK CHIN, Vice-President of the NOC of the DPR Korea, thought that in his opinion both the IOC and the NOC should re-consider each party's proposal prior to the following morning's meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 17h50.

Wednesday, 9th October 1985

The meeting opened at 09h35.

THE PRESIDENT made delegates from the NOC of the DPR of Korea welcome. He explained the standpoint of the IOC, making clear that it was not possible for the International Olympic Committee to accept the proposal submitted the previous day by the NOC of the DPR Korea. Such a suggestion was in contradiction with the "Olympic Charter" and with the decision taken by the IOC at the 1981 Baden-Baden Congress. Nevertheless, it would be possible to consider the organisation of some Olympic events in Pyongyang. This and other conditions which would promote the participation of the DPR Korea in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad could be discussed, if delegates were willing to study these.

MR. YU SUN KIM, President of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, reiterated his conviction that the most efficient way of making the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad fully successfully was the co-hosting of the Games by both the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and the DPR of Korea. This would further trust and understanding amongst the Korean nations. He felt that the Baden-Baden decision had not taken sufficiently into account the realities of the situation in Korea. The "Olympic Charter" indeed expressed the aims of the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Ideals. The letter of this "Charter" was, however, in his view, of lesser importance and was not always strictly adhered to. The Games of the XVIth Olympiad, for example, had been jointly hosted by Melbourne and Stockholm, and during the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad there had been two Olympic villages, whereas the "Charter" stipulated that there should be a single Olympic village.

The Games of the XXIVth Olympiad should be those of reunification, dispelling misunderstanding and promoting good relations, aims which were in full accord with the ideals of the Olympic Movement. MR. KIM therefore felt that the proposal from his NOC for the co-hosting of the Games by North and South Korea, should be reconsidered as it reflected Olympic ideals of peace, harmony and friendship.

He was grateful for this opportunity to express his views and was convinced that the meeting would yield fruitful results.

THE PRESIDENT stressed that the above proposal for the Games to be jointly hosted by Pyongyang and Seoul was not acceptable to the IOC. The Games had been granted to Seoul and should be organised by Seoul. However, certain agreements could be reached in order that all Koreans should participate to the greatest possible extent in these Games. The KOC and the IOC were prepared to consider the organisation of certain Olympic events in Pyongyang, a contribution to the Seoul cultural programme by the DPR Korea, and a joint parade of Korean athletes on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Games. Such proposals could be formulated and submitted in written form during the next few days. Thus, at a subsequent meeting the NOC of the DPR Korea could present its reactions.

MR. KIM was of the opinion that the proposal for co-hosting the Games should be further studied, as well as those suggestions to which the President of the IOC had referred.

The meeting adjourned at 10h10 and resumed at 10h20.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the purpose of the meeting between the two Koreas and the IOC was to examine how best to promote the participation of all Koreans in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

The IOC rejected the proposal for joint hosting of the Games. However, it was possible to forward a letter to the NOC of the DPR Korea advancing certain ideas which would involve the DPR Korea more actively in the Games of the Olympiad. Such suggestions could be studied by the NOC and comments brought up at a future date. A further meeting could be arranged for 8th - 9th January 1986.

In his turn, MR. KIM stressed that the primary aim of this meeting was to foster the sound development of the Olympic Movement and to examine the realities of the situation of a divided Korea. This was the reason for the proposal advanced by his NOC and full explanations had been given. Naturally, however, the NOC would be pleased to study ideas put forward by the IOC and would communicate its reactions at a later meeting.

THE PRESIDENT informed the meeting that there would be a joint gathering of delegates from the two NOCs at 15h00 and at 18h00 a press conference would be given. He invited the President of the NOC of the DPR Korea to attend, should he so wish.

The delegation from the NOC of the DPR Korea left the meeting at 10h30.

THE PRESIDENT welcomed the delegation from the NOC of the Republic of Korea to their second meeting with the IOC delegation at 11h00.

The meeting had been proceeding smoothly and in a friendly atmosphere, although the position of the NOC of the DPR Korea was very different that of the IOC. The NOC of the DPR Korea had made a proposal containing different points which could not be accepted by the IOC since this contravened the "Olympic Charter" and decisions taken by the IOC since 1981 regarding the awarding of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad to Seoul.

Following the meeting between the delegations of the IOC and of the Korean Olympic Committee, the IOC had proposed to the NOC of the DPR Korea that the latter organise certain events, parade jointly with the team fielded by the Korean Olympic Committee during the opening and closing ceremonies, and also take part in the cultural programme.

However, THE PRESIDENT felt that this had not been the right moment for the NOC of the DPR Korea to discuss such a proposal. The IOC had therefore decided to send a letter containing these proposals to the NOC of the DPR Korea during October 1985, and also suggesting another meeting between delegations from the IOC and the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and of the DPR Korea on 8th and 9th January 1986 in Lausanne.

THE PRESIDENT wished to raise two questions. Firstly, he queried whether the Korean Olympic Committee had studied the possibility of fielding a joint team for participation in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. It was known that talks had been held during recent years regarding a joint team, but the IOC wished to know the KOC's opinion in this respect.

Secondly, before the IOC wrote to the NOC of the DPR Korea, the former wished to explore the possibility with the Korean Olympic Committee of offering additional events to the NOC of the DPR Korea.

Before replying to the above questions, MR. CHONG-HA KIM, President of the Korean Olympic Committee, thanked the President of the IOC for his hospitality the previous evening and for his gift which would be presented to the Olympic Museum to be set up in Seoul to commemorate the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. MR. KIM hoped that the current good weather would be conducive to a positive outcome of the meeting.

With regard to a single team, MR. KIM stated that this matter had been discussed continuously between the Republic of Korea and the DPR Korea. The first meeting had been held in June 1981 when the Korean Olympic Committee had suggested sports exchanges between the two countries in order to establish close relations, and had also proposed fielding a single team. However, no reply had been received from the representatives of the DPR Korea until five months before the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad in Los Angeles, at which time it had not been possible to enter a joint team. Three other unsuccessful meetings had also been held.

MR. KIM recalled that the NOCs from the Socialist countries and the USSR had boycotted the 1984 Olympic Games, and the NOC of the DPR Korea had stated that it would never discuss the question of a single team with the NOC of the Republic of Korea.

Nevertheless, if the IOC recommended such a solution, and the NOC of the DPR Korea agreed, the Korean Olympic Committee would discuss the matter directly with the NOC of the DPR Korea once they returned home.

MR. KIM felt that, in consideration of the statements made by the NOC of the DPR Korea, a single team would mean to the DPR Korea co-hosting of the 1988 Olympic Games and the NOC would claim that they were organising half of these Games.

Apart from this concern, the Korean Olympic Committee wished to consider the IOC's proposal as it was serious in nature, and the KOC was ready to discuss it with the NOC of the DPR Korea.

The IOC had asked the KOC to consider allowing the NOC of the DPR Korea to organise more events. However, the KOC did not wish to offer any additional events as the NOC of the DPR Korea would only be satisfied with organising exactly half of the Games.

THE PRESIDENT assured that a copy of the letter of the NOC of the DPR Korea would be sent to the Korean Olympic Committee.

Furthermore, THE PRESIDENT wished to know if the Korean Olympic Committee would accept the IOC's invitation to meet again on 8th and 9th January 1986 in Lausanne in order to discuss the proposals to be include in the IOC's letter.

THE PRESIDENT confirmed to Mr. Kim that the meeting would be held between the IOC and delegations from both NOCs. Moreover, the IOC would consult the KOC before proposing the organisation of additional events to the NOC of the DPR Korea.

THE PRESIDENT reiterated that the IOC's position was very clear. It had to respect the "Olympic Charter" and the decisions taken since 1981. The Games of the XXIVth Olympiad had been awarded to Seoul and would be held there. However, the IOC was now trying to offer something to the NOC of the DPR Korea to enable the latter to take part in the 1988 Olympic Games, and this was the main aim of the current meeting.

MR. KIM appreciated the President's confirmation that the IOC would respect the "Olympic Charter" and the decisions taken regarding the choice of Seoul as venue for the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. Seoul had been given the right to host the Games and would honour their obligations. The Korean Olympic Committee would offer something to the NOC of the DPR Korea in order to pay tribute to the efforts of the President of the IOC to ensure wide participation in the Games.

If the NOC of the DPR Korea respected the "Olympic Charter" and the decision taken in 1981 awarding the Games to Seoul, MR. KIM assured that the KOC would participate in tri-lateral talks in January 1986.

THE PRESIDENT concluded that a joint meeting of all 3 parties would be held at 15h00 that afternoon. He would then be giving a press conference at 18h00 to which he invited Mr. Chong Ha Kim. Mr. Yu Sun Kim, President of the NOC of the DPR Korea, had also been invited.

MR. KIM confirmed his agreement with the schedule.

The meeting adjourned at 11h10.

The meeting between the IOC delegates, representatives of the NOC of the Republic of Korea and the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea resumed at 15h00.

THE PRESIDENT thanked the KOC delegation and the DPR of Korea NOC delegation, especially their respective presidents, Mr. Chong-Ha Kim and Mr. Yu Sun Kim, for their constructive attitude during negotiations. He felt sure that this meeting would prove useful towards obtaining an agreement in order that all Koreans should be involved in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

THE PRESIDENT gave the floor to the Presidents of the delegations before making his final statement.

MR. YU SUN KIM, President of the NOC of the DPR of Korea, made a declaration, (annex 4).

MR. CHONG-HA KIM, President of the NOC of the Republic of Korea, stated that it had been a great honour to attend the North-South sports talks held under the aegis of the International Olympic Committee. He would like to express his sincere thanks to the IOC representatives and to the delegation from the DPR of Korea who had attended this meeting in a very serious manner.

His delegation had made very clear that the hosting of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad had been established in accordance with the “Olympic Charter”, through appropriate IOC procedures.

The Korean Olympic Committee firmly believed that all the Korean people should participate in the Olympic Games, 1988. Within the framework of the “Olympic Charter”, the KOC was prepared to allocate some Olympic events to the DPR of Korea. He sincerely hoped that the DPR of Korea NOC would respond in a positive manner to such a gesture and that successful dialogue would ensue. Although no final agreement had been reached, he expressed the wish that all Koreans should be able to honourably participate in the Games to be hosted by the Korean Olympic Committee.

MR. KIM expressed his heartfelt appreciation to President Samaranch as well as his sincere wish for the everlasting development of the Olympic Movement.

THE PRESIDENT referred to the fact that a further joint meeting between the two NOCs and the IOC delegates would be held on 8th and 9th January 1986. Later during the month of October a letter would be sent to both NOCs explain the procedure for this meeting.

The IOC would work towards the most appropriate means of reaching a positive agreement, acceptable to both NOCs and which all the Korean people would find satisfactory.

THE PRESIDENT thanked both NOC delegations for the friendly atmosphere in which the two-day meeting had taken place.

The press conference would be held at 18h00 and the Presidents of both NOCs were invited to attend. The IOC would issue a press release, which expressed the standpoint of the IOC alone, and he went on to inform the meeting of the content of the report (annex 5).

The meeting was declared closed at 15h20.

ANNEX 1
IOC DELEGATION

H.E. Mr. Juan Antonio SAMARANCH	(President of the IOC)
Mr. Alexandru SIPERCO	(1st Vice-President of the IOC)
Mr. Berthold BEITZ	(3rd Vice-President of the IOC)
Sheik Fahad Al-Ahmad AL-SABAH	(IOC member and President of the Olympic Council of Asia)
Mr. Raymond GAFNER	(IOC member and Ad interim administrator of the IOC)

KOREA NOC DELEGATION

Mr. Chong-Ha KIM	President of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Choong-Sik CHANG	Vice-President of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Man-Lip CHOY	Vice-President of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Chong-Ha LEE	Member of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Tae-Soon YIM	Member of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Joung-Moon NAM	Member of the Korean Olympic Committee

DPR KOREA NOC DELEGATION

Mr. Yu Sun KIM	President of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Chung Guk CHIN	Vice-President of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Chang On HAN	Member of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Bok Man AN	Member of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Ung CHANG	Assistant Secretary General of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Myong Hwang CHO	Member of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

ANNEX 2

STATEMENT BY MR. YU SUN KIM,
PRESIDENT OF THE NOC OF THE DPR KOREA

It is a great pleasure for me to note that the sincere efforts on the part of the respected IOC President Mr. Samaranch for the success of the 24th Olympic Games have today brought together here the delegation of the IOC and the delegations of the National Olympic Committees of the north and south of Korea for the consultation on matters of mutual concern.

On behalf of the National Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I would like, first of all, to express our gratitude to the IOC President Mr. Samaranch and other distinguished members of the IOC delegation for this arrangement.

At the same time, I wish to warmly welcome, in the spirit of fervent compatriotic love, the fellow delegates from the south now present here with us.

We are here today to resolve the complicated problems facing the 24th Olympics and search for a break-through solution.

It is common knowledge that the serious differences of views and crisis of a possible split have come up with regard to the venue of the 24th Olympic Games. This contains such an inneglectable [sic] element which is likely to adversely affect the future development of the Olympic Movement.

The Olympic Movement has been a symbol of peace, friendship and cooperation amongst the peace-loving peoples and sportsmen throughout the world. They have promoted the spirits of understanding, trust, friendship, peace and cooperation through the Olympic Games, thereby contributing towards world peace and unity of all peoples.

The lofty ideal of the Olympic Movement is also in accord with the will and desire of our people for national concord and trust of the north and south and for peace and peaceful reunification of the country.

That is why we have respected the ideals and principle of the Olympic Movement for peace, friendship and cooperation and made our strenuous efforts to contribute to this Movement.

As President Samaranch knows, our nation, that had lived harmoniously as a homogenous nation boasting of the 5,000-year-long time-honoured history and culture, has been suffering from the immeasurable misfortunes and agonies because of the tragic division for over 40 years.

The north and south are the two parts of our artificially divided country, and the compatriots of the north and south are of the single-blooded kindred and brotherhood.

It is only the one expanse of the 3,000-ri homeland that constantly occupies the minds of our fellow countrymen, and their single desire envisions the reunified homeland, not partition, and the peaceful homeland free from any war.

To our regret, however, the one side of the divided Korea has been designated to host the 24th Olympic Games, contrary to the desire of our people for national unity and reunification. This has led to the situation which might in the future exasperate the division, antagonism and confrontation between the north and south.

Since a considerable number of the IOC members did not fully understand the specific reality of our divided country at the time of the debate on designating Seoul as the venue of the 24th Olympic Games, they must not have become aware of what difficulties it would bring to the realisation of the Korean people's cause for reunification and what antagonism and confrontation it would entail between the north and south.

The subsequent developments have manifestly shown that the failure to take any epochal measures with regard to the 24th Olympic venue will end up with such a situation which is exceedingly harmful to the Korean people's cause of reunification and to the sound development of the Olympic Movement.

A great number of governments and the public, the press and sports figures in many countries of the world have voiced their views that the choice of Seoul as the 24th Olympic venue is irrational and that either the alteration of the Olympic venue or any other new epochal measures will be indispensable in order to avert a serious crisis the venue problem would bring to bear.

If the Olympic Games are to take place as it is now, not a small number of countries without any "diplomatic relations" with south Korea will refuse to participate in the Games, thus bringing about a split of the Olympic Movement.

All these facts give a serious lesson that the Olympic venue is not merely a working matter of sports and that it requires further thought and consideration particularly in case of holding the Olympic Games in a divided country.

The Olympic Movement must neither spell misfortunes to any nation, nor should it foster a split and confrontation of a nation, both in view of the history of its origin and development and in the light of its lofty ideals and aims.

The National Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers that if the 24th Olympic Games are to be successfully carried out to live up to the desire and aspiration of the justice and peace-loving peoples and sportsmen of the world, it is essential to affirm the principles suitable to the lofty Olympic ideals and take reasonable measures necessary for this.

The first principle is to make the 24th Olympic Games a successful great international festival for all countries to participate.

The second principle is to make the 24th Olympics the games of friendship and cooperation, not antagonism and confrontation, the games for detente, not tension, and the games for reunification, not split.

The third principle is to organise and hold the 24th Olympic Games in such a way that they can serve the interests of all member organisations of the international Olympic Movement

and not encroach upon the interests of a certain member organisation or a few or several member organisations.

It is on these principles that we have sought and searched in various aspects for the ways and means to make the 24th Olympic Games a greatest international sports festival in conformity with the desire and demands of the world peace-loving peoples and sportsmen and with the reunification cause of the Korean people.

After the serious study and search, we have come to the conviction that the most realistic and reasonable way is for the north and south of Korea to jointly host the 24th Olympic Games.

Respecting the ideals of the Olympic Movement for peace, friendship and harmony, from the purpose to be faithful to the Olympic Charter pursuing the constant improvement, strengthening and development of the Olympic Movement and from the desire of getting rid of the anxiety of the world peace-loving peoples and sportsmen about the 24th Olympic venue, we wish to solemnly forward the following proposal to this joint meeting:

The Proposal from the Delegation of
The National Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

No. 1 The Hosting of the 24th Olympic Games

The north and south will jointly host the 24th Olympic Games and field a single team of the north and south to the Games.

No. 2 The Appellation of 24th Olympic Games

The Olympic Games shall be named the "Korea Olympic Games" or "Korea Pyongyang-Seoul Olympic Games".

No. 3 The Allotment of the Disciplines

The disciplines of the Games will be allotted equally half to Pyongyang and Seoul each.

No. 4 The Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Olympic Games

The opening and closing ceremonies for the allotted disciplines will take place respectively in Pyongyang and Seoul.

No. 5 The Host Cities' Guarantee

It shall be guaranteed that all the necessary preparations for the 24th Olympic Games will be completed in the shortest time in compliance with the rules and byelaws of the International Olympic Committee and International Sports Federations.

No. 6 The Free Exchange of Visits

a) Adequate conditions will be provided for the athletes, officials, journalists and tourists to freely travel between Pyongyang and Seoul by land, sea and air.

- b) For such a free exchange of visits, roads and railways will be connected between Pyongyang and Seoul, and passenger liner service will open to traffic between the Nampo Port linked with Pyongyang by highways and the Incheon Port linked with Seoul by highways.
- c) For the maximum convenience and expeditious travels, passes will be issued by the respective sides at the crossing points, instead of visas, for the athletes, officials, journalist and tourists entering the respective areas of the north and south.
- d) The authorities concerned of the north and south will issue in advance their respective statements on guaranteeing the security for travelers and carry them out.

No. 7 The Televising Rights and Allotment of Profits

The televising rights will depend on the contract and the profits from the televising rights will be allotted reasonably through consultations.

No. 8 The Formation of a Standing Body for the Joint Hosting of the Olympic Games

- a) A north-south joint standing body will be organised for the successful joint hosting of the 24th Olympic Games.
- b) The north-south joint standing body will be named the “Joint Organising Committee of the Korea Olympic Games” or the “Joint Organising Committee of the Korea Pyongyang-Seoul Olympic Games”.
- c) The above-mentioned Joint Organising Committee will consist of the two Co-Chairmen representing the north and south respectively and of a necessary number of its standing members.

No. 9 Other Business

Other details will be separately worked out for agreement of views.

No. 10 The Documentation of Agreement

A document of agreement will be drawn up on the north-south joint hosting of the 24th Olympic Games and entering a single team into the Games.

We have solid material and technical foundations for jointly hosting the 24th Olympic Games and adequate sports facilities and conditions, including the already expensively built gymnasiums and stadiums.

Our proposal on the north-south joint hosting of the 24th Olympic Games is the most appropriate and realistic proposal for the successful Olympics on the basis of the serious consideration of the situation of the Olympic Movement and the realities of our divided country.

This proposal is not only in full accord with the lofty ideal and principles of the Olympic Movement aimed at peace and friendship, harmony and cooperation but also reflects our sincere position to glorify the Olympic Games as the greatest sports festival without any turns and twists.

This proposal will help to remove the antagonism and confrontation between the north and south of Korea and have an encouraging influence on national unity, detente and reunification and have a positive effect on the on-going north-south talks in several fields. It will

also facilitate the solution of the problem of forming a single team of the north and south to enter the international games.

This proposal will also help to enable those countries, which have been considering their participation in the 24th Olympic Games, to send their national team to the same without let or hindrance, and to prevent the possible split of the Olympic Movement.

In one word, our proposal on the north-south joint hosting of the 24th Olympic Games, when realised, will bring about an unprecedented turn in the realization of the Korean people's cause of reunification and in the strengthening and development of the Olympic Movement, and it will be a historical event recording a new exploit in the history of the Olympic Movement.

We hope that the IOC delegation and the Olympic Committee delegation of the south will express their deep understanding and positively respond to our proposal.

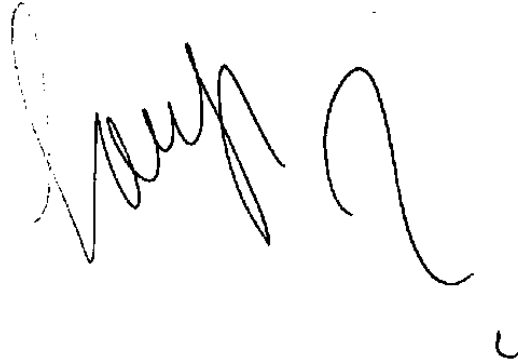
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DOCUMENT No. 14

Ichiro Ogimura and Young C. Kim's Efforts to Facilitate the 1988 Olympic Games

8 October 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]



ATTENTION: MR A SAMARANCH
PRESIDENT OF IOC, ROOM 310

Dear Mr. Samaranch,

Yesterday 6th I met Mr Young C. Kim, professor of George Washington Univ [sic], USA South Korean born US citizen, worked for US occupation forces in Japan after 2nd war, now working for Shultz, Secretary of State for USA, to advice [sic] us policy concerning North East Asian matters.

Mr. Y.C. Kim visited Pyong Yang 5 times in 86' and 87', met Politobureau [sic] people, and succeeded to relaye [sic] USA-DPRK relation a little bit as you know.

He visited Seoul recently, met newly elected Mr Ro Taewoo, and have confidence Mr Ro wish to welcome DPRK to participate Seoul Olympic, and knows that Mr Ro prepared to make dramatic statement after his appointment of new president Feb 25 1988, then he plans USA gov [sic] also give, what he call "ultra c" action towards DPR Korea including us-DPR Korea dialogue etc.

Thus we agree Ogimura visit Pyong Yang on 11th Jan 1988. Mr Abe liberal party general director was given the report.

I have tixed [sic] to Pyong Yang as other paper but not yet confirmed if they are interested to welcome me or not.

Best rgds [sic] and wish you a successful new year.

Ichiro Ogimura
President of ITTF

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===== CONVERSATION MODE START =====

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OUR TLX NO. 1500 MN/io

ATTN: MR KIM YUSUN
PRESIDENT OF DPR KOREA OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

Dear Mr. Kim Yusun,

Yesterday evening, 6th Jan. 1988, I met Professor Young C. Kim of The George Washington University USA, in Tokyo, for 2 hours. He returned Washington University [sic] by 7th morning flight. As you know, Prof Kim came to Pyong Yang 86 and 87. Met your Polito Bureau [sic] people. He met Mr Ro Taewoo (next President elected) in Seoul several days ago. He will report our discussions to US Secretary of State Mr Shults [sic], today or tomorrow.

After discussions with him, I have following sinario [sic] to discuss with you at my visit to Pyong Yang on 11th Jan 1988 (Monday) by CA 903. I am visiting your Embassy immediately after my arrival at Beijing on Sunday of 10th for applying 10th afternoon around 14:30 entry document. Am leaving by JS 151 on 13th Jan (Wed) to Beijing.

1. Before 17th of Jan, you make it clear that "DPRK still wish to host 24th Olympic Games, but still needs negotiations and following agreement with IOC and South Korean side."
2. In the meantime, US government and Jpnese govt [sic] will give strong advices to Mr Ro, for a dramatic change of attitude to North-South relations including Olympic Games.
3. Mr Ro will make dramatic statement on his new policy towards North-South talks including 24th Olympiad, immediately after 25th February when he became President.
4. US Government will immediately welcome the statement of Mr Ro. And US gov themselves will announce their drastic change of attitude towards DPR Korea including to start direct dialogue between DPR Korea and USA.

51 Prof. Young C. Kim visit Pyong Yang in mid March to finalize above sinario [sic] so that cohosting of 24th Olympiad will be technically in time for the events which will be held in DPR Korea.

6. I will in the meantime meet Mr Samaranch at Lausanne on 19th Jan. and talk how many more sports shall be played at Pyong Yang several events as pre Olympic Games demonstration.
7. Mr Samaranch himself visit both South and North Korea end March/beg April and himself finalize all conditions re cohosting.
8. By that period DPR Korea organize in Pyong Yang several events as pre Olympic Game demonstrations.

Kindly inform your Embassy in Beijing that Ogimura will appear in the afternoon of Sunday 10th Jan for entry visa.

Looking forward for your tlx confiermation [sic] for my visit, and seeing you at Pyong Yang.

Best regards,

Ichiro Ogimura, ITTF President

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===== CONVERSATION MODE END =====

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DOCUMENT No. 15

Note from the IOC President to the DPRK's NOC
5 November 1985

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88/ IERE REUNION DES 2 COREES (EQUIPE UNIFIE) 1985; SEOUL 88/ JOINT TEAM (+JOINT MEETING, LAUSANNE/ 8-9 oct. 85) (IRE REUNION DES 2 COREES). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

Mr. Yu Sun KIM,
Chairman
Olympic Committee of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea
Musin-dong 2
Dongdaewon-dist.

PYONGYANG / R.D.P Corée

Lausanne, 5th November 1985
Ref. No. 10028 /85/msa

RE : Games of the XXIVth Olympiad

Dear Mr. Kim,

Thank you very much for your letter of 30th September 1985 which arrived only on the 4th November 1985.

Now that the joint meeting of the two Koreas is over, I would like to remind you of the forthcoming one, next January 1986, which is of great importance to the Olympic Movement.

I hope that our combined efforts will be entirely successful and that friendly ties will consolidate the spirit of understanding and goodwill throughout the world.

Yours sincerely,

Juan Antonio Samaranch

bcc. Mr. Raymond GAFNER
Administrator



DOCUMENT No. 16

Meeting between the IOC and the DPRK's NOC regarding the Agenda and Details of Future Meetings

7 January 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

sjg/7.1.86

INFORMAL MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DELEGATION OF THE NOC OF DPR KOREA

Tuesday, 7th January 1986
Château de Vidy - 18.15 hours

Present for the IOC :

H.E. Mr. Juan Antonio SAMARANCH, IOC President
Mr. Alexandru SIPERCO, IOC Vice-President

Present for the NOC of the DPR Korea :

Mr. Yu Sun KIM, IOC member in DPR Korea and President of the NOC
Mr. Chung Guk CHIN, Vice-President of the NOC of DPR Korea
Interpreter of the delegation

The IOC President welcomed the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the informal meeting, commenting that the second meeting between the two Korean NOCs and the IOC would take place in the same manner as the first one last October.

The delegation, headed by Mr. Yu Sun Kim, IOC member in DPR Korea and President of the NOC of the DPR Korea, confirmed that they had received the documents which would be discussed during the forthcoming two days' meetings. Confirmation was also given regarding receipt of the agenda and the programme of the meetings.

The IOC President pointed out that the agenda would only be followed for the bilateral meeting between the IOC delegation and that of the NOC of North or South Korea. He informed the delegation that the points of the agenda could be dealt with in any order, but stressed that the points should be followed carefully and each one should be discussed in detail in order that progress may be made.

The IOC President read out the programme of the meetings which would be followed for the next two days, to which the delegation of the NOC of the DPR Korea had no objections.

During the full meeting with both delegations, the IOC President pointed out that each NOC's delegation would be entitled to six representatives seated at the table and three others present in the room. As far as the bilateral meeting was concerned, the IOC had no objection if the NOC delegation wished to have more advisors present in the room.

The delegation of the NOC of DPR Korea asked whether it would be possible for the two parties to be positioned face to face across the table rather than at each end during the bilateral discussions. The IOC President pointed out that the meeting was presided by the IOC and as the IOC President he was obliged to sit at the head of the table. However, if this posed a problem, the layout of the meeting could be changed, which the NOC delegation considered was not necessary.

Mr. Yu Sun Kim expressed his hopes for the success of the forthcoming meeting and took the opportunity to thank the IOC President and the IOC delegation which had attended the previous meeting for their efforts regarding North Korea's participation in the 1988 Olympic Games. He stressed that his delegation would do its utmost in order to ensure that the Olympic Games were a successful international festival.

Whilst admitting that existing differences between the delegations, Mr. Yu Sun Kim felt that through co-operation and discussions during the forthcoming meetings, these differences could be diminished, if not settled.

In reply to the delegation of the NOC of the DPR Korea, the IOC President stated that if it was necessary to extend the discussions this could be done. Having already visited Pyong-Yang [sic] on two previous occasions he was well aware of the travel involved and if more time was necessary on this occasion it would be granted.

The meeting closed at 18.30 hours.



DOCUMENT No. 17

Meeting between the IOC and the DPRK's NOC on Increasing North Korea's Participation in the 1988 Olympic Games

9 January 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

sjg/9.1.86

INFORMAL MEETING BETWEEN THE IOC AND THE DELEGATION OF THE NOC OF
THE DPR KOREA

Lausanne, 9th January 1986 – 09.15.00 hours

Persons present :

For the IOC

H.E. Mr. Juan Antonio SAMARANCH, IOC President
Mr. Alexandru SIPERCO, IOC Vice-President

Present for the NOC of the DPR Korea

Mr. Yu Sun KIM, IOC member in DPR Korea and President of the NOC
Mr. Chung Guk CHIN, Vice-President of the NOC of DPR Korea

The delegation of the NOC of the DPR Korea stated that it had reviewed its proposal of the previous day to stage 8 events during the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Pyong-Yang. During the informal meeting the delegation was prepared to make its position clear regarding the staging of events. However, during the formal meeting their position would remain unchanged for the present time.

The IOC President stressed that there should be no misunderstanding between himself and Mr. Yu Sun Kim as there had been during talks in Moscow two years ago. He believed that the delegation had spoken with Vice-President Siperco and had reached a conclusion, which he requested Mr. Siperco to repeat.

Mr. Siperco stated that he had had discussions with the delegation of the NOC of the DPR Korea on the previous evening and the delegation had been favourable to the proposal of 3 full sports events, one of which would possibly be football, being staged in Pyong-Yang.

The DPR Korea NOC delegation explained that the NOC was intending to participate in the Games or it would not be taking part in the discussions. However, the question of the single

team was raised once again, to which the IOC President stressed that this was purely a matter for the two Koreas.

If a conclusion was reached regarding a joint team, then the IOC would accept this decision. If not, its proposal for the joint parade of the two teams on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Games would still be valid.

The NOC of the DPR Korea proposed that the three events be football, table tennis and archery (or shooting). The IOC President reiterated that he could not make a decision due to the fact that he was obliged to speak first with the IFs.

The IOC President made it clear that the IOC would honour its contract signed in Baden Baden for the staging of the Games in Seoul. However, it was possible for some events to take place in Pyong-Yang, but only upon the agreement of the NOC of the DPR Korea to participate in some sports events of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad being held in Seoul.

The NOC of the DPR Korea raised the question of the name to be given to the Games. They requested that they be called the “24th Olympic Games Pyong Yang – Seoul (or Seoul – Pyong-Yang) depending on whether it was written in North or South Korea.

The IOC President stated that this proposal was under no circumstances acceptable to the IOC.

It was agreed in principle that the 1988 Summer Olympic Games would be the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul. However, for those events being held in North Korea, the IOC President felt that Pyong-Yang could be substituted for Seoul. He stressed that this matter would be duly studied by the IOC and that he was not in a position to give a firm proposal at the present time.

The DPR Korea NOC delegation wished to have a joint Organising Committee with the same number of participants on each side, which the IOC President stated was strictly not possible or acceptable. It would be necessary to create a special organising committee for the events to be staged in Pyongyang.

Regarding a further meeting in order to continue the talks, the IOC President felt that the next meeting of the three parties should be composed of only 3 delegates for each of the two Korean NOCs.

The NOC of the DPR Korea preferred this meeting to take place in Lausanne rather than in Seoul during the IOC meetings in April and it was agreed that the next meeting between the IOC and two Korean NOCs should take place in Lausanne on 10th and 11th June 1986.

The IOC President suggested that an informal meeting could be held in March between the IOC and the delegation of the NOC of the DPR Korea in order to discuss various matters prior to the full meeting.

The delegation agreed that two or three representatives of the NOC of the DPR Korea would come to Lausanne for private discussions with the IOC President on 7th March 1986 at 10.00 hours.

The IOC President felt that there were many points which needed reflection and study on both sides and requested that the delegation forward a memorandum to him prior to the meeting in March raising all the points for discussion. For his part, the IOC President stated that he would also forward a memorandum to the NOC of DPR Korea and the two documents would be discussed in detail on the occasion of the meeting in March.

In reply to the IOC President's request for clarification of North Korea's position regarding participation in the Olympic Games in Seoul, the delegation felt that as the Games were happening on Korean territory, it was not correct for North and South Koreans to participate against one another.

The IOC President pointed out that Koreans from both sides had been competing against one another in competitions throughout the world. He stressed that the NOC should be ready to participate in Seoul with its own team.

Finally, the IOC President wished to advise the DPR Korean delegation that they should attend the meeting of the NOCs in Seoul in April 1986. He felt that their failure to attend could have serious consequences, regardless of the political difficulties which they themselves underwent in order to attend the meeting.



DOCUMENT No. 18

Meeting between the IOC President and the ROK's NOC on North Korea's Participation in the 1988 Olympic Games

9 January 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

INFORMAL MEETING WITH THE NOC OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Lausanne, 9th January 1986
18.00 – 19.00 hours

Persons present :

For the IOC

H.E. Mr. Juan Antonio SAMARANCH, IOC President

For the NOC of the Republic of Korea

Mr. Chong-Ha KIM, President, NOC of the Republic of Korea
Mr. Chong-sik CHANG, Vice-President, NOC of the Republic of Korea
H.E. Mr. Park, Ambassador of the Republic of Korea (Geneva)

The IOC President stated that he really did not know whether or not the North Koreans were ready to take part in the Games in Seoul, but he had advised them that it was in their best interest be present in Seoul for the meetings in April.

Mr. Kim felt that a North Korean delegation would attend the meetings in Seoul and perhaps also the Olympic Games.

Joint team

The IOC President remarked that the DPR Korean NOC strongly favoured a united team. He continued that he had been cautious by saying that this was purely a Korean problem, to be solved by the two sides and the IOC would not preside the [sic] discussions.

Mr. Kim thanked the IOC President for his co-operation in this matter. He explained that the Olympic Games in Seoul were the first Games to take place in the Korean nation and therefore the Korean people would be very disappointed if the Korean teams entered the stadium without their national flags or the name of the countries. For both sides, he considered that a better solution would be to use both flags and names but march together.

In the opinion of the NOC of the Republic of Korea, the DPR Korea wished to have a united team in order that they could participate in every event and would not be subject to qualification.

Mr. Kim felt that the possibility of a single team could work if both leaders of North and South Korea agreed. However, the North Koreans could cause problems by prolonging the negotiations for a single team, thus making organisation difficult. This was a tactic employed by the North Koreans during all joint discussions between North and South Korea.

Possible sports events which could be organised by the DPR Korea

The IOC President asked Mr. Kim which sports he considered could be given to the North Koreans, to which Mr. Kim replied that he had given this matter a great deal of thought during the previous night. Table tennis was one of the possibilities and intended to propose this upon his return to the Republic of Korea. He pointed out that there was no qualification event and the North Koreans were strong in table tennis.

Mr. Kim had also thought of a canoeing event as there was a river which ran between the two countries. However, the IOC President pointed out that the SLOOC had spent a great deal of money on a special site for the canoeing and he did not feel that this would be a good solution.

The IOC President felt that the sports offered should be ones which were easy to organise.

In reply to the IOC President's question regarding archery, Mr. Kim pointed out that the South Koreans were better at this sport, but it was a possibility.

The IOC President stressed that he was not optimistic and very much would depend upon the meeting between the two Korean leaders at the forthcoming summit in March. The IOC intended to keep the door open, but he confirmed that the IOC would always support the contract signed in Baden Baden awarding the Games to Seoul.

As far as the Asian Games were concerned, it was important to see what happened. During various international events held in Seoul, four Soviet teams had already participated.

Next meeting

The IOC President commented that the next meeting between the three parties would be held in Lausanne, which Mr. Kim agreed was a better idea than in either of the two Koreas.

The IOC President mentioned that a delegation of the NOC of the DPR Korea would probably be coming to Lausanne in March in order to hold private discussions.

Mr. Kim informed the IOC President that the NOC of the Republic of Korea did not intend to push or reject the North Koreans as they were afraid of the repercussions. A flexible attitude would be maintained and the SLOOC and NOC of the Republic of Korea would put its trust in the IOC.



DOCUMENT No. 19

Meeting between the IOC President and the DPRK's NOC on North Korea's Participation in the 1988 Olympic Games

13 January 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

DRAFT

(stamped confidential)

Sjg/13.1.86

INFORMAL MEETING WITH A DELEGATION OF THE NOC OF THE DPR KOREA

Lausanne, 13th January 1985 [sic], 17.15 hours

Persons present :

For the IOC

H.E. Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch, IOC President

For the NOC of the DPR Korea

Mr. Chung Guk CHIN, Vice-President, NOC

Mr. Deuk Kil KIM, member of the NOC

Interpreter (Young Myeung JIN, First Secretary, DPR Korea Mission, Geneva)

The delegation of the NOC of DPR Korea thanked the IOC President for all his efforts during the last meetings, but wished to ask for more clarification regarding elements of the discussions which had taken place on 8th and 9th January 1986.

The delegation pointed out that telexes and telegrammes had been sent to the Government of the DPR Korea, but it would be necessary to make a report upon returning there.

1. Sports events to be held in Pyong Yang

The delegation wished to know which would be the other two sports to be held in DPR Korea apart from football. They realised there would be more discussions on this matter in March, but wanted to have an answer as soon as possible.

2. Joint teams

The delegation stated that it was aware that the IOC President saw little chance for the formation of a united team. However if both sides were favourable, it did not feel that this was unfeasible.

The delegation was thankful to the IOC that following its recommendations contacts would be established in order to continue discussions and to consider what the delegation felt was a question of primordial importance to the success of the Olympic Games.

The delegation requested that the IOC President, or if not, an IOC Vice-President attend the discussions for a joint team. It would not be necessary for the Vice-President to be present during all discussions, but at the opening and any crucial moments.

3. Olympic torch relay

The delegation requested more information regarding DPR Korea's involvement in the Olympic torch relay and how this would work.

4. Name to be given to the Olympic Games in 1988

The delegation stated that the IOC President had previously mentioned "24th Games in Pyong Yang", but wished to have confirmation of this.

The IOC President emphasised that it was necessary to have more time in order to discuss some of these questions before giving an exact answer.

A further meeting was arranged for Wednesday, 15th January 1986 at 10.30 hours at the Château de Vidy.

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DOCUMENT No. 20

Letter from the IOC President to the NOC of the ROK including a Summary of the 8-9 January 1986 Meeting between the Two Korean NOCS

15 January 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88/ 2EME REUNION DES 2COREES 1985-86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

Mr. Chong Ha KIM
President
Korean Olympic Committee
C.P.O Box 1106

CONFIDENTIAL

SEOUL / Korea

Lausanne, 15th January 1986
Ref. No. /86/afb

Re: Second meeting between the NOC of the Republic of Korea and the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Dear Mr. Kim,

Further to the meeting held in Lausanne on 8th and 9th January 1986 between the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee, please find enclosed a resumé of the following discussions in which your delegation took part:

- discussions between the IOC and the delegations from the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
- discussions between the IOC and your delegation alone.

In due course, you will be receiving an official invitation and the agenda for the third meeting scheduled in Lausanne on 10th and 11th June next.

Yours sincerely,

Juan Antonio SAMARANCH

*

bcc. Members of the IOC Executive Board
President of the Olympic Council of Asia – Sheik Fahad Al-Ahmad AL-SABAH
Administrators délégué of the IOC

RESUME OF THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE IOC AND THE DELEGATION OF THE
NOC OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Wednesday, 8th January 1986

The meeting re-opened at 15h00.

THE PRESIDENT welcomed the delegation from the NOC of the Republic of Korea.

He queried whether or not the NOC would agree to fielding a joint team with the NOC of the DPR of Korea but with different uniforms. He informed that the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had expressed great interest in having a joint team on many occasions including during meetings in Lausanne and Hong-Kong several years previously. Both sides had held numerous meetings since then, particularly during 1985, but no agreement could be reached between the 2 NOCs, and THE PRESIDENT wondered if the Korean Olympic Committee would be prepared to meet the NOC of the DPR of Korea to resume the talks which had been broken off in 1985.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the IOC felt that the question of a joint team related only to the 2 NOCs. The IOC looked forward to learning of a proposed solution to the problem, and encouraged both sides to reach an agreement.

He wished to know if he could advise Mr. Yu Sun Kim, President of the NOC of the DPR of Korea, that the Korean Olympic Committee would be willing to resume talks on the above issue in the near future, and suggested that a meeting be held between the Presidents of the 2 NOCs to decide on a date for such talks.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM replied that the issue of a joint team had been tried out in the past, but that as far as the 1988 Olympic Games were concerned, it was the responsibility of the 2 NOCs to find a solution to the problem. With regard to a date for talks on this matter, this could be arranged according to the schedule of Red Cross and economics talks taking place in 1986.

THE PRESIDENT reiterated that he wished to advise President Yu Sun Kim that the Korean Olympic Committee was prepared to resume talks in the near future, but without specifying a date.

2. JOINT PARADE OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS ON THE OCCASION OF THE
OPENING CEREMONY OF THE GAMES OF THE XXIVTH OLYMPIAD

MR. CHONG-HA KIM stated that the NOC of the Republic of Korea had made it clear that if the NOC of the DPR of Korea accepted the IOC's recommendations then it would be willing to accept the possibility of parading together at the opening ceremony. It was proposed that 3 columns of the delegation from the NOC of the Republic of Korea parade on the right in their own uniforms and behind their own flag, and 3 columns of the delegation from the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea parade on the left in their uniforms and behind their flag. Such a joint parade would demonstrate Korea's wish for unity.

3. EXAMINATION OF EVENTS WHICH COULD BE HELD ON THE TERRITORY OF
THE NOC OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

THE PRESIDENT remarked that at the last meeting of the Olympic Committee of the Republic of Korea had agreed to allow some preliminary events in basketball, football, handball and volleyball to be staged in the DPR of Korea. The IOC was now proposing that the NOC of the DPR of Korea be permitted to organise all competitions, preliminaries and finals, in one of these 4 sports in order to try to convince the NOC to accept the invitation to take part in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

Following a brief discussion with his delegation MR. CHONG-HA KIM replied that in accordance with Rule 24 of the “Olympic Charter” the Olympic Games were awarded to a city 6 years prior to the Games were due to be celebrated. Thus, the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad had been awarded to Seoul in 1981. Such a time period was required in view of the extensive preparations needed for the Games which were constantly expanding.

More than 4 years had passed since Seoul had been awarded the Games, and it would not be easy to re-allocate some of the preliminaries. Furthermore, the NOC was not aware of the facilities available in the DPR of Korea or which sites were most suitable for the various sports.

The Korean Olympic Committee had received no reply from the NOC of the DPR of Korea regarding the preliminary events it was proposed to stage in the latter’s territory.

MR. KIM concluded that it was not opportune for his NOC to consider granting additional events to the Olympic Committee of the DPR of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT emphasised that the IOC had organised this and the last meeting in order to try and help the Games in Seoul. The IOC’s position was clear and firm: it supported the Games in Seoul, sharing the same desire as the Korean Olympic Committee for the Games to be successful.

The main danger facing the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad was the position of the NOC of the DPR of Korea. The IOC was trying to convince the Committee to accept the invitation to take part in the Games, an invitation which would be sent out by the IOC itself. Offering the NOC the possibility of organising all competitions in a team sport might encourage the Committee to participate in the Games.

THE PRESIDENT reiterated that the IOC supported the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad, which belonged to it, and was trying to ensure their success. The proposal for the organisation of one sport in the DPR of Korea emanated not from the NOC in that country but from the IOC itself. He suggested that the delegation comment on the proposal the following day.

MR. KIM appreciated the efforts being made by the President of the IOC and the other delegates, and realised that the IOC and the Korean NOC shared the same goals. However, it would not be worthwhile to give more concessions to the NOC of the DPR of Korea. However, the proposal could be accepted if the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea withdrew their demand for co-hosting the Games and naming them the “Seoul/Pyongyang Games”.

THE PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Kim for his usual helpful attitude towards the IOC. He confirmed that the IOC had long since rejected the claims of the NOC of the DPR of Korea for

co-hosting the Games. In fact, these claims had not been discussed at that morning's meeting with the delegation from this NOC.

It was hoped to make some progress, and THE PRESIDENT requested that, if necessary, the Olympic Committee of the Republic of Korea bear the IOC's proposal in mind, should the NOC of the DPR of Korea be considering participation in the 1988 Olympic Games under certain conditions. If not, the situation would remain unchanged.

MR. KIM confirmed that the NOC had not changed its position regarding the staging of preliminary events in some sports in the DPR of Korea. He added that the following day he would advise whether or not the Korean Olympic Committee would accept the IOC's proposal and allow the NOC of the DPR of Korea to organise one team sport within its territory, provided it withdrew all claims for co-hosting of the Games.

4. EXAMINATION OF EVENTS WHICH COULD BE HELD USING THE TERRITORY OF THE TWO NOCS

THE PRESIDENT resumed that originally it had been proposed to hold the marathon in the Republic and Democratic People's Republic of Korea. However, this was not now possible owing to technical reasons, and thus it was suggested to stage certain cycling events.

MR. SHIN, Technical Director of the Organising Committee for the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad, was invited into the meeting to explain which events in cycling could be held in both territories.

MR. SHIN outlined that only the men's team road race over 100km could be organised so as to link the 2 territories.

5. PARTICIPATION OF THE NOC OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA IN THE CULTURAL PROGRAMME OF THE GAMES OF THE XXIVTH OLYMPIAD

THE PRESIDENT was not aware whether or not the Olympic Committee of the Republic of Korea had studied this time, or if it was ready to propose a programme to the IOC. Moreover, the IOC wished to know if the NOC would be willing to share the torch relay with the NOC of the DPR of Korea.

MR. KIM stated that exchange visits between the 2 territories had already taken place through the Red Cross involving cultural troupes, and further exchanges were planned. For the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad all NOCs would be invited to take part in the cultural programme in order to make it a success, and thus the NOC would accept the participation of the NOC of the DPR of Korea in this.

As for as sharing the torch relay was concerned, if the NOC of the DPR of Korea withdrew all its claims for co-hosting the Games, the Korean Olympic Committee would positively consider such a possibility.

6. ARRANGEMENT OF THE FOLLOW-UP TO THE NEGOTIATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE IOC

THE PRESIDENT advised that the delegation from the Olympic Committee of the Republic of Korea would be invited to the meeting the following day. A third set of meetings might be convened if necessary.

MR. KIM thanked the President for arranging the talks between the 2 sides, but felt that these should be more productive. He requested that the IOC consult his NOC before setting a date for a third meeting in view of the Committee's busy schedule in 1986.

THE ADMINISTRATOR queried the latest data at which the NOC could alter its programme for the Games, should the NOC of the DPR of Korea be allowed to organise certain events.

MR. KIM replied that the NOC would need the final details prior to June 1986. He stressed, however, that the NOC of the DPR of Korea would first have to withdraw its various demands.

Having no questions to raise with the other IOC delegates, MR. KIM thanked the President for his efforts and co-operation.

THE PRESIDENT observed that 1986 was a busy year with the IOC Executive Board meeting with the NOCs in Seoul in April 1986, and other Board meeting in September 1986 in Seoul with the Summer Ifs. THE PRESIDENT would also be attending the first few days of the 1986 Asian Games, Games which were of the utmost importance as they would indicate various countries' positions, and act as a trial run for the 1988 Olympic Games.

THE PRESIDENT mentioned that Minister Lee, Sports Minister in the Republic of Korea, had recently been replaced by General Park who he had met in the past. Although the IOC had always had good relations with the SLOOC it was hoped that these would improve further and communication increase.

It was planned to sign the US television rights' contract for the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad with NBC at the next Board meeting on 12th February 1986, and THE PRESIDENT asked Mr. Kim to request General Roh, President of the SLOOC, to come to Lausanne to sign the contract on behalf of the Organising Committee. He felt that General Roh and he should meet more often. As THE PRESIDENT would be in Seoul twice in 1986, he suggested General Roh visit Europe twice, the first time in February next. When the SLOOC had been created relations with the IOC had been close and many problems had been solved. At present the most important period just prior to the Games was being faced, and regular meetings between THE PRESIDENT and General Roh could only prove advantageous.

With regards to the US television rights' contract, THE PRESIDENT recalled that the IOC had advised the SLOOC to accept NBC's offer at the first round of negotiations in September 1985. When the offer had finally been accepted in November 1985 the minimum guarantee had been 25 million US dollars less than the originally offered, although the overall figure had been substantial. The IOC had vast experience in dealing with television networks and was aware of each network's limitations. Moreover, the IOC's aim to achieve as high a figure as possible was the same as that of the SLOOC.

The SLOOC had received bad advice that the contract would amount to between 500 and 800 million US dollars, a figure which had appeared in the press, and thus the Korean people had been disappointed to learn of the final figure of 300 million US dollars. This was, however, the highest figure ever paid for television rights to the Summer Olympic Games, as 225 million US dollars had been paid for the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad and the time difference between Seoul and prime American viewing time was not negligible.

The President warned the SLOOC to choose its advisors carefully particularly as the success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul represented a great deal to the Republic of Korea. The Games would be more than just a major sports event. The Republic of Korea was a small country but had vast organisational capabilities. In order to ensure that the Games would be successful, perhaps the most successful in Olympic history, all NOCs had to be encouraged to take part, including the DPR of Korea. He urged the NOC of the Republic of Korea and the SLOOC to trust the IOC in its advice.

THE PRESIDENT sent his best regards to General Roh, hoping to see the latter in Lausanne the following month, and his wishes for success to the new Sports Minister, General Park. He assured that the NOC and the Organising Committee would always be supported by the entire Olympic Movement.

MR. KIM thanked the President for his kind words, stating that he would transmit the latter's request to General Roh. THE PRESIDENT's advice would be taken into consideration in the preparations for the Games.

THE PRESIDENT further confirmed the IOC's support and any assistance it could lend with regard to the organisation of the ANOC meetings in April 1986 in Seoul and of the 1986 Asian Games in September.

The meeting adjourned at 16h00.

Thursday, 9th January 1986

The meeting between the delegates from the NOC of the Republic of Korea and the IOC began at 11h15.

THE PRESIDENT apologised for the delay in opening this meeting. He stated that at the end of the second series of meetings between the two Korean NOCs and the IOC, the results achieved were not outstanding; however, it must be acknowledged that a certain amount of progress had been made. The DPR of Korea delegation was gradually revealing a change in its initially unyielding attitude. THE PRESIDENT stressed that the position of the IOC remained unaltered and full support was offered to the NOC of the Republic of Korea; the IOC would stand by the commitments into which it had entered. It was a question of the IOC and the NOC of the Republic of Korea working together in order to try to ensure the participation of the DPR of Korea in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. The main objective of the IOC was the success of the Games in 1988 for the benefit of the entire Olympic Movement; he thus believed it essential to continue dialogue with the NOC of the DPR of Korea and suggested that a third series of meetings be held in Lausanne on 10th and 11th June 1986, as there was still the possibility that an agreement could be reached.

THE PRESIDENT proposed that MR. Chong-ha Kim, President of the NOC of the Republic of Korea, accompanied by one or two of his delegates should meet with him privately at 18.00 hours in the Château de Vidy.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM declared that if the Olympic Committee of the DPR of Korea withdrew its proposals advocating the co-hosting of the Games and the participation of a single Korean team, also if agreement could be secured that the agenda of a future meeting would be strictly adhered to, the Korean Olympic Committee would be in favour of the organisation of a third series of meetings in Lausanne.

In addition, the NOC of the Republic of Korea would be prepared, should the DPR of Korea delegation show a more realistic and practical attitude, to study the possibility of allocating the organisation of all competitions relating to one sport to the DPR of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT declared that he hoped that by June 1986 the political situation would have improved yet further and that this would facilitate talks. Moreover, the meeting of the IOC with the National Olympic Committees would take place in April 1986 in Seoul, thus the position of the DPR of Korea could be monitored before the meeting to be held in Lausanne; whether or not the NOC of the DPR of Korea participated at the gathering of the NOCs in Seoul would be indicative of the stance adopted.

THE PRESIDENT would also be meeting with government representatives in the Republic of Korea and he hoped that such encounters would work favourably towards an agreement between the two Koreas.

As had been the case for this second meeting, the IOC would compile an agenda for the meeting to be held in the month of June and this would be forwarded to delegations advance.

At 12.00 hours that day a further trilateral meeting would be held and he would request the Presidents of the two NOCs to take the floor.

With respect to the press conference to take place at 15.00 hours, THE PRESIDENT preferred that this be restricted to an IOC conference as he felt it unadvisable that official questions be directed to the two Korean delegations. However, both the delegations would naturally be invited to be present.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM asked for more detail as to the change in the attitude of the NOC of the DPR of Korea to which the President had alluded.

THE PRESIDENT clarified that during the first series of meetings the Olympic Committee of the DPR of Korea had continually insisted that the Games awarded Seoul become the Pyongyang-Seoul Games and that sports be divided between the two Koreas. Now the claim that it was essential that the DPR of Korea co-host the Games had been dropped, and delegates were not requesting that several sports be allocated to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. THE PRESIDENT was of the opinion that relations between the two delegations were improving and that communication had become easier.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM repeated that should the DPR of Korea NOC reveal a positive attitude which satisfied both the IOC and the KOC, it was not too late to consider allocating a

full sport to Pyongyang, either one of the four team sports which had been previously mentioned, or even another sport.

THE PRESIDENT believed that it would be advisable to award one of the [illegible] four team sports to which reference had been made. However, he felt that it was not the right time to begin detailed examination of such a question at the present meeting. His main concern was that relations between the two NOCs should improve, if relations on a political level were good, this would be reflected in the type of agreement which could be formulated in order to ensure participation of athletes from the DPR of Korea at the next Games of the Olympiad.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM agreed with the President that it was necessary to keep open the possibility of an agreement being reached.

The PRESIDENT asked for the delegates' trust in the policies of the IOC which fully supported the Seoul Games. He further stated the Olympic Committee of the DPR of Korea's conviction that a joint Korean team should participate at the Games was a matter of discussion between the two NOCs. If an agreement could be reached to send a single team to the Games in 1988, this was acceptable to the IOC. Should no agreement be reached, the IOC would be favourable to the participation of two separate Korean teams, as at previous Olympic Games.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM declared that the NOC of the Republic of Korea placed full trust in the IOC, its President and its members. He felt that the President's assessment of the situation was a just one.

THE PRESIDENT thanked the delegates of the NOC of the Republic of Korea for their cooperation, and reminded the meeting at 12.00 proceedings would continue with further joint discussions.

The meeting broke at 11h40.



DOCUMENT No. 21

Meeting between the IOC President and the DPRK's NOC on North Korea's Participation in the 1988 Olympic Games

15 January 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

INFORMAL MEETING WITH THE NOC OF THE DPR KOREA Lausanne, 15th January 1986 – 10.30 hours

Persons present :

For the IOC

H.E. Mr. Juan Antonio SAMARANCH, IOC President

For the NOC of the DPR Korea

Mr. Chung Guk CHIN, Vice-President of the NOC of DPR Korea

Mr. Deuk Kil KIM, member of the NOC

Youn Myeung JIN, First Secretary, DPR Korea Mission, Geneva.

The IOC President answered the questions raised by the delegation of the NOC of the DPR Korea during the meeting of 13th January 1986.

1. Sports events to be held in Pyong Yang

The IOC President stated that the three sports which had been mentioned by the delegation of the NOC of DPR Korea during the informal meeting on 9th January 1986, were football, table tennis and archery.

However, the IOC President stressed that he was not able to contact the IFs concerned before the NOC of DPR Korea had confirmed its intention to participate in the Games in Seoul. The delegation had informed Mr. Siperco that a definitive reply would be given on 10th January 1986, but the IOC was still awaiting this confirmation.

2. Joint team

The IOC President felt that talks regarding a joint team should commence between the two Koreas as soon as possible. If the first meeting failed, then the IOC would consider appointing an IOC representative to be present at the discussions.

3. Torch relay

The IOC President explained that for each edition of the Olympic Games a flame was lit in Olympia, Greece, and relayed to the host city of the Games by a series of runners. Each Olympiad had its own torches and the IOC President showed the delegation the torches used for Sarajevo and Los Angeles.

The exact itinerary of the flame was not yet fixed, but the IOC President stated that if the NOC of the DPR Korea wished for the flame to pass through North Korea this could probably be arranged.

4. Name to be given to the competitions held in Pyong Yang

The IOC President believed that for those competitions held in Pyong-Yang it would be possible to say “24th Olympic Games in Pyong-Yang”. However, there were still many small matters subject to study by the IOC.

The IOC President pointed out that much work would be necessary on the part of the IOC in order to have the agreement of the IOC members, IFs and Organising Committee in Seoul and there were still many questions to be resolved and discussed.

6. Next meeting

The IOC President stated that he was ready to meet with the delegation of the NOC of DPR Korea as many times as necessary.

A further meeting with the delegation was arranged for 20th January 1986 at 16.00 hours.

The delegation of the NOC of DPR Korea asked whether the NOC of the Republic of Korea had given its approval for the staging of three sports events in the DPR Korea. The IOC President replied that this was a problem for the IOC and it was first necessary to have the firm commitment of the NOC of the DPR Korea, then contact the IFs concerned.

The delegation also wondered if it would be possible to increase the number of sports staged by the DPR Korea, to which the President pointed out that the staging of three full events was already very difficult to arrange.

The IOC President advised the NOC of the DPR Korea that it should be present at the meetings in Seoul in April. He felt that DPR Korea’s failure to attend the meeting with the NOCs could result in the isolation of the NOC of DPR Korea.



DOCUMENT No. 22

Meeting between the IOC and the DPRK's NOC regarding North Korea's Participation in the 1988 Olympics

20 January 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

INFORMAL MEETING WITH THE NOC OF THE DPR KOREA
20th January 1986

Château de Vidy 16.00 hours

Persons present :

H.E. Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch, IOC President

For the NOC of the DPR Korea :

Mr. Chung Guk KIM, Vice-President NOC

Mr. Deuk Kil KIM, member of the NOC

Youn Myeung JIN, First Secretary DPR Korea Mission Geneva

Mr. Kim, Vice President of the NOC of the DPR Korea stated that he had reported to his Government regarding the IOC President's telephone call concerning *the* participation of the NOC of DPR Korea in a meeting in Rome with the FITA. He felt that his Government's response would be favourable.

The IOC President stated that he would immediately request the FITA to forward a telex of invitation to the NOC of the DPR Korea.

Mr. Kim then made the following remarks :

1. Co-hosting of the Games and participation in Seoul

Mr. Kim pointed out that his delegation had already mentioned its desire to co-host the Games during the first joint meeting, in addition to the fact that it wished to participate with a single team.

During the second meeting in January, it had been mentioned that some sports could be organised in Pyong-Yang and that a special committee could be established in this respect. The delegation of the DPR Korea had considered that this was a sincere effort on the part of the IOC President for the success of the Games in 1988.

However, the delegation of the DPR Korea could not accept the condition that it must first of all declare its participation in the Games in Seoul. Mr. Kim added that such an argument, if maintained by the IOC, could jeopardise the previous discussions.

In the opinion of the delegation of the DPR Korea, the intention of the meetings in Lausanne was not to seek means for participation of the DPR Korea in the Games but a way of co-hosting the Games.

Mr. Kim stated that the DPR Korea was ready to participate in the Games in Pyong-Yang/Seoul with one team and that the condition of participation in Seoul was irrelevant.

2. Sports events to be held in Pyong-Yang

The delegation of the DPR Korea stated that three sports were insufficient and returned to its original “official” position of at least eight sports.

Mr. Kim requested to know the position of South Korea regarding the sports to be staged in Pyong- Yang, as this would enable the delegation to follow- up its discussions during the meeting with the IOC President on 7th March.

3. Name to be given to the Games in 1988

Mr. Kim reiterated that the delegation of the DPR Korea wished the Games to be called “24th Olympic Games in Pyong-Yang-Seoul” or “24th Olympic Games in Seoul-Pyong-Yang” respectively.

4. Olympic torch relay

Mr. Kim stated that the DPR Korea was interested in being involved with the Olympic torch relay, but requested more precision and greater details in order that the matter could be studied.

The IOC President regretted the statements which had been made by delegation and felt that they were not very encouraging. He stressed that under these conditions he was not able to contact the International Federations. It was necessary to have the confirmation of the DPR Korean NOC that it would participate in the Games in Seoul.

The IOC President recommended the delegation to speak with Mr. Siperco, 1st Vice-President of the IOC, who had been acting as the IOC’s advisor on this matter. A meeting was arranged later the same afternoon with Mr. Siperco.

Mr. Kim felt that the conditions placed on his delegation were not diplomatic ones and that the NOC of the DPR Korea could not be asked to recognise the SLOOC.

The IOC President pointed out that he was speaking on behalf of the IOC. He reminded the delegation that a further meeting would be held on 7th March 1986 at 10.00 hours.



DOCUMENT No. 23

**Meeting between the IOC and the DPRK's NOC regarding the 1988 Olympic Games in
Pyongyang**

7 March 1986

*[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for
NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]*

(stamped confidential)

INFORMAL MEETING WITH THE DELEGATION OF THE DPR KOREA
Lausanne, 7th March 1986 – 10.15 hours

Persons present :

For the IOC

H.E. Mr. Juan Antonio SAMARANCH, IOC President
Mr. Alexandru SIPERCO, 1st Vice-President of the IOC

For the NOC of the DPR Korea

My. Yu Sun KIM, IOC member in the DPR Korea and President of the NOC
Mr. Chung Guk KIM, Vice-President of the NOC
Mr. Deuk Kil KIM, member of the NOC
My. Youn Myeung JIN, First Secretary DPR Korean Mission Geneva

On behalf of the delegation of the NOC of the DPR Korea, Mr. Yu Sun Kim thanked the IOC President for this opportunity to hold a further meeting together and was pleased to say that during the recent meetings, a step forward had been made. He commented that discussions had been continuing with the 1st Vice-President of the IOC, Mr. Siperco since the last meeting.

Mr. Kim stated that both the Government of the DPR Korea and the NOC were pleased with the results of the first two joint meetings and had given the necessary instructions to begin the construction of an Olympic Village in Pyong-Yang.

Mr. Kim then made the following comments :

1. Sports events to be held in Pyong-Yang

Following the discussions regarding the possibility of staging three full events in Pyong-Yang i.e. football, table tennis and archery, preparations had begun in Pyong-Yang for the Olympic Village, as stated previously and for the staging of these three sports.

Upon the advice of the IOC President and the invitation of the President of the FITA, a delegation from the NOC of the DPR Korea had participated in a meeting in Rome. The delegation had been headed by the Director of International Relations.

The delegation had also held discussions with the FIFA, which seemed disposed to accept a proposal from the IOC for the staging of football in Pyong-Yang on the occasion of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

In addition, discussions had been held with the Vice President of the ITTF, the result of which had been very positive.

Given the constructions being undertaken for the Olympic Village and the sports sites, the Government and the NOC of the DPR Korea wished to propose that the sports be extended to include wrestling, gymnastics and judo.

2. Name to be given to the Games

The delegation of the DPR Korea reiterated the previous denomination which they wished to give the Games: “Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Pyong-Yang-Seoul” or “Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul-Pyong-Yang”. In any case “Games of the XXIVth Olympiad” would be retained and the city would change accordingly.

3. Organisation of the Games in Pyong-Yang

The delegation of the DPR Korea requested that there be a special organising committee under the authority of the IOC and stressed that this be situated in Pyong-Yang.

4. Joint team

Mr. Kim commented that there were still divergencies [sic] regarding the participation of North and South Korea as a joint team in the Games. He explained that previous summits regarding this matter had failed. However if the discussions were based on the Olympic Games rather than International Competitions and a representative of the IOC was present, the discussions would be more fruitful. In addition, the presence of a representative from the IOC was all the more important as the participation of Korea in the Olympic Games would be discussed.

Contacts had taken place with South Korea and there had already been two joint meetings in this respect in the presence of an IOC representative, in Hong Kong and Lausanne.

The possibility of the two Koreas participating in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad with a joint team would be beneficial to the image of the Games, the promotion of peace and unification.

However, the delegation of the DPR Korea stated that it maintained a flexible attitude and was willing to have a partially joint team, with only a combined team for some sports.

... [sic]

The IOC President thanked Mr. Yu Sun Kim and the delegation for their efforts. He commented that although there had been a step forward, no agreement had yet been reached and it was essential that a solution be found at the meeting planned for 10th and 11th June 1986 in Lausanne.

The IOC President stated that he would reply in turn to the various questions of Mr. Kim, but stressed that no firm agreement could be given on the part of the IOC until the meeting in June.

1. Sports events to be held in Pyong-Yang

Regarding the construction being undertaken for the Olympic Village and sports venues, the IOC President commented that this was up to the NOC and the Government to decide. He only wanted to point out that no agreement had yet been reached.

As far as the actual sports were concerned, the IOC President reiterated his previous position : he would only be willing to speak to the IFs when a firm confirmation was received from the NOC of the DPR Korea regarding its participation in the Olympic Games in Seoul. Up to the present time, he had not therefore contacted the IFs.

The request of the delegation for 3 more sports to be held in Pyong-Yang would be studied by the IOC Executive Board.

2. Name to be given to the Games

The IOC President clarified that any firm decision regarding the denomination of the Games in 1988 had to be approved by the IOC Executive Board and would therefore be studied further.

3. Organisation of the Games in Pyong-Yang

In principle, the IOC agreed that if sports events were to be held in Pyong Yang a special organising committee based in Pyong Yang would be set up on order to organise these.

4. Joint team

The IOC President did not feel that this was a problem for the IOC, but for the two Koreas.

He pointed out that the IOC's participation in the meetings in Hong Kong and Lausanne had not been positive and therefore the IOC would no longer take any part. The IOC would encourage the stating of a meeting between the two parties but would not take any responsibility for the organisation.

The IOC President drew the attention of the delegation to the fact that there were only three months left before the meeting in June and that it would be necessary to find a solution by this date.

Many details still remained to be resolved and he proposed that the delegation continue its discussions with Vice-President Siperco.

Mr. Kim thanked the IOC President for his comments and hoped that the IOC would study the proposals of the NOC of the DPR Korea in a favourable manner. As far as the participation of the DPR Korea in the Games in Seoul was concerned, this would be considered if it was possible to have a partially joint team.

The IOC President referred to the meeting held with the DPR Korean delegation on 20th January 1986. When he had clearly stated that he was only prepared to contact the IFs upon the confirmation of the DPR Korea's participation in Seoul, Ambassador Kim had commented that this was not diplomatic.

The IOC President wished to stress that the position of the IOC was still the same and that he was still awaiting a reply regarding participation.

Mr. Kim stated that as the events in Pyong-Yang and Seoul would be held at the same time, that DPR Korea would therefore be taking part in Seoul.

Ambassador Kim pointed out that if the IOC's aim was to have as many delegations participating in the Games as possible, this was also the goal of North Korea.

In addition, the Ambassador asked whether now that a firm answer had been given regarding participation, the IOC was willing to grant three more sports.

The IOC President commented that this was the first time than an answer had been given regarding the participation of the NOC of the DPR Korea in the Olympic Games in Seoul and that he would now be in a position to commence discussions with the IFs concerned. He pointed that it would not be easy to convince the IFs but that he would do his best.

As far as the increase in the number of sports stage in Pyong-Yang was concerned, the IOC President reiterated that he must first of all discuss this question with the IOC Executive Board which would be meeting in Seoul in April.

In his personal opinion, the IOC President felt that 6 sports was too many, but that as President of the IOC he was obliged to consult the Executive Board.

The delegation requested a reply as soon as possible and asked if it would be at all possible to move the joint meeting to an earlier date, perhaps mid-April.

The IOC President stressed that he was obliged to consult the South Korean delegation prior to any change of plan.

Regarding the participation of the DPR Korea in the meeting in Seoul in April, the IOC President reiterated that he was only giving advice and that he was not obliging the delegation to attend. The majority of the NOCs would be present on this occasion and the NOC of the DPR Korea must do whatever it considered best for its country. He pointed out that there would not only be the meeting of the ANOC, but also of the NOCs with the IOC Executive board.

The delegation asked whether it would be possible to meet again with the IOC President on the following day, to which the President explained that he would be absent from Lausanne until the end of March. However, discussions could be continued with Vice-President Siperco and a further meeting could be arranged if necessary.

Mr. Kim reassured the IOC President of the participation of the DPR Korea in Seoul as in other International competitions and thanked the IOC for the sincerity of its efforts.

The delegation of the DPR Korea agreed to continue its discussions with Vice-President Siperco.

The meeting closed at 11.30 hours.



DOCUMENT No. 24

Meeting between the IOC and the South Korean Sports Minister regarding the Asian Games and Television Rights

7 March 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS, DE 1982 A MAI 86. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

MEETING WITH THE SOUTH KOREAN SPORTS MINISTER AND HIS DELEGATION Lausanne, 7th March 1986

Members of the delegation :

The Honourable She Jik PARK, Minister for Sports, Republic of Korea

Dr. Un Yong KIM, Vice-President, SLOOC

Mr. Jong-Ku AHN, Korean Mission, Geneva

Mr. Jong-Min KIM, Ministry of Sports, Republic of Korea

Mr. Jee Chull OH, Ministry of Sports, Republic of Korea

Asian Games

Minister Park stated that all preparations were going smoothly for the Asian Games and that the facilities for all venues would be finished by April. Sports co-ordinators had been nominated for each sport and there would be control centres at each venue.

During the month of June several competitions would be held and the procedures to be carried out could thus be rehearsed.

The construction of accommodation for athletes, press and tourists was continuing according to schedule.

IOC meetings in Seoul

The IOC President asked if there were any problems regarding the meetings in Seoul in April or September. He stressed that the meeting with the IFs in September would be a very important one.

Minister Park stated that the NOC of USSR had declared its participation in the ANOC meetings in April, but it was not yet clear whether it would be Mr. Gramov or another representative of the NOC.

The IOC president felt that the NOC of the USSR would be present in Seoul and commented that if the relations North/South Korea did not change between now and April, Mr. Gramov would most likely be present.

Minister Park asked whether it would be correct for the President of the Republic of Korea to make a speech at the opening of the ANOC Assembly.

The IOC President felt that this was in order, but that the speech should be very short. Mention could be made that the Republic of Korea wished to welcome all countries to participate in the Olympic Games in 1988. The IOC President confirmed that it was in order for either the Head of State or the Prime Minister to open the meeting.

Television rights

The IOC President stated that the main problem was the USA. There had been difficulties from the very beginning due to the fact that the SLOOC had engaged a consultant, Barry Frank, who had given them misguided advice regarding the amount which could be expected from the television rights.

The IOC President pointed out that he himself had never expected the US rights to be more than 400 million US dollars, which was far removed from the 700 million as quoted by Barry Frank. In addition, he commented that if the Games were held in Europe in 1992, the amount received for television rights would be less than for Seoul, as the time difference with the USA would be even more disadvantageous.

The meeting held in September with the US networks had been successful and the IOC President stated that he had advised Minister Lee to accept NBC's offer of 325 Million dollars. He had even telephoned Mr. Roh, who had promised to call back in half-an-hour and had only returned the call 2 or 3 hours later, resulting in the meeting being postponed.

The IOC agreed that the SLOOC could conduct the negotiations with Japan, New Zealand, Australia etc. but the IOC would be responsible for the negotiations with East and Western Europe.

The President felt that if the IOC would succeed in obtaining 50% more from EBU than they had given for the Games in Los Angeles, the result would be good. He was not very optimistic, but would try. However, he stressed that the negotiations with the US and Japan should be concluded before the EBU contract could be settled.

Dr. Kim confirmed that no negotiations had yet taken place with Japan but this would be done prior to September.

The IOC President felt that for Japan also it should be aimed to achieve approximately 50% more than they had given for the rights in Los Angeles. He did not expect any more than 30 million dollars. He commented that Barry Frank had previously advised the SLOOC to expect about 100 million dollars.

It was proposed that further discussions be held on this matter during the meeting in April

The IOC President stated that he would advise Mr. Pound of the arrival of Dr. Kim in New York on Monday.

Finally, the IOC President asked if it would be possible to arrange a private audience with the President of the Republic during the meeting in April.

“Neither the USSR nor China will allow North Korea to attack South Korea. North Korea is not in a position to attack us. If we were to give them 3 sports now, afterwards they would ask for five sports.

“The problem of the danger of war depends on whether the USSR is inclined to fight against the United States in my region. I can assure you that that country does not want war either.

“Without the support of these two countries, North Korea can do absolutely nothing and if it were to do something, that would be an act of self-destruction. If they want a fight, they would have it, but it would be suicide on their part.

“The sole reason I am explaining all this to you is to give you the support you need. You believe they are much stronger than they really are.

“Let it be well understood. North Korea was opposed in principle to our Olympic Games; afterwards, they wanted divided Games, then they changed their demands at least two or three times before asking, as you said, for five sports. My question is this : through whom did they ask for it?”

My reply was to tell him that they did so directly and also through China, the USSR, Cuba, Ethiopia and many other countries. In addition, these points were discussed during the joint meetings we held in Lausanne.

President Chun continued to tell me that I should know the reality of the military situation in the peninsula and also the situation within North Korea, a country which does not understand and does not want to understand the Olympic Charter or follow the IOC’s instructions.

“You show dignity, consistency and leadership. You are respected by the whole world, but if you give in to the claims of North Korea, you will lose your credibility and that of the organisation of which you are the President. They have a domestic problem arising from the fact that they lied to their people.

“President Kim Il-Sung and his son said that Seoul could not organise the Olympic Games as there is nothing in Seoul but beggars in the streets. It was only propaganda and I know it, but when they realised that these Games could be a success, they became very nervous. They can only get out of this problem with threats. They can do nothing to stop Seoul. Time is passing and, I repeat, you and your organisation are greatly respected and you may be assured that North Korea can not win the battle against the IOC.

“There is a very important principle. North Korea does not wish to respect the IOC’s resolutions if it does not get anything out of them. Before making any requests, they should state clearly that they respect the Olympic Charter and the decisions taken by the IOC. If North Korea states that it absolutely agrees to respect the Olympic Charter and the IOC’s decisions, then we could discuss in Seoul in a few days time in another conversation with you the possibility of giving them some sport. I am favourably disposed to do what you desire to help the IOC, not North Korea, but I insist on the principle that the IOC should not feel affected by the threats of North Korea.

“Before I left Seoul, I was visited by the Secretary of Defence of the USA, Caspar Weinberger and high-level American and Korean personalities and he handed me a personal letter from

President Reagan in which he expressed very clearly his country's wish to maintain peace in the Korean peninsula and to help the Olympic Games take place normally. All means will be employed if North Korea wishes to attack. The United States recently took action in Lybia [sic], but I can assure you that in my country the reaction would be much stronger. If North Korea attacks, it will be destroyed. I am telling you all this in strict confidence.

“President Samaranch, do not take seriously the threats of North Korea. They are not in a position to do anything against the IOC. You may believe me, just as I believe you. You should say to North Korea that it must respect the Olympic Charter and all the decisions taken by the IOC. If they do so, tell them that we can help them.”

The interview lasted almost one and a half hours, and at the end, President Chun repeated that we should continue it in Seoul in a few days.

Before concluding, I raised with him the candidature of Un Yong-Kim in a fairly direct manner and he asked to wait until we meet in Seoul for his reply.

With respect to anxiety concerning the political situation within his country and the problem resulting from the holding of presidential elections in 1988, six months before the Olympic Games, he reminded me that I had already expressed my anxieties during our last talk one year ago in Seoul. He is sure that nothing will happen, but we shall continue to speak of this matter in Seoul.

After my meeting with President Chun was over, I talked with the Chief of Protocol, Kim Pyong Hoon, to summarise the main points of the conversation, of which there were three :

1. – If there is a declaration of the part of North that it will respect the Olympic Charter and the decisions of the IOC, there could be negotiations with them, not before.
2. – With respect to the new IOC member, the reply was that we should continue with the conversation in Seoul, which leads me to suppose that perhaps he has another candidate.
3. – On the matter of internal politics, we shall continue to talk in Seoul, but it seems to me very unlikely that he would change the plan concerning the future presidential elections.



DOCUMENT No. 26

Meeting between President Chun Doo Hwan and President Samaranch

25 April 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88 / POLITICAL MATTERS DE 1982 A MAI 1986. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

In attendance at the meeting: President ROH, Minister of Sport PARK, and interpreter KIM

Duration of the meeting: from 15.20 to 16:50 o'clock.

I began the meeting by talking about the recent trip to Europe by President Chun, and by congratulating him on having known the opportune moment to make the trip given the new economic conditions of his country. This really was the moment to make this trip.

I am very glad to meet one more time after our meeting at Lausanne on April 19, in the course of which we discussed above all the problems between South Korea and North Korea, responded President Chun. The first question is: is there anything new?

I affirmed to him then that the great success of the meeting in Seoul of the NCOs and of the Executive Committee is a very favorable point for the 1988 Olympic Games, and reminded him that he told me in Lausanne that if North Korea were prepared to respect the Olympic Charter and the IOC decisions, in particular those taken at Baden-Baden, he would be prepared to open discussions with North Korea. I asked him in a very direct manner if he is prepared to give some sports to North Korea.

His first response was to congratulate me on the great success of the meeting held in Seoul and on the record number of the 152 NOCs which would have been impossible without me. He reminded me of having told me in Lausanne how much he appreciates my personal efforts. You have travelled much across the entire world to help the Olympic Movement, and especially the Olympic Games in Seoul, he added. I very much appreciate your work, as equally do MM Roh and Park. "Also, and in recognition of your extraordinary effort in defending the Olympic Movement, it is impossible for me to say no to your request, but on conditions which I expressed to you in Lausanne. That which I ask from the North, it is not a favor, I only ask that they respect the Olympic Charter, and the decisions of the IOC. If, by the way, we come to discuss concrete details, we will find out very quickly that too many people are involved, if we reach an agreement. There will be a great number of legal details, of organization, etc., political, technical problems...

The whole world perfectly knows that North Korea does all it can to ruin us, and to ruin the Seoul Games.

We know that the Korean people are with us, and support us.

We also know that we have invested a lot of money and effort, and it will therefore be very difficult for me to convince my people to share the Olympic Games with North Korea.

You must be very careful. We perfectly know North Korea, and we know that if we grant them even one sport, they will create lots of problems for us. It is impossible to expect goodwill or cooperation on their part.

But I repeat, it is impossible for me not to accept the request which you present me with as the President of the IOC.

Here is my response. I am prepared to grant them two sports, but on the condition, all the same, that North Korea respects the Olympic Charter and the conditions decided by the IOC.”

I then responded to him that, as the President of the IOC, I find that this is a very good solution because it leaves North Korea with the responsibility of saying no. It is difficult for me to think that North Korea can open its borders to more than ten thousand journalists and to all the members of the Olympic family.

President Chun stated that he finds my analysis of the situation absolutely correct, and that the efforts that I have exerted to assure the success of the Olympic Games serve to reinforce the interest that I have towards the Olympic Movement [sic]. He added that this was the true reason for his decision, and that he was expecting the IOC request so that I [Samaranch] can demonstrate to the socialist countries that I have been able to obtain a positive result from South Korea.

“In principle, and I will never say it publically, he added, it will not at all be easy to share the Olympic Games, and this will even create big problems. North Korea must absolutely guarantee the safety of all, and provide everyone with all the amenities and full freedom of movement. We must be very careful: if one gives one finger to North Korea, they will take the whole hand. I also think that they will ask to equally share the money. In the end, it is very important, if organization of a sport is confined to North Korea, that the SLOOC can have direct communications, and the freedom to travel to North Korea when this is necessary.

I do not know if they are prepared to accept all the conditions, but, I repeat, I accede to your request in order to enhance your presidency.”

I then indicated to President Chun that sharing the Games is not a new thing, since in 1956 equestrian events took place in Stockholm instead of Melbourne, and I insisted on the fact that he would make a big step for the success of the Olympic Games in Seoul.

He then remarked to me that the situation in Seoul was very different from that in Melbourne. The equestrian games were organized in Stockholm due to difficulties with the organizing committee, whereas in Seoul, the IOC has not had any difficulties with the SLOOC. He repeated for the last time his offer, insisting on the fact that it is meant to help the IOC and its President.

Reorganization of SLOOC.

As Minister Park would not take his post at the President of the SLOOC for some weeks, I proposed to President Chun to name President Roh as the Chairman of the SLOOC while Minister Park would have the title of the President. It would be the same structure as that of the Los Angeles organizing committee. In effect, I would not want to lose Minister Roh completely whose presence in SLOOC may be very useful – I have always had the best possible relations

with him – I do not act out of friendship towards Roh but because I am persuaded that I may need him.

President Chun appreciated my position and stated that he understands very well my feelings towards Roh. He found it particularly remarkable (“very fair play”) that I spoke to him this way. He must therefore respect my friendship and my loyalty vis-à-vis Roh. But he must equally point out that M. Roh is a politician and that he must assume very big responsibilities.

In this regard, the rule in our “democratic” country is that politicians become real party men in the next campaign. President Roh, who is among the most senior officials, will be totally absorbed by this task. He reaffirmed his full and entire confidence in Minister Park, and was certain that he would accomplish very great work. This is one of his closest collaborators.

In conclusion, he reaffirmed that if I make that request to him, and if the position of a “Chairman” is honorific, he is prepared to accept my idea.

Members of the IOC

I then turned with President Chun to the possible election of Un Yong Kim as a member of the IOC, and repeated one more time that he is a part of the Olympic family. His presence would constitute a perfect bridge between Korea, the IOC, and the IFs. I added that Korea could have a second member elected eventually after 1988 if the Games in Seoul are a great success.

President Chun asked me then how much time he has for giving me his response. I stated to him that the IOC can wait approximately until the end of the month of May, and repeated to him that M. Kim Un Yong seems to me to be “the right man at the right moment.” Minister Park then made an observation in Korean which was not translated.

President Chun then declared that he knows very well the importance of Kim, and that he cannot currently see another name he can recommend. Nevertheless, he must receive the views of Korean NOC and of the Minister of Sports before giving me his response.

He stated then that in his view a member of the IOC must enjoy great prestige and consideration in his own country, and that this is a point of particular importance. M. Kim is unfortunately not positively viewed by his compatriots. He absolutely must do something to ameliorate his image among his compatriots. At this moment, if elections were to take place within the NOC, he would not obtain a single vote. He is indeed particularly unpopular within the NOC. All the indications are not in his favor. You certainly remember M. Park, added President Chun. He was very effective and very close to me, but did not sufficiently respect, and personally caused me many difficulties. But from the internal Korean viewpoint, he was still better than Kim.

I responded to him by repeating that in my view M. Kim is the better choice at the moment. His election would be very easy. I added that it is not up to the NOCs to designate members of the IOC, and that it is the prerogative of the organization over which I preside. I can wait at most until the month of June. The President indicated his agreement with this date.

“I dare touch on the problem of internal Korean politics,” I stated to President Chun. If he does not want to respond, I will perfectly understand his attitude. But I think it important, in my position as the IOC President, to touch on this point. Indeed, the IOC estimates that should there

be presidential elections 6 months before the Olympic Games, this will not be favorable to the Games.

President Chun reminded me that I already expressed to him the same concern during the visit that I made the previous year. But he must tell me very clearly that even if these elections took place 1 month before the Olympic Games, the latter will still be a great success. The Olympic Games do and will always have the complete support of the Korean people. In the most improbable case that we lose these elections, and become the minority, this will not have any negative effect on the Olympic Games. All that which one can read in the press on the subject of student demonstrators is not new, and this has been the situation since 1953. But the government, the people, and all the officials get along very well. You certainly know Minister Strauss, the political leader of Bavaria. He came on a visit here, and I met him again in Germany. We know each other particularly well and speak to each other as two politicians that we are. He told me: come to the FRG with a camera, take snapshots of some manifestations in the streets, and publish the photos. You can then easily demonstrate that there are critical problems in my country. I have visited Korea, and I know this very well, M. Strauss told me. I can affirm that there are no problems of this type in Korea. You have a rate of inflation of 1 to 2 [%] and the rate of growth of 5.5 [%]. M. Strauss concluded by this phrase: “If a country like Korea truly suffers the problems like those described in the press, how can the head of state absent himself for two weeks for carrying out a trip to Europe?”

President Chun then concluded our meeting by reassuring me one last time that Korea is quite able to organize the Olympic Games without any problems of security, and in a very great atmosphere of stability. “I can assure you of that,” he said – “not 100% but 120%.”

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DOCUMENT No. 27

Conversation between the Secretary of the CC CPSU Yakovlev A.N. with the Secretary of the CC KWP Hwang Jang-yeop

16 May 1986

[Source: GARF, fond 10063, opis 2, delo 55, listy 1-8. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

Secret

CC CPSU

About the conversation with the secretary of the CC KWP c. Hwang Jang-yeop

In accordance with an instruction, on May 16 of this year, [I] received the secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of Korean Workers' Party c. Hwang Jang-yeop, who conveyed some thoughts of the Politburo of CC KWP regarding the holding of the summer Olympic Games of 1988.

The Korean comrades believe that the USA and its allies intend to use the Olympiad in Seoul to provide political support to the South Korean regime, whose positions have been seriously undermined as a consequence of ever increasing resistance of the population. In these conditions, the DPRK counts on it being able, at the current round of talks in June of this year in Lausanne with the leadership of the International Olympic Committee and the representatives of South Korea, to realize its proposals about holding a part of the Olympic Games (3-4 sports) in Pyongyang. The Korean comrades are asking to provide them with political support to attain these goals. They have in mind to turn with this request also to other socialist countries.

In the near future the State Committee of the USSR for Physical Culture and Sport and the National Olympic Committee (NOC) of the USSR plan to undertake additional measures with the aim of realization of the aforementioned request of the Korean comrades. In particular, they have in mind to hold a meeting of NOC USSR on this question and to publish the relevant materials. In addition, NOC USSR will send a letter to the leadership of the International Olympic Committee, in which the Soviet side will speak out in favor of holding a part of the XXIV Olympic Games in Pyongyang. Similar support will be provided to the Korean comrades in the international sports federations.

Reported for your information.

Record of conversation with c. Hwang Jang-yeop is attached.

RECORD OF CONVERSATION
of the Secretary of the CC CPSU Yakovlev A.N. with the Secretary of the CC KWP
Hwang Jang-yeop

16 May 1986

In accordance with an instruction [I] received the Secretary of the CC Korean Workers Party Hwang Jang-yeop and accompanying persons.

Hwang Jang-yeop conveyed “warm comradely greetings from cc. Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il” to M.S. Gorbachev and other members of the Politburo CC CPSU.

Esteemed comrade Kim Il Sung and dear comrade Kim Jong Il, said Hwang Jang-yeop, note with great satisfaction the successes of the Soviet people, which are being achieved under the correct leadership of the CPSU headed by esteemed Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev in the task of realizing the decisions of the XXVII Congress of the Party. Our party is in solidarity with the just struggle of the CPSU for the all-rounded perfection of developed socialism, against the ploys of the American imperialists, directed towards the unleashing of a nuclear war, and their “Star War” plans, in the name of safeguarding peace and security in Europe and in the entire world.

Our party satisfactorily notes that the traditional Korean-Soviet friendship, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is successfully developing in the spirit of agreements, reached between comrade Kim Il Sung and the leaders of the Soviet Union during his visit to your country.

Our party considers the development and the strengthening of Korean-Soviet friendship as a task of utmost importance. This year marks the 25th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual aid between the DPRK and the USSR. We intend to make this year the year of further strengthening the unbreakable allied relations between our two countries.

The Politburo of the CC of our party instructed us to convey to the leadership of the CPSU [our] thoughts regarding the question of the 24th Olympic Games and to seek assistance on several important questions, connected with the realization of our proposals on the joint organization of the Olympic Games in North and South Korea.

Currently, the situation in South Korea is unfolding in a way fairly favorable to us. The South Korean youth, students and the patriotically-minded population of South Korea, expressing their dissatisfaction with the colonial rule of American imperialism, are energetically unfolding a struggle against American imperialism, for self-rule.

Chanting “Yankees, get out of Korea!,” “Get rid of nuclear weapons and conclude a peace treaty,” the population holds protests and street demonstrations. Recently there was a massive demonstration in Incheon – the first after the people’s uprising in Kwangju in May 1980. The participants of the demonstration burned an effigy of the US President and the American flag, and smashed the residence of the ruling party – the “Democratic Justice Party.”

The struggle of the South Korean people is becoming more and more organized. Leftist militant organizations are being created: for example, the Committee for the National Democratic Struggle against Imperialism and Fascism; struggle is being unfolded against the USA, for the salvation of the country under the banners of national liberation. The workers of South Korea are gradually awakening and joining the struggle.

Presently the main opposition party in South Korea – the New Democratic party – and the democratically minded activists are unfolding a movement for the collection of 10 million signatures with the aim of preventing Chun Doo Hwan’s continued stay in power.

The colonial rule of American imperialism in South Korea is shaking. A palace coup cannot be ruled out there. Concerned with this, the American imperialists are strengthening their military-political support of Seoul, striving to hold the Olympic Games in Seoul. At the meeting of the heads of the states of the seven Western countries, which was held in Tokyo recently, the American imperialists spoke in favor of “simultaneous entry into the UN” of North and South Korea, and for the successful holding of the Olympic Games in Seoul.

Currently the American imperialists and the South Korean puppets are spreading rumors about the probability of “the Northern attack on the South” on the eve of the Olympic Games of 1988. At the 18th consultations on the questions of security in Korea, in April of this year, US Minister [sic] of Defense [Caspar] Weinberger stated that he does not rule out a “military provocation” of the North on the eve of the 1988 Olympic Games and that the USA will safeguard the “security of South Korea.”

To ruin the ploy of the enemy to hold the Olympiad in Seoul is the problem of safeguarding peace in Korea, and of its peaceful reunification. As the Soviet comrades know well, we have come out with the initiative of joint organization of the Olympic Games by North and South Korea. Two rounds of talks had been held in Lausanne between the NOC DPRK, the International Olympic Committee and the South Korean side. Our adversary began making concessions to us when the Soviet Union and other socialist countries put it under pressure. However, when this pressure weakened, the adversary tried to regain the lost ground.

Unfortunately, some of our friends are hurrying with the agreement to go to Seoul for participation in the Olympic Games, in spite of the fact that two years remain before the opening of the Olympic Games. The third round of the talks in Lausanne in June of this year is the last opportunity for the realization of our proposal; its results will be the basis for making the final decision at the IOC congress in October 1986.

We would like for all socialist countries to take firm class-based positions and undertake joint actions to expose the plans of the adversary and to support our proposals on the joint organization of the Games. It is desirable that the fraternal Soviet Union put the adversary under pressure. This will create favorable circumstances for the realization of our goals at the talks in Lausanne. The Soviet comrades could, for instance, declare that if the proposal of the DPRK about joint organization of the Games were not accepted, the Olympic Movement would face a dangerous crisis, that the South Korean side must shoulder full responsibility for the separatist holding of the Olympic Games in Seoul.

We would like for the Soviet comrades to conduct relevant work with other socialist countries. We do not doubt that the Soviet comrades – our class allies – will take active measures for the realization of our proposal on the joint organization of the Games.

A.N. Yakovlev offered thanks for the warm greetings, which c. Kim Il Sung conveyed to c. Gorbachev M.S., and for the high appraisal by the Korean comrades of the achievements of the Soviet people in the realization of the decisions of the XXVII Congress of the CPSU.

[I] agreed with the appraisal [of the situation] in South Korea, given by c. Hwang Jang-yeop, stressed the role and place of South Korea in the American plans of militarization of the Asia Pacific region.

As far as the 1988 summer Olympic Games in Seoul are concerned, the Korean comrades know our position very well; we have expressed it many times at different levels. The Soviet representatives in the IOC, together with the representatives of the DPRK, were from the beginning in favor of the reorganization of the IOC, as its activity does not address the tasks of the contemporary sports movement. This organization has not done much to wreck the boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow. It has many people who espouse frankly anti-socialist views.

But the IOC is a reality, which we must take into consideration. The Sport Committee and the NOC USSR are conducting great and difficult work in support of the proposals of the Korean comrades. At the international arena we face the tendency of isolation of the socialist countries, attempts to obstruct their participation in the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul. This is what the long-term strategy of the USA in the sports movement is directed towards. One must carefully weigh our steps in the IOC in order to protect the common interests of socialism, the interests of the DPRK, other progressive forces.

We will support the proposals of the Korean comrades in our media and in the international forums. We hope that you will continue to inform us about the steps being made and conduct relevant work with other socialist countries.

Hwang Jang-yeop. We do not strive to ruin the XXIV Olympic Games and our demands are quite modest. We would like to conduct Olympic competitions in Pyongyang in 3-4 events. We do not insist on holding a meeting of the representatives of socialist countries on this question, on the socialist countries making the same statement as that made by F. Castro. He declared that Cuba will not participate in the Olympiad if the DPRK proposal about holding the Games in Seoul and in Pyongyang were not realized.

We have to work with the representatives of China and Hungary. Representatives of some countries have hurried to pass to the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee samples of their flags and the recordings of their anthems. We are now facing the decisive moment – the final talks with the South on the Olympiad. Therefore we turn to you with a request to provide political support to us ahead of the talks. If the Soviet Union came out with the relevant statement, this would be huge help for us.

M.V. Gramov. Great work was conducted in support of the DPRK at the session of the Assembly of the National Olympic Committees in Seoul. We were able to prevent the adoption of a series of documents, which contained approval of Seoul's activity. We raised

the question about the impropriety of statements of the representatives of the USA, in which the Americans take upon themselves the questions of safeguarding the security of the Olympic Games. From our side, we will continue to provide the necessary support to the Korean comrades. Now one needs to clearly formulate what we are trying to attain in the course of the third round of talks in Lausanne. There is also the problem of the appellation of the Games. There has been a proposal to call them the XXIV Olympic Games without naming cities, where they will be conducted. I think one could agree with this proposal.

A.N. Yakovlev. If one managed to hold a part of the Olympic Games in Pyongyang, this would be a big political and prestigious victory. You are making reasonable proposals, but we have to deal with an adversary, and a sly one at that. And this forces us to act on the basis of common, coordinated positions.

We will report to the CC CPSU about the wishes of the Korean comrades.

The conversation was attended from the Soviet side by: deputy head of the propaganda department of the CC CPSU Zarubin V.I., the chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for Physical Culture and Sport Gramov M.V.; the head of a sector of the propaganda department of the CC CPSU Goncharov B.P.; from the Korean side by: the Chairman of the Committee for Physical Culture and Sport of the DPRK Kim Yu Sun, the head of a sector of the International Department of the CC KWP Pak Ken Sen, Ambassador of the DPRK in the USSR Kwin Hi Gen. The conversation was translated by a referent [assistant] of the Department of the CC CPSU Irbegaev A.T. and a referent [assistant] of the International Department of the CC KWP Kim Hi Su.

Recorded by:

Deputy head of a sector of
the Department of CC CPSU

[Signature]

B. Tkachenko



DOCUMENT No. 28

Memorandum of the Two-Day Meeting between the Two Korean NOCs and the IOC 10-11 June 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88/ 3EME REUNION DES DEUX COREES +ACCRED, DE PRESSE 1986. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF THE NOCS OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA HELD UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE – Lausanne, 10th-11th June 1986

Tuesday, 10th June 1986

THE PRESIDENT opened the meeting at 10.05 hours, welcoming the delegations from the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (see annex 1) to Lausanne for their third joint meeting with the IOC. Delegates representing the IOC were as follows :

Mr. Alexandru SIPERCO, 1st Vice-President (Roumania)
Mr. Ashwini KUMAR, 2nd Vice-President (India)
Mr. Berthold BEITZ, 3rd Vice-President (Federal Republic of Germany)
Mr. Raymond GAFNER, Administrator délégué of the IOC
Mr. Samuel PISAR, IOC lawyer and adviser.
Mr. Howard STUPP, Director of legal affairs
Mr. Alain COUPAT, Chief of the Cabinet of the President

THE PRESIDENT declared that he was certain that all parties would strive to reach a positive and mutually satisfactory agreement for the benefit of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in 1988; he stressed that the IOC's position remained stable, and aimed to secure maximum NOC participation at the Games.

He briefly outlined the programme for the two-day meeting, explaining that this short gathering of all parties would be followed by a meeting between the IOC and the delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. At 15.00 hours, the Republic of Korea delegates would have discussions with the IOC representatives, and this would be followed, once again, by talks between the IOC and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. THE PRESIDENT invited all participants at the meeting to a dinner which would be given at 20.00 hours at the Palace Hotel.

The following morning, a further joint meeting would take place in order to review conclusions reached; if necessary, the IOC representatives would resume talks with each delegation. Finally, a press conference was scheduled for 12.30 hours on 11th June; both delegations were invited to attend, however the conference was to take the form of an official IOC delegation.

THE PRESIDENT requested the head of the delegation of the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mr. Yu Sun Kim, to make some introductory comments (annex 2).

The President of the NOC of the Republic of Korea, Mr. Chong-Ha Kim, was then invited to speak (annex 3).

THE PRESIDENT thanked the heads of the respective delegations for their remarks and the meeting broke at 10.25 hours.

THE PRESIDENT welcomed the delegation from the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the working session with the IOC at 10.50 hours. The IOC had heard the speech made by Mr. Yu Sun Kim, the NOC President, and THE PRESIDENT was pleased to learn that the NOC was willing to discuss concrete proposals with a view to reaching a concrete solution.

THE PRESIDENT reminded that the IOC had awarded the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad to the city of Seoul at its 1981 Session in Baden-Baden. The IOC had to respect this decision and also had to adhere to the "Olympic Charter".

THE PRESIDENT, the Vice-Presidents and the Administrator could reach agreements in principle only on behalf of the IOC as the IOC Session's approval of any such agreement was required. Such approval could be sought ~~either~~ at the October 1986 Session in Lausanne, ~~or at the May 1986 Session in Istanbul~~, should any agreement be reached [crossed out in the original].

First, THE PRESIDENT wished to discuss which sports or events the IOC could offer the NOC of the DPR of Korea for organisation in the latter's country. Secondly, free circulation between the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea prior to and during the Games was of the utmost importance.

The IOC had held lengthy discussions with the NOC of the Republic of Korea regarding which sports or events could be offered to the DPR of Korea. A compromise had been reached in principle, but not without difficulty. THE PRESIDENT outlined that the IOC could propose the organisation of one group of the Olympic football tournament in Pyongyang although this would not be easy in view of the fact that the deadline for the entry of teams had already passed. The FIFA had recently forwarded the list of the 108 participating teams, and the IOC had been surprised to see that the NOC of the DPR of Korea was not amongst them.

Furthermore, the IOC proposed that two or three cycling races start in the DPR of Korea and end in the Republic of Korea. In addition, the IOC was prepared to offer the NOC of the DPR of Korea the organisation of one complete sport, either archery or fencing including the staging of the victory medal ceremonies, as well as the organisation of table-tennis, again including the holding of the victory ceremonies in Pyongyang.

THE PRESIDENT stressed that the NOC of the DPR of Korea had experience in organising international table-tennis competitions, having hosted the 1979 World Championships. THE PRESIDENT had personally convinced the ITTF that the 1988 Olympic table-tennis tournament should be staged in Pyongyang, but only after difficulty in view of the fact that two countries had not been granted visas to the DPR of Korea immediately prior to the 1979 Championships, although the IF had been assured that all countries would be granted access.

Moreover, the IOC was also offering the NOC of the DPR of Korea an important part in the cultural programme of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad, and was proposing that two separate teams, from the Republic of Korea and from the DPR of Korea, march together in the parade at the opening ceremony.

THE PRESIDENT urged the NOC to bear in mind that it was the first time in Olympic history that the Games would be split although the equestrian events had been held in Stockholm in 1956 and the rest of the Games in Melbourne. This, however, was a difference case as Australian quarantine regulations had not permitted the staging of the equestrian events. For 1988 the Republic of Korea was ready to organise all sports on the Olympic programme, all facilities having been completed. However, after much discussion the IOC was now extending a gesture to the NOC of the DPR of Korea by offering the organisation of certain events, provided the IOC Session confirmed the agreement that would be reach to this effect.

~~THE PRESIDENT stated that only after discussion of free circulation between the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's of Korea could other matters be raised. [Crossed out in the original. Delete on the margins].~~

MR. KIM replied that his delegation had listened carefully to the President's words, point out that at the previous two meetings and on other occasions the question of the formation of the Organising Committee in the DPR of Korea had been raised. The NOC wished to discuss this and all other related questions at the current meeting.

The NOC of the DPR of Korea wished to host various significant events in order to make the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad a great festival. Moreover, it was prepared to send a single team to the Games provided it were allowed to organise all preliminaries and finals in football, table-tennis, archery, wrestling, gymnastics and judo.

MR. KIM stressed that it would be the first time that a team from the DPR of Korea would take part in sports competitions in the Republic of Korea, but it was his NOC's desire to render the IOC's Presidents efforts worthwhile.

The question of the appellation of the Games had already been raised at the previous two meetings, MR. KIM stated. He felt that as the Games would be shared between the two Koreas there should be a common appellation for the Games. However, in view of the objections voiced by the NOC of the Republic of Korea bearing in mind the IOC's position, it was suggested that for those sports and events staged in Pyongyang the Games be called the "XXIVth Olympic Games – Pyongyang", a solution MR. KIM believed would be acceptable to all.

Moreover, a separate Organising Committee would be set up in the DPR of Korea, MR. KIM informed. He agreed that other details could be settled once the principle questions had been dealt with.

THE PRESIDENT replied that he did not wish to discuss the appellation of the Games or the formation of a separate OCOG until the questions of which sports or events would be offered to the NOC of the DPR of Korea and of free circulation between the two countries had been settled.

He repeated that the IOC had made a great effort in order to be able to offer the NOC of the DPR of Korea the organisation in Pyongyang of two complete sports, table tennis and archery, in addition to the staging of ~~three~~ cycling races and part of the Olympic football tournament.

THE PRESIDENT queried whether or not the NOC of the DPR of Korea wished to accept the IOC's proposals as such, pointing out that it was not possible to offer the NOC any other conditions.

Once the question of the sports and events was settled, THE PRESIDENT wished to know the procedure adopted by the NOC of the DPR of Korea to ensure the free circulation before and during the Games of approximately 25,000 members of the Olympic family accredited Seoul, including athletes, officials, NOC delegates and 9,000-10,000 journalists and radio and television representatives.

Further to queries from MR. CHIN, Vice-President of the NOC, THE PRESIDENT confirmed that other matters such as the appellation of the Games and the formation of a separate Organising Committee could be discussed only after an agreement had been reached with regard to the two sports or events to be staged in the DPR of Korea and free circulation between the two Koreas.

MR. CHIN stated that his NOC had hoped to organise certain sports in their entirety.

THE PRESIDENT stressed that as far as the 1988 Olympic football tournament was concerned, the NOC of the DPR of Korea would be able to organise one group of this but not all four groups. Nor would it be able to stage the finals.

MR. CHIN insisted that his NOC wished to hold the entire football tournament commenting that it had been his Committee's understanding that the IOC would grant it the right to do so. The NOC would not be able to accept the IOC's proposal for preliminaries of certain sports to be staged in the DPR of Korea and the finals in the Republic of Korea. MR. CHIN felt that the IOC and his NOC should study jointly the problems of organising Games in the DPR of Korea. There were 23 sports on the Olympic programme, and the NOC of the DPR of Korea could not accept the IOC's proposals for it to stage two complete sports only. The NOC wished to hold six sports in their entirety.

MR. CHIN urged the IOC to re-consider the position of the NOC of the DPR of Korea and in particular the NOC's staging of certain sports, the appellation of the Games and the formation of a separate OCOG.

THE PRESIDENT repeated the IOC's offer, stating that it was their last proposal. If the NOC did not wish to accept the IOC's proposal, then discussions could not continue as no solution would be reached.

He stressed that the IOC wished to raise *also* the question of free circulation before dealing with the appellation of the Games and the formation of a second OCOG.

THE PRESIDENT felt that the respective positions of the IOC and of the NOC of the DPR of Korea differed greatly, emphasising that it had been difficult to convince the NOC of the

Republic of Korea that certain conditions should be offered to facilitate the participation of the NOC of the DPR of Korea in the Games.

MR. CHIN clarified that his NOC required time to study the IOC'S offer, and suggested that perhaps women's volleyball be held in the Republic of Korea and men's volleyball in his country. The NOC of the DPR of Korea could accept the IOC's offer to stage table tennis and archery but also wished to hold other sports in their entirety, including the preliminaries and finals in such sports.

THE PRESIDENT emphasised that the IOC wished to receive details regarding free circulation between the Republic of Korea and the DPR of Korea.

MR. KIM replied that this issue had been discussed at their second meeting held in January 1986 at which time the NOC had made its position clear, stressing that all measures would be taken to ensure free circulation.

Furthermore, his NOC had understood from the President that it would be able to organise the whole 1988 Olympic football tournament and had contacted the FIFA accordingly. MR. KIM added that his NOC was prepared to stage sports in their entirety if the respective IFs agreed. He urged the IOC to re-consider the matter and to hold further discussions in order to find a solution to the problem.

MR. KIM commented that the NOC of the DPR of Korea was under the impression that the IOC wished to impose its proposals on the NOC.

THE PRESIDENT responded that the IOC was not imposing any conditions on the NOC. He stressed that the NOC had to understand the IOC's position and that the latter had to abide by its decision to award the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad to Seoul and to respect the "Olympic Charter". Furthermore, the IOC was doing its utmost to ensure the success of these Games by trying to encourage the participation of all NOCs.

In view of the division between the two Koreas, for the first time in Olympic history the IOC was offering special conditions to the NOC of the DPR of Korea to facilitate its participation.

THE PRESIDENT stressed that he had never stated that the NOC of the DPR of Korea would be able to hold the entire football tournament, and queried why the NOC wished to do so in view of the fact that it had not even entered a team.

THE PRESIDENT again called for greater clarification with regard to the free circulation from the Republic of Korea to the DPR of Korea and vice versa.

THE PRESIDENT remarked that at present there was no communication between the two Koreas and queried whether or not accredited members of the Olympic family would be permitted access to the DPR of Korea from the Republic of Korea, and, if so, whether or not the Olympic identity card would suffice.

THE PRESIDENT emphasised the efforts being made by the IOC for the benefit of the NOC of the DPR of Korea.

MR. KIM explained that at the last joint meeting the NOC of the DPR of Korea had clarified its position with regard to circulation between the two Koreas. First and foremost, however, the NOC wished to discuss the appellation of the Games and the formation of a separated OCOG in addition to which sports or events would be staged in its country.

THE PRESIDENT adjourned the meeting at 11.30 hours, adding that a further meeting with the NOC of the DPR of Korea would be held at 15.30 hours that afternoon.

At 15.00 hours, THE PRESIDENT re-opened the meeting between the IOC and representatives of the Korean Olympic Committee.

He explained that during discussions held that morning with the NOC of the DPR of Korea, the IOC had proposed that all competitions in two sports should be allocated to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Mention had also been made of matches in one of the four football tournament groups being held in the DPR of Korea, and the suggestion that some cycling races might begin in the DPR of Korea and end in the Republic of Korea put forward. The IOC had emphasised that such a situation, a "division" of the Games, would be exceptional in Olympic history; this had occurred only once before in the context of the Games of the XVIth Olympiad in Melbourne when, as a result of quarantine difficulties, equestrian events had taken place in Stockholm. This type of problem, however, would by no means be a reason for allocating events or sports to the DPR of Korea, as Seoul was fully prepared for the organisation of the 23 sports currently on the Olympic programme.

Delegates from the NOC of the DPR of Korea had wished to discuss the question of the appellation of the Games; however, the IOC had made clear that this topic could not be considered until an agreement regarding sports events to be held in the DPR of Korea had been reached. Representatives of the IOC had stressed that confirmation regarding free circulation to and from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would be required for all properly accredited persons during the entire period of the Games of the Olympiad.

The NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was still requesting the allocation of six sports: football, archery, judo, wrestling, gymnastics, table-tennis. The IOC had declared that this could not be granted; there had been many negotiations between the IOC and the NOC of the Republic of Korea in order to reach an agreement over the possibility of competitions in two sports being held outside the Republic of Korea.

At 16.30 hours, a further meeting would take place between the IOC and delegates from the NOC of the DPR of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT wished to learn the position of the Korean Olympic Committee in relation to the comments he just made. The meeting broke for ten minutes at 15.10 hours.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM, President of the Korean Olympic Committee, wished to reiterate the necessity for delegates from the DPR of Korea to confirm the participation of their country's athletes in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad before an agreement could be reached. During previous discussions, the question of allocating preliminary events in volleyball, handball and football had arisen, as long as the DPR of Korea were to guarantee respect of the "Olympic Charter". Nevertheless, the delegates from the NOC of the DPR of Korea had refused to consider seriously this proposal, and appeared to refute the right of the Republic of Korea to stage the

Games. MR. KIM emphasised that only after participation by the DPR of Korea had been confirmed, and following consultation with the relevant IFs, could sports or events be allocated to DPR of Korea territory. It was essential, furthermore, that the Olympic Committee of the DPR of Korea should affirm its respect of the “Olympic Charter” and of the decision made in Baden-Baden to award the hosting of the Games to Seoul.

MR. KIM wished to clarify that, should the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea be granted the holding of all competitions relating to two sports, organisational matters would remain under the control of the SLOOC; in accordance with the “Charter”, the OCOG was the sole body responsible for organising the competitions and the SLOOC had made great efforts in order to advance preparatory work.

The Korean NOC proposed the sports of table-tennis and fencing; the DPR of Korea should then agree to proper inspection of venues by the IFs, free transfer of officials, transportation of sports equipment, entry of media representatives and so forth.

MR. KIM stressed that the proposal to modify the appellation of the Games was unacceptable to the SLOOC, and was, moreover, in contradiction with articles 4 and 8 of the “Olympic Charter” which stipulated that the Games’ organisation should be entrusted to one city.

At the previous meeting, it had been proposed that the ream road race should begin in the DPR of Korea and end in Seoul; this would create an atmosphere of harmony within the Korean peninsula. The Korean Olympic Committee also retained its proposal advocating a joint parade of Korean athletes; each delegation would parade in columns, each column having its own flag and athletes wearing the uniform of their country. The DPR of Korea was also fully welcome to participate in the varied cultural programme which was planned in the context of the Games.

MR. KIM emphasised that the NOC of the Republic of Korea was not prepared to allocate more than two full sports to the DPR of Korea, and that he was not in a position to agree to one of the football tournament groups being held outside the Republic of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT underlined that any agreements reached were with a view to securing maximum participation of the NOCs at the Games, hence their success. During his recent stay in Seoul he had had talks with the Head of State of the Republic of Korea and it had finally been decided to offer, through the intervention of the IOC, the sports of table-tennis and archery to the DPR of Korea. Minister Lee had since informed him in writing that the proposal had been modified and was now for table-tennis and fencing rather than archery. THE PRESIDENT had previously contacted the table-tennis and archery IFs and, in principle, approval had been gained for holding competitions in the DPR of Korea. He understood that, besides suggestions concerning certain cycle races and some football competitions, the KOC was not ready to consider the allocation of further events to the DPR of Korea at this stage. Should agreement be reached with the NOC of the Democratic People’s Republic regarding sports, the question of free circulation between the two countries was of the utmost importance.

THE PRESIDENT requested the full co-operation of the NOC of the Republic of Korea as a decision had to be made; a breakdown in negotiations could threaten the success of the Olympic Games.

MR. KIM fully appreciated that the current talks affected the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad and that it was in the interest of the KOC to reach an agreement; he guaranteed his full co-operation.

He explained that it had been decided to offer fencing as a sport to be hosted by the DPR of Korea since archery was currently a developing sport in the Republic of Korea, and it was felt that this should be taken into consideration.

Since the IOC delegation had no further comments, THE PRESIDENT adjourned the meeting at 16.00 hours.

The meeting between the IOC and the delegation from the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea resumed at 16.30 hours.

THE PRESIDENT wished to know the position of the NOC regarding the IOC's proposals put forward that morning.

MR. KIM stated that his NOC had already expressed its point of view regarding the main problems, pointing out that it believed that the question of the sports and event it hoped to stage was closely linked with the formation of a separate OCOG and the appellation of the Games. If the problems concerning the creation of an OCOG and the appellation of the Games were solved satisfactorily, then the issue of the events could be settled.

Thanks to the IOC's efforts and the previous joint meetings, MR. KIM felt that some progress had been made. However, further meetings were still required to ensure the success of the Games. He appreciated the IOC's offer for his NOC to organise the full archery and table-tennis competitions, but his Committee could not accept the staging of only the preliminaries of one group of the football tournament.

If the IOC was not prepared to offer the organisation of the entire Olympic football tournament, then the NOC of the DPR of Korea wished to stage two of the following sports in their entirety: judo, wrestling, shooting or weightlifting. These would be in addition to archery and table-tennis. Moreover, the NOC also wished to stage women's volleyball, men's basketball and women's handball. With regard to cycling, MR. KIM proposed that two races start in the DPR of Korea and finish in the Republic of Korea, and a further two start in the latter and end in the DPR of Korea. Furthermore, fencing was also worthy of serious study.

MR. KIM stressed that his NOC envisaged holding a separate cultural programme.

The NOC of the DPR of Korea had expressed its position with regard to free circulation between the two Koreas on a previous occasion, and MR. KIM confirmed this stance, guaranteeing that there would be no restrictions for athletes and the media as far as access to the DPR of Korea was concerned. Unfortunately, no details had been received from the Republic of Korea in this respect.

MR. KIM queried the IOC's stance vis-à-vis the appellation of the Games and the formation of a separate Organising Committee.

THE PRESIDENT replied that many other problems had to be solved besides the appellation of the Games. However, none of these could be discussed until an agreement had been reached regarding which sports could be staged in the DPR of Korea. The IOC had already proposed that the NOC of the DPR of Korea organise two full sports, one group of the football tournament and 3 cycling races, and THE PRESIDENT felt it unlikely that the NOC's new proposal would be accepted by the Korean Olympic Committee.

THE PRESIDENT commented that slight changes could perhaps be made to the IOC's proposal, adding that either Mr. Siperco, the first Vice-President of the IOC, or he was ready to meet with the NOC of the DPR of Korea at any time to try to reach an agreement. At present, the gap in the positions of the IOC and of the NOC was narrowing, however.

THE PRESIDENT reiterated that no other points could be discussed until it had been agreed which sports could be held in the DPR of Korea. The IOC's offer was important since for the first time in Olympic history the Games would be divided. It had not been easy for THE PRESIDENT or the IOC delegation to convince the NOC of the Republic of Korea to offer certain events to the DPR of Korea.

MR. CHIN urged the IOC and the NOC of the Republic of Korea to review his NOC's new proposal and to consider substantial changes to the IOC's own proposal. The NOC of the DPR of Korea would again study the IOC's offer, stressing that any competitions held in the DPR of Korea should be called the "XXIVth Olympic Games in Pyongyang."

THE PRESIDENT replied that the appellation of the Games would be discussed only after an agreement had been concluded regarding the sports to be held in the DPR of Korea. The IOC could not accept the NOC's new proposal since it called for the staging of too many sports competitions. THE PRESIDENT emphasised the efforts made by the IOC to convince the NOC of the Republic of Korea to allow the IOC to make such an offer, an offer which the NOC of the DPR of Korea should consider seriously.

Mr. Siperco or THE PRESIDENT were prepared to meet the delegates from the NOC of the DPR of Korea whilst they were in Lausanne or if necessary to convene another meeting.

After the first and second joint meeting, MR. KIM informed that his NOC had seriously considered the organisation of the full Olympic football tournament. However, owing to the IOC's Presidents efforts, his NOC had since decided not to request the staging of the entire tournament, but now wished to hold two other full sports, in addition to archery and table-tennis, and also part of the volleyball, handball and basketball competitions.

MR. KIM stressed that his NOC's new proposal had been made after serious study of the question in order to try to reach a solution to the problem. The issues of the appellation of the Games and the formation of a separate OCOG should be raised when discussing the question of the sports to be organised in the DPR of Korea as the three problems were closely linked. MR. KIM again queried the IOC's stance with respect to the Games' appellation and the formation of a second OCOG. His NOC proposed that all competitions staged within its territory be called the "XXIVth Olympic Games in Pyongyang", and that the OCOG be called the "Pyongyang Organising Committee".

Once again THE PRESIDENT clarified that the appellation of the Games and the formation of a separate OCOG could only be discussed once the problem of the sports had been settled. Nevertheless, the IOC was prepared to study slight modifications to the proposal it had made that morning with a view to finding a solution to the problem. Four cycling races between the two Koreas could perhaps be staged, provided the NOC of the Republic of Korea agreed. However, the latter were unlikely to agree to the granting of an additional two full sports and other events to the NOC of the DPR of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT repeated the IOC's offer of two full sports plus one group of the football tournament and ~~four~~ [crossed out in the original, replaced with *some; three? or* on the margin] cycling events, provided the proposals were ratified by the IOC Session.

MR. HAN, a member of the NOC of the DPR of Korea, expressed his colleague's appreciation of the efforts made by the IOC for the success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. Many details relating to the Games had to be solved in order to reach a final agreement at a later date.

Already on previous occasions views had been exchanged relating to the sports competitions to be held in the DPR of Korea, and it had now been decided that the Games would be shared between the two Koreas. After great efforts, both sides were narrowing their differences of opinion.

The NOC of the DPR of Korea would agree to organise archery and table-tennis, but had now put forward a further proposal, which MR. HAN felt would be easily acceptable to all parties.

The NOC of the DPR of Korea was aware of the IOC's position, but hoped that the latter would consider the NOC's new suggestions for the benefit of the Olympic Games and with a view to reaching a final agreement.

Various problems relating to the 1988 Olympic Games, all of which were closely linked, had to be solved, and MR. HAN urged the IOC to consider carefully the question of sports in order to hasten the conclusion of an agreement. Views could also be exchanged on other aspects such as free circulation and the Olympic torch relay.

The NOC of the DPR of Korea was ready to discuss any points the IOC considered to be of importance, in addition to the issues the NOC felt should be raised.

MR. HAN pointed out that the delegates had travelled a great distance from their country where they worked for the benefit of the Olympic Movement and their national athletes, and thus had great expectations when coming to Lausanne.

THE PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Han for his remarks, stating that he understood the position of the NOC of the DPR of Korea. He was also aware of the distance between the delegates' home country and Switzerland and realised that the representatives were all very busy.

THE PRESIDENT repeated that it was of the utmost importance to settle in principle the question of sports to be staged in the DPR of Korea. If the NOC of the DPR of Korea agreed to

do so, then the IOC would be willing to discuss other matters in the next few days. However, no such matters could be discussed until the NOC agreed on which sports it would organise.

After a break of 20 minutes, THE PRESIDENT emphasised that the delegation had to realize that the IOC was trying to help the NOC and trying to reach an agreement. Proposals such as those made by the IOC had never been made before in the history of the Olympic Movement.

The IOC understood the NOC's position, but a solution could be reached if the NOC accepted the IOC's offer, which could perhaps be amended slightly. The IOC would then be willing to convene a fourth and last meeting before the October 1986 Session in Lausanne with an established agenda containing points the NOC wished to raise.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the NOC delegation could provide the IOC with its reply by the following morning at 11.00 hours. A special meeting presided either by THE PRESIDENT or Mr. Siperco could be held, if requested, after the press conference on 11th June 1986.

MR. KIM confirmed his delegation's presence at 11.00 hours the following day.

The meeting then adjourned at 17.50 hours.

Wednesday, 11th June 1986

At 10.00 hours, the meeting between the IOC and the NOC of the Republic of Korea was resumed.

THE PRESIDENT stated that a tri-lateral meeting would be held later that morning, between 11.30 and 12.00 hours, depending on the length of discussions between the IOC and representatives of the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT stressed that the IOC was striving to gain the agreement of the NOC of the DPR of Korea to participate in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad and to propose that some events be hosted on DPR of Korea territory. He explained that there was great pressure from the NOCs of Socialist countries for an agreement with the DPR of Korea to be concluded. The Secretary General of the USOC had recently been in Cuba and President Castro had mentioned that his country would not take part in the Seoul Games unless an arrangement had been made with the DPR of Korea. In addition, many telexes had been received at the IOC headquarters from Socialist countries' NOCs, also a letter had been received from Mr. Gramov of the USSR, which all pushed for an agreement in respect of the Games.

It was essential, firstly, to decide how many full sports could be granted to the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Once this matter has been settled, later discussions could focus upon logistics and organisational issues such as free circulation or accredited persons, television coverage etc. Moreover, these questions would require detailed examination by experts in both countries.

The IOC would draw up a paper proposing that competitions in conjunction with two sports and also several events be held in the DPR of Korea. This would be forwarded to both

delegations and a deadline fixed each NOC would be requested to reply before this deadline expired.

After the previous day's talks, it was proposed to allocate all events relating to table-tennis and archery, one tournament group of football competitions (which would not include the team representing the Republic of Korea) and some cycling events. THE PRESIDENT emphasised that the IOC's aim was to guarantee the success of the Games of the Olympiad, to gain the full support of the NCOs. He mentioned the ANOC meetings which had taken place in Seoul so successfully. These meetings had been planned for Seoul with a view to assessing NOC attendance; in fact only eight NOCs had failed to be present, including the NOC of the DPR of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT stated that if an agreement between the two Koreas were reached, a further meeting would be held in Lausanne in order to discuss concrete details. Much preparatory work would have to be undertaken and an agenda for the meeting drawn up and worked through methodically.

THE PRESIDENT requested a more flexible attitude on the part of the delegation representing the KOC, asking its members to bear in mind the fact that the IOC was working towards the peaceful celebration of the Games.

The meeting broke for ten minutes at 10.20 hours.

MR. KIM expressed his appreciation of the work of the IOC and of the effort made to reach an agreement. He apologized for any lack of diplomacy which he might have shown during the previous day's talks; he felt, however, that it had been necessary to make clear the stance of his NOC in order that a compromise could then be sought to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. He wondered whether the delegation from the NOC of the DPR of Korea was reacting positively to the suggestions being put forward.

There was no objection to two full sports being allocated to the DPR of Korea. Mention had been made of table-tennis and archery; however, the KOC would prefer table-tennis and fencing. Discussions on this precise point could be taken up at a later date. The proposal concerning the cycle team road race was also acceptable. As for the allocation of one group of football tournaments, he felt that it might be difficult to reach a national consensus over this since football was a particularly popular sport in the Republic of Korea.

MR. KIM added that the NOC of Korea had not, as yet, submitted entries for the regional preliminaries. Nevertheless, if the allocation of one group of preliminary football competitions would help towards the settling of an agreement with the NOC of the DPR of Korea, he would be in favour of this.

THE PRESIDENT mentioned that it was a question of six matches only being held outside the Republic of Korea. He was of the opinion that much progress had been made; the NOC of the DPR of Korea had initially requested co-hosting of the Games, followed by twelve sports, *then* six sports. Two sports were now offered to the NOC and he felt sure that an important step had been achieved.

An official letter from the IOC would be prepared and sent to both delegations, asking for approval of the above-mentioned proposal before the end of June. Should approval be gained from both sides, further meetings would take place in order to examine the questions he had previously referred to.

THE PRESIDENT closed the discussions by thanking the delegation from the NOC of the Republic of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT welcomed the delegation from the NOC of the DPR of Korea to the meeting at 11.00 hours. As there was not sufficient time to resume discussions, THE PRESIDENT queried whether or not his understand of the NOC's position was correct. At a meeting in his office earlier that morning, THE PRESIDENT believed the NOC had confirmed they would accept the IOC's offer regarding the sports to be staged in the DPR of Korea provided the IOC agreed to the denomination "Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Pyongyang", to the setting up of a separate Organising Committee in Pyongyang and to the convening of another meeting.

MR. KIM replied that his delegation wished to ensure the success of the 1988 Olympic Games by satisfying the wishes of the entire Korean people. Although little progress had been made, certain views had been exchanged. However, other important points had not been discussed. MR. KIM felt that the IOC and his NOC should discuss at this bi-lateral meeting important points such as the proposals regarding sports to be held in the DPR of Korea. Further views should be exchanged and decisions taken in order to narrow the differences of opinion. Moreover, the appellation of the Games and the formation of a separate OCOG should be discussed at this juncture.

THE PRESIDENT had understood from what Mr. Kim had previously stated that if the IOC agreed to support the suggestion by the NOC of the DPR of Korea to call those sports and events held in the DPR of Korea ~~the~~ [crossed out in the original] "Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Pyongyang" and to set up a separate OCOG, the NOC would be ready to accept the IOC's offer.

MR. KIM requested time for his delegation to meet alone.

After a break of 10 minutes, MR. KIM stressed that at previous meetings the IOC had stated that it would give the NOC three full sports to organise. However, at the current meeting the IOC was proposing two full sports only. MR. KIM underlined that his NOC required further time to study the proposal regarding sports and events both seriously and carefully.

THE PRESIDENT reiterated that the NOC was well aware of the IOC's proposal. The delegation would be receiving an official letter from the IOC following that day's meeting which would specify the IOC's offer. The NOC would be granted until the end of June 1986 to study the letter and to reply to it. If the NOC replied positively and unconditionally, then the IOC would be prepared to study, together with the NOC, such items as the denomination of the Games, the formation of a separate OCOG, free circulation and television coverage, inter alia. Moreover, if the NOC of the DPR of Korea replied positively, the IOC would convene a fourth and final meeting between the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and of the DPR of Korea. This

would take place prior to the 91st IOC Session in Lausanne in October 1986, perhaps at the end of July.

THE PRESIDENT requested Mr. Kim to inform the authorities in the DPR of Korea that the IOC, including the Vice-Presidents and himself, would do its ~~utmost~~ ~~so~~ [crossed out in the original, replaced with *best to support the request*] that the sports organised in the DPR of Korea could be called ~~the~~ “Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Pyongyang”, and that a separate Organising Committee could be set up in Pyongyang which would deal directly with the IOC.

THE PRESIDENT added that a joint meeting would now take place at which the IOC’s press release would be read to the delegations. This did not require the latter’s approval as it would be issued only by the IOC. Moreover, the IOC would then hold a press conference to which they were all invited.

The meeting adjourned at 11.30 hours.

THE PRESIDENT welcomed to the meeting at 11.45 hours the delegations from the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. The press release to be issued by the IOC would shortly be read to the delegates for their information. It did not require their approval.

After the meeting, the heads of both delegations would be given an official letter asking for the respective NOC’s approval of which sports would be held in the DPR of Korea. An answer was required from both NOCs before the end of June 1986. If positive *and unconditional* replies from both Committees were received then a fourth meeting would be convened before the 91st IOC Session in October 1986 in Lausanne so that the Session could approve the proposals.

THE PRESIDENT requested the delegates not to speak at length with the representatives of the media as such action could have adverse effects on the work accomplished thus far. Only the IOC would hold a press conference.

THE PRESIDENT remarked that gradually a solution was being reached, and requested Mr. Samuel Pisar, the IOC’s juridical advisor, to read out the IOC’s press release, a copy of which would then be given to each delegation (see annex 4).

THE PRESIDENT reiterated that both NOCs were requested to reply before 30th June 1986 to the official letter they would be receiving from the IOC. If positive answers were received from both NOCs the IOC would begin to work on the organisational and operational aspects of the Games.

THE PRESIDENT observed that this was the last possibility for the question to be solved in order to ensure the success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

MR. YU SUN KIM, President of the NOC of the DPR of Korea, stated that his NOC also wished to ensure the success of the Games by fulfilling the desires of the Korean people. Views had been exchanged on certain matters for the benefit of the Olympic Movement and for the success of the 1988 Olympic Games. The painstaking efforts on the part of the IOC, and particularly the President, were commendable, and MR. KIM was convinced that if both NOCs studied each other’s positions, the next meeting would prove fruitful.

The NOC of the DPR of Korea had shown magnanimity and flexibility in many respects, and would do its utmost to secure successful Games in 1988. MR. KIM hoped that the IOC and the NOC of the Republic of Korea would do likewise.

MR. CHONG-HA KIM, President of the NOC of the Republic of Korea, remarked that the meaning participation of the NOC of the DPR of Korea in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad had been discussed seriously during this third joint meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the IOC. MR. KIM expressed his delegation's gratitude to the President for his constant efforts and support with a view to assuring the success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

The NOC of the Republic of Korea had also shown magnanimity and sincerity in presenting new proposals. Thanks to the IOC's efforts the third meeting had provided momentum for further progress. If all side continued their discussions with determination, the fourth meeting would bear fruit.

MR. KIM concluded that his NOC would co-operate positively with the President of the IOC in his mediation efforts.

THE PRESIDENT thanked both NOC Presidents, stressing the importance for both Committees to reply to the IOC's official letter. If both replies were positive, a fourth and final meeting would be convened with a set agenda at the end of July 1986. No further meetings could be held after that date in view of the short time remaining prior to the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in the Autumn of 1988. Moreover, it would then be too late to find a solution.

THE PRESIDENT expressed his gratitude to the two NOC Presidents and their delegations for their support, co-operation and collaboration. He hoped the meetings would be recorded in history as a step towards international friendship and understanding.

THE PRESIDENT then thanked the IOC Vice-Presidents and Administrator délégué as well as his advisors, Messrs. Pisar and Stupp, the Head of his Cabinet, Mr. Coupat, and the IOC staff for arranging constructive working conditions.

THE PRESIDENT declared the meeting closed at 12.10 hours.

ANNEX 1

DELEGATION FROM THE KOREAN OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

Mr. Chong-Ha KIM	President of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Choong-Sik CHANG	Vice-President of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Man-Lip CHOY	Vice-President of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Chong-Ha LEE	Member of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Tae-Soon YIM	Member of the Korean Olympic Committee
Mr. Joung-Moon NAM	Member of the Korean Olympic Committee

DELEGATION FROM OLYMPIC COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Mr. Yu Sun KIM	President of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Chung Cuk CHIN	Vice-President of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Ung CHANG	Director of Secretariat, Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Chang On HAN	Member of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Bok Man AN	Member of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Mr. Myong Hwang CHO	Member of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

ANNEX 2

Opening Address

by Mr. Yu Sun KIM, President of the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Respected Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch, IOC President, Fellow Delegates from the International Olympic Committee, and the south,

It gives me pleasure to get together with you for discussing once again the problems to ensure the success of the 24th Olympic Games.

I wish to express profound thanks to the IOC for having prepared assiduously the 3rd joint meeting and provided us with every convenience.

We are well aware that meanwhile President Mr. Samaranch, all Vice-Presidents and other IOC officials have made every effort to cope with difficulties lying in the 24th Olympic Games and ensure the successful hosting of the Games, for which we highly appreciate you.

We patently showed to the world people, through the previous two joint meetings and various contracts, that we have the common desire to make an excellent sports festival of the 24th Olympic Games, come what may.

This single common desire is an important guarantee to enable our joint meeting to be successful.

In particular, the 3rd joint meeting is a very significant and responsible one for all of us.

The broad segments of the athletes and the peace-loving people all over the world who treasure the Olympic movement hope at this meeting we shall agree sincerely to all the relevant proposals one by one, thus opening up a new epochal milestone in the history of the Olympic movement.

We have made a certain progress in the discussion of the proposed problems through the first and second meetings, but fell short of the complete agreement.

Therefore, it is considered that at this 3rd joint meeting we should reach agreement on the basic problems which have been discussed so far.

To this end, it is necessary to earnestly approach this meeting, cherishing one goal and desire to get over the present difficulties of the Olympic movement and make an unprecedented sports festival of the 24th Olympic Games.

We are all given an important task to proceed this joint meeting successfully to produce an excellent fruition [sic].

That is why we are not allowed to impose any one side's will and demand on the other and moreover, should not commit such a thing as to create artificial difficulties in the way of the joint meeting by offering to the opposite whatever unjust conditions.

It is thought that each side should concede and show magnanimity and sincerity, having considered problems in view of general interests of the Olympic movement, thus narrowing differences of views and reaching agreement.

We are convinced that such way and manner in which we sincerely participate in the current joint meeting will help us easily solve all problems here.

Practically speaking, there are many complicated problems which should be solved.

Therefore, we have, at the previous joint meetings and the bilateral talk with the IOC in March, made clear our proposals on sharing the events in the north and south of Korea and the main relevant problems such as the appellation of the Games, the organizing committee, the cultural programme and other Olympic functions.

We are convinced that when the fundamental problems arising in the organization of the 24th Olympic Games, are solved on the firm basis of the Olympic spirit, the other auxiliary problems can be solved easily.

Our proposals are the realistic and elastic ones which have been put forth by taking into full account the positions of the IOC and the south.

We are ready to discuss sincerely any proposal, no matter which side may propose, if they were suggested in the true sense of ensuring the success of the 24th Olympic games, and expect that at this meeting the south Korean side and the IOC, too, will put forward realistic and concrete proposals.

Today the entire Korean people and the world peaceloving [sic] people whole heartedly [sic] desire that this 3rd joint meeting will be a historic one for ensuring success of the 24th Olympic Games, improving the relations between the north and the south of Korea and actively contributing to peace and peaceful reunification there.

Here are the eyes of the whole world are focussed [sic] again on Lausanne where we are now meeting.

We shall do all our sincere efforts, conscious of our noble task and heavy responsibility and unanimously desirous of making this joint meeting success at any cost.

I am convinced that at this joint meeting the IOC and the south will seriously consider our proposals and respond positively to them.

Thank you.

ANNEX 3

Keynote Address at the Joint Meeting
By Mr. Chong-Ha KIM, President of the NOC of the Republic of Korea

Your Excellency Juan Antonio Samaranch, President of the International Olympic Committee; Mr. Kim Yoo Soon, Chairman of the north Korean Sports Guidance Committee and the north Korean Olympic Committee; distinguished delegates!

First of all, on behalf of our delegation, I wish to express our deepest appreciation to President Samaranch and the delegates from the IOC for their warm welcome and efforts in arranging this third meeting.

It is a great pleasure to meet the north Korean delegates again five months after the second meeting.

In addition, I am very happy to tell you that the 5th ANOC General Assembly, held in Seoul on April 21 through April 26, concluded with great success, thanks to the cooperation and participation of many delegates including President Samaranch, and vice-presidents and executive members of the IOC. In this regard, I would like to take this opportunity to express once again our sincerest thanks to the IOC.

Today, under the chairmanship of President Samaranch, delegates from the IOC and the South and north Korean Olympic Committees will meet for the third time to discuss more meaningful participation by north Korea in the 24th Seoul Olympic Games.

At the two previous meetings held last October and early this year, I already explained in full detail that the Korean Olympic Committee, as the host of the 24th Olympiad, in faithful observance of the Olympic Charter and the agreements made with the IOC, is making meticulous preparations, including competition facilities and competition operation plans.

Meanwhile, we have reiterated our position that in line with the Olympic Charter and the Olympic Spirit the door is wide open for all IOC member countries to freely participate in the Seoul Olympiad without any constraints. We committed ourselves clearly that we will heartily welcome north Korean athletes, our brethren, under the same conditions.

In particular we have expressed our willingness to discuss the matter of positive participation of north Korea within the framework of the Olympic Charter in order to make the 24th Olympiad more successful than any previous Olympiad, and to share with the entire Korean people the honour of hosting the Olympic Games which was entrusted to the City of Seoul.

In this context, we have fully cooperated with the sincere mediation efforts made by President Samaranch and the IOC, and in conformity with the agenda set up by the IOC we have exerted our utmost efforts to present and implement very reasonable proposals for north Korean athletes to join the 24th Olympiad in a more meaningful way.

Urging north Korea to take part in the Seoul Olympic Games without any conditions, respecting the Olympic Charter and the decision made by the IOC Session in Baden Baden in 1981, we have shown our sincerity to discuss the following matters :

- Joint entrance of the South and north Korean teams in the Opening Ceremony.
- Allocation of some preliminaries to north Korea.
- Linking South and north Korea in the cycling team road race.
- More significant participation of north Korea in the various cultural programmes.

If these matters are settled, the 24th Seoul Olympiad, will provide a historic occasion for mutual accommodation, trust and peaceful relations between South and north Korea.

President Samaranch,

Our extensive and meticulous preparatory work for the successful 24th Olympiad is nearing completion, and I am convinced that we have exerted every possible effort for our brethren, the north Korean athletes, to join the historic Seoul Olympic Games in a meaningful way.

It is my firm belief that such efforts will win the support and understanding of all international sports federations and world sports leaders, as well as the IOC.

Moreover, I notice with great pleasure that our conviction was confirmed at the 5th ANOC General Assembly held in Seoul last April.

With the presence of all the delegates from the two main pillars of the Olympic Movement, the IOC and the ANOC, all participants expressed their great satisfaction after witnessing our through preparations for the 24th Olympiad.

Furthermore, they voiced unanimously their support and understanding for the position of the Korean Olympic Committee in attending this Lausanne meeting.

I believe that in order to bring about positive results from the third meeting, all of us should humbly consider the aspirations of the world sports community and respect the Olympic Charter and the decisions made by the IOC Session.

I have no doubt that if the north Korean Olympic Committee shows positive response to our position, this third meeting will make progress.

We wish to make it clear that through positive cooperation and with the kind efforts of mediation by the IOC, we will put forth our best efforts to make the proposals already presented by our side a reality.

ANNEX 4

COMITE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE

Lausanne, le 11 juin 1986

Ref. No. PR/34 /86

PRESS RELEASE OF THE IOC

At the initiative of the International Olympic Committee, delegations from the National Olympic Committees of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by their respective Presidents, Mr. Chong-Ha Kim and Mr. Yu Sun Kim, met for third time at the IOC headquarters in Lausanne, on 10th and 11th June 1986, under the Chairmanship of the President of the IOC, H.E. Juan Antonio Samaranch.

The IOC was also represented by its Vice-Presidents, Mr. Alexandru Siperco, Ashwini Kumar and Mr. Berthold Beitz as well as the Administrateur délégué of the IOC, Mr. Raymond Gafner and assisted by Maitre Samuel Pizar, Mr. Howard Stupp and Mr. Alain Coupat.

In the course of extensive discussions which took place in a cooperative and cordial atmosphere, the differences between the parties were narrowed considerably, both NOCs stressing their sincere desire to ensure the success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in 1988.

With this fundamental objective in mind, the IOC delegation, in the spirit of the "Olympic Charter" and the decisions taken at the 1981 IOC Session in Baden-Baden, proposed to both parties that a number of events on the programme of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad be delegated to the NOC of the DPR Korea. Specifically, the organisation of two full sports would be entrusted to the NOC of the DPR of Korea to be held in its territory.

The IOC also proposed that certain additional events be partly located in the DPR Korea, and that cultural manifestations connected with the Olympic Games be organised in both parts of the Korean peninsula.

The two Korean NOCs have undertaken to study this proposal and to communicate to the IOC their willingness to accept it in principle by 30th June 1986; they have already confirmed to the IOC that free access of all members of the Olympic Family to the relevant Olympic venues in the North and South would be ensured. The IOC will then convene a new meeting in order to settle all necessary organisational and operational aspects.



DOCUMENT No. 29

Summary of Negotiations between the Two Korean NOCs

10 October 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88/ 3EME REUNION DES DEUX COREES +ACCRED, DE PRESSE 1986. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

EB/LAUSANNE/10-11-10-86

(stamped confidential)

GAMES OF THE XXIVTH OLYMPIAD

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO KOREAN NOCS

SUMMARY OF THE SITUATION

Immediately after the attribution of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad to the City of Seoul by the 84th IOC Session in Baden Baden, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its NOC began a vast campaign of protestation throughout the world.

In 1984, just after the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad in Los Angeles, this campaign was considerably increased and a certain number of National Olympic Committees gave their support to the DPR Korea.

Preoccupied as always by trying to avoid a division of the Olympic Movement, the IOC Executive Board requested the President to seek a means of resolving the pending crisis.

Following many contacts with all the parties concerned during the years 1984 and 1985, the President finally called three tripartite meetings bringing together the delegations of the two Korean NOCs and an Olympic delegation composed of the three Vice Presidents, the President of the Olympic Council of Asia and the IOC Administrator délégué, assisted by the IOC legal advisors. The IOC President himself chaired each of the meetings which took place in Lausanne on 8th and 9th October 1985, 8th and 9th January 1986 and 10th and 11th June 1986.

On 11th June 1986, the IOC President sent to both NOCs an identical letter containing his proposal for the solution of the situation (see annex), under the reservation of subsequent approval by the Session. Each NOC was requested to forward its reply before 30th June 1986.

On 27th June, the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (PRK) then gave its written agreement in principle, under the condition that the organisation of a greater number of sports be granted to it.

On 3rd July 1986, the IOC, by letter from its President, requested clarification from the NOC PRK before 15th July 1986 regarding its exact position.

On 9th July 1986 in Moscow the IOC President met with Mr. Yu Sun KIM, President of the NOC PRK and member of the IOC, who reiterated the request of his NOC as it appears in his

letter of 28th June. The IOC President, whilst not modifying his position, permitted the date limit originally set as 15th July, to be postponed to the 20th of the same month, at the request of Mr. Kim. Nevertheless, the IOC President drew the attention of the letter to the fact that it would not be possible for him to envisage a fourth meeting before having received a positive reply and stressed that the proposal of the IOC contained the full extent of the possible concessions.

On 19th July, the NOC PRK gave its reply, which announced an agreement in principle for the two sports proposed, accompanied by a request for a considerable increase in this number.

On 28th July, in a letter bearing the same proposal as that of 11th June, the IOC President then asked for an unambiguous reply.

On 1st August, the NOC PRK sent its reply. Abandoning its request for additional sports, the NOC declared that it was ready to discuss the problem of the increase in the number of events or disciplines to be organised on its territory.

On 21st August, the IOC President proposed a personal meeting with Mr. Yu Sun Kim, or his Vice-President, Mr. Chin, in order to clarify the situation as meetings with the Ambassador of DPR Korea in Geneva had not proved fruitful.

On 8th September in Lausanne, Mr. Chin, Vice-President of the NOC PRK exposed the following position : the NOC PRK had already given its agreement in principle to the proposal of 11th June three times. It was thus necessary to establish a fourth tripartite meeting as soon as possible. The increase in the number of events and disciplines could be discussed on this occasion.

The IOC President thus requested that an official reply be sent in writing to his letter of 11th June. A second rendez-vous was fixed for 11th September, also in Lausanne.

During this meeting, Mr. Chin reconfirmed the agreement of principle of his NOC regarding the proposal of 11th June and reiterated the position of the NOC concerning the holding of a fourth tripartite meeting during which the problem of the increase in the number of events and disciplines would be discussed. Moreover, he declared that due to his presence in Lausanne and the oral reply which he had just given, he did not feel that a written response was now necessary.

The IOC President reminded him that in accordance with his letter of 11th June, a fourth meeting could only be called in the NOC PRK had first of all given its agreement in writing. In addition, such an agreement should be forward to the IOC as quickly as possible in order that, after having made contact with all parties concerned, it would be possible to fix the earliest possible date for the fourth meeting. Mr. Chin promised to transmit the request of the President.

To date nothing has been received by the IOC.

It is however important to underline that these meetings, as well as the proposal put forward by the IOC, have obviously enabled the clarification of the situation and have greatly facilitated the participation of certain Socialist countries in the Xth Asian Games which took place in Seoul in September-October this year.

RECOMMENDATION OF THE IOC EXECUTIVE BOARD

Being unable in the present situation of negotiations to propose a definitive agreement to the Session, but considering it necessary to continue its efforts, the Executive Board recommends to the Session the adoption of the following resolution :

- I. The Session grants to the Executive Board the mandate :
 - a) to approve the organisation on the northern part of the Korean peninsula of the table tennis and archery competitions in addition to certain events, as mentioned in the IOC President's letter of 11th June 1986;
 - b) to settle in the best interest of the Olympic Movement the detailed arrangements arising from the execution of the above-mentioned decision, with the agreement of all parties concerned.

- I. The Executive Board will duly inform the IOC members of the execution of the present resolution.



DOCUMENT No. 30

Recommendation by the NOC of the ROK to the IOC on North Korea

15 October 1986

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88/ 4EME ET 5 EME REUNION DES DEUX COREES 1987; SEOUL 88/ 5 EME REUNION DES 2 COREES. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

1. ROK appreciates greatly the continued efforts for the success of Seoul Olympics of H.E. IOC President Samaranch, especially by maintaining a firm stand that N. Korea should first accept IOC proposal before holding IOC/N.K. bilateral talks and arranging another Lausanne joint meeting.
2. In our view, the reason that N. Korea is calling for direct talks with ROK is its attempt to evade from accepting IOC proposal and to shift ultimate responsibilities to ROK for failure to reach agreement at Lausanne joint meeting.

Our specialists also believe that N. Korea is trying to utilize political move by some leftist elements and thus divide national opinion in the process of political democratization in ROK.

3. At this stage, it is difficult to ascertain the contents of “important information” N. Korea’s Chin Chung Kuk purports to bring to IOC, but we believe that N. Korea is desperately making all-out efforts to obstruct IOC/ROK’s common endeavour for the success of Seoul Olympics under the pretext of continuing dialogue with the IOC and ROK.
4. Under the circumstances, it is ROK’s earnest hope that IOC will adhere to its firm position that N. Korea should first accept IOC joint proposal before holding the 5th [sic] Lausanne joint meeting.

It is also our unflinching belief that any future joint meeting should be held with the framework of IOC proposal and no more events should be allocated to N. Korea.

[Accompanying French translation omitted]



DOCUMENT No. 31

Statement by M.S. Gorbachev: “The Amelioration of the International Situation, Strengthening of Peace”

11 November 1986

[Source: Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation, Fond 5, opis 1, Dokument 20669. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko]

[Translator’s Note: The following translation replicates as closely as possible the style of the original, including fragmented sentences and grammatical errors]

[...]

A word about the Olympic Games. I met, and comrade Jaruzelski met, and comrade Honecker met with comrade Kim Il Sung. He raises this question and connects it with the situation on the Korean isthmus [sic], with the attempts by the United States and the South Korean regime to attain the recognition of two Koreas and by this, so to speak, to slow down the process of unification, of realization of ideas of our friends from North Korea. We have, in my view, a coordinated point of view but, as we met, we have to think it. This is not a question of small importance. This coordinated point of view includes several aspects.

First. That we must come out in favor of holding the Games both in Seoul and in Pyongyang. And, in my view, the thing is, if one were to hold them in Seoul, then both in Seoul and in Pyongyang. I told comrade Kim Il Sung that it is not a matter of arithmetic here but of the political aspect. If they are both there and there, then it means they are held in Korea. But he, in truth, was saying that because one third of the population is in North Korea, then one third of the Games should be. I think this is already arithmetic. We pursue this line with you at all preparatory meetings, so that the approach is like this. I think this is correct. From all that we have today from the information of our sports organizations and our international departments, one can see that a boycott of the Olympic Games from our side is unrealistic in the current conditions. Moreover, our international departments elaborate themselves to the effect that everything here, so to say, should be looked at in each particular situation every time. Thus, today we unfolded huge external political activity, gave it great impetus, we invite wide circles of the public to cooperate. This is a huge channel for cooperation, for influencing in the needed direction. Sport activities. And if we took this road, we would do injury to ourselves, to our policy.

Therefore, this is the interconnectedness of these elements. Comrade Kim Il Sung, in my opinion, met this with understanding, with understanding [sic]. But he hopes for our firm position and I promised that we will have a meeting, I promised him that we will talk about it.

I will end here, because one needs to allow others to speak out.



DOCUMENT No. 32

Memorandum of the Meeting between the NOCs of the Two Koreas and the IOC in Lausanne

14-15 July 1987

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL 88/ 4EME REUNION DES 2 COREE—14-15 JUILLET 1987. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF THE NOCS OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA HELD UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE – Lausanne, 14th-15th July 1987

Tuesday, 14th July 1987

THE PRESIDENT opened the meeting at 10.00 hours, welcoming, on behalf of the IOC, the members of delegations from the NOCs of the Republic of Korea and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (Annex 1) to the fourth meeting of the two Korean National Olympic Committees presided over by the IOC. He introduced the members of the IOC delegation, as follows:

Mr. Berthold BEITZ, 1st Vice-President (Federal Republic of Germany)
The Prince de MERODE, 2nd Vice-President (Belgium)
Mr. Richard POUND, 3rd Vice-President (Canada)
Mr. Raymond GAFNER, Administrateur délégué of the IOC
Mr. Richard Kevan GOSPER, member of the Executive Board (Australia)
Sheikh Fahad Al-Ahmad AL-SABAH, President of the Olympic Council of Asia (Koweit).
Mr. Alexandru SIPERCO, IOC Member
Mr. François CARRARD, IOC lawyer
Mr. Samuel PISAR, IOC lawyer and adviser
Mr. Howard STUPP, Director Legal Affairs

THE PRESIDENT outlined the programme for the two-day meeting.

THE PRESIDENT stressed that this fourth meeting was vitally important as the opening of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad was in fifteen months' time.

An agreement was needed with the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as soon as possible. The IOC had clearly decided at the 84th Session in Baden-Baden in 1981 that Seoul was to organize the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in 1988. No objections had been made until requests had been received from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to share the Games several years after the IOC's decision. The IOC had granted talks in view of the special situation in the Korean peninsula and had offered conditions under which the

participation of the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would be possible. This, one must not forget, was an important, historical offer whereby Pyongyang would stage two full sports and two events.

THE PRESIDENT asked both parties to try their utmost to reach agreement, reminding them that the world outside was watching Lausanne, hoping that, in the name of sport, solutions not normally reached in other areas of life, would be found. The IOC, after certain problems during the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad, wanted the whole of the youth of the world from 167 countries to come together in 1988. Renewing his plea for goodwill on both sides, THE PRESIDENT admitted that, whilst he would be disappointed if no conclusion was reached, he did not expect that the task of compromise would be easy. He reminded delegates that 17th September 1987 was the date for posting the official invitations to the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. Although no final date had been set, it would be most convenient if delegates could agree on the number of sports and events that the DPR of Korea would organize and, in addition, on matters such as television coverage, a separate organizing committee for the DPR of Korea, the appellation of Games held in the DPR of Korea, the opening and closing ceremonies and participation of sportsmen in both Seoul and Pyongyang.

THE PRESIDENT closed his speech with a plea to both delegations to be sensitive to the responsibilities they shared. An important issue was at stake, of consequence not only to the Olympic Movement and to the Games, but to both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. THE PRESIDENT invited the President of the NOC of the DPR of Korea to address the assembly.

MR. KIM took the opportunity to express his delegation's thanks to the President, for the continuing efforts of the IOC to ensure the success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. After reviewing the progress of previous talks (Annex 2), he went on to clarify the position of the NOC of the DPR of Korea, which wished to host eight sports, a third of the total, in view of the population distribution between North and South Korea. The NOC of the DPR of Korea was of the opinion that it should have been originally allocated half the total number of sports. However, it was willing to settle for the lower figure of 8 sports in consideration of the positions of the IOC and the NOC of the Republic of Korea, which opposed co-hosting the Games. A proposal had been made whereby the NOC of the DPR of Korea would host all the table tennis and archery events, with partial staging of football and cycling events. This was not acceptable: although the NOC of the DPR of Korea welcomed two full sports, [it] was not satisfied with only two further partial sports. MR. KIM wished the DPR of Korea to be given eight full sports, including football in its entirety. Other questions regarding the appellation of the Games, a separate organizing committee, opening and closing ceremonies, on all of which its position remained unchanged, should equally well be addressed this time. Agreements regarding the cultural programme and the television rights should also be made. Last May, Mr. Siperco and Mr. Coupat had visited the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and inspected buildings being constructed at first hand. Failure to reach an agreement would mean that all their labour had been in vain and would discourage people in both the DPR of Korea and the Republic of Korea and those countries which wanted co-hosting of the Games. MR. KIM hoped that the NOC of the Republic of Korea would not be intransigent [sic]. It was imperative to extend the limitations of the previous talks by holding bilateral talks between representatives of the NOCs of the Republic

of Korea and of the DPR of Korea, in addition to the bilateral talks between each NOC with the IOC. Only two days were available and it was necessary to use this short time to the maximum.

THE PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Kim for his speech. He invited the President of the NOC of the Republic of Korea to reply.

MR. KIM greeted the delegates present at the meeting (Annex 3) and expressed his heartfelt gratitude to the President for his continual effort and support for the Games. He had listened to the speech of Mr. Yu Sun Kim and found conditions in it which he had neither understood nor expected. He was anxious about the prospect of successful results but would continue to support the IOC. The talks so far had encountered various problems, but the fact that they had resumed after a break of one full year, was a hopeful sign for the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad, which the NOC of the Republic of Korea hoped would be the most successful Games ever.

The IOC had proposed two full sports and two events at the last meeting. The NOC of the Republic of Korea had found it difficult to acquiesce but had done so out of respect both for the authority of the IOC and the efforts it had made. The acceptance in principle, even if belated, of the proposals by the NOC of the DPR of Korea boded well for these talks. Questions of protocol and technical issues should now be settled, using the IOC proposal as the basis. The participation of the DPR of Korea in the Games of the XXIVth in Seoul would be welcome and general safety guaranteed. The Republic of Korea would send its athletes to the DPR of Korea. No serious difficulty should be met if the meetings between the IOC and the NOCs of KOR and the DPR of Korea were held according to the spirit of the Olympic Charter.

MR. KIM expressed his hope that the IOC proposal could be developed further and in more detail during the tripartite discussions in Lausanne.

THE PRESIDENT read a telex from Mr. Mario Vazquez-Rana, (Annex 4), sending his best wishes for the talks. THE PRESIDENT mentioned that many telexes had been received, including one of support to the IOC from Mr. Primo Niebolo, President of the ASOIF, the previous week, one from the President of the ITTF, Mr. Ogimura, asking both delegations and the IOC to do their utmost in these negotiations to reach a settlement, and one from Mr. Chiharu Igaya, member of the IOC Executive Board and IOC member in Japan.

The dialogue between the IOC and the delegation representing the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea commenced at 11.05 hours.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the IOC had been disappointed during recent months with the reaction of the NOC of the DPR of Korea regarding the possibility of two full sports and two events being staged in the Northern part of the Korean peninsula. He reminded delegates that following the third round of talks held in Lausanne, the NOC of the DPR of Korea had agreed in principle to the IOC's proposal of the hosting of two full sports (table tennis and archery) and two events (part of the cycle road race and one group of football preliminaries). Thus, the request to organize eight full sports stated at the opening of the meeting was not acceptable. However, should representatives of the NOC be prepared to accept the IOC's initial proposal, it would be possible to consider some adjustments regarding the events to be staged in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The IOC was fully prepared to examine this question, particularly in

the light of difficulties which had arisen with certain International Federations with regard to organizing Olympic competition in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The IOC felt that the NOC had adopted an inflexible position during recent months. It was essential to bear in mind that the IOC had striven to find a solution which was acceptable to the NOC of the DPR of Korea, and to ensure that the DPR of Korea was able to participate in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the IOC had also been disappointed that the official IOC delegation, made of Messrs. Siperco and Coupat which had visited the DPR of Korea in May 1987, had been refused the authorization to cross the Panmunjom border into the Republic of Korea. The granting of such permission would have been considered a gesture of good-will and an indication of the possibility of compromise between the NOCs of the DPR of Korea and the Republic of Korea in the context of the Olympic Games.

THE PRESIDENT stressed that before any detailed discussions of points raised during the delegation's visit could take place, it was necessary that representatives accept the proposal advanced by the International Olympic Committee.

MR. KIM was pleased to attend the fourth round of discussions between the IOC and the two Korean NOCs, and stressed the importance of reaching an agreement since time was short before the celebration of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. The visit paid by Messrs. Siperco and Coupat to the DPR of Korea had been most constructive and had allowed an extensive exchange of views. The report compiled by Mr. Siperco and Mr. Coupat on this visit reflected the position of the NOC of the DPR of Korea and MR. KIM felt that it was therefore not necessary to repeat his NOC's standpoint.

THE PRESIDENT re-iterated that before discussion could proceed, the agreement of the representatives was required with regard to the organization of two full sports and two events in the DPR of Korea.

MR. KIM underlined that the standpoint of the NOC of the DPR of Korea remained unchanged. The NOC welcomed the possibility of staging two full sports, and also the possibility of modifying the initial proposal relating to two events. However, the NOC felt that two full sports were insufficient, and requested that the number be increased. The representatives from the NOC of the DPR of Korea were disappointed that the IOC espoused the viewpoint of the NOC of the Republic of Korea; it was hoped that the IOC would put forward new, constructive proposals in order that both the DPR of Korea and the Republic of Korea should host events on a fair basis.

THE PRESIDENT emphasized that the proposal made following the third round of talks was put forward by the IOC and not by the NOC of the Republic of Korea. He repeated that the IOC was prepared to undergo further negotiations and to modify the offer of two sports and two events. Moreover, there was a possibility of allocating full sports rather than isolated events, as in the original offer, as it would perhaps be impractical to organize separate events. However, the talks could only continue if the NOC of the DPR of Korea agreed to accept the proposal in principle, and thus a final decision could be made regarding the sports concerned.

MR. CHIN wished to learn the precise nature of the adjustments to the original proposal, as mentioned by the President.

THE PRESIDENT clarified that any modifications would require discussion with the International Federations concerned. He put forward for consideration withdrawal of one of the preliminary football groups, particularly in view of the difficulties encountered with FIFA, and allocation of the organization of the full women's volleyball tournament, which would include the presentation of medals, to the NOC of the DPR of Korea. In addition, the cycle road race could take place entirely within the DPR of Korea, rather than crossing the border, as previously proposed.

MR. KIM stated that the NOC of the DPR of Korea welcomed the possibility of an increase in the number of sports to be staged in its territory. However, he wished to emphasize that the NOC had worked towards the goal of staging football competitions and that large stadia had been constructed to this end, as Messrs. Siperco and Coupat had witnessed. The efforts of the NOC of the DPR of Korea had been concentrated upon football competitions being allocated to the DPR of Korea. Football was a popular sport in the DPR of Korea, and the NOC had repeatedly requested that football should be allocated to the Northern part of the Korean Peninsula. MR. KIM explained that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had not presented its application for the preliminary rounds of the football tournaments in the Asia region, as a result of the abnormal conditions prevailing at the time. He suggested that a full eight sports, including football, should be allocated to the DPR of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT referred to the situation which had arisen in connection with the football preliminary rounds, and to the fact that the FIFA committee responsible had decided to disqualify the team representing the NOC of the DPR of Korea for not having participated.

It was impossible for football as a full sport to be organized in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. However, should the NOC still be interested in retaining the organization of one group of football preliminaries, this could be discussed and a decision reached before the close of the current meetings. Nevertheless, an agreement in principle was still required to the IOC's offer of staging table tennis and archery competitions, also the women's volleyball tournament and the cycle road race before the IOC could study details relating to the organization of one of the preliminary football group tournaments in Pyongyang.

MR. CHIN re-iterated that the NOC hoped that the IOC would re-consider and allocate to the DPR of Korea the football competitions in the context of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

He stated that his proposal had been put forward during the second round of talks between the IOC and the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. MR. CHIN was of the opinion that allocating only one of the four preliminary groups of football preliminaries showed discrimination against the NOC of the DPR of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT underlined that it the term 'discrimination' was unacceptable to the IOC since the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad had been awarded to the city of Seoul which had applied for them. He wished, once again, to stress that Pyongyang had not put forward a candidature for the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad, and that the IOC hoped, with the current

negotiations, to further relations between the two parts of a divided country through the celebration of the Olympic Games.

The meeting broke at 11.45 hours; THE PRESIDENT requested the NOC of the DPR of Korea to study the suggestions made by the IOC and to continue talks in this respect at 16.30 hours.

At 15.00 hour, THE PRESIDENT welcomed the NOC of the Republic of Korea to this bilateral meeting. In this fourth meeting, the IOC was doing its utmost to support and protect the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul. In the last meeting with the NOC of the DPR of Korea, an important offer had been made, although the NOC of the DPR of Korea had requested to stage a third of the Games.

However, before discussing this problem, THE PRESIDENT wished to pose certain questions regarding recent events in the Republic of Korea, to determine whether or not they would affect the Games.

MR. KIM stated that, indeed, democratisation in the Republic of Korea was a fairly recent development. However, as regards the conflicts between the opposition and ruling parties, the President of the Republic of Korea had agreed on 19th June 1987 to allow measures of democratisation, which had been agreed upon by the government. There would be no further conflicts and demonstrations on the political front. He reminded the President of some concern before the Asian Games, which had proved unfounded as all people in the Republic of Korea had been in favour of the Asian Games. A similar consensus existed with relation to the Olympic Games in Seoul and the internal situation would in no way hamper them.

THE PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Kim for this answer and went on to pose specific questions regarding the taking down of an Olympic flag in the city hall during a recent demonstration; and the position of parties vis-à-vis the Games, given that certain newspaper reports had quoted some opposition leaders as saying they wanted democratisation first and the Games second.

MR. KIM replied that the incident concerning the Olympic flag had been wrongly reported. He believed that on 9th July 1987, during a demonstration for a dead student, the flag of mourning was raised in place of the Olympic flag, but that the latter had been re-hoisted on the insistence of the people. Everyone was in agreement over protecting the Olympic Movement.

As regards the opposition leaders, the two main figures, Messrs. Kim and Kim, had no objection to the successful staging of the Games. Presidential elections were to be held before the Games and that is why democratisation would come first, without any impact on the Games at all.

THE PRESIDENT asked whether it was appropriate to continue with his planned visit to Seoul in November, if it was to come at a politically sensitive period before the elections. He wondered whether it might not be best to reconsider the visit in spite of the fact that it was conveniently linked with visits to the People's Republic of China and Japan.

MR. KIM affirmed that, as far as he knew, the President's visit had nothing to do with internal politics. He would not be obliged to meet political leaders, although they would be invited by the NOC to the reception given in his honour.

THE PRESIDENT concluded that he would proceed with plans for his visit to Seoul in November. He continued with the discussion regarding the proposals made by the NOC of the DPR of Korea. The latter had been informed that only minor adjustments could be made to the last offer of the IOC, namely, it could stage the women's volleyball tournament and the whole of the men's cycle road race, which was originally to run through the DPR of Korea and the Republic of Korea. This was deemed prudent in view of the refusal to let an IOC delegation cross the border between North and South Korea.

THE PRESIDENT said he would continue to refuse further demands by the NOC of the DPR of Korea for eight sports. He wished, nonetheless, to show that the IOC was dealing fairly with the DPR of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT thought it best to offer something more to the NOC of the DPR of Korea. The original offer had encouraged many countries, particularly Socialist ones, to agree, albeit unofficially, to take part in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul. Now these countries were urging the IOC to concede more to the NOC of the DPR of Korea which the IOC wished to do, so that if certain countries did not eventually participate, it was because they did not really wish to do so.

THE PRESIDENT asked whether the NOC of the Republic of Korea would support the IOC in this matter. The NOC of the Republic of Korea already had an abundance of proof of the IOC's help and support, especially during the last weeks when there had been rumours of the Games going to another city. THE PRESIDENT had clearly stated that the Games would be held in Seoul, or not at all.

MR. KIM replied that he had been deeply impressed by the President's support in the past and greatly appreciative of the interview he had given to the press in the University Games in Zagreb the previous week. He wished to confirm that, by terms of the latest proposal, the men's cycling team road race would be held entirely in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and, if so, he wished to know the location of the end of the race.

THE PRESIDENT replied that the NOC of the DPR of Korea would organize the race in and around the DPR of Korea. In the opinion of the IOC, it would be easier for one of the two countries to organize the race in the present situation.

MR. KIM clarified the position of his NOC. In his opinion, technical details remained to be settled during this round of discussions, but the speech by Mr. Yu Sun Kim had been disappointing and threatened to eliminate any progress made in negotiations and proposals. The claim to be co-hosts of the Games and to having an organizing committee of equal status to the SLOOC was a direct renunciation of what it had agreed to in principle during the third talks.

THE PRESIDENT agreed that the speech had been disappointing but he wished now to discuss the reaction of the NOC of the Republic of Korea to the proposals put to the NOC of the DPR of Korea by the IOC at the last meeting, that was, to keep the previous offer of the two sports, adding the men's team road race and women's volleyball.

MR. KIM requested a break of five minutes.

MR. KIM believed that the cycle race would lose its symbolic significance if it did not run through both Koreas. This signified also the freedom to travel of the Olympic family. He was also concerned about the location of the race being dangerous if travel conditions were not granted.

THE PRESIDENT repeated that the race would be better organised by one of the two countries.

MR. KIM queried whether this was the IOC's final offer to the NOC of the DPR of Korea, or whether something else might be added later.

THE PRESIDENT could not state categorically that this was the final offer. He stressed that the IOC was trying to help the Republic of Korea. Whilst it would have been easy to determine that all sports events should be held in the Republic of Korea, certain Socialist countries might have refused to participate. He believed a further gesture was necessary, so that all countries would realise they were doing their best to find a solution.

MR. KIM again thanked the IOC President for his support. He continued to state that if the NOC of the DPR of Korea withdrew its claim to co-host the Games, if it complied with the Olympic Charter, and attended the opening and closing ceremonies which should be held only in Seoul, participated in the Games in Seoul and guaranteed unrestricted travel over the border, his NOC would study the proposals in a very positive way.

THE PRESIDENT emphasised that the answer was needed, at the latest, by the following day, as otherwise these talks would have produced no result.

MR. KIM replied that he realised time was short and would give the reply as soon as possible. He added that Seoul was always in support of the IOC and positive in its relations towards it.

MR. KIM queried whether accredited IOC persons would be able to cross the border and anticipated problems for foreigners with tickets to the archery and table tennis events.

THE PRESIDENT agreed there was a great deal to discuss concerning the staging of sports in Pyongyang, the OCOGs, the participation in the Games, free circulation and television coverage, as well as the North-South passage problem. However, he believed it futile to enter in discussion on these points until the number of sports given to the NOC of the DPR of Korea was settled. He added, however, that he supported the position of Mr. Siperco and Mr. Coupat who had been in Seoul recently.

At 16.00 hours the meeting was adjourned.

At 16.30 hours, THE PRESIDENT welcomed the delegation of the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea back to the meeting. He gave the floor to Mr. Kim, requesting him to inform the IOC of the NOC's reaction to the proposal made that morning.

MR. KIM referred to discussions held in October 1985, in association with which details had been given regarding free circulation between the DPR of Korea and the Republic of Korea. It was proposed to open roads, railways and airways to ensure the possibility of free travel for all

those concerned in the Olympic Games. The question of free circulation was of vital importance for the successful staging of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in both parts of the Korean Peninsula. He hoped that this would clarify the position of the NOC of the DPR of Korea as doubt seemed constantly to be expressed as to whether free circulation would be feasible, and he did not wish this issue to prove an obstacle to the continuation of negotiations. MR. KIM expressed concern that authorities in the Republic of Korea had not thus far guaranteed free circulation to athletes/officials/journalists from the DPR of Korea.

He referred to the request made that the IOC delegation might cross to the Republic of Korea via Panmunjom; a telex had been forwarded to the IOC which stated clearly the reasons why such a request could not be granted.

MR. KIM thanked the President for the adjustments made to the IOC's original proposal, he appreciated this gesture as a contribution towards fruitful discussions, and a step towards progress to be achieved. The delegation of the NOC of Korea had considered carefully the allocation of sports to be granted to the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Only as a result of co-hosting the Games could a contribution be made towards the development of the Olympic Movement and the reunification of Korea. The NOC had clarified on various occasions the number of full sports which it hoped to stage, and had put forward flexible alternatives which took into account the viewpoint of the NOC of the Republic of Korea. Other matters which required consideration were the appellation of the Games, the opening and closing ceremonies. However, out of a total of 23 sports and 237 events, the NOC requested to host a minimum of eight full sports, since allocation of fewer sports would be meaningless and would subordinate organization of events in Pyongyang to those hosted in Seoul.

With regard to football, the NOC of the DPR of Korea, had from the outset, attached importance to the staging of football competitions within its territory and had, in fact, approached the FIFA in respect of this. The delegation hoped sincerely that football would be included as one of the sports awarded to the NOC of the DPR of Korea.

MR. CHANG wished to give further details relating to the subject of football since the question had been broached. The NOC had hoped that the allocation of sports/events would be decided upon during the second round of talks with the IOC, which had not been the case. The deadline for applications for football in the Asia region had been set at 30th April 1986. Should the NOC have put forward its entry, this would have been interpreted as a withdrawal of the proposal to host the football tournaments on the Northern Korean peninsula. In response to FIFA's enquiry as to why the NOC of the DPR of Korea had not entered its team, the NOC had re-iterated its wish to host the football competitions.

MR. CHANG felt that the DPR of Korea should be given the responsibility of organizing some of the popular sports, and thus sincerely hoped that football might be confided to Pyongyang.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the NOC would be informed of the standpoint of the IOC at 11.30 hours the following morning.

The bilateral meeting was declared closed at 17.00 hours.

The meeting between the IOC and the NOC of the Republic of Korea reconvened at 10.45 hours.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the IOC had decided to maintain the offer made to the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with the addition of women's volleyball and the possibility of holding the cycling road race entirely in the DPR of Korea.

MR. KIM asked for confirmation that the offer was the same as the previous day.

THE PRESIDENT said that it was.

MR. KIM expressed his deep gratitude to the IOC for all its efforts and cooperative gestures so far, the time which had been devoted to his delegation and the good advice and encouragement his delegation had received. It was their intention to try to make the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad the greatest in history. In the bilateral meeting at 15.00 hours the previous day, his delegation had been asked to consider favourably the possibility of granting women's volleyball and the entire cycling road race to the DPR of Korea. As he had pointed out the previous morning, this fourth round of talks could produce fruitful results only if they dealt with practical issues on the basis of the IOC's proposal. The DPR of Korea was virtually ignoring the IOC's proposal and was asking the NOC of the Republic of Korea to make unrealistic concessions. In this situation, he could only reconfirm his position and state that the NOC of the Republic of the DPR of Korea were to withdraw its claim to co-host the Games, to open up its borders and to agree unconditionally to take part in the Opening and Closing ceremonies in Seoul.

THE PRESIDENT considered this response a sufficient basis upon which to proceed, and observed that the delegation had the full right to consider the matter. He asked for a reply in writing by the end of August at the latest. He recalled that the ceremony for sending invitations to the Games would take place on 17th September 1987. That would not mean an end to discussions, but it was a very important date for the IOC.

THE PRESIDENT informed the delegation that the NOC of the Republic of Korea would receive an official letter from the IOC containing the statement issued at the end of the meeting.

THE PRESIDENT suggested that the meeting discuss the invitation ceremony. He mentioned that the ceremony would be held to coincide with the meeting of the summer Ifs. There would also be a meeting of the Commission for the Olympic Movement and a meeting of the Commission for Olympic Solidarity. It was planned to hold the ceremony at 12.00 hours on 17th September 1987. The IOC would be very happy to see a large delegation from the Republic of Korea present for the occasion, representing not only the NOC but also the SLOOC. Regarding the size of the delegation, accommodation etc., THE PRESIDENT asked the delegation to contact the Secretary General.

MR. KIM thanked the President and assured him that it would be an honour for him, the NOC and the SLOOC to attend the ceremony with a large delegation. He expressed gratitude to the IOC President for taking the view that the IOC was not negotiating with his delegation.

The delegation from the NOC of the Republic of Korea left the meeting at 11.15 hours.

The meeting between the IOC and the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea commenced at 11.25 hours.

THE PRESIDENT stated that following discussions between the IOC and the NOC of the DPR of Korea, a final sessions of joint talks would take place with the NOC of the Republic of Korea. The IOC had reconsidered the proposal put forward at the close of the third round of talks and was prepared to put forward an improved proposal as follows: men's and women's archery competitions, men's and women's table tennis competitions, one group of the football tournament, the cycle road race and the women's volleyball competitions would be organized in the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Should the NOC accept this proposal, the IOC would call a fifth meeting in order to discuss other issues such as free circulation, formation of an Organizing Committee in Pyongyang, television coverage and so forth. The IOC would not issue a deadline for receipt of an acceptance, but would ask the NOC to bear in mind the significant date of 17th September 1987 for the sending out of invitations to the NOCs for participation in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. Thus, the IOC recommended that a reply be forwarded as soon as possible prior to 17th September 1987.

THE PRESIDENT drew the attention of the delegates to the fact that the IOC was sensitive to the point of view expressed by the NOC of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and was, in allocating organization of sports competitions to the DPR of Korea, going against the principles laid down in the "Olympic Charter". The aforementioned proposal was historic in that, for the first time, and contrary to the rules of the Charter, the Games of the Olympiad would be celebrated in two different countries. The IOC was disappointed that the NOC of the DPR of Korea did not seem to attach sufficient importance to the possibility of organizing Olympic competition in the territory of the DPR of Korea. THE PRESIDENT requested delegates to study the proposal made by the IOC attentively and to provide an answer as soon as this was possible.

MR. KIM, as President of the NOC of the DPR of Korea, stated that the delegates had attached great importance to the fourth round of negotiations in the expectation of reaching an agreement in principle on this occasion. It had transpired during the visit of the IOC delegation to the DPR of Korea in May 1987 that views relating to the denomination of the Games, the composition of an organizing committee, television rights, opening and closing ceremonies were not far opposed. The question of allocation of sports and events remained the most difficult problem. The delegation was grateful for the new proposal which had come out of the meetings, and appreciated the effort made by the President and the IOC representatives towards an initiative which would be a landmark in the development of the Olympic Movement.

The NOC of the DPR of Korea hoped that the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad would be co-hosted by the Republic of Korea and the DPR of Korea. Delegates recommended that the IOC should not restrict deliberations to practical concerns of whether or not to increase the number of sports and events to be organized in the DPR of Korea, but should ensure a broader basis for discussion, such as Korea as a divided nation, and the possibility of a new development in the history of the Olympic Movement. MR. KIM sincerely hoped that the IOC would study the requests made by the NOC of the DPR of Korea and work towards a final agreement in light of this.

THE PRESIDENT noted the delegation's appreciation of the IOC's efforts to bring about a mutually satisfactory agreement for the success of the Games.

MR. CHIN remarked that he believed there should be no conditions attached to the calling of a further round of discussions. He felt that all the issues connected to the celebration of the Olympic competition should not focus upon the sports/events which would be awarded to the DPR of Korea, as this presented only one facet of the issue. In imposing conditions to which agreement must be granted before negotiations could proceed, the IOC was creating unnecessary obstacles to the progress of the talks.

THE PRESIDENT re-iterated his stance of the IOC: the NOC of the DPR of Korea must accept the IOC's proposal regarding the sports and events before discussion of any other points could begin.

At 12.15 hours THE PRESIDENT opened further joint discussions with the IOC and delegates from both the NOC of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

THE PRESIDENT wished to thank the Presidents of both delegations for their appreciation of the role of the IOC in the discussions which was to work towards ensuring the success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad, and full participation of the 167 National Olympic Committees. THE PRESIDENT stated that a statement had been prepared which outlined the proposal which had been formulated during the current round of talks.

MR. KIM, President of the Korean Olympic Committee, thanked the President for the hospitality extended to his delegation and for the work he was undertaking on behalf of the Olympic Movement. He had hoped that a final agreement might be worked out during this fourth conference, and was of the opinion that if serious deliberations took place on the basis of the IOC's decision of September 1981 in Baden-Baden, a satisfactory solution could be found. Nevertheless, the NOC of the Republic of Korea would continue to welcome dialogue and to support the IOC in its role of mediator.

MR. KIM, President of the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, expressed his thanks on behalf of the delegation for holding the fourth meeting. Although a full agreement had not been reached, the amendments made to the IOC's original proposal were appreciated and were a step forward in the discussion process. He regretted that certain problems had not been broached during the meeting, and that it was not therefore possible to assess the differing viewpoints which might be held by the two NOCs. The NOC of the DPR of Korea had advanced concrete suggestions, advocating the co-hosting of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad which would contribute to the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation. MR. KIM hoped that all parties would study the recommendations set forth by his delegation and that further talks would be held in a spirit of co-operation towards a fruitful conclusion.

THE PRESIDENT expressed his thanks to the Presidents of the two Korean NOCs, also to the members of the IOC delegation for their support, and requested Mr. Pisar to read the IOC's statement (Annex 5).

MR. KIM of the NOC of the Republic of Korea mentioned that he had understand that it was the team cycling road race which was to be organized in the DPR of Korea, and not the individual event.

THE PRESIDENT stated that this would be examined in due course, but that the statement would be read as such.

THE PRESIDENT declared the fourth joint meeting closed at 12.40 hours, inviting all parties to attend the press conference.



DOCUMENT No. 33

North Korea's Advance Notice for Delivery of a Letter to the NOC of the ROK on the Olympic Games

11 September 1987

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88/ 4EME ET 5 EME REUNION DES DEUX COREES 1987; SEOUL 88/ 5 EME REUNION DES 2 COREES. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

North Korea's advance notice for delivery of a letter on the Olympic Games

1. North Korea through its central broadcast at 18.00 hours on 11th September said that North Korea NOC President Kim Yu Sun will send two liaison officers to Panmunjom special conference room at 15.00 hours on 4th September to deliver a letter to the Korean Olympic Committee President, Chong-Ha Kim and requested South Korea to send a man to receive this letter.

2. Evaluation

North Korea requested a fifth sports negotiation before the invitation ceremony on 17th September and said that if it was not possible then the ceremony to send the invitations should be postponed. At the time of the fourth sports meeting on 14th July 1987, North Korea requested a direct meeting between North and South Korea. Under such circumstance it is possible that North Korea because of lack of time may propose direct talks between North and South to discuss the co-hosting, and the possibility of having a unified team, separate from the IOC meetings. Such an attitude of North Korea is due to the fact that :

- the position of the IOC regarding the allocation of sports to North Korea is very strong.
- North Korea is afraid of the weakening of their justification for co-hosting once the 17th September invitations have been sent out;

Therefore, North Korea plots to divide the IOC and South Korea and blames South Korea as being responsible if the talks break down.

3. Position of South Korea

First of all, in view of the close collaboration and relationship with the IOC it will

- immediately inform the IOC of this notice from North Korea about the delivery of the letter and inform the IOC of its content upon receipt.
- all four sports talks took place under the auspices of the IOC and therefore, Seoul would like to successfully conclude these negotiations in close collaboration with the IOC.

4. By telephone on 12th September at 11.00 hours South Korea will inform North Korea that it will collect the letter at 15.00 hours on 15th September.



DOCUMENT No. 34

Letter from the DPRK's NOC to the IOC President on North Korea's Participation in the 1988 Seoul Olympics

11 January 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL ' 88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

조선민주주의인민공화국 올림픽위원회
OLYMPIC COMMITTEE
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF KOREA

Cables: Olympic Pyongyang
Phone: 6-39-98, 6-23-86
Telex: 5482KP

Address
Munsin-dong 2
Dongdaewon-dist.,
Pyongyang, D.P.R.K.

To: Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch
President
International Olympic Committee
Lausanne, Switzerland

Pyongyang, January 11, 1988

Esteemed Mr. President,

First of all, I send you, Mr. President my sincere greetings and good wished on the New Year and acknowledge the receipt of your telex dated January 6.

As you have mentioned in the telex, we have requested you, in October last, to temporarily adjourn the 5th Lausanne talks or bilateral talks expected to be held between us and the IOC till the result on the "President elections" in south Korea made public, due to the attitude of the south Korean side towards the Olympic co-hosting question.

However, the subsequent situation in south Korea makes it impossible to agree upon the Olympic co-hosting question, and the attempts of the south Korean authorities to singly enforce the Olympic Games become undisguised.

As we have already clarified, we may not participate in the Olympic Games to be singly hosted by the south Korean side, and such being the case there is no possibility for us to present application for the participation in the 24th Olympiad.

We feel regret that we could not but take such measures because of the failure of agreement on the co-hosting question we ardently desired for.

But we do not think that it is our last effort to effect the Olympic co-hosting and inform you that we have still hope for its possibility.

The respected leader President Kim Il Sung in his New Year Address this year has clarified political problems of weighty importance to convene the north-south joint conference to discuss some immediate problems for national reunification and detente including the problem of north-south co-hosting of the 24th Olympiad.

We consider that if the north-south joint conference is held and takes measures for the solution of the co-hosting problem, a subsequent Lausanne joint meeting may be resumed for the final agreement.

As seen above the Olympic question is included in the agenda of the north-south joint conference. It bespeaks that the question is directly connected with the question of Korea's reunification and détente.

I believe that you will fully understand our position.

We hope that you will also await our answer to the IOC's proposal requested in your telex dated July 15, untill [sic] the north-south negotiation will be held.

We shall remain faithful to the noble idea of the Olympic movement so in the future as in the past.

I wish for your good health and happiness of your family as well as great success in your work in the New Year.

Yours sincerely,

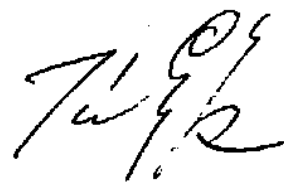
Kim Yu Sun

President

Olympic Committee

Democratic People's Republic

Of Korea

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kim Yu Sun', written in a cursive style.



DOCUMENT No. 35

Letter from Fidel Castro the IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch

13 January 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88 / POLITIQUE JANVIER - JUILLET. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Sebastian Naranjo Rodriguez.]

Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch
President
International Olympic Committee
Havana, 13th of January 1988

Esteemed friend Samaranch:

You have been witness to the efforts that our country has exerted, in which I have participated personally, to make the realization of the XXIV Olympic Games more successful under the auspices of both parts of Korea.

When I wrote to you, in September 1987, about this matter, I confirmed our disposition of doing everything necessary to avoid frustrating what back then seemed possible. In that sense, I had to address the authorities and the people of the Democratic Republic of Korea to expose our criteria with all the parts, that, in one way or another, had to concur with the efforts for an organized realization of the Olympics, to which they laid down their highest aspirations being in disposition to yield on everything that was not fundamental and did not damage their principles [sic]. We realized that if we didn't hold Olympic Games that were not satisfactory to everyone, the Olympic spirit would have taken a big step back.

With hope we saw the activities conducted by you, the visits from the representatives of the International Olympic Committee to both parts of Korea, the encounters that you carried out with their representatives, and we knew with satisfaction that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea did everything they could and even accepted having an unequal participation in the Olympics, in a conciliatory laudable effort.

There was also another hope: that the complex and difficult internal situation in the southern part of Korea would change.

In 1987 a situation that was expected had emerged. The protests of the people moved the prevailing system, and the regime on the way to disappearance went to all lengths, even the most ferocious, planting death in different parts of the country, in order to stay.

The announcement of general elections as a result of the heroic struggle of the people led to the appearance of an expectation of a democratic opening that, on the one hand, would provide the adequate climate for celebrating the Olympics and, at the same time, facilitate a better spirit of cooperation for the co-sponsorship of the Games.

Unfortunately, things have not turned out this way. Such an opening never took place. Hopes were frustrated. Nothing changed. The repression once again prevails, the prisons increase, the mistreatment of the population has flared up, and the discontent of the people becomes deeper. Nobody can guarantee that in the middle of the Olympics energetic popular protests would not surge again and with them the most ferocious repressive measures against the people. Really, even without the slightest purpose of mixing the political problems of Korea with sports, even our primary school children comprehend that under bullets, tear gas and the mass repression of the people, the healthiest and most honorable conditions for the Olympic Games will not be present.

In spite of these negative circumstances, the Olympics realized under such risky conditions could only be guaranteed, in our judgment, through the miracle of bringing the internal political factors to a consensus in the Southern part of Korea, currently faced with irreconcilable struggle, for the relaxed realization of the Games and the co-sponsorship by both parts of Korea.

Conscious of the importance of the Olympic movement, we think that we can still examine that possibility, and we wish that such premises could be met.

We base ourselves upon these deep convictions when deciding our conduct in relation to the Olympics of 1988. But we do not wish to contravene in the slightest the Olympic regulations, nor, despite our disagreements with the celebration of the Olympic Games in those conditions, can we impute the purpose of sabotaging the activity.

The Olympic Committee and the Cuban Government have reached to the agreement of not singing up, namely, simply, not commit to participate in the Games. Even though we deeply regret this unavoidable decision, our people and our athletes, who abide by deep ethic norms and a great sense of honor, will not be discouraged and will continue to participate in the Olympics of Barcelona in 1992, if we are not sanctioned for maintaining a dignified behavior. We would like, however, to communicate, dear friend Samarach, that in consideration of the great interest you have taken in our participation, if the miracle of guaranteeing safe and violence-free games in Seoul is made, and you, with your proverbial tenacity, achieve the feat of co-sponsorship, we would be willing to reconsider our decision, provided that in such circumstances you and the International Olympic Committee consider the modest presence of Cuba useful.

I beg you take into account that for Cuba the moral principles of the people are more important than the emotions of the Olympic Games and the gold medals that could be obtained.

I wish to express the assurances of my highest personal esteem.

(signature)
Fidel Castro Ruz

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 36

Information Note on a Meeting between Willi Daume and Marat Gramov
15 January 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

Nationales
Olympisches
Komitee
für Deutschland

Der Präsident

Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch
President of the
International Olympic Committee
Chateau de Vidy

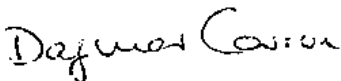
CH-1007 Lausanne

Helene-Mayer- Ring 31
D- 8000 München 40
January 15th, 1988

Dear Mr. President,

Mr. Daume is travelling and phoned to dictate the following report, which I send you immediately in order not to lose any time. Mr. Daume asked me to convey to you his best regards.

Sincerely yours



Dagmar Carra
Secretary to Mr. Daume

(stamped confidential)

January 15th, 1988

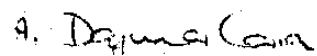
Report

The Minister of Sports and President of the NOC of the USSR, Mr. Gramow, came to see us last week for three days. In Munich he made a detailed sightseeing-tour visiting all Olympic revenues [sic]. Mr. Daume gave an official dinner in honour of him.

Mr. Gramow made very favourable remarks about the development of international Olympic relations and assumed this was due to the meeting of Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbatschow. He also gave a press conference, in which he declared that he was going to suggest to the meeting of the NOC of the German Democratic Republic, which took place a few days later, that the Sovjet [sic] Union would at any rate take part in the Seoul Games. Being asked what his country would do in case North Korea did not take part he answered that North Korea's participation was exclusively the problem of the IOC and the North Korean NOC and would not influence the attitude of the Sovjet Union. He said he appreciated the patience of the IOC, who had made many offers worthwhile being discussed. In the meantime it is known that the NOC of the USSR made the decision announced by Mr. Gramow.

Mr. Daume had the impression that Mr. Gramow would not object to take over Mr. Andrianov's seat in the IOC after his retirement. He did not definitely say that, but he mentioned that those personalities that had been considered – like e.g. the dressage rider Mrs. Jeleny Petuschkowa – would no longer be possible.

Furthermore the sporting relationships between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR have developed in a very favourable way recently. Mr. Gramow and Mr. Daume planned to meet again on the occasion of the next European Football Cup, possibly at the final match in Munich. And Mr. Daume counts on you to come, as well, particularly as the Spanish team will probably play an important part in these matches. Mr. Daume will send you the invitation in good time.


(Dagmar Carra)

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 37

Letter from the IOC President to Roh Tae-Woo on “Team Spirit 88” Exercises and 1988 Seoul Olympics

21 January 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88 / BOYCOTT-CIO POUR- CONTREOFFICIEL 1985-86-87-88. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

Confidential communication

=====

From : H.E. Juan Antonio Samaranch, President of the IOC
To : H.E. Roh Tae Woo, President Elect of the Republic of Korea

Lausanne, 21th January 1988

Your Excellency,

May I address this confidential letter to you in my capacity of President of the International Olympic Committee.

During our various meetings in the last years, as well as on many other occasions when speaking with Korean and foreign authorities, including the US State Department, I have always expressed my concern regarding the potential danger and the many inconveniences of holding the “Team Spirit 88” exercise a few months prior to the Games. On every occasion I pleaded that this exercise be adjourned, in view of the celebration of this Olympic Year, as a gesture of goodwill and demonstration of your sincere desire for Peace.

It is not without reason that I draw your attention, once again, to this matter, because I think that a greater risk than ever exists.

I naturally count upon your guidance however I wanted to be sure that you understood my deep concern in this matter.

Juan Antonio SAMARANCH
President of the IOC

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 38

**Memorandum of Conversation between the IOC President and Eduard Shevardnadze
regarding North Korea and the 1988 Olympics**

21 January 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

(stamped confidential)

CONFIDENTIAL

Madrid, 21st January, 1988.

On 20th January 1988, I met the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Schevarnadze, during a reception given in his honour at the Palacio de Viana in Madrid by his Spanish counterpart.

During the cocktails, when the introductions took place we exchanged a few pleasantries without mentioning any critical subject. Mr. Schevarnadze told me that he clearly recalled the time spent in Moscow as Spanish ambassador.

None of this formal conversation broached the subject of the Games, and during dinner conversation turned to a completely different topic.

When the coffee arrived and when everyone was standing up, I had the chance to go over to him to congratulate him on his speech and wish him success with his trip.

He then took me by surprise by asking totally out of the blue how the Korean question was going.

I told him that we were having a number of difficulties in our discussions with the DPR Korea, although we were very satisfied with the final number of inscriptions for the Games. I reminded him that we had already held four three-way meetings with the two Korean NOCs, and added that the IOC was extremely disappointed to see that the DPR Korea was turning down the exceptional offer we had made. I then said that I thought it would be very difficult to reach an agreement and how much I deplored the very low level of the North Korean negotiators who had always gone into the meetings with very strict instructions which they were forbidden to alter, be it only a comma. I reminded him that we had made the DPR Korea the offer of holding certain sports and events, an offer which we even improved after I went to Cuba and had a long interview with president Castro.

After asking me exactly which sports had been envisaged, Mr. Schevarnadze told me that this offer was in fact extremely close to what the president of the DPR Korea, Mr. Kim IL [sic] Sung, had told Mr. Gorbachev when he visited Moscow.

Mr. Schevarnadze asked if the IOC was ready to increase its offer, and I replied that we were certainly willing to continue discussions in an attempt to find an agreement. I said that I was even ready to go to Pyong Yang in person if necessary, but only on condition that I had definite

assurances that the DPR Korea really did wish to reach an agreement. I added that one of the main problems that would have to be settled as a result would be getting the Olympic family across the border.

Mr. Schevarnadze then declared that he was absolutely certain that this would not present any problem, and asked me whether he could mention our conversation and make sure of the information I had just given him, to which I willingly gave my consent.

He then took his leave of me, repeating that I would soon [hear] from him through the intermediary of the representatives of the USSR in Switzerland.

Juan Antonio Samaranch
IOC President

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 39

Intelligence Note from West Germany's NOC to the IOC on the Possibility of North Korean Threats to the 1988 Seoul Olympics

25 January 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

WILLI DUAME

Helene-Mayer-Ring 31
D-8000 Munich 40
January 25, 1988

Personal and strictly confidential
Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch
President
International Olympic Committee
Château de Vidy
CH-1007 Lausanne

Dear Juan Antonio Samaranch,

I am referring to my letter of July 20, 1987, in which I pointed out that according to confidential information of respectable secret services one reckons with North Korea to plan potential obstructions for the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988. Furthermore they had indicated that Seoul did not expect the communist world to consider a boycott of the Seoul Games, if North Korean demands to the IOC were not met. These expectations have in the meantime come true.

Now I was informed that Pyonyang [sic] has been starting to carry out obstructive [sic] activities. There was this terrible bomb attack on a commercial South Korean plane that crashed. And according to international news agencies the arrested agent Kim Hyon admitted to have placed a bomb in that South Korean jet plane, which then exploded. Korean party paper 'Rodong Sinmun' is quoted in this article even threatening with a war in the long term.

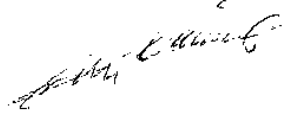
As evidently the political relationship between Pyonyang [sic] and Beijing has deteriorated, my sources think that in this situation only the Soviet Union has real political influence on the North Korean government at the moment. Obviously North Korea is afraid of offending Moscow by terrorist acts etc. as the Soviet Union has confirmed to take part in the Seoul Games, regardless of a North Korean participation. Pyonyang [sic] is, however, still urging Moscow. I don't know whether the IOC has possibilities to influence the Soviet government via the NOC of the USSR, so that Moscow in turn [could] urge the North Korean government to refrain from that kind of criminal plans, which would set the whole world against the North Korea regime. My sources think that the political influence of the USSR on Pyonyang [sic] is – particularly for economic reasons – very strong.

Sport and Politics on the Korean Peninsula
NKIDP e-Dossier

Dear Juan Antonio, may I ask you to treat this information strictly confidential. I suppose that you might be able to try to preserve the Seoul Games and the future of the Olympic movement from harm via decisive political ways.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Calgary.

With best regards,
Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Willi Daume', written in a cursive style.

(Willi Daume)



DOCUMENT No. 40

Letter from the IOC President to Fidel Castro regarding North Korea's Participation in the 1988 Olympics

16 February 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

LETTERS FROM : H.E. Juan Antonio SAMARANCH, IOC President
TO : Dr. Fidel CASTRO RUZ, President of the Council of State and the
Government of Cuba
DATE : 16th February 1988

Dear President and Friend,

I am writing to you from Calgary, where the XVth Winter Games are taking place with great success, in response to your letter of 13th January in which you informed me of the decision by the Cuban Olympic Committee to decline the invitation to participate in the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in 1988.

I was extremely sorry to learn of this, as once again Cuban athletes will not be present at the greatest sporting event in the world, the Olympic Games.

May I remind you, dear President, that after our last conversation during which you asked me to improve our offer to the Olympic Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which we did, we hoped that this gesture would have brought about a definitive solution to the problem. This, unfortunately, has not been the case.

I had intended, and I still intend to go to Pyongyang in order to meet the highest authorities of the country and make one last effort to achieve that which we all seek, namely the presence of all countries at the great meeting place of friendship, cooperation and peace called the Olympic Games.

Even though the official deadline for confirming participation at the Olympic Games has passed, we are continuing to leave the door open in an attempt to reach a positive solution. I have to say, however, that time is passing very quickly and an agreement must be reached as soon as possible.

Dear Commandant, I am appealing to your well-known love for sporting in asking you to try to help us, and also to reconsider your own position regarding the athletes of your country whom we all admire so much, not just for their ability but for their customary exemplary conduct.

Sincere greetings of affection and friendship, as always.

(signature)



DOCUMENT No. 41

Letter from the Central Committee of the National Democratic Front of South Korea to the IOC Opposing the 1988 Seoul Olympics

25 February 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

Seoul, February 25, 1988

Juan Antonio Samaranch, President
International Olympic Committee
Lausanne, Switzerland

Any international games ought to be welcomed as festivals in all countries. We south Korean people, however, are rejecting the 1988 Seoul Olympiad as a tragedy, because it involves serious political questions. Originally, south Korea is unsuitable to the Olympic Games.

As it is known, south Korea is in fact a U.S. colony destitute of independence and sovereignty, in spite of its advocacy of state name and sovereignty. Even though the Constitution stipulates liberty and democracy, the human rights are mercilessly violated by the dictatorship and murderous atrocities are rampant in south Korea.

Owing to the nefarious colonial, fascist rule of the United States, our people, deprived of the national dignity and personal value, have been undergoing unheard-of sufferings for more than 40 years. In addition, they are suffering from the greatest tragedy due to the territorial division and national split.

We south Korean people, cherishing deep in our hearts the earnest desire to live in an independent, reunified and democratic society, have bravely waged the sacred anti-U.S., anti-dictatorship struggle for national salvation, unable to swallow the humiliation of subordinated people and sorrow of the divided nation in the sorrow-ridden land bereft of sovereignty and democracy.

Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists and the Roh Tae-woo fascist group have turned the whole territory of south Korea into a great military prison and are cruelly suppressing our people's desire for independence, democracy and reunification.

All those people who fight to end the military rule and the foreign domination are arrested and punished on the groundless charge of "leftists and pro-Communists." Even at this juncture, a great number of students and other patriotic people are imprisoned and tortured to death for the reason of calling for independence and democracy.

Fascist suppression by the military dictators becomes harsher with the Seoul Olympic Games approaching.

Under the pretext of so-called “establishment of social discipline”, special repressive corps were formed with military and police troops and intelligence agents for three-dimensional suppression. Besides, special gas rifles, high-efficiency sniping weapons and special equipments [sic] making people faint with flash and terrific noise are introduced.

The Seoul Olympiad is also a great threat to our people’s livelihood.

Under the cloak of “city-beautifying campaign”, the board-framed houses and cellar-hovels of the poor people were all pulled down. Everywhere in south Korea, we can easily find houseless, poor people driven out of their huts and ill-fated wandering children. They curse the Olympics.

In the meantime, a huge amount of taxes are invested in construction of the Olympic villages and enormous goods earned by sweat of our people’s brows are continuously bribed to Olympic officials.

What’s worse, the war preparation is undisguisedly [sic] speeded up more than ever. Mass destruction weapons are ceaselessly reinforced in south Korea, the greatest nuclear forward base of the United States in the Far East. The “Team Spirit-88” and other nuclear war exercises are now under way throughout south Korea.

Indeed, south Korea is a terrible human butchery where innocent people are shedding blood under the U.S. colonial rule and the dictatorship. It is also the most dangerous hot-bed of nuclear war menacing the life of the Korean people and mankind as well.

No one should ignite the Olympic Flame in south Korea under the colonial and fascist rule or fly doves of peace in this country covered with dark cloud of nuclear war. It is the unanimous demand of our people.

Nevertheless, the International Olympic Committee allowed Seoul to host the 1988 Olympic Games of all countries, thereby leaving grudge deep in the hearts of our people. If you hold the Olympic Games seeking impure purpose at the unsuitable place, it is tantamount to crown with the laurel the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, the sworn enemies of the Korean nation.

In fact, your wrong behaviors help the U.S. imperialists and the Roh Tae-woo junta abuse the 1988 Summer Olympic Games for their sinister purpose.

Encouraged by the active support of the International Olympic Committee, the U.S. imperialists and the Roh Tae-woo group are abusing the sacred sports festival as a means to beautify the colonial fascist rule, create international atmosphere for their “two-Korea” plot and justify their war preparations.

If their sinister purpose is realized our people cannot avoid indescribable misfortunes and the unprecedented nuclear holocaust. Terrible, indeed!

Under this circumstances [sic], how can we remain indifferent to the International Olympic Committee helping the American aggressors and the traitorous Roh Tae-woo junta?

We, representing the south Korean people's unanimous resentment, strongly protest against your unfair act adding our pains [sic].

Instigated by the U.S. imperialists and in conspiracy with the Roh Tae-woo fascist junta, you are trying to hold the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in Seoul in spite of our people's opposition. But everything will never go well as you wish.

We south Korean people can never barter away independence, democracy and reunification for the Olympiad. It is our inflexible will and determination. You should neither neglect nor underestimate our people's will.

South Korea is now plunged deep into a vortex of the ever-aggravated political confusion due to the uncompromising confrontation between the democratic and patriotic forces on one side and the colonial fascist forces on the other.

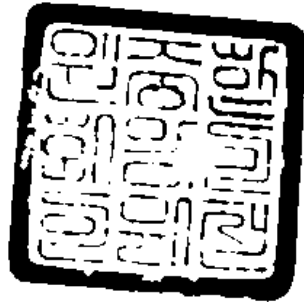
If the Olympic flag is hoisted in Seoul at least, it will lose its luster swept by the tear gas, thus leaving the most miserable stain in the 100-odd-year long history of the modern Olympiad.

Must regret after mishap is quite vain, we think [sic].

We would like to sincerely advise you to, though belated [sic], fully realize your responsibility and adopt choice favorable for our people and the Olympic movement.

Central Committee

National Democratic Front of South Korea



* * *

DOCUMENT No. 42

Letter from the DPRK's NOC to the IOC on Samaranch's Proposal to Visit North Korea
4 June 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

조선민주주의인민공화국 올림픽위원회
OLYMPIC COMMITTEE
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF KOREA

Cables: Olympic Pyongyang
Phone: 6-39-98, 6-23-86
Telex: 5472KP

Address:
Munsin-dong 2,
Dongdaewon-dist.,
Pyongyang, D.P.R.K.

Mr. Raymond Gafner
Administrator
International Olympic Committee
Lausanne
Switzerland

Pyongyang, June 4, 1988

We acknowledge the receipt of your telex dated June 3. However we could not understand your intention expressed in the telex.

According to the press release of the IOC addressed by you, Mr. Samaranch expressed the intention of his coming to our country, on which we have already made clear our position.

We have so far invited Mr. Samaranch to our country several times and each time he did not respond to our invitation.

Thereafter he has never made direct proposal for his visit to our country to us but only through a third party.

We have already clarified our position and you are also well aware of it, we think.

This time, too, he expressed his intention of coming to our country not directly through us but indirectly through press release.

We can not [sic] understand what is his purpose of doing so.

It is needless to say that we appreciate his endeavouring to satisfy our demands for co-hosting.

The bottleneck in the issue of co-hosting is the problem to be settled between us and the south Korean side, not the problem between the IOC and us.

Key point here is no more other problem but the attitude of the south Korea side: whether it intends or not the co-hosting which is coincident both in name and reality [sic].

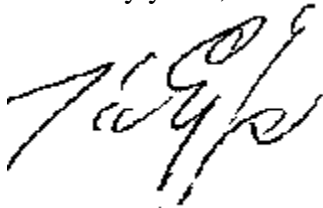
If the Olympic Games were to be held in a foreign land, it might be a different matter. But, since they will be held in Korea, one and the same land, whether in the north or in the south, and the political figures, youths and students and other people from all walks of life in south Korea are demanding the co-hosting and north-south single team, there is no reason why the co-hosting is impossible.

Therefore most urgent matter now facing the IOC is, we consider, to make the south Korea side accept our demand for the co-hosting.

If this fundamental problem is settled we are willing to meet with Mr. Samaranch at any time to settle all problems relating to the co-hosting.

We will continue our efforts to effect the co-hosting of the Olympic Games.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kim Yu Sun', written in a cursive style.

KIM YU SUN
President

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 43

Letter from the DPRK's NOC to the President of the IOC requesting a Postponement of Samaranch's Visit to North Korea

10 June 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

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5472 KP

ATTN: MR. JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH, PRESIDENT OF IOC, LAUSANNE
FROM: KIM YU SUN, PRESIDENT OF OLYMPIC COMMITTEE OF DPR KOREA,
PYONGYANG

I acknowledge receipt of yr tlx dtd June 7.

We welcome yr intention of visiting our country expressed directly to us this time.

We appreciate every effort u r making for the co-hosting of the 24th Olympics.

It is our hope to see a fine fruition in yr visit to our country since it wld be the visit u pay all the way [sic].

But present situation does not show such symptom. It is because the south Korean authorities stubbornly oppose the co-hosting while suppressing by the force the strong demand of the broad sections of south Korean people for the co-hosting of the Olympiad and the composition of the north-south single sports team. Therefore we doubt whether yr visit to our country wld be successful or not. If yr visit fails to bear a good fruition, it wld be nothing good for both of us.

Since the question of north-south dialogue is now controversial it wld be better, we think, to wait and see its results.

In view this circumstances, we request u to wait for a while until favourable conditions will be matured for the success in yr visit.

We hope Mr. President Samaranch wl fully understand it.

We wl endeavour to the last for the co-hosting of the Olympic games.

Yours sincerely,

Sport and Politics on the Korean Peninsula
NKIDP e-Dossier

10/6/88 15:30 HRS

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REC. 346

10.06.88/08:34

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 44

Letter from the DPRK NOC to IOC President on Comments made by IOC during a Press Conference in Barcelona

15 June 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL ' 88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

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ATTN: MR. JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH, PRESIDENT OF IOC, LAUSANNE
FROM: KIM YU SUN, PRESIDENT OF OLYMPIC COMMITTEE OF DPR KOREA,
PYONGYANG

We hv obtained through foreign news the contents of the press conference u held in Barcelona on June 9, some points of which we cld not understand.

U sent us a tlx on June 7 and held a press conference in Barcelona without giving us sufficient time to reply n, according to the foreign news, spoke complainingly that we had not given any reply.

According to the foreign news u distortedly said as if we were not willing to attend the Olympics because the “opening of the border” is a “major obstacle” though u “tried to persuade north Korea.”

We regret that u made such a statement which entirely goes contrary to the facts.

We gave replies in time whenever u made any requests.

We gave reply on June 10 to yr tlx dtd June 7 as well. How can we give reply earlier than this.

We never said that we cld not open the demarcation line for Olympics. It is us who proposed first at the Lausanne joint meeting to opn wide the military demarcation line if the co-hosting is decided. We hv made such an official statement on many occasions even thereafter.

If yr statement was not properly reported by the foreign news, u r kindly requested to give yourself the clarification that it is contrary to the facts.

Sport and Politics on the Korean Peninsula
NKIDP e-Dossier

If u r in a delicate position to clarify the fact, we r going to explicate that the foreign news went against the facts.

We r waiting for yr reply.

Yours sincerely,

15/6/88

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* * *

DOCUMENT No. 45

Note from the President of IOC to the President of the DPRK NOC

24 June 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

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LAUSANNE SUISSE/SWITZERLAND

24.04.88/17:14

ATTENTION MR. YU SUN KIM, PRESIDENT, OLYMPIC COMMITTEE OF THE
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

This is to acknowledge receipt of your telex dated 21st June 1988.

After having stretched our rules to the limit in order to offer you an unique and historical proposal, we cannot understand what you intend to obtain through "co-hosting".

We would appreciate at least receiving a clear and complete explanation from your side on what you imply by the word "co-hosting" point by point. For us, implementing the IOC's proposal to organise five sports or events in Pyong Yang, effectively means to co-host the games.

We would also like to stress once again that time is running out very quickly. Concrete preparations must be undertaken very soon if adequate conditions are to be offered for crossing the border to all members of the Olympic family as we have always requested and in accordance with the "Olympic charter".

It will very soon be too late to meet with this request, which would render the whole discussion absolutely futile.

Sincerely,

Juan Antonio Samaranch
President of the IOC

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* * *

DOCUMENT No. 46

Note from the President of the DPRK Noc to the President of the IOC

27 June 1988

*[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/
POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]*

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ATTN: MR. JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH, IOC PRESIDENT, LAUSANNE
FROM: KIM YU SUN, PRESIDENT OF DPR KOREAN OLYMPIC COMMITTEE,
PYONGYANG

I acknowledge receipt of yr tlx dtd june 24, 1988.

U must hv been well aware that the topic under our discussion at the Lausanne joint meetings and on many other occasions including the visit to our country by the IOC delegation on May 1987 was the question on the north-south co-hosting of the 24th Olympic Games.

Nevertheless u r now requesting us the explanation of the co-host, at which we wonder why.

As for the matter of sports n events u mentioned, we hv already made clear more than once that it is no more than a component within the framework of the co-host n it also went down with everyone.

We consider deeper attention should be paid to seeking for the methods for the co-host under the condition that the Olympic Games is to be held in the Korean land and the spirit of supporting the co-host is surging higher among the south Korean people out of the desire towards the national reunification.

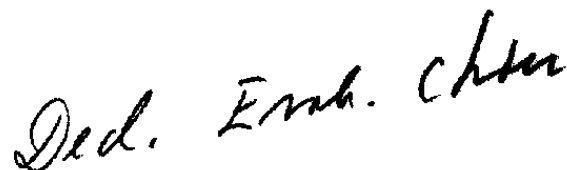
The fundamental matter at present is the agreement of the south Korean authorities upon the co-host.

We also follow the stand of the south Korean side, being irritated over the fast passage of time.

I hope that the IOC wl hv understanding of such stand of ours n cooperate with us in finding out all possibilities for the realization of the co-host.

Yours sincerely,

27/6/88



NOW OK?
YES OK BIBI

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27.06.88/11:31

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DOCUMENT No. 47

Note from the President of IOC to the President of the DPRK NOC

29 June 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

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29.06.88/17:33

LAUSANNE SUISSE/SWITZERLAND

ATTENTION MR. YU SUN KIM, PRESIDENT, NOC OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Sjg [sic]

This is to acknowledge your telex of 27th June 1988.

Further to our many efforts in order to seek a solution to this matter, I fully agree that the question of the number and type of events and sports was to only be an element or component of any further agreement and am happy to see that our opinions are similar in this respect.

In addition, I should like to reiterate what has always been pointed out during all of our meetings, either privately or during the official meetings : there are many other elements to be considered and solved in order to reach an agreement. I have repeatedly stated that one of the most significant of such elements would be the full compliance for your side with the requirements of the free travel of all members of our Olympic family, namely the possibility for nearly 30,000 people to cross the demarcation line at Panmunjom.

I should also like to stress once more that the decision to award the games of the XXIVth Olympiad to the city of Seoul is final and cannot be questioned. I have repeated this at every meeting since nearly four years and you should be fully aware of it in your capacity of IOC member and the oath taken by you to abide by our Olympic Charter.

Consequently, as we are in agreement on all these points, I am wondering the reasons which refrain you from giving a clear answer to my last telex, instead of speaking regarding the supposed attitude of other parties which do not play any role in reaching of an agreement. As IOC member, you know that the only responsible body is the IOC, the owner of the Olympic Games.

I cannot see any difference between what we offer, that is to stage part of the games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Pyong Yang and your claim to be 'co-host' of the games.

Finally, I would be particularly interested to know the truth regarding the statement made by Ambassador Chin while in Berlin at the conference on de-nuclearized zones, in which we claimed that I would never be invited to come to the DPR of Korea.

I should therefore appreciate your full and unrestricted cooperation in the long and difficult process by at least endeavouring to set out in writing which elements you consider to be unsolved in what you persist in calling the 'co-hosting' of the games.

Sincerely,

Juan Antonio Samaranch

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DOCUMENT No. 48

Letter from the President of the IOC to Roh Tae-Woo with a Proposal for Further Initiative between South and North Korea

30 June 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

COMITE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE
CHATEU DE VIDY, 1007 LAUSANNE, SUISSE

THE PRESIDENT

The Honorable Mr. Tae-Woo ROH,
President of the Republic of Korea,
SEOUL
Republic of Korea

CONFIDENTIAL
BY HAND

Lausanne, 30th June 1988

Dear Mr. President and Friend,

May I first of all take this opportunity to send you and your family my best personal regards during this important period prior to the Olympic Games in Seoul.

As we are all only too aware, our joint efforts for almost four years now, whilst enabling the largest ever participation in the Games, have brought very little progress in the reaching of an agreement with North Korea in the hope that the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad prove to be the Games of restored unity within the Olympic family.

I have endeavoured to keep you fully informed of all developments as well as private contacts which we have had for our part up to now, in addition to all our efforts to try to find a possible solution to this question, particularly over the last few months and weeks.

In this respect, I have asked once of the main advisors of the IOC, Maitre Samuel Pisar, a well-known international lawyer and author, who has followed all negotiations between the two Korean NOCs on our side right from the beginning, to give me his advice in view of the current deadlock situation in which we find ourselves.

He has given me the enclosed report which I think it might be worth your while reading, since its author has a broad and very in-depth knowledge of international affairs.

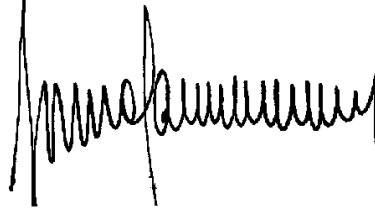
I take the liberty of sending you this confidential report rapidly via your representative in Geneva since I think that time is of the essence and a crucial element in our efforts at this stage.

I should be extremely grateful to receive your comments regarding this document and I insist that it is the private opinion of our advisor and not an official stance.

I look forward to hearing from you in due course.

Yours sincerely,

*1 [sic]

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Juan Antonio Samaranch', with a stylized, cursive script.

Juan Antonio SAMARANCH

SAMUEL PISAR
[address illegible]

(stamped confidential)

08. [illegible] DE COURCELLES
75017 PARIS
766-02-12

May 24, 1988

PROPOSAL FOR A FURTHER INITIATIVE
BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA

The I.O.C has managed to resolve the immense problems of the two Germanies and the two Chinas. On the eve of the XXIV Olympiad we cannot lightly abandon a last minute effort to resolve the seemingly insoluble problem of the two Koreas.

The challenge is not only to prevent confusion, indeed, violence during the games; I do not think this will happen. It is to avoid increasingly serious incidents in the next few months, and dispel the cloud that hangs over Seoul '88 as a dangerous, unpredictable place one should stay away from. Summit declarations of support for the Olympics do not necessarily help. I believe they tend to be counter-productive, confirming the existence of a growing risk of turbulence. Yet there is an underlying international equation that could still make the Seoul games the most universal and exciting ever.

East and West are in a posture of detente: neither Washington nor Moscow want incidents that might poison the improving climate. Beyond that, the Soviets seek normal games because their athletes (after the West's absence from Moscow in 1980, and the East's from Los Angeles in 1984) are in danger of becoming demoralized. Their allies have expressed discontent and a determination not be drawn into new controversies and boycotts. China has also signified its desire that all go well in Seoul. In addition, South Korea is moving to develop commercial relations with Russia and Eastern Europe, and receiving favorable responses. Even Fidel Castro, who has stubbornly stood by Pyongyang, is manifestly uncomfortable in his isolation and unpopular exercise of authority to deny Cuban athletes the right to compete. The fact remains, however, that none of these powerful forces seem able to rob Seoul of an expected triumph.

Having participated at President Samaranch's side in all of the I.O.C.'s contacts and negotiations with the two Koreas, I am convinced that the key to the solution, if it still exists, is now with [illegible]. The central issues are not which and how many events are allocated to North Korea (that has pretty much been decided, and the games are unalterably Seoul's); or whether Pyongyang will "co-host" (this is essentially semantic issue: holding any event in the North is inevitably a "co-hosting"); or how many tens of thousands of Olympic Family members will cross the demarcation line (a much smaller number might be enough if the Pyongyang events were held in a small Olympic enclave).

To my mind the situation calls for an imaginative act of statesmanship à la Sadat by the South Korean leadership. I am not suggesting that President Roh travel to the North, or take any of the physical or political risks assumed by the Egyptian leader. But I believe that if Sadat and Begin

could develop a momentary dialogue leading to a truce, and eventually peace over the Sinai, Roh and Kim Il Sung could do something similar at least as regards the games, if not the reunification.

My suggestion is that Roh undertake an audacious initiative by addressing Kim Il Sung directly, to suggest a physical and psychological truce, whereby military threats and political invective would be suspended for the duration of the Olympiad, as in ancient Greece, so the Games can proceed on a “co-hosted” basis in the historical interest of all the Korean people. Such a truce (with a lowered military profile by all concerned) may later help to open a more permanent dialogue between the two divided parts of the peninsula. It would not be the first time that sport and sportsmanship contributed to a diplomacy of reconciliation and peace.

For such an unconventional move to succeed, the address to the North must be non-polemical, putting it momentarily as a co-equal on center stage. (I can imagine the diplomatic skill and literary eloquence with which it could be formulated.)

The current South Korean mentality appears to be cast in marble: “let’s humiliate the North with a highly successful Olympics in the South, then we will be able to negotiate from strength”. This attitude should be shelved, at least for the time being. It seems to me wiser, given the enormous stakes for which South Korea is playing, to try a more flexible approach, leading to athletic and other contacts in limited areas. An approach of this type could, with luck, calm the students and radicals in the South, and consolidate Roh’s political stature in Korea and the world. I believe Washington would not be opposed to such a stance: indeed, I have reason to believe that it would encourage it. Castro (not to mention Moscow and Peking) it might also jump on it to ease North Korea toward moderation vis-à-vis the games.

While this may be too much to expect, the best way to move toward a denouement would be an urgently arranged meeting between two specially empowered and highly authoritative emissaries of South and North Korea, perhaps even the two leaders in person, preferably in the presence of President Samaranch. Messengers of peace, with ready access to Roh, Kim Il Sung, Castro, Washington and Moscow are, fortunately available and can be easily activated for such a mission.

Samuel Pisar



DOCUMENT No. 49

**Letter from U.S. Senator Ted Stevens to the President of the IOC on Reagan, Gorbachev,
and the 1988 Seoul Olympics**

5 July 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

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DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII
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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6025

FRANCIS J. SULLIVAN, STAFF DIRECTOR
J. KEITH KENNEDY, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

July 5, 1988

S.E. M. Juan Antonio Samaranch, President
International Olympic Committee
Chateau de Vidy
CH-1007 Lausanne
Switzerland

Dear President Samaranch:

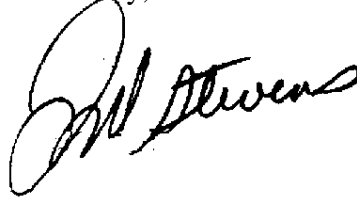
Pursuant our conversation, I've enclosed copies of my correspondence with Secretary Shultz regarding the joint statement by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in support of the Olympic movement. My letter to secretary Shultz was a follow-up to telegrams I had sent to Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze last Fall prior to Washington, D.C. Summit.

The recent communique out of the Moscow Summit demonstrates a substantial degree of progress on the issue – hopefully the reaffirmation of commitment by both superpowers to the Olympic movement will translate into a less strained atmosphere at the Seoul Olympics. Secretary Shultz recently mentioned to me that he would be very interested in your comments on what we can do to encourage the Soviets help de-politicize the Olympics within their sphere of influence.

I look forward to seeing you and discussing this matter further.

With best wishes.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Ted Stevens". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "T" and "S".

TED STEVENS

P.S. With the current turmoil in South Korea between the students and the government, it might be useful for a delegation of International Olympic Committee Athletes to travel to Korea to meet with a number of the students and explain the importance of the Seoul Olympics as a means to bring about peaceful relations between nations.

Enclosure

March 25, 1988

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear George:

As you follow up with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in preparation for the President's summit meeting with May with General Secretary Gorbachev, I hope you raise the issue of reaffirming both countries commitment to the Olympic movement.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is very concerned -- and I think rightly so -- about the potential for disruption at the 1988 Summer Games in Seoul, Korea, by North Korea. President Samaranch of the IOC has mentioned his trepidation over potential North Korean disruption to all the Alaskans who have met with him recently concerning the 1994 Winter Olympics.

A joint statement by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev expressing support for the Olympic movement would help allay much of the tension surrounding the Seoul Olympics. Peaceful competition between the young athletes of the United States and the Soviet Union -- and the other countries of the world -- supports our efforts for cooperation and understanding between our countries. The Olympics provide a tremendous basis for cultural and social exchanges between nations which would be even further enhanced if the United States and the Soviet Union would pledge to not seek the further national foreign policy objectives through the Games.

I hope you will discuss the possibility of including this topic on the agenda for the summit in May. If I can help in any way on this matter, George, please let me know.

With best wishes,

Cordially,



TED STEVENS

WB: smp

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

(stamp: 1988 MAY 24 PM 7:38)
May 23, 1988

Dear Ted:

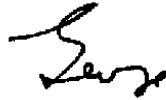
I appreciated receiving your letter proposing that we urge the Soviets to join in statement at the Summit reaffirming a commitment to the Olympic movement.

You are correct that such a joint statement would be a timely endorsement of a peaceful Olympics in Seoul, something which is of special concern because of the recent upsurge in terrorism.

The stated intention of the Soviets to participate in the Olympic Games this year may be an inducement to their agreeing to a public expression of support for the Olympic movement. I will urge the President to ask them to join us in such a commitment.

Your point that the Olympic movement serves as a basis for international cultural exchanges is also well taken, and it would be appropriate to issue a joint endorsement at the Summit.

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz

The Honorable
Ted Stevens,
United States Senate.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 50

Information Note from Dr. Klaus Georg Wieck to the IOC President on Security and Terrorist Threats to the 1988 Seoul Olympics

6 July 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Klaus Georg WIECK
Express Emul Riedweg 27
8023 PULLACH-MUNICH
Federale Republique Allemande

Lausanne, 21st July 1988/ACL/ab

Dear Dr. Wieck,

May I acknowledge your confidential letter dated 6th July 1988 and its enclosure.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank you for this information and you may rest assured that it will be treated with this appropriate confidentiality.

Yours sincerely,

Juan Antonio SAMARANCH

Bundesnachrichtendienst

Pullach, den July 6, 1988

Der Präsident

My dear Antonio,

(My dear Antonio)

enclosed please find an additional paper on the current security situation in the Korean Peninsula, including an assessment of the terrorist threat to the Olympic Games later this year.

Since the contents of this paper are confidential, I would appreciate your handling it accordingly.

*With kindest regards,
Yours truly,
George H.W. Bush*

[illegible]

An den

Präsidenten
Des Internationalen Olympischen Komitees
Herrn Juan Antonio Samaranch

CH – 1000 Lausanne

1. External Security (Relations between North and South Korea)

- a) As a result of Korea's geostrategic location, the balance of power on the peninsula entails constellations of interests for the United States and Soviet Union as well as the PR of China and Japan.

Since 1961, North Korea's security policy has been backed by treaties of friendship and assistance with the USSR and the PR of China.

Following the Korean War, South Korea has tried to protect its external security in view of the threat from the North by a close military alliance with the US concluded in 1954. There exist no other alliances or commitments. The constant presence of a 40,000-strong US contingent in South Korea is visible expression of common security interests.

- b) The former aggressiveness of North Korea's military policy has abated somewhat due to a shift in priorities resulting from economic constraints. South Korea, for its part, is endeavoring to ease tensions. The long-term aim remains a peaceful reunification.
- c) An approximate North/South Korean force comparison in general terms:
- As regards the personnel strengths of the armed forces as a whole and their armed services (except the naval forces) as well as important major equipment items, North Korea has a slight edge over the South, although with a downward trend.
 - In qualitative terms, the South Korean armed forces are thought to be a more efficient as a consequence of better training and equipment levels together with systematic modernization programs.
 - South Korea's security policy rests on a solid foundation, resulting from the closely integrated command-and-control structure for the armed forces of South Korea and the United States in South Korea in conjunction with the constant practice of holding combined maneuvers.
- d) At present, there are no concrete signs of a deliberate fueling of tensions through aggressive acts by Pyongyang. The politico-military prerequisites do not exist.
- e) Given the apparently unbridgeable antagonism between the two Korean states and the continued unpredictability of the communist system in North Korea, the Korean peninsula remains at least a latent source of trouble. There is little likelihood at present, though of an immediate threat to, or violent change of, the status quo in this area through military aggressive acts and combat action.
- f) There has recently been some apparent movement in the political dialogue between Seoul and Pyongyang: Both sides have tabled proposals for reunification whose common feature is their mutual unacceptability; these proposals essentially reiterate old positions and serve as an alibi for internal and external consumption.

2. South Korea's Internal Security

- a) Domestic Stability

The de-facto tacit truce between government and opposition has so far been observed by both sides. The government seeks to accommodate reasonable demands of the opposition, and the leaders of the opposition, too, cooperate with the government on political issues

in the interest of the national cause of the Olympic Games. Attacks on the government and the ruling party tend to be muted at present and have to wait until after the Games.

- b) In contrast to last year's demonstrations, the radical students (with a hard core of about 30.000) are now virtually alone during the plans have been seized by the opposition parties, the students have chosen reunification as a platform for their anti-government demonstrations and combine this with demands for the withdrawal of the US forces from South Korea, whose presence, they claim, was an obstacle to reunification.

Countermeasures by the government:

- By making reunification proposals for its own, the government tries to cap the issue.
 - A limited amnesty for political detainees is to demonstrate the ROH government's willingness to reform (last on 30 June 1988).
 - Departing from the earlier policy of reacting to demonstrators, the future line will be an offensive one.
 - Preventative measures, such as advancing the beginning of the university term to mid-August so as to keep the student son the campus; tough disciplinary measures in the case of participation in violence.
- c) The population is looking forward to the Games and tends to resent attempts at disruption; the influential Catholic Church has called on its supporters to observe political neutrality. The opposition, too, refuses assistance because
- the demonstrators do not count among its followers and voters anyway;
 - the latter's actions are not conducive to its goals; and
 - the opposition does not want to expose itself to charges that it plays into the hands of North Korea.

3. Terrorist Scene

- a) There is no information whatsoever about a threat to the Olympic Summer Games from European or Middle Eastern terrorist groups.

Among the RAF and the other European terrorist groups as well as the Middle Eastern terrorist scene, the Seoul Olympic Games have not been a topic to date.

- b) On the other hand, the Japanese Red Army (JRA) has repeatedly stated that, by actions against the Olympic Games, it could hit the hated axis Tokyo – Seoul – Washington and that it wanted to support the “struggle of the Korean people against its oppressors”.

That the JRA constitutes a serious threat is evident from the Naples bomb attack on 14 April 1988, where at the least some JRA involvement can be postulated. A second attack, planned simultaneously in the United States, was presumably prevented by the arrest of the Kikumura in the New Jersey on 11 April 1988.

- c) The biggest conceivable potential threat to the Olympic Games could be posed by North Korea. It could rely, in personnel and logistic terms, on members of the pro-North Korean minority in Japan (about 300.000); the network of North Korean agents suspected to exist in South Korea and Japan (in Japan alone, there are estimated to be more than 500); and members of the JRA as well as the so-called Yodo hijackers [sic] (members of the leftist extremist Japanese Red Army Faction, who highjacked [sic] the JAL airliner Yodo to Pyongyang on 31 March 1970 and then stayed on in North Korea).

The uncovering and arrest of the Yodo hijacker Shibata in May 1988 in Tokyo as well as contacts between female Japanese supporters of the Yodo hijackers and North Korean agents in Europe suggest covert operations by the North Korean intelligence service, possibly aimed at disrupting the Olympic Games.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 51

Letter from the President of the DPRK NOC to the President of the IOC

7 July 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

조선민주주의인민공화국 올림픽위원회
OLYMPIC COMMITTEE
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF KOREA

Cables: Olympic Pyongyang
Phone: 6-39-98, 6-23-86
Telex: 5472KP

Address:
Munsin-dong 2,
Dongdaewon-dist.,
Pyongyang, D.P.R.K.

Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch
President
International Olympic Committee

Chateau de Vidy
1007 Lausanne, Switzerland

July 7th, 1988

Esteemed Mr. President,

I gladly received your telex dated June 29th, 1988. Through your telex I came to be better aware of the energetic efforts you are making even at this moment when the appointed day is in the offing to carry into effect the sublime desire for the north-south co-host of the 24th Olympic Games thereby making it successful sports festivity.

I feel happy over this and send a reply as you requested.

I avail myself of this opportunity to reaffirm you that our position remains unchanged towards the question of opening the MDL you proposed and our co-hosting.

If you again consider our telex dated June 15th, 1988 and the documents containing our co-host demand which was given to the IOC delegation on a visit to our country on May 1987, they will give a clear answer to all matters you raised.

Besides, as for the interview our Vice-President had with the KYOTO correspondent in Berlin in June last, we consider that the original text of the KYOTO news dated June 23 will help your correct understanding and dispelling of misunderstanding.

Sport and Politics on the Korean Peninsula
NKIDP e-Dossier

Convinced that esteemed Mr. President will express your deep understanding of our sincere efforts for the strengthening and development of the Olympic Movement, I wish you good health and success in your noble work.

Yours sincerely,

Kim Yu Sun
President

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kim Yu Sun', written in a cursive style.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 52

Letter from the President of the IOC to the President of the DPRK NOC
19 July 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL ' 88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

Mr. Yu Sun KIM,
President,
Olympic Committee of the
Democratic People's Republic
of Korea,
Munsin-dong 2,
Dongdaewon-Dist.,
PYONGYANG / D.P.R.K.

Lausanne, 19th July 1988
Ref. No. 4352 /88/sjg

Dear Mr. President,

May I acknowledge with thanks your letter of 7th July 1988, which has only just arrived at the IOC headquarters in Lausanne today.

First of all, I should like to express my appreciation for your kind words in recognition of the many efforts which the IOC is making in order to try and find a solution which would ensure the largest possible success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

I also appreciate receiving your explanation regarding the declaration of your Vice President in Berlin, as I had previously been unable to understand this.

As you well know, and I have reiterated this fact on many occasions now, we are still looking forward to working with you in order to find a possible solution and maintain the important and historical offer made by the IOC on 16th July 1987. I am sure that I do not need to stress, however, that time is running out very rapidly, thus making it increasingly more difficult to find a viable agreement.

Yours sincerely,
Juan Antonio SAMARANCH



DOCUMENT No. 53

Letter from Roh Tae-Woo to the President of the IOC on North Korea's Participation in the Olympics

20 July 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA
GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL

July 20, 1988

Dear President Samaranch,

Thank you for your kind letter dated June 30, 1988.

I wish to take this opportunity to express once again my gratitude for your efforts towards the success of the Seoul Olympic Games, and particularly for your effort for north Korea's participation in the games.

I believe that report conveyed to me in your letters is in line with your continued endeavors. However, as you are well aware, the co-hosting of the Olympics as demanded by north Korea poses problems because it is always shrouded in a semantic equivocation. Since the idea presented in Mr. Pizar's report appears to be a departure from the fundamental position of the International Olympic Committee with regard to the vexed issue of co-hosting, we feel that the concept in the report needs to be spelled out in the unequivocal terms.

You will agree, Mr. President, that since Seoul was awarded the Olympic games in 1981, the Korean government has every possible concession to north Korea in order to encourage its participation in the games, and, furthermore, we would spare no effort in the coming months to that end, in the hope that the Seoul Olympics with north Korea's attendance prove to be a great opportunity for national reconciliation.

I have expressed on several occasions my sincere hope for a meeting between the highest authorities of Seoul and north Korea, and guided by that spirit a special declaration was issued on July 7, designed to help the two parts of Korea do away with the confrontation and explore venues for mutual cooperation. The Korean government will take various practical measures for an inter-Korean reconciliation keeping in line with the declaration, and it is our earnest hope that north Korea come to this historic festival of peace and harmony for mankind.

I believe that a recent resolution urging north Korea to join us in the Seoul Olympics, which was unanimously adopted by the Korean national assembly, well represents the deep aspirations of the Korean people for north Korea's participation.

We will continue our efforts in close collaboration with the international Olympic committee, while keeping the door open for north Korea until the very last minute, in the same manner as we have done during the past seven years.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sincerely yours,
/ s /

Roh Tae Woo
President of the
Republic of Korea

His Excellency
Juan Antonio Samaranch
President of the
International Olympic Committee

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 54

Note from the President of the IOC to Roh Tae-Woo on the 1988 Seoul Olympics

24 July 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]



CITIUS ALTIUS FORTIUS

COMITE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE
CHATEU DE VIDY, 1007 LAUSANNE, SUISSE

THE PRESIDENT

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable Mr. Tae-Woo ROH,
President,
Republic of Korea,
The Blue House,
SEOUL / Republic of Korea

Lausanne, 24th July 1988

Dear Mr. President and Friend,

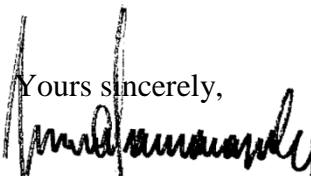
May I thank you very much for your kind letter of 20th July 1988, which H.E. Ambassador Lee delivered to me this morning.

This gives me yet another opportunity to reconfirm the full and complete support of the International Olympic Committee in the efforts to ensure the greatest possible success of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul.

As I look back on our efforts since Seoul was designated as the host city for these Games, almost seven years ago, I am more and more convinced that the Games will be the best in our Olympic history and involve the participation of a record number of National Olympic Committees [sic].

May I also take this occasion to say how much the IOC Executive Board, meeting in Lausanne today, and I personally, appreciate the recent initiatives taken by you on 7th July 1988 and by the National Assembly on 1st July 1988. These are steps of statesmanship and understanding which we hope will bear fruit.

I look forward to meeting with you again soon in Seoul and I extend my very best wishes to you and your family.

Yours sincerely,


Juan Antonio SAMARANCH



DOCUMENT No. 55

Letter from the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the North Korean Supreme People's Assembly to the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

26 July 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

To: Mr. Jae Sun KIM
Speaker of the National Assembly, Republic of Korea

I have received your letter of 18th July.

In your letter you indicated that your parliament would like to use the occasion of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad to restore peace and national reconciliation in the Korean peninsula and do away with the difficulties of separation and work toward the democratic reunification.

We have noted your parliament's position concerning the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad.

As the whole world knows, we have the same view and believe beneficially resolving the XXIVth Olympic Games issue for national peace and peaceful reunification.

To host a worldwide festival such as the Olympics in a divided nation like ours, the Olympics should be made to contribute to national reunification rather than national division as well as to national harmony and not national confrontation.

We have been asserting that the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad be co-hosted by the north and south as one people and to realize this goal we have spared no effort. However, you have been opposed to this co-hosting proposal which would contribute to reconciliation, harmony and reunification. Instead, you vehemently want to have half-size Olympics in a divided nation.

It is indeed fortunate that you belatedly propose to using the Olympics as a turning point to achieve national harmony and unity and realize peace and peaceful reunification of the divided peninsula.

We propose that a north-south Korean lawmakers meeting now under discussion be held in August before the Olympics Games and discuss as an urgent matter your invitation to us and our proposal to co-host the Olympic Games.

This unselfish proposal of ours originated from a sincere stand hoping to open an epochal phase for the future of national peace and peaceful reunification.

The successful discussion of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad issue will not only reduce tension and create an atmosphere conducive to peaceful reunification but also show that the north and south are working together to resolve our problem.

Sport and Politics on the Korean Peninsula
NKIDP e-Dossier

Against this background I hope you will agree with our proposal to have a joint north and south declaration and discussion on the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad issue. I look forward to your positive reply.

Hyong-Sup YANG
Chairman
Standing Committee of the North Korean Supreme People's Assembly

26th July 1988

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 56

Note from the President of the IOC to U.S. Senator Ted Stevens on the Joint Statement by Reagan and Gorbachev on the Safety of the 1988 Seoul Olympics

28 July 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (JANVIER – JUILLET). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

The Honourable Ted STEVENS
United States Senate
Committee on Appropriations
Capitol Building
WASHINGTON, DC 205 10-5025
U.S.A.

Lausanne, 28th July 1988
Ref. No. 4666 //88/ACL/ab

Dear Senator Stevens,

May I acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter dated 5th July 1988.

It was extremely interesting to see copy of your correspondence with Secretary Schulz regarding the joint statement by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in support of the Olympic Movement and I thank you accordingly.

I sincerely hope that a solution can be found to this problem and we are doing our utmost in this regard, nevertheless I am not very optimistic.

Yours sincerely,

Juan Antonio SAMARANCH

bcc. Administrateur Délégué

Lausanne, 11th August 1988

PROPOSAL FROM THE IOC

TO THE NOCs of

THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

A month from now, the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad will open in Seoul. An all-time record number of 161 NOCs have agreed to participate in this great four-yearly festival of youth, sport and peace.

The entire Olympic Movement has spared no efforts to offer all the NOCs conditions which will allow them to accept the IOC's invitation to take part in the Games.

For this reason, the IOC applauds the current exchanges taking place between the Parliaments of the two parts of Korea. These contacts mark a new stage in the dialogue which the IOC has constantly encouraged through the meetings it has organised and presided in Lausanne between the representative of the two NOCs and the relevant authorities in Pyong Yang and Seoul.

Today, the IOC wishes once again to reaffirm its fervent desire to bring the youth of the whole of Korea into the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad, as it has brought together in the past the Chinese and the German youth.

It thus solemnly proposes that the delegation of the two Korean NOCs, preceded by a single Olympic flag, march side by side at the opening and closing ceremonies of the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad, with each delegation carrying its own flag.

The IOC feels that such a highly symbolic event would allow the youth of Korea to show in the most striking way that it belongs to one and the same nation, and to demonstrate its strong desire for dialogue and reconciliation.

The Olympic Movement hopes that this proposal will receive the fullest attention. The IOC is certain that all peace-loving men and women throughout the world will manifest their full support to this ultimate attempt to ensure that the youth of all nations participates in the festival held in its honour.

The Olympic Games are perceived today in North and South, East and West, as a propitious occasion for peaceful dialogue and reconciliation. The IOC is proud to be of help in this process and is determined to ensure that the XXIVth Olympiad be the most universal and successful in its history.

(stamped confidential)

To: Mr. Jae Sun KIM
Speaker of the National Assembly, Republic of Korea

I have received your reply of 1st August.

As you know, on 20th July we sent you a letter containing specific proposals for a north-south Korean lawmakers meeting to discuss the joint declaration on non-aggression and on 26th July we sent you a letter proposing that a north-south Korean lawmakers meeting be held to discuss as an urgent matter your invitation to us and our proposal to co-host the Olympic Games.

It is fortunate that you have agreed to our repeated proposal – even though your reply sets limits – to having a joint lawmakers meeting. However, we cannot just overlook the many never-ending problems contained in your reply. We do not know if the “south-north inter-parliament meeting” mentioned in your reply means the lawmakers meeting of a parliamentary representatives meeting. It is not clear to us if you want to include party members, organization heads and other leaders or exclude them in these meetings.

If you mean to say that the “south-north inter-parliament meeting” means a meeting of a selected few people including party members, organization heads and other leaders, we cannot say that this is realistically appropriate method.

The Olympic issue should be discussed as an urgent matter because the opening is only about 40 days away and in reality we do not have enough time to hold separate meetings to have a “preliminary contact” as asserted in your reply.

In addition, you label this preliminary meeting as “preliminary contact” and suggest to have about 30 people. This is larger delegation than for a general meeting and we do not see this as an agreeable offer.

As for the agenda, since you have not remarked on our proposal in our last two letters, we can only assume that you have no particular opinion in this matter.

Your reply contains many insincere points but we do not want to waste time dwelling on it. We are interested in having a lawmakers meeting at the soonest possible moment and this is based on your agreement – in principle – of our proposal to hold a joint meeting.

On first reunion to prepare for the lawmakers meeting can be held on 17th August at 10 a.m. at the Panmunjom [sic] with three to five lawmakers from each side.

At this meeting, we seriously propose that we discuss the holding of north-south lawmakers meeting to be held in Pyongyang or Seoul starting 26th August and the logistical problems concerning this reunion.

For us, there is nothing complicated nor difficult about having a discussion on the logistical matters. Basically, the issues to be dealt with are the place, date and procedure for crossing Panmunjom, question of safety and guaranteed conveniences.

As for the place of the meeting, if it is difficult for you to have the first meeting in Seoul, we can have it in Pyongyang as we are already prepared to hold it.

Concerning the date, as both sides have agreed to having this meeting before the end of August, we can agree to having the meeting on 26th August and the duration could be for four nights and five days.

With regard to the procedure for passing Panmunjum, we can adhere to the previous north-south dialogue and provide for each other the list of lawmakers, party members and organization leaders and these people could have on hand the necessary identification papers when crossing the demilitarized zone.

The governmental entities concerned with security can be kept informed and an official announcement could be made about those travelling to and from Pyongyang and Seoul before hand and the exchange of the official list should take care of safety matters.

As for accommodation, telecommunication and transportation and other amenities, the hosting side can responsibly guarantee appropriate measures suitable for each individual according to his rank.

We do not believe that we will require much time in working out the logistical arrangements as outlined above and can resolve this in one reunion. This year marks the 48th year in which a parliament was set up in the north and the south.

We must have a north-south lawmakers meeting at whatever the cost and by resolving the non-aggression issue and the Olympic issue for the benefit of our nation and reunification, we would have fulfilled our responsibility and duty as politicians before our country and people.

We hope your parliament will cautiously study our proposal and send us a positive reply.

Hyong Sup YANG
Chairman
Standing Committee of the North Korean Supreme People's Assembly

9th August 1988

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 58

Letter from the President of the DPRK NOC to the President of the IOC on Co-hosting the 1988 Olympics

16 August 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (AOUT – DECEMBRE). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

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+
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09.56.45472 KP

ATTN: MR. JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH, IOC PRESIDENT, LAUSANNE,
SWITZERLAND
FROM: KIM YU SUN, PRESIDENT OF DPR KOREAN NOC, PYONGYANG

I acknowledge receipt of yr tlx dtd 11 Aug.

We appraise yr efforts for the success of the 24th Olympiad.

As for the “proposal” u made this time in yr tlx, it was already proposed at the 2nd round of the Lausanne joint meeting. At that time we made clear our position that we cld never accept the proposal. If the north n the south , without realizing co-hosting n composing a single team, march side by side holding their flags respectively, it wld give the world more strong impression of the “two Koreas” against the desire of our nation for reunification. Now in south Korea, the struggle of the youth, students n people demanding for the co-hosting is getting stronger than ever.

Therefore the matter of discussing the co-hosting at the north-south joint parliamentary meeting is placed on the order of the day.

We expect that the 24th Olympic Games wld be conducive to the reunification cause of our nation n provide the opportunity of embodying splendidly the basic idea of Olympic Movement—peace n friendship.

With this hope, we r going to attend the north-south joint parliamentary meeting.

We hope u hv a correct understanding of our position.

If good results r made in the north-south joint parliamentary meeting, we wl infm u immly for yr cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

16/8/88

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5472 KP

REC. 623
16.08.88/02:59

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 59

Letter from the President of the IOC to the DPRK NOC

8 September 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (AOUT – DECEMBRE). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]

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454025 PCIO CH

(stamped confidential)

LAUSANNE SUISSE/SWITZERLAND

08.09.88/14:34

ATTENTION MR. KIM YUN SUN, PRESIDENT, NOC OF THE DPR OF KOREA

Dear colleague and friend,

On the occasion of the celebration of the 8th September in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I would like to ask you, in your capacity of representative of the IOC in your country, to convey to your head of state, H.E. Kim Il Sung, the most sincere and warm congratulations from the Olympic movement.

I would also ask you to present to him how a presentation, even in the most symbolic form, of the DPR of Korea in the games of the XXIVth Olympiad which are about to open would be highly praised and recognized throughout the world as one of the greatest and more positive gestures possible toward the noble cause of the reunification of Korea.

I would really appreciate your personal attention to my request as well as your information as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Juan Antonio Samaranch

IOC President

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454025 PCIO CH+

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 60

Letter from the President of the IOC to the Korean Olympic Organizing Committee on Threats by a South Korean Student Organization

10 September 1988

[Source: IOC Archives, SEOUL '88, POLITICAL MATTERS 1988-89; SEOUL '88/ POLITIQUE (AOUT – DECEMBRE). Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko.]



CITIUS ALTIUS FORTIUS

COMITE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE
CHATEU DE VIDY, 1007 LAUSANNE, SUISSE

THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Cho Chin Hyung
Director
Security Services
SLOOC
Olympic Center
SEOUL

BY HAND

Seoul, 10th September 1988
Ref. No. 544 /88/dol

Re : Security at the Olympic Games

Dear Mr. Cho,

Please find attached copy of a letter from a “Mudungsan Death-Defying Corps” addressed to the International Olympic Committee in Lausanne.

I should be most grateful for your urgent consideration and opinion regarding this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Juan Antonio SAMARANCH

(stamped confidential)

TO THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

The Olympic, in an intrinsic duty, is a festival of the world peace and a festival of the unity of the entire mankind. But unfortunately, the 24th Olympic Game has reduced to a battered game for a political ambition of the Authorities of United States and Republic of Korea.

Now there a grave situation [sic], which would perpetuate the division of our nation, is being created due to an enforcement of the separate host of the Olympic.

We have taken the situation seriously [sic] and proposed the South-North students talks – respectively on 10th of June and 15th of August – for a discussion about the co-host of the Olympic and South-North students exchange.

But Authorities have deprived of our desire to make the Olympic a festival of a unity as they suppressed the talks bloodily. In this time we condemn the schemes of all forces to hamper the students talks as anti-mankind act, anti-national act fostering the division of the Korean nation.

The separate host of Seoul Olympic is a wick [sic] which mounts the confrontation and antagonism of South and North and the Olympic flame is a flame of disgrace of the fellows who seek permanent division of Korean peninsula [sic].

We regard the act as a defiance of our voice to maintain the co-host of the Olympic and we also regard the act of taking part in Seoul Olympic as an unforgivable debasement, a plain challenge.

On behalf of a million students of ROK and the souls lie buried in Mangwoldong of Mudung Mountain in Kwangju, Mudungsan Death-defying Corps warns IOC as below.

1. Before opening the Olympic, announce a statement expressing a support of the struggle of Korean students who maintain the co-host of the Olympic and demanding Korean Authorities to stop suppression.
2. Reveal the fact that some persons in IOC have received a bribe of a colossal sum which were given to them for realization of Seoul Olympic host.

If IOC ignores the warning and opens the Olympic, it should take the entire responsibility for the consequences incurred for this reason.

We are death-defying corps ready for death.

You should speculate so that the bloodshed in Munich Olympic will not do over again in Seoul.

We express a hope that IOC will think much of the sorrow of the separation of our 60 millions brethren and the pain of the division and will not connive at the act to perpetuate the division of Korean peninsula [sic].

Yours Sincerely

August 1988